

RED *fascism*

Boring FROM WITHIN... BY
THE SUBVERSIVE FORCES of
COMMUNISM



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***Boring* FROM WITHIN... BY THE SUBVERSIVE FORCES of COMMUNISM**

An ideological manual for those patriotic citizens who wish to improve and preserve the American way of life . . . This book contains documented evidence from actual State and Federal investigations, authentic index from Governmental files, naming and exposing known Marxists; and Communist "front" organizations engaged in subversive activities.

Compiled by

SENATOR JACK B. TENNEY

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RED fascism

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A MESSAGE TO ALL PEOPLE WHO LOVE FREEDOM

This is the history of Communism in the United States. These are the documents the records, compiled from your own government archives. This is the (under oath) autobiography of men and women, who have formed themselves into groups calculated to destroy loyalty to the United States, disobedience to law and order; disrespect for property and human rights; denying the existence of a Deity or the right to worship God. This is a true story of the attempt to destroy your freedom, your liberty—The battleground scene is your city, your neighborhood, your home, your mind—*Do you not see THE CHALLENGE, THE NEED... a "fighting conviction" for democracy, a reborn devotion to the God you believe in and to the country you love.* — THE PUBLISHERS.

WITH THE MILITARY DEFEAT of Nazi Germany and Imperialist Japan, the hope for peace in the world was vested in the organization of the United Nations.

Before rebuilding their war-torn cities, the people of conquered nations began to de-Nazify and reform their political and governmental structures.

As the battle of arms ceased, there began a new kind of war... "A War of Ideas." The conquered nations found themselves in the zone of influence of one of two contrasting economic and political ideas of government; namely, American Democracy or Soviet Communism.

It is out of this ideological conflict that deliberate Russian-Fascism interference beclouds the real issue of reconstructing democratic states of these liberated peoples in the UN. The U. S. foreign policy concerns itself with this paramount question, "Will these people be free to select the governmental structure of their choice; or, will they be regimented against their will under another form of dictatorship?"

To intelligently support their foreign policy, Americans must be correctly and adequately informed as to the "SELF-PROCLAIMED AND ADMITTED" objectives of Marx, Lenin and Stalin to capture and control the minds of all people, (without their consent or knowledge) with a prearranged, well-defined, "police state, dictatorship" rule.

Red fascist strategy for world domination is as well defined and clearly prescribed with militant instructions for world revolution by KARL MARX in "MANIFESTO" as it was in HITLER'S Blueprint for world conquest, "MEIN KAMPE"... and today the communists in every country in the world are engaged in carrying out this disruptive conspiracy against all forms of democracy.

The communists hypocritically lend lip-service to "Peace Talks" in the UN and simultaneously (behind the iron curtain) agitate hate... turning class against class, creed against creed, nation against nation. Violating the ballot box in Poland; and in helpless Greece, when the United States could no longer be indifferent to Russian interference that resulted in wholesale suffering of women and children, communists signalled to their party liners all over the world to cry "American imperialism" and block food and medicine, while their policy of disruptive infiltration continued to flow across Grecian borders.

In TRUE TOTALITARIAN PATTERN, communists in France, Spain, Germany, Finland, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Italy, China... and in every nation, they create chaos, impose domination on helpless people through weapons of

FROM THE PUBLISHERS

"fear, persecution, hunger, and physiological and psychological warfare." Communists have never intended that the UN limit their program as "a world revolutionary movement." Communists CANNOT believe in the principle and spirit of the UN because Communism DOES NOT believe in "FREE PEOPLE" and "FREE STATES" selecting their own interpretation of "LIBERTY and DEMOCRACY."

In the U. S. the History of Communist infiltration is well recorded through the activities of the functionaries who are struggling day by day to proclaim Communism a superior form of government to our American Democracy. This allegiance brands the American Communist a traitor, whose loyalty has been transferred to a foreign power, a quisling who enjoys personal freedom under American Democracy which he premeditatedly uses to sabotage the National liberty of his countrymen.

The inability of most Americans to understand the ultimate objective of Communism, due to the fact that authentic material was not easily available, guided us to the need for this book. Once aware of the need, we were confronted with the tremendous task of compiling these records accurately. For this important undertaking, names of many men were considered, and as we narrowed down the field through elimination, using experience, knowledge and authority as a yardstick, the name that stood out above all others was that of Senator Jack B. Tenney, Chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, State of California. Deep penetration into the activities of subversive individuals and groups, qualifies Senator Tenney as one of America's leading authorities on foreign ideologies.

No book ever written will be so feared, hated and attacked by Communists as this great encyclopedia... never before have the American people had the opportunity to see Communism so thoroughly exposed, authentically described, and historically traced... it will teach you to recognize Communist-Fascist techniques, and it will train you to patriotically combat these subversive groups in their un-American plots.

J. EDGAR HOOVER, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 3:45 P. M., March 26, 1947, Washington, D. C. said, "The Communist Party of the United States is a Fifth Column is there ever was one. It is far better organized than were the Nazis in occupied countries prior to their capitulation... The Communist movement in the United States began to manifest itself in 1919. Since then it has changed its name and its Party line whenever expedient and tactical. But always it comes back to fundamentals and bills itself as the party of 'Marxism-Leninism.' As such, it stands for the destruction of our American form of government; it stands for the destruction of American Democracy; it stands for the destruction of free enterprise; and it stands for the creation of a 'Soviet of the United States' and ultimate world revolution." (For complete text of speeches, see pages 644 and 652).

TO THIS END THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED:—

To expose these subversives and to aid in holding them accountable for their seditious acts... and help those patriotic Americans who wish to improve and preserve the democratic way of life; to help create a national democratic atmosphere so wholesome that all "isms" will wither and die—Thus, America's answer to all challenging disruptive "ISMS" lies in a "fighting faith" for the democracy to which we are dedicated... wherein catholic, protestant and jew; labor and management; democrat and republican; black and white will all learn to work together to form a greatness in government that will fulfill a peace in the world that honors God and mankind.

WALTER C. GRANING—LEON CHARLES

FEDERAL PRINTING CO., Publishers

345 Wall Street



Los Angeles 13, Calif.

Ideological Warfare

An Introduction

SENATOR JACK B. TENNEY

MANY READERS of this book will probably be amazed to learn that men and nations conduct warfare against each other with IDEAS as well as armaments.

Military leaders, scientists and engineers have developed complex military tactics and devastating engines of death but have offered little defense in combatting the IDEOLOGICAL attack so successfully used by those who wage war with IDEAS.

In the war of military machines, explosives and atomic energy, nations crumble along their frontiers as their armies are driven back before the overwhelming surprise attack of aggressors. Most modern nations are now prepared for the unexpected and have well-perfected strategy and equipment for attack and defense. In the war of ideas a nation may be completely destroyed from within before the invading hordes of the enemy strike at frontiers.

It may be trite to reiterate that VIGILANCE is the price of liberty, but in these days of IDEOLOGICAL WARFARE, this warning cannot be repeated too often. It no longer merely means a sentry on the ramparts we watch; it means VIGILANCE in the realm of the mind.

The State and Federal governments have recognized this new type of VIGILANCE in the creation of Federal and State fact-finding committees of the representatives of the people to investigate, ascertain and appraise all facts causing or constituting interference with the orderly, lawful and democratic processes of the American way of life under the Constitution of the United States.

Many of the facts of IDEOLOGICAL WARFARE are now before the people. If the attack on the collective mind of America is to be repelled; if counter-attack is to be successfully prepared and launched, the American people must KNOW the facts.

As Chairman of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities of the California Legislature, I have seen groups drape themselves in the American flag, arm themselves with biblical quotations, and, under a pseudo patriotic banner, launch a crusade against the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and everything fine in the American tradition. During the war many individuals and groups zealously worked to disrupt our war effort jeopardizing the lives

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of thousands of American boys valiantly fighting for our country's existence. In the name of Christianity, pseudo Religionists violated true Christian teachings of brotherly love, lashed out and attacked the Jews and the Negroes and unfurling banners of intolerance and bigotry. Today these same individuals, — these same groups, — Communist-Fascist in origin, — un-American in principle, — are zealously active in their **IDEOLOGICAL WARFARE**;—busily blocking economic progress, thwarting true social gains and doing everything within their power to convert America to a Godless, atheistic, totalitarian police-slave state.

The subversive individual and the organizations through which he works hate and fear investigation. Committees of the Federal and State governments ferreting out the nefarious practices and objectives of subversive individuals and groups constitute the chief bulwark between the people and the **IDEOLOGICAL** attack. The continuous "smear" campaigns launched by the Communist press against such Committees is part and parcel of the Red Fascist party line.

If you are one of those who fall in this category, you might as well close this book — unless you expect to find your name in the index, — because the following pages will not make you very happy.

This work of compilation is the result of a luncheon conversation during the summer of 1946. Leon Charles and Walter C. Graning, owners of the Federal Printing Company, Publishers, had discussed the rising tide of Communism in the United States in connection with the work of the writer in his capacity as Chairman of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California. The conversation had turned on the complexity of Marxian philosophy, the lack of knowledge on the part of the general public of the glaring errors of so-called scientific socialism and the conspiratorial character of the revolutionary Communist movement. The writer had expressed the opinion that these factors serve to effectually screen the creeping advance of Red-Fascism, in spite of the fact that many reports on the subject have been made available to the people through the activities of official investigating bodies. Mr. Charles stated that he believed the chief obstacle in the path of accurate and effective dissemination of knowledge of Communism to the public was in the uncoordinated mass of voluminous material contained in little read and poorly distributed official reports. Mr. Graning was strongly impressed with Mr. Charles' statement and suggested a compilation of official facts and findings on the subject as a counter-attack against Communist propaganda.

Some time later the publishers suggested that the writer, because of his long association with California's Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, undertake a comprehensive compilation of official reports on Communism.

The present work is the result.

The Reports of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives and the Reports of the California Joint Fact-Finding Committee constitute the basis of this compilation. Extracts from other reports, such as the Canadian Royal Commission, are included. Every effort has been made to exclude repetitious material. The principal task has been the orderly

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arrangement of the subject-matter into logical sub-headings so that scattered material might be presented in its proper place with due regard for its relation with other material, and in proper continuity.

The over-all plan of compilation is the division of the subject of Communism into three main parts, i.e., (1) philosophic background, (2) history, and (3) the practical application of Communist principles in undermining the Government of the United States.

The philosophic background of Communism, shorn of Marxian ponderosities and Communist double-talk, is not the dry reading that most people believe. It must be read and understood if modern Communism is to be successfully combated. It is important that Marxism be studied in relation to Americanism and, in addition, it is essential that the economic and social principles of Fascism be understood. When the elements of National Socialism, as enunciated and practiced by both Mussolini's Fascists and Hitler's Nazis are clear, the American people will begin to properly evaluate the menace of RED-FASCISM as its expanding imperialism creeps across post-war Europe.

A knowledge of the historic development of Communism in the United States is essential to an understanding of present day tactics and techniques. Stalinist TACTICS in relation to over-all STRATEGY must be mastered if the Red-Fascist Fifth Column in America is to be stopped.

Official Federal and State agencies investigating Communist activities have made voluminous findings during the past decade, although considerable and valuable information was gathered in the early twenties by Legislative and Congressional Fact-Finding Committees. The pertinent findings by many of these agencies on Communist activities are included in the instant work.

One of the most important weapons of the COMMUNIST PARTY is the "front" or "transmission-belt" organization. Much of this compilation concerns itself with these Stalinist satellites. It must be remembered that a Communist "front" organization, by its very character, contains many non-Communist members. If this were not true it is quite obvious that the organization would necessarily be a COMMUNIST organization, pure and simple. The general purpose of a Communist "front" organization is to secure the services of distinguished persons whose very names aid in concealing the real character of the organization, thus extending Communist agitation and propaganda to non-Communist masses.

Former Attorney General Francis Biddle stated May 28, 1942: "... The Communist Party of the U. S. A., from the time of its inception in 1919 to the present time, is an organization that believes in, advises, advocates, and teaches the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States." The former Attorney General also observed that "Testimony on 'front organizations' showed that they were represented to the public for some legitimate reform objective, but actually used by the Communist Party to carry on its activities pending the time when the Communists believe they can seize power through revolution."

In this statement of May 28, 1942 (which, in fact, was made in an order of the Attorney General for the deportation of Harry Bridges), the General was categorically stating that the Communist Party is a subversive organization

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aiming at the violent overthrow and destruction of the United States government, and that Communist "front" organizations are instrumentalities used by the COMMUNIST PARTY for this ultimate purpose.

Every official State and Federal agency has made the same findings.

It follows, emphatically, that an understanding of Communist "front" organizations is essential in the study of Communist technique and strategy, if these enemies of the United States are to be halted in their vicious undermining of American institutions, the Constitution and the government of the United States.

Hitler, in "MEIN KAMPF," early published his blue-print for world conquest. Comparatively few people read "MEIN KAMPF," and those who did read it shrugged their shoulders and promptly forgot about it. World War II was the result. Stalin, with equal boldness, has published the Communist blue-print for world conquest, and, judging from international conferences on peace and the statements and actions of the representatives of democratic nations, it would appear that Stalin's brazen announcement for world domination is being ignored as fully as was Hitler's warning in "MEIN KAMPF." If Soviet foreign policy is to be understood, Stalin's plan for world conquest must be studied. The present compilation of Communist activities in the United States should be read with Soviet foreign policy clearly in mind.

The following quotations are of great importance and should be remembered as the following pages are read. The key to the alleged Communist enigma is generously provided by no less a personage than Dictator Stalin himself.

Lenin stated in THE INFANTILE SICKNESS OF LEFTISM IN COMMUNISM that "It is necessary . . . to use any ruse, cunning, unlawful method, evasion, concealments of the truth."

Stalin, in a speech on the American Communist Party, May 6, 1929, stated that "The Comintern is the holy of holies of the working class."

In PROBLEMS OF LENINISM by Joseph Stalin, the Dictator makes the following statement:

"What does the impossibility of the complete final victory of Socialism in a single country without the victory of the revolution in other countries mean?

"It means the impossibility of having a full guarantee against intervention, and that means against the restoration of the bourgeois order, without the victory of the revolution in at least a number of countries. To deny this indisputable fact is to abandon inter-nationalism, to abandon Leninism.

"'We are living'—Lenin writes—'not merely in a state, but in a SYSTEM OF STATES; and it is inconceivable that the Soviet republic should continue to exist for a long period side by side with imperialist states. Ultimately one or the other must conquer. Meanwhile a number of terrible clashes between the Soviet republic and the bourgeois states is inevitable. This means that if the proletariat, as the ruling class, wants to and will rule, it must prove it also by military organization.'"

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On page 303 of Stalin's PROBLEMS OF LENINISM, discussing the victory of Socialism in a single country, the dictator of Russia has the following to say:

"Let us turn to Lenin. This is what he said about the victory of socialism in a single country even before the October Revolution, in August 1915:

"Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible, first in a few or even in one single capitalist country separately. The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropriated the capitalists and ORGANIZED ITS OWN SOCIALIST PRODUCTION, (Stalin's capitals) would rise against the rest of the capitalist world, attract to itself the oppressed classes of other countries, raise revolts among them against the capitalists, and in the event of necessity, come out even with armed force against the exploiting classes and their states."

At page 43, under the heading FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM, Stalin discusses the dictatorship of the proletariat, and as usual, quotes Lenin with approval:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is the fiercest, most acute and most merciless war of the new class against the MORE POWERFUL enemy, against the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased TENFOLD by its overthrow."

"That is why Lenin declares, that 'the dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle—sanguinary and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative, against the forces and traditions of the old society.'"

Stalin elaborates upon this theme as follows:

"It need hardly be emphasized that there is not the slightest possibility of accomplishing these tasks in a short period of time, within a few years. We must, therefore, regard the dictatorship of the proletariat, the transition from capitalism to communism, not as a fleeting period replete with 'super-revolutionary' deeds and decrees, but as an entire historical epoch full of civil wars and external conflicts, of persistent organizational work and economic construction, of attacks and retreats, or victories and defeats."

At page 45 of FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM, Stalin declares:

"The state is an instrument in the hands of the ruling class for suppressing the resistance of its class enemies. IN THIS RESPECT the dictatorship of the proletariat in no way differs, in essence, from the dictatorship of any other class, for the proletarian state is an instrument for the suppression of the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, there is an ESSENTIAL difference between the two, which is, that all class states that have existed heretofore have been dictatorships of an exploiting minority over the exploited majority, whereas the dictatorship of the proletariat is the dictatorship of the exploited majority over an exploiting minority."

"To put it briefly: the dictatorship of the proletariat is the domination

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of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, untrammelled by law and based on violence and enjoying the sympathy and support of the toiling and exploited masses.

"From this two fundamental deductions may be drawn.

"FIRST DEDUCTION: the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be 'complete' democracy for ALL, for rich and poor alike; the dictatorship of the proletariat 'must be a state that is democratic IN A NEW WAY — FOR the proletariat and the poor in general — and dictatorial in A NEW WAY — AGAINST the bourgeoisie...'"

Discussing the stages of the revolution and strategy, in FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM on page 74 of the book above referred to, Stalin states the following:

"Strategy is the determination of the direction of the main blow of the proletariat at a given stage of the revolution; the elaboration of a corresponding plan of disposition of the revolutionary forces (the main and secondary reserves); the struggle to carry out this plan during the whole period of the given stage of the revolution.

"Our revolution had already passed through two stages and after the October Revolution, entered upon a third stage. Our strategy was changed accordingly.

"FIRST STAGE, 1903 to February 1917. Aim: to overthrow tsarism and completely liquidate the survivals of mediaevalism. The main force of the revolution: the proletariat. Immediate reserve: the peasantry.

Direction of the main blow: the isolation of the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie which was striving to win over the peasantry and liquidate the revolution by COMPROMISING with tsarism. Plan for the disposition of forces: alliance of the working class with the peasantry. "The proletariat must carry out to the end the democratic revolution, and in this unite to itself the masses of the peasantry in order to crush by force the resistance of the autocracy and to paralyse the instability of the bourgeoisie.

"SECOND STAGE, March 1917 to October 1917. Aims: to overthrow imperialism in Russia and to withdraw from the imperialist war. The main force of the revolution: the proletariat. Immediate reserve: the poorest peasantry. Probable reserve: the proletariat of neighbouring countries. Favourable circumstances: the protracted war and the crisis of imperialism. Direction of the main blow: isolation of the petty-bourgeois democrats (Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries) who were striving to win over the toiling peasantry and put an end to the revolution by COMPROMISING with imperialism. Plan for the disposition of forces: alliance of the proletariat with the poorest peasantry. "The proletariat must accomplish the socialist revolution and in this unite to itself the mass of the semi-proletarian elements of the population in order to crush by force the resistance of the bourgeoisie and to paralyse the instability of the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie.

"THIRD STAGE, commenced after the October Revolution. Aim:

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consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, USING IT AS A STRONGHOLD FOR THE OVERTHROW OF IMPERIALISM IN ALL COUNTRIES. THE REVOLUTION GOES BEYOND THE CONFINES OF ONE COUNTRY AND THE PERIOD OF WORLD REVOLUTION COMMENCES. The main forces of the revolution: the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country and the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries. Main reserves: the semi-proletarian and small peasant masses in the advanced countries and the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries. Direction of the main blow: the isolation of the petty-bourgeois democrats and the isolation of the parties of the Second International which constitute the main support of the policy of COMPROMISE with imperialism. Plan for the disposition of forces; Alliance of the proletarian revolution with the liberation movement of the colonies and the dependent countries.

"Strategy deals with the main forces of the revolution and their reserves. It changes with the transition of the revolution from one stage to another, but remains essentially unchanged throughout the entire duration of a given stage.

"Tactics are the determination of the line of conduct of the proletariat for the comparatively short period of the ebb or flow of the movement, of the rise or decline of the revolution, the struggle to carry out this line by replacing old forms of struggle and of organization by new ones, old slogans by new ones, by combining these forms, etc. While the aim of strategy is to win the war, let us say against tsarism or against the bourgeoisie, to carry the struggle against tsarism or against the bourgeoisie to its end, tactics concern themselves with less important aims, as they strive, not to win the war as a whole, but rather to win a particular engagement, or a particular battle; to carry through successfully a particular campaign or action corresponding to the concrete circumstances of the rise or decline of the revolution. Tactics are a part of strategy, subordinate and subservient to it.

"Tactics change according to flow and ebb. While during the first stage of revolution (1903 to February 1917), the strategic plan remained unchanged, tactics changed several times during that period. From 1903 to 1905 the Party pursued offensive tactics because the tide of the revolution was flowing, the movement rose and tactics had to be based on this fact.

"Accordingly, the forms of struggle were revolutionary, in compliance with the requirements of the flowing tide of the revolution. Local political strikes, political demonstrations, the general political strike, the boycott of the Duma, insurrection, revolutionary fighting slogans — such were the successive changes which the struggle underwent during that period. These changes in the forms of struggle were accompanied by corresponding changes in the forms of organization. Factory and shop committees, revolutionary peasant committees, strike committees, soviets of workers' deputies, a workers' party operating more or less openly — such were the forms of organization during that period.

"In the period from 1907 to 1912 the Party was compelled to resort to tactics of retreat, as we then experienced a decline in the revolutionary

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movement, the tide of the revolution was at ebb, and tactics necessarily had to take this fact into consideration. The forms of struggle as well as the forms of organization were correspondingly changed: in place of the boycott of the Duma, there was participation in the Duma; in place of open, direct revolutionary action outside of the Duma, there were parliamentary speeches and work in the Duma; in place of general political strikes, there were partial economic strikes, or simply a lull in activities. Of course, the Party had to go underground during that period, while cultural, educational, co-operative, insurance and other organizations permitted by the law took the place of revolutionary mass organizations.

"The same must be said of the second and third stages of the revolution during which tactics changed dozens of times whereas the strategic plans remained unchanged.

"Tactics deal with the forms of struggle and the forms of organization of the proletariat, with their changes and correlations. Tactics may have to be changed several times in the period of a given stage of the revolution according to the flow and ebb, the rise and fall of the revolution."

"...maneuvering with the reserves calculated to effect a correct retreat when the enemy is strong, when retreat is inevitable, when the disadvantages of engaging in a battle forced upon us by the enemy are obvious, when retreat is the only way under the given alignment of forces to ward off a blow from the vanguard and keep the reserves intact.

"The revolutionary parties'—says Lenin—'must complete their education. They have learned to attack. Now they must understand that it is necessary to supplement this knowledge with the knowledge of how to retreat properly. They must understand—and the revolutionary class by its own bitter experience learns to understand—that victory is impossible without having learned both how to attack and how to retreat correctly.'

"The object of this strategy is to gain time, to disintegrate the enemy and to accumulate forces in order to assume the offensive later."

Stalin is crystal clear on the question of creating revolution throughout the countries of the world. At page 136 of his book **LENINISM, VOL. I**, Stalin makes the following bold statement based on the writings of Lenin:

"If the postulate that the FINAL victory of socialism in the first country to emancipate itself is impossible without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several countries is true, then it is equally true that the more effective the assistance rendered by the first socialist country to the workers and toiling masses of all other countries, the more rapid and thorough will be the development of the world revolution.

"By what should this assistance be expressed?

"It should be expressed, first, by the victorious country achieving the utmost possible in one country **FOR** the development, support and stirring up of the revolution **IN ALL COUNTRIES.**'

"Second, it should be expressed in that the 'victorious proletariat' of

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one country, 'having expropriated the capitalists and organized its own socialist production, would rise... against the rest of the capitalist world, attract to itself the oppressed classes of other countries, raise revolts among them against the capitalists, and in the event of necessity, come out even with armed forces against the exploiting classes and their states.'"

In the above quotations Stalin is telling the world as clearly as he can that it is his intention to build a gigantic arsenal within the Soviet union, plant fifth columns throughout the capitalist nations of the world and, when the time is ripe, make his bid for world conquest and domination. He intends to gain as much as possible by diplomatic maneuvers, designed to create two centers upon the surface of the globe. He foresees a Soviet center in Europe and a capitalist center in the United States. He plans for conflict between these two centers and believes that the Soviet union will conquer. If this summation should appear fantastic or a distortion of Stalin's statements, the following quotation from Stalin's **LENINISM** should remove every doubt:

"Thus, in the further progress of development of the international revolution, two world centres will be formed: the socialist centre, attracting to itself all the countries gravitating towards socialism, and the capitalist centre, attracting to itself all the countries gravitating towards capitalism. The fight between these two centres for the conquest of world economy will decide the fate of capitalism and communism throughout the world, for the final defeat of world capitalism means the victory of socialism in the arena of world economy."

And finally Dictator Stalin tells the world without equivocation that "**A CONFLICT IS INEVITABLE.**" The following quotation is from "**PROBLEMS OF LENINISM**":

"International imperialism, with all the might of its capital and its highly organized military technique, which represents a real force, a real fortress of international capital, could under no circumstances, under no possible conditions, live side by side with the Soviet Republic, both because of its objective situation and because of the economic interest of the Capitalist class which were incorporated in it; could not do this because of commercial ties and of international financial relationships. **A CONFLICT IS INEVITABLE.** This is the greatest difficulty in the Russian revolution, its greatest historical problem: a necessity to solve international problems, **A NECESSITY TO CALL FORTH THE WORLD REVOLUTION.**"

It should be obvious to anyone that Stalin seeks world conquest and domination. To further ignore these announced purposes and plans of the Russian dictator is the height of stupidity.

Capitalism is an economic system characterized by private ownership of property and individual determination of production and distribution, under only such government regulation as may be necessary to protect the public welfare. Capitalism is distinguished by individual freedom.

Fascism is an economic system characterized by the complete government control of production and marketing, within the frame work of private property.

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A Fascist government is a police state, unrestrained and all powerful, under a ruthless dictator. It is distinguished by economic planning, wage and price fixing, deficit spending, militarism and imperialism. Hitler's theories of racial superiority and inferiority have nothing to do with Fascism. Hitler based his National Socialism on Mussolini's economic system. Austria, under the Dictator Dollfuss, Portugal, under the Dictator Salazar, Greece, under Metaxas, and Italy before 1933 under Mussolini, are examples of Fascist governments minus the social aspects of racial intolerance. Fascism is an ECONOMIC system. Complete loss of individual freedom is the price of Fascism.

Communism is an economic system characterized by the government ownership of all property used in production and marketing. The government is a police state, unrestrained and all powerful, under a ruthless Dictator. It is further distinguished by economic planning, wage and price fixing, forced labor, militarism and imperialism. Complete loss of individual freedom, plus possible slavery, is the price of Communism.

Both Fascism and Communism are distinguished by complete government control over production; the means, quantity, quality, the when and where, of production and distribution. Both governments are totalitarian dictatorships and feature planned economy, wage and price fixing, under bureaucratic control. The one party system of both Fascism and Communism constitutes a preferred elite, supported by an all powerful, ruthless, secret police. Militarism and world domination constitute the hard core of both systems of government.

Hence, Communism may be termed "RED-FASCISM."

The instant compilation is based upon sworn testimony and documentary evidence. All of it has been taken from Federal and State reports, and there is no more authentic and reliable source of information on which the reader may depend for enlightened knowledge.

Equally as important as knowledge and information, as ingredients for an aroused democracy, is the inner-conviction of national greatness,—the deep-seated sense of lofty ideals for which a people are willing to work, sacrifice and, if necessary, die for what they believe to be right and just in human affairs.

America's greatest need today is a FIGHTING FAITH in the high moral and spiritual foundations on which the United States is founded. Now more than ever before in our history our people must learn to work together so that the Bill of Rights and the American tradition may become a living and vibrant entity. The application of the spirit as well as the letter of the Constitution and its Bill of Rights to American problems must be the concern of every American. Tolerance in every relationship will create unity. Harmony will emerge from discord and conflict. It must begin in the home, in labor-management relations, and must be carried onto every walk of American life.

We do not need new laws and new systems of government to create a new world. What we need are new men and new women, reborn and inspired with a real social-conscience, guided by a God-consciousness. We need new men and new women to courageously conquer hate, intolerance and greed in their OWN lives; new men and women to heroically carry a revolutionary spirit of decency and good-will into the life of the nation.

INTRODUCTION

It is later than we think, — LATE because we have not fulfilled our own responsibilities.

We must have faith in the American people. We must have faith that GOOD men will triumph over EVIL men.

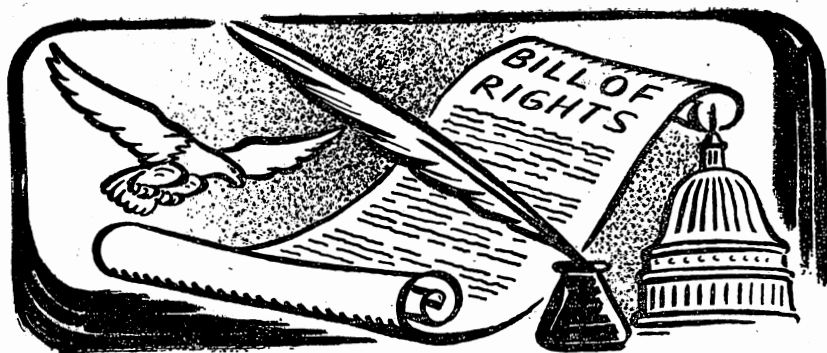
This is the voice of America:

I see a nation waking, stirring, changing,
Re-armed in spirit,
Humbly triumphant;
A nation united
Fulfilling the hopes of its founders
The dreams of its people,
The hope of its God.

And, too, this is the hope of the world:

"And in support of this declaration, with firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

JACK B. TENNEY



CHAPTER I

Americanism

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

THE CALIFORNIA COMMITTEE investigating un-American activities approached each separate problem on the premise that any group that attacks the Flag, institutions, traditions, Democracy and Constitution of California and the United States is un-American *per se*. The members of the committee, at all times, kept in mind the Bill of Rights and its guarantees to the people of the United States. The committee has, at all times, carefully distinguished between criticism of our form of government and design for its destruction. We have been aware, at all times, of the right of every citizen to criticize, to discuss, and to propose changes in either our laws or our economics. We have never lost sight of the right of the individual, or of a group of individuals, to propose changes in our laws and in our government by constitutional methods. We have, therefore, concerned ourselves with those individuals and groups who are determined to sabotage and forcibly destroy the government under which we live and to which we owe our allegiance. The committee is happy to report that such individuals and groups are in the minority but wishes emphatically to state that *because* of this minority status, these groups have evolved techniques and tactics that more than offset the smallness in numbers of their adherents. They present a real and tangible threat to our institutions, our Democracy, our State and our Nation.

The Congressional special Committee on Un-American Activities, at page 10 of its report to the 76th Congress, January 3, 1939, defines *Americanism* as follows:

In order to determine what activities and propaganda are un-American, we must first define Americanism. No scientific definition will be attempted, but we will undertake to set forth in simple and understandable language what some of the chief prin-

principles of Americanism are. In the first place, Americanism is the recognition of the truth that the inherent and fundamental rights of man are derived from God and not from governments, societies, dictators, kings, or majorities. This basic principle of Americanism is expressed in the Declaration of Independence, where our immortal forefathers said that all men are created equal and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, chief among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. From this declaration and the well established interpretations that have been put upon it from the beginning of the Republic down to the present moment, it is clear that Americanism recognizes the existence of a God and the all-important fact that the fundamental rights of man are derived from God and not from any other source. Among these inalienable rights which are the gifts of man from his Creator are: (1) Freedom of worship; (2) freedom of speech; (3) freedom of press; (4) freedom of assemblage; (5) freedom to work in such occupation as the experience, training, and qualifications of a man may enable him to secure and hold; (6) freedom to enjoy the fruits of his work, which means the protection of property rights; (7) the right to pursue his happiness with the necessary implication that he does not harm or injure others in the pursuit of this happiness. Upon this basic principle, the whole structure of the American Government was constructed. The system of checks and balances in the Constitution was wisely conceived and ingeniously constructed to provide every possible guaranty that every citizen of the United States would enjoy and retain his God-given rights. First, the Federal Government was specifically enjoined from exercising any power that was not expressly or by necessary implication granted to it in the Constitution. Second, such powers as the Federal Government was authorized to wield were wisely distributed between the three great departments, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. The essence of Americanism is therefore class, religious, and racial tolerance. It should be emphasized in the strongest language possible that the maintenance of these three forms of tolerance is essential to the preservation of Americanism. They constitute the three great pillars upon which our Constitutional Republic rests, and if any one of these pillars is destroyed, the whole structure of the American system of government will crumble to the earth. Therefore, the man who advocates class hatred is plainly un-American even if he professes racial and religious tolerance. The converse of this proposition is equally true. It is as un-American to hate one's neighbor who has more of this world's material goods as it is to hate him because he was born into another race or worships God according to a different faith.

The American Government was established to guarantee the enjoyment of these fundamental rights. It therefore follows that in America the Government is the servant of the people. The rights of the people are protected through laws and their strict

enforcement. For this reason, law and order are essential to the preservation of Americanism while lawlessness and violence are distinctly un-American.

Americanism means the recognition of the God-given rights of man and the protection of those rights under the Constitution through the instrumentality of an independent Congress, an untrammelled Judiciary, and a fair and impartial Executive operating under the American system of checks and balances. Americanism likewise means the protection of an unorganized majority from an organized minority as well as the protection of a helpless minority from an inconsiderate and thoughtless majority.

The characteristic which distinguishes our Republic from the dictatorships of the world is not majority rule but the treatment of minorities. Dictatorships muster huge majorities at the polls, through intimidation and high-powered government propaganda, but these majorities are used for ruthless tyranny over minorities. The majority rule of the American form of government is distinguished by its recognition of certain rights of minorities which majorities cannot alienate.

All of these definitions of Americanism are based upon the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

Isms Versus Democracy

THE MEMBERS of the California committee have been asked from time to time to define un-Americanism and subversiveism. We believe that any organization, individual or group in California or in the United States, controlled, directed or subsidized by a foreign government or agency, either by direct instructions or sympathy with or adherence to foreign *isms* inimical to the Constitution and Democracy of the United States, and which has as its ultimate objective the changing of the policies of, or the government of, the United States in accordance with the wishes or directions or ultimate objectives of such foreign government, is un-American and subversive.

Considerable study of Communism, Fascism, and Naziism has been made by the committee and its representatives in contrast to American Democracy. We find, generally, that all of these *isms* are inimical to the most fundamental principles of Democracy under the Constitution of the United States. Communism, Naziism and Fascism differ one from the other only in minor technicalities. The committee finds that:

1. Communism, Naziism and Fascism are totalitarian dictatorships.
2. Communism, Naziism and Fascism abolish all respect for personal dignity and individual rights.
3. The individual under Communism, Naziism or Fascism is deprived of any legal protection whatever against acts of force or brutality by representatives of his respective government.

4. All three forms of government have in common a complete and thorough contempt for liberalism, parliamentarianism, humanitarianism, majority opinion or democratic procedure. All three *isms* are founded on intolerance and are committed to attaining their ends by the application of ruthless force and brutality.

5. Under Communism, Naziism or Fascism the imposition of *group interest* over individual right differs only in respect to the group favored. Under Communism, it is the proletariat and under Naziism and Fascism, the lower middle classes of the people.

6. Communism, Naziism and Fascism are *single party* systems. Party members under all three systems are exalted over the remainder of the people and constitute a *class* under which new caste distinctions emerge. The *National Socialist Party* of Germany under Hitler at the outbreak of the war numbered about 3,000,000 people out of the total population of Germany, and the Communist Party of Russia had about the same numerical strength. Only party members in Germany or in Russia have anything to say whatsoever about the conduct of their respective governments.

7. Class warfare is the approved, accepted, desirable and legitimate means used by Communism, Naziism and Fascism for the attainment of their respective objectives.

8. Communism, Naziism and Fascism have a common history of terror and intimidation. The Blood Purges of 1934 in Germany are illustrative of the Nazi technique in overcoming opposition and have their counterpart in Soviet Russia in the physical mass liquidation of entire populations in the Ukraine and in the Communist trials and mass murders of 1937.

9. The Communist, Nazi and Fascist dictatorship share the doctrine of expansion by force beyond their own boundaries; not only conquest by the sword, but conquest by propaganda, and political penetration as well. The Fascist invasion of Ethiopia, the Nazi attacks upon Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway and Western Europe in general, and Soviet Russia's attack on Finland, Poland and Rumania before Hitler's invasion of Russia, are typical illustrations of conquest by the sword. Nazi propaganda and front organizations under direct supervision of Berlin, Communist propaganda, front organizations and activities throughout the United States under the direct supervision of Moscow and Fascist propaganda and organizations under the direction of Rome, are illustrations of the political penetrations of these three totalitarian states.

Constitutional democracies are best described today as being "in the middle." The end of the war, with its necessary dislocations and readjustments, will make this fact even more apparent. On the one side is Communism and on the other, Fascism. Re-

gardless of the outcome of the war neither ideology will be destroyed. While there is little difference between them, each flourishes and grows strong in its antagonism against the other. Naziism, and its *German-American Bund* mouthpiece in America, recruits members and sympathizers on the basis of its *race hatred* and *anti-Communism*. Russia through its mouthpiece, the Communist Party of the United States, recruits members on the basis of *class hatred* and *anti-Fascism*. Constitutional democracies are caught in this viscious "squeeze-play." We have yet to see an *Anti-Nazi Anti-Communist League*.

The successful adjustment of our economic life in the United States to industrial and agricultural mass production; the successful adjustment of the increasing use of machines to the decreasing use of labor within the framework of our Constitution and its Bill of Rights is the real problem facing American Democracy today. Many of our people, including public officials, appear to have lost sight of this real problem in the midst of the hullabaloo raised by the conflict between Fascism and Communism. American Democracy has been sitting idly by, quizzically watching the life and death struggle of two beasts of prey, little realizing that Democracy is the prize to be devoured by the victor of the contest. America must be made to realize that it is not just Fascism versus Communism, but, actually, Constitutional Democracy versus Totalitarianism.

The foregoing comparison of *isms* with Democracy was reported to the California Legislature by the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California in 1943. In its 1945 Report the Committee reported as follows:

The committee, after two years additional study and investigation, reiterates its findings on *Communism*, *Fascism* and *Naziism* as stated on pages 9 and 10 of the committee's report of April 9, 1943. The committee finds that these *isms* are inimical to the most basic principles of Constitutional Democracy as they are known and understood in the United States.

The committee finds that *Communism* has grown and continues to grow in California. The change of the name of the *Communist Party* of California and of the United States to the *Communist Political Association* of California and the United States has not changed or altered the philosophy, the ultimate objectives or the techniques of the *Communists*.

Racial antagonisms, particularly against the Jews, have shown an uptrend during the past two years. As pointed out in the 1943 report, race-antagonisms and race-hatreds are part of the Nazi pattern and an important factor in *Communist* agitation.

The Congressional special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report to the 76th Congress, at page 11, contrasted Americanism with Communism, Fascism, and Naziism as follows:

The simplest and at the same time the most correct definition of Communism, Fascism, and Naziism is that they all represent forms of dictatorship which deny the divine origin of the fundamental rights of man. Since all of these forms of dictatorship deny the divine origin of the rights of man, they assume and exercise the power to abridge or take away any or all of these rights as they see fit. In Germany, Italy, and Russia, the state is everything; the individual nothing. The people are puppets in the hands of the ruling dictators. Rights which we have come to regard as elementary, such as freedom in its sevenfold aspect, either do not exist or if they do exist to any degree are subject to the whims and caprice of the ruling dictators. In all of these countries where these philosophies of government hold sway, the citizen has no rights that the government is required to respect or protect. While the foundation of Americanism is class, racial, and religious tolerance, and the foundation of Naziism and Fascism is racial and religious hatred, the foundation of Communism is class hatred. Americanism is a philosophy of government based upon the belief in God as the Supreme Ruler of the Universe; Naziism, Fascism, and Communism are pagan philosophies of government which either deny, as in the case of the Communist, or ignore as in the case of the Fascist and Nazi, the existence and divine authority of God. Since Naziism, Fascism, and Communism are materialistic and pagan, hatred is encouraged. Since Americanism is religious, tolerance is the very essence of its being.

Red-Baiting and Red-Baiters

THE AVERAGE CITIZEN knows little or nothing of Communism. He has been the victim of a steady barrage of clever propaganda under which true designs and purposes are concealed. He has been led to believe that anyone who advocates a more equal distribution of the world's goods and who fights for the oppressed and the exploited is called a "Communist" by the so-called "reactionary" press and the spokesmen of large corporations. If Mr. Average Citizen has heard Communism defined at all, it has been on the basis of the theory of John Mill who defined "Communism" as "An equality of distribution of the physical means of life and enjoyment as a transition to a still higher standard of justice that all should work according to their capacity and receive according to their need." John Mill's definition of Communism is the cheese in the trap for the unwary mouse, Mr. Average Citizen.

Generally, Mr. Average Citizen has never met anyone who admitted he was a Communist. He has undoubtedly heard of Mr. Earl Browder, Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States of America, and perhaps he has even seen photographs of Mr. Browder. He may have heard that "Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism." In recent years he has heard that Communism is based on the principles of Jefferson, Washington, Lincoln, Marx, Lenin and Stalin. Certainly, reasons Mr. Average

Citizen, (if he is actually reasoning and not merely reacting to his conditioned reflexes), if Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln are in agreement with Marx, Lenin and Stalin, then, certainly Communism is, in fact, *really* Twentieth Century Americanism.

If our Mr. Average Citizen has *really* been doing any thinking in recent years, he must undoubtedly have been considerably confused and dismayed by the apparently twisting Communist "party line" in America. He would like to discuss the matter and to learn the reasons for and the motivating force behind Communist machinations in California and in the United States. This, however, he finds he can not do. Some strange spell has been cast over his mind. He finds that he can not reason at all when it comes to a discussion of Communism. The more intellectual he happens to be; the more he considers himself a "liberal" or a "progressive" the more inhibited he finds himself when faced with this vague and mysterious subject of Communism.

While Mr. Average Citizen really knows little of the subject, its objectives and its purposes, he has heard of a terrible group of people generally referred to as "red-baiters." Depending on the current policy of the Communist Party, these "red-baiters" are the paid emissaries of a variety of devils. Most generally the masters of the "red-baiters" are exploiting capitalists and "reactionary" taskmasters. More recently these "red-baiters" are the propagandists of Fascism and the designing agents of Hitler's Fifth Column in America. Actually, however, Mr. Average Citizen really does not know what the term means. He dare not even plumb the depth of its horrible implications. If he happens to imagine himself a "liberal" or a "progressive" he will shy away from anyone who attacks Stalin's particular brand of Communism. He will avoid anyone who attacks Stalin's Sacred Cow. Anyone in America may attack the Socialists, the Trotskyites, the Nazis or the Fascists, with impunity but when Soviet Russia or the loyal comrades of Stalin's administration are attacked, they fall into that terrible category, the abyss of depravation, referred to as "red-baiters." A "liberal" or a "progressive" who falls into the sin of attacking Communism of the Stalin school, particularly if such "liberal" or progressive happens to be a sincere and sensitive soul, feels that he has sunk to the lowest depths of depravity; that he has betrayed his best friend and has lost caste over the face of the earth. It is as though a voodoo doctor had cast a spell over his mind; an enchantment of black magic suddenly conjured by name-calling. To sincere and sensitive individuals other Communist names such as "stool pigeon," "renegade liberal," "strike-breaker" and "social Fascist" are name-taboos soul-shattering and terrifying, but for devastation complete, "red-baiting" is in a class by itself. The strange efficacy of the term has closed and kept shut the mouths of many disillusioned ex-Communists. Fear of this stinging epithet holds the tongue and hands of many who might speak and write on the subject with authority. Politicians, in trembling fear of the appellation, avoid Communism in campaign

speeches and in the exercise of the public offices to which they are elected. This strange, paralyzing fear of a name should engage the attention of psychiatrists and psychologists.

Our American history is full of occasions of biting and derisive name-calling but throughout its crowded pages there have always appeared men of courage who feared neither the names or the caller-of-names. But only a few men during the past several years have had the courage to stand up under the paralyzing accusation of being a "red-baiter." There is little wonder, then, that Mr. Average Citizen is confused and dismayed when confronted with, what must appear to him to be a vague and unsubstantial thing—Communism.

Eugene Lyons, in his book on Stalinist penetration of America, *"The Red Decade,"* has written brilliantly in defense of red-baiting. He sums it up as follows:

"There can be no clear thinking, no clear examination of the issues raised by the Kremlin's intrusion in American life until the red-baiter taboo has been exorcised. A beginning, at least, can be made if those who expose Communist sculduggery walk up boldly to the terrible hobgoblin and, taking their courage in their hands, say, 'Boo' right in its face. After that, I can assure them, they will be able to wear the red-baiter tag with a flourish of pride, and their sleep will be as sweet as a healthy infant's. * * * What is more, I challenge all intellectually honest liberals to break through their inhibitions by saying 'Boo!' They will not find it easy at first, of course, and may have to practice it before their mirrors with doors closed and blinds drawn. But after a while they will discover that neither thunder nor lightning will descend on their heads, but only a spatter of harmless sparks unloosed from Thirteenth Street, off Union Square in New York. In the end they will be cured, and will be able to examine the mythology of Stalinism as calmly as the folklore of capitalism or the mythology of Hitlerism."

The Committee investigating un-American activities in California has followed Mr. Lyons' advice and has not only said "Boo!" to the hobgoblin red-baiter taboo but has actually found courage to subpoena the medicine men of Communist Voodooism and compel them to testify in public hearings. The jungle drums of the Communist press have roared and sent up a great turmoil. New names have been invented and hurled with special venom at the committee and its members; distorted news items and lying editorials have been generously indulged in, but the spell has been broken. The committee is happy to report that the citizenry of California and of the United States may successfully risk "red-baiting" and the terrible appellation of "red-baiters."

In its 1945 Report the California Committee presented a statement made by "one of America's foremost 'Red-Baiters',"

one of the courageous men of history referred to above,—one who, it must be admitted, knows what he is talking about. The statement is as follows:

"The Fascists and Nazis were not the only menace to our internal security. To their forces must be added the American Communists with their godless, truthless, philosophy of life. They are against the America our forefathers fought and died for; they are against the established freedoms of America. They pose behind a dozen fronts; they have endeavored to infiltrate practically every strata of life.

"When they preach unity, let us not forget that when we were struggling to prepare for defense, they preached pacifism and fought our efforts to aid our allies and to build our common defenses. For true Americans there can be no unity with the enemy within and no compromise with those who would destroy all that we fight for. There is a distinction between respecting our ally Russia, and respecting those within our country who would destroy all that we believe in. No one wishes to detract any from the glorious war history being written by the Russian people in protecting their soil. They are a great fighting nation and have done a masterful job at war.

"But when it comes to governmental systems, we prefer our own American way, and we do not want the Communists in this country attempting to undermine our Democracy or any of our institutions. I have said it before, and I repeat it now—America cannot exist half Democratic and half Communist or Fascist. The Fascist-minded tyrant is no different from the native-born Communist corruptionist. We are proud of our American form of government. If we want to improve on it, we will do it in our own way, in our time, and with our own blueprint.

"Over the years, the American Communists have developed a propaganda machine and a nefarious and elaborate school system of their own. Their officials in secret and public meetings urge that the propaganda phase of their work must be accelerated. Brazenly, they have urged the development of courses, lectures, and assemblies as media to espouse the ideologies of Marxism and to establish Marxism as a school of thought in the United States. And even in the chameleon cloak with which they have now enshrouded themselves, the American Communists still proclaim their loyalty to Marxism, the antithesis of American Democracy. The Communist Trojan Horse has now become the Trojan Snake in American life."

This statement might well have been made by Martin Dies or the chairman of this committee. It was made, however, by a man who has spent a good part of his life investigating subversive elements in the United States—J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation—in an address at the Annual Commencement Exercises of Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass., June 29, 1944.

The Congressional Special Committee Investigating Un-American Activities in the United States early recognized the use of the red-baiting charge against critics of Communism. In its report to Congress, January 3, 1939, the Committee summed up "red-baiting" as follows:

In the experience of this committee, nothing could be clearer than that Communists hate the light of publicity, which exposes their aims and methods. A recent editorial in the *Daily Worker*, official newspaper of the Communist Party, demands that the work of this committee to investigate un-American activities must not go on. Communists have good reason to fear criticism which focuses the attention of the American people upon their sinister purposes and reprehensible methods.

Communism will not be able to advance one step in the face of a fearless and complete exposure of its true nature.

The most common device used by Communists in their attempts to silence all criticism is to charge their critics with "red-baiting." It appears that a few spineless Americans who like to think of themselves as liberals, cower before the Communist charge of "red-baiting." To that extent, the tactics of charging "red-baiting" is effective. As one of the witnesses who appeared before this committee put it, "A twentieth century American 'liberal' would rather face the charge of slapping his grandmother than to be accused of 'red-baiting'."

There is hardly any limit to the campaigns of smearing and ridicule which Communists organize systematically and on a large scale for the purpose of trying to discredit any American who dares to stand up and criticize Communism.

Zeal for Americanism Necessary

IN ITS 1943 REPORT the California Committee investigating un-American activities warned the people of California of the menace of enemies at work on the home front. At page 10 of the 1943 Report the Committee stated:

The United States was attacked at Pearl Harbor! This attack was a practical demonstration of what can happen to a Nation *unaware* of enemies possessed with ideological passion for world domination. The United States has no territorial ambitions. The United States has no desire to govern the people of other lands. In fighting this war we do so because we are attacked. All that the United States hopes for in victory is that the world will rid itself of the madmen; of superiority ideologies and of the crusading *isms* continually challenging the right of other Nations to live at peace at home and with its neighbors.

This global conflict is a *two front* war. It is a war of ships and tanks, of bombers and guns. It is also a war of *ideas*. In the final analysis the conflict is not simply to determine the victorious nation or nations, but to determine what *ideas* will dominate. The

United States battle fronts are scattered throughout the world. We can trace the ebb and flow of desperate battle on the world's map. It is difficult, however, to trace the *isms*, the sneaking and disguised enemies of our democracy as they ebb and flow, pulsating within our own ranks at home. Our military leaders, our engineers and our scientists have developed military equipment; we have heard of "defense in depth"; of offensive strategy; of adequate arms, but we have developed little, if anything, for the battle of *ideas*. It should be remembered that we can *win* the war and *lose* our Democracy through short sightedness. If we are to win the war and retain our Democracy, then we must know not only the enemy we fight with guns but the enemy we fight with ideas; we must know his strategy and the weapons he uses against us. The fanatical fighting zeal of the subversive enemies within our midst must not only be met with equal zeal but must be surpassed in faith for our Democracy and our form of government.

What kind of people are we fighting on the home front? Your committee is prepared to state that they are trained, iron-disciplined and inspired with a zeal and purpose to wipe out our way of life. Are we, as Americans, trained and disciplined and inspired with zeal to continue our way of life? Are we prepared for this war at home?

We are fighting a *total* war. We should demand nothing less than *total* victory. It is the responsibility of the Legislatures to enact suitable laws for the protection of the community, the State and Nation from these subversive organizations, but laws are not enough. We need a *fighting faith* for our Democracy, our Constitution and our way of life.



CHAPTER II

Communism AND WORLD WAR II

WHEN THE JOINT FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE on Un-American Activities in California submitted its 1943 Report to the Legislature the United States government, by virtue of military expediency, was allied to the Soviet government in its conflict with Germany, Italy and Japan. The Communists throughout the world were capitalizing on the splendid heroism of the Russian people in their stand against the Nazi armies. Communist prestige increased in the United States with every report of Russian resistance. Reporting on the situation as it then existed, the Committee, beginning at page 12, analyzed the activities of United States Communists in relation to World War II as follows:

The members of the committee are fully appreciative of the magnificent stand being made against Hitler and his hordes of barbarians by the Red Army. We are likewise cognizant of the fact that since December, 1941, our country, the United States, has been an ally of Soviet Russia. The members of the committee, since the invasion of Soviet Russia by Germany in June of 1941, have been in full accord with every possible assistance to the Soviet Union in its fight against the common enemy, Nazi-Germany. We stand unequivocally behind the foreign policy of our government in giving every possible aid, at this time, to Soviet Russia and her valiant Red Army. We have no quarrel with the foreign policy of the United States in relation to the winning of the war and the uncompromising defeat of the Axis powers. We stand, as we believe every patriotic American stands, wholeheartedly for every possible aid to Great Britain, China, Soviet Russia and the United Nations in winning this war and in the complete and thorough crushing of Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito.

The committee, however, wishes to distinguish between the activities of the Soviet Union as a government allied to the United States in this present conflict, and the activities of its tool and agent,—the Communist Party of the United States. We look upon these two activities as distinct and separate; on the one hand referring to the foreign policy of our own country, and on the other, referring specifically to our internal domestic picture, and bearing, perhaps, vitally, on the future and the preservation of our form of government when the war is ended.

The situation is crystal clear if our thinking is straight and lucid. Prior to December 7, 1941 the United States was seething with alien propaganda, foreign-agents and avowed enemies of our way of life. For 22 months, culminating June 22, 1941, two fifth columns, merging their activities and propaganda, had collaborated in sabotaging our defense efforts and our preparations for the eventuality of war. The Nazi Fifth Column and the Communist Fifth Column, because of the mutual interests of their respective foreign governments, buried whatever antagonism that had existed between them and worked against their common enemies, the United States, Great Britain and the nations at war with Germany. Suddenly, on June 22, 1941, the masters of these fifth columns in America went to war against each other. The United States was still at peace. On June 23, 1941, the Communist Fifth Column stopped its collaboration with the Nazi Fifth Column, altered its propagandizing in the United States, and became a leading force in its demand for intervention. Many Americans, including members of the committee, favored intervention against Nazi-Germany at the outbreak of the war.

Since the invasion of Soviet Russia by Nazi-Germany, the Communist Party in California has been helpful in ferreting out Nazi and pro-Axis agents and sympathizers, as the transcripts of the committee amply indicate. Every loyal American, and every decent human being, loathes and abhors the bestiality and degrading philosophy that activates Nazi-Germany. Every loyal American is resolved and determined, at whatever personal sacrifice necessary, that the Nazi-monster and its Axis partners be vigorously and thoroughly stamped out. No loyal American will compromise this resolve and determination and will be satisfied with nothing less than the unconditional surrender and defeat of these world aggressors. In this resolve and determination of ours, the Communist Party of the United States has found, *for the first time in its existence*, a moving force in America, corresponding in every detail with the *foreign policy, ambition and need* of the Comintern. The Communist Party will take every possible advantage of this situation. Heretofore the Communists have been able to fit their *party line* into small segments of American life, detached from the broad current of Yankee thought and desire. Now, they find that the sweeping force of a great war in which the United States is engaged, is one which they can harness for their future, sinister purposes.

Earl Browder's latest book of Communist propaganda is *Victory—And After* (International Publishers Co., Inc., 1942). This work, as is to be expected, illucidates the present *party line* of the Comintern. In addition to being an all-out attack on Martin Dies and his committee, the general theme is "Unity," which may be considered the Communist key-term for the current era of Communist strategy in the United States. The psychological tactic of tying in the enemies of Communism with the enemies, fancied or otherwise, of segments of American life, is here used in a vicious and clever manner by tying the enemies of Communism together with the enemies of the United States. Thus, although the Dies Committee has exposed Axis-agents and Nazi-front organizations as fearlessly as it has exposed Communism and its front organizations; because it has fought Communism together with the now admitted enemy of the United States, *Naziism*, Mr. Browder labels Dies and his committee the *real* fifth column in America and agents of Hitler. Mr. Browder believes the war offers an opportunity for the Communist Party to rid itself of the Dies Committee and of all similar Committees by the fallacious reasoning that in view of the fact that the United States is an ally of Soviet Russia, it naturally follows that those who oppose Communism necessarily espouse Naziism. Mr. Browder's plea for "Unity" is a plea for freedom of action, plotting and intrigue in the United States for the Communist Party. *Victory—And After* is clearly Communist propaganda modified to meet the present strategy of the party.

In *Victory—And After* we have, as of course is to be expected, a different Earl Browder than the person who appeared before the members of the Fifteenth International Brigade in the vicinity of Moro Station in Spain following the brigade's relief from action at Teruel. (Affidavit of John G. Honeycombe.) At that time, Mr. Browder is reported as having said in his address to the members of the brigade that "Victory for the working class of Spain will be the signal for the revolt of the working classes throughout the world to overthrow their oppressors and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat; * * * we of America must set the example of revolutionary discipline and courage for the workers of Spain as well as for our own working class at home in America," and that the day would surely come when the Communists would be the cadres of the revolution, leading the vanguard of the working class in their struggle to overthrow the capitalists and the capitalist systems and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat; that the comrades in Spain must emulate the heroic leaders of the revolution, Lenin and Stalin.

The Communist Fifth Column is still in America. The committee warns that this fact must not be forgotten. We all admire the courage and heroism of the Russian people fighting against the barbarous, brutalized Nazi invader. We do not believe, however, that this stand and this courage of the Russian people proves the greatness of their form of government any more than

we believe that the aggressiveness and brutality of the Nazi hordes prove the greatness of the Nazi dictatorship. We have no quarrel with the Soviet Government. We *DO* have a quarrel with Nazi-Germany and her Axis partners. We are determined, in collaboration with the United Nations, to prosecute that quarrel to glorious victory for the United Nations. We want peace at the conclusion of this victorious war with all the nations of the world. Our comradeship-in-arms with Soviet Russia in this life-and-death struggle will, and properly should, bring the people of the United States and the people of Russia, together in strong bonds of friendship. We desire that our governments, because of our mutual sacrifices, work together in the future in close friendship and cooperation. We have no designs on the Government of Soviet Russia. We believe in the self determination of peoples of all nations. We insist and demand that we be permitted to determine our own form of government. We are resolved that the end of the war shall not see the end of our American way of life. Therefore, we should not tolerate in our midst, either the fifth column of the enemies we fight on the far-flung battlefields of the world, or the Fifth Column of the allies with whom we fight as well.

The war is one thing. Our peace, tranquility and security at home, in California and in the United States, is another thing. We must not forget that the transcendent arch-enemy which the Communist Third International, and its affiliated parties throughout the world and the whole elaborate Communist hierarchy have been savagely, relentlessly, ruthlessly and fanatically fighting since the inception of the Comintern, is Capitalism. The complete smashing by force of every capitalist government—yes, and of every Democracy—and the establishment of a world-wide dictatorship of the proletariat is the long range objective of the Comintern. The mere intervention of this global conflict will not, for an instant, change the allegedly scientific socialism of Karl Marx or in any manner amend or lessen the basic ideologies of the Communist movement which is indelibly burned into the mind and fibre of every real indoctrinated Communist.

The committee is likewise aware of the cleverly conceived and still more cleverly executed psychological warfare plans of pro-Axis forces in the United States. We have become thoroughly familiar with the patterns of Axis propaganda, its use of prejudices and its play on ignorance and emotion. The committee has gathered considerable evidence, proving beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the pro-Axis forces in California and in the United States, have used in the past, and are well prepared to use in the future, the Communist Party and Soviet Russia as a basis for a negotiated peace with Germany and the Axis powers. Hitler used the Communist menace as a stepladder to the Fuehrership of the Third Reich. Therefore, the committee emphatically warns the people of California and of the United States to be watchful and aware of such a pro-Axis scheme. Our country and its leaders

have never quarreled with the people of other countries in the determination of their particular forms of government. We reiterate that we in America have no quarrel with Soviet Russia, as a government, in its form of government, its economics, or its internal laws. We have never sought officially or otherwise to dictate to the people of Germany, of Italy or of Japan, the form of government under which they should live. We have never sent emissaries from the United States to undermine or destroy the governments of foreign countries. We have never attempted to indoctrinate the people of other countries with our philosophy of government nor have we stirred them up for the purpose of undermining and sabotaging their institutions. We have no quarrel with the Monarchy of Great Britain. We have no quarrel with the form of the governments of the United Nations. We, therefore, believe that we have a right to be free of molestation and interference in our own Nation as to our particular type of government and its institutions. If we are not concerned about the preservation of our American Democracy, its Constitution, its government and its institutions, then, of course, it doesn't very much matter. The committee believes, however, that we are *vitally* concerned. Thus it is, that we carefully distinguish between the government of Soviet Russia, our ally in fighting the common enemy, Nazi-Germany, and the Communist Party of the United States, which has as its long range objective the destruction of our form of government. It is only incidental, and considerably aside from the main question, that the Communist Party of the United States, in carrying out its policy of protecting the Soviet Union, joins presently in our all-out war effort against the common enemy.

Clear thinking in these times is vitally important. The committee learned that when it investigated the Communists in California, the Communists attacked the committee as being "Fascist" and, after the invasion of Russia by Germany, as agents of Hitler. When the committee investigated the *German-American Bund*, the *Friends of Progress*, and the Italian-Fascist groups throughout the State, the committee was attacked by these groups as being "Communist." The pattern of psychological propaganda in this respect was the same on either side of the picture. This strategy is being carried to great lengths at present by the Communist Party in California. An attack upon the American Communist, according to the American Communist, is an attack upon American "unity" and whoever indulges in such attacks, proclaims the American Communist, is an ally of Hitler and the Axis powers. The "unity" that the Communist Party babbles about at this time is the unity of a drop of arsenic in a glass of milk. If anyone complains of the arsenic, argues the Communist, he is disrupting "unity." It is the psychology of the classical proposal of an alternate selection of death; hanging or shooting, and the human mind sometimes does not reason clearly enough to recognize the fundamental and actual desire, merely to live. Americans want neither

hanging nor shooting, neither Fascism nor Communism. They want American Democracy, constitutional government, free enterprise, civil liberties, freedom, and the unhindered enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The distinction the committee makes in this connection is a very real one. How many of our people ever heard of a man by the name of Michael Kalinin? Everyone has heard of Stalin. Yet Stalin has no position, whatsoever, in the Soviet government. Michael Kalinin is the head of the *Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics*. Joseph Stalin is merely the Secretary of the Communist Party of Russia.



CHAPTER III

SOURCES OF

Communist Information

THE CALIFORNIA COMMITTEE interrogated many experts on the subject of Communism and on the subject of Communism in Russia. It questioned many disillusioned former members of the Communist Party. The affidavits of John G. Honeycombe and Rena M. Vale were set forth in full in the 1943 report. Both affidavits are outstanding evidence of the morass of intrigue and insidious plotting of the Communist Party. The affidavit of Rena M. Vale is of exceptional value in the opinion of the committee. This unusual document of Communist undercover machination in the State of California should be read by every Californian.

To those who may be interested in pursuing the complicated ideology of Communism, its activities and machinations, the committee recommends the following:

- ✓ 1. *Das Kapital*, by Karl Marx.
2. *Communist Manifesto*, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.
3. *Official History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*.
4. *The World Communist Movement*, by G. Manuisky.
5. *Men and Politics*, by Louis Fischer.
6. *I Confess*, by Benjamin Gitlow.
7. *The Red Decade*, by Eugene Lyons.
8. *The People's Front*, by Earl Browder.
9. *Constitution of the Communist Party of the United States*.

The last named, *The Constitution of the Communist Party of the United States*, is revised from time to time, as the laws of the Federal Government are revised, and the foreign policy of Soviet Russia changes. All of the publications mentioned, with

the exception of those by Fischer, Lyons and Gitlow, may be purchased at any Communist book store in any of the large cities in California. Most of these book stores are easily identified as they are known as "Progressive" or "Workers" book stores, or some such equivalent name. The committee considers the works by Eugene Lyons as particularly illuminating and informative. In addition to Lyons' *Red Decade*, the committee also recommends Lyons' *Assignment in Utopia* and *Stalin, Czar of All the Russias*.

(The student of Communism and its application in the Soviet Union should read *Marxism: Is It Science*, by Max Eastman, W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York; *The Real Soviet Russia*, by David J. Dallin, Yale University Press, New Haven; *One Who Survived*, by Alexander Barmine, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York; *I Chose Freedom*, by Victor Kravchenko, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York; *Out of the Night*, by Jan Valtin, Garden City Publishing Company, Inc., Garden City, New York; *The Great Globe Itself*, by William C. Bullitt, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York; and *Stalin's Russia*, by Max Eastman, W. W. Norton & Company, New York. The weekly periodical, *The New Leader*, published at 7 East 5th Street, New York City, is a publication continuously exposing the fallacies of Communism and the tyrannical, brutal and deceptive activities of its devotees, both in the United States and abroad. J.B.T.)

In addition to the foregoing, members of the committee and its representatives have carefully examined the reports and records of similar committees and have had access to the files of law-enforcing bodies of the State and similar agencies. Confidential sources of information have been of great assistance in the preparation of public hearings and have been the background upon which considerable evidence has ultimately been established.

The use of the word "Communism" in this report should be clearly understood. The committee wishes clearly to distinguish between such terms as "Socialism," "Syndicalism," "Radicalism," "Anarchism," or general philosophies of political, economic or social change and "Communism." When "Communism" is used in this report, the committee is referring to the revolutionary radicalism and totalitarianism of Stalin and the Third or Communist International which has its headquarters in Moscow. The terms "Communism," "Stalinism," "Third International," "Communist International" and "Comintern" are intended to convey the same meaning in the pages of the committee's report. The use of these terms is not to be confused with Socialism or philosophies of governmental reform divorced from foreign domination and control, and force and violence.

In addition to the sources listed above the committee has gathered the following material:

1. Photostats of all of the signers to Communist Party nominating petitions in California, including the appointments of members to the State Central Committee of the Communist Party.

The files of the committee contain complete lists of every individual who has officially run for public office on the Communist Party ticket together with the registered members of the Communist Party who signed their nominating petitions.

2. Lists of all individuals who registered as Communists in various parts of the State.

3. Full data of the background and activity of California Communists and Fellow Travelers.

4. Identities, background and activities of individuals who have, from time to time, been identified with Communist causes in California, either in the category of "dupes" and "innocents" or just Communist Party "window dressing."

5. Files of the Communist Party official publication on the West coast, the *People's Daily World*; current Communist magazines and Communist literature. From these publications the committee has been able to secure a rounded picture of Communist attempts to penetrate and capture the following:

- Home Defense groups.
- Labor Unions.
- Consumers groups.
- Language and racial groups.
- Migratory labor and agricultural groups.
- Schools and colleges.
- Motion picture industry.
- Theatre and radio.
- Charitable organizations.
- Art and music.
- All fields of writing.

These publications clearly reveal Communist Party attempts to influence women's organizations, churches, State and Federal Governments, the Army and Navy, educational institutions and all mass organizations.

6. A mass of documents, photostats, inflammatory pamphlets, periodicals, newspapers, reports and similar documentary evidence of the scope of the Communist Party's influence in propaganda fields.



CHAPTER IV

Communist Philosophy

BACKGROUND AND PRINCIPLES

THE COMMITTEE has not been much concerned with the *identity* of Communists. It has been primarily concerned with the question, *What is Communism?* From the beginning, the committee has been interested in learning whether so-called "scientific socialism" is "scientific" or merely an intellectual hoax used by conspiratorial revolutionists. The committee has concerned itself with the *type* of people attracted to revolutionary socialism and has attempted to learn *why* they are so attracted.

The committee finds that very few "Communists" know anything about Communism. Only Lenin's "professional revolutionaries" and disciplined functionaries are thoroughly indoctrinated with the mysticism and metaphysics of Marxian dialectic and the materialistic interpretation of history. They are the oracles and crystal-ball gazers and they issue the orders. Marx visualized his typical "proletariat" as a penniless and propertyless fellow. This definition of the "proletariat," when applied to the United States, would exclude everyone except the *penniless* and *propertyless* day laborer. The committee believes that the great working class of California is less Communist, as a whole, than the so-called intellectual class.

The committee finds that Marxism is "scientific" only in the occult or metaphysical sense. Shorn of philosophical Germanics, "scientific socialism" is merely ambitious mediocrity exalted in complex ponderosities. Nearly every Communist functionary appearing before the committee exhibited definite signs of neurotic inferiority, manifested by mechanisms of open defiance, animosity or tolerant condescension.

One of the stock questions asked by every American Communist and Communist Fellow Traveler when questioned as to

his Communist affiliation is, "What is a Communist?" This is designed to leave the original questioner flabbergasted. The Communist or Communist Fellow Traveler, schooled in the art of oral fencing, readily falls back on the definition of "Communism" by John Mill. He is apt to counter, when definitely pinned down, to something, as follows: "If you mean by 'Communism,' an equality of the distribution of the physical means of life and the enjoyment thereof as a transition to a still higher standard of justice that all men and women should work according to their capacity and receive according to their needs, *then* I am a Communist." This economic delusion is supposed to leave its hearers fully convinced that the word "Communist" is a derogatory term for high-minded men and women who merely desire to make the world a better place in which to live.

✓ Earl Browder has named the following as the basic texts of Communism: *The Manifesto*, by Marx and Engels; *Das Kapital*, by Karl Marx; *Fate and Revolution*, *Left Wing Communism*, and *What is to Be Done*, by Lenin; *Leninism*, by Stalin; *The United Front*, by Dimitrov, the Secretary of the Third International. Earl Browder, himself, has written the following books on the subject, which are accepted by the Communists as authoritative: *Communism in the United States* (1933-4); *What is Communism?* (1936); *The People's Front* (1937-8), and *Fighting for Peace* (1938-9).

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels are the authors of the modern version of Communism and Lenin and Stalin are the modern interpreters and prophets. All Communist authorities agree with this statement. *The Manifesto*, written by Marx and Engels in 1848, may be considered the bible of Communism. The Marxian theory of Communism is supplemented in its modern version as to sovereignty and tactics to be employed for its attainment.

The First Communist International was created September 28, 1864, and was organized in London, England. The Second Communist International was organized in Paris in 1889. Lenin organized the Third Communist International in Moscow in 1919. Trotsky headed the Fourth International. Only about 3,000,000 adherents of Russian Communism have any voice whatsoever in the Soviet government out of the 180,000,000 or more Russians. Only the "politically most conscious" of the Russians may join the Communist Party of Russia. (Constitution, 1936, Article 126.)

Article XI of the Constitution and By-Laws of the Communist Party of the United States adopted in New York May 27-31, 1938, provides:

"The Communist Party of the U. S. A. is affiliated with its fraternal Communist Parties of other lands through the Communist International and participates in International Congresses, through its National Committee. Resolutions and decisions of International Congresses shall be considered and

acted upon by the supreme authority of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., the National Convention, or between Conventions, by the National Committee."

The abysmal ignorance of Communist "fellow-travelers" and "innocents" concerning the alleged philosophy or "science" of revolutionary socialism is appalling. The Communists strongly rely on this ignorance. They realize that the average person will not take the trouble to examine Communist sources. What is more important, the Communists know that, should the average person do so, he would become lost in a maze of metaphysics. Communism must be *understood* if it is to be successfully combated. To instinctively dislike its godless materialism is not enough. Its terminology, its falsity, its errors, its brutality, its "unscientific science," its deceptions and dishonesty must be known and understood. Once Communism is known for what it actually is, it will go down to crushing defeat like its offsprings, *Fascism* and *Nazism*.

Principles of Communism

THE CONGRESSIONAL SPECIAL COMMITTEE on un-American Activities carefully enumerated the salient principles of Communism in its report to the 76th Congress, at page 2 of its January 3, 1939 Report, as follows:

Communism may be defined as an organized movement which works for the overthrow by force or violence of the governments of countries which are not yet under the control of the Communists, and establishment in place thereof of (a) a regime termed proletarian dictatorship, and (b) an economic system based upon the substitution of communal ownership of property for private ownership.

Communism is a world-wide political organization advocating: (1) the abolition of all forms of religion; (2) the destruction of private property and the abolition of inheritance; (3) absolute social and racial equality; (4) revolution under the leadership of the Communist International; (5) engaging in activities in foreign countries in order to cause strikes, riots, sabotage, bloodshed, and civil war; (6) destruction of all forms of representative or democratic government, including civil liberties such as freedom of speech, of the press, and of assemblage; (7) the ultimate objective of world revolution to establish the dictatorship of the so-called proletariat into a universal union of soviet socialist republics with its capital at Moscow; (8) the achievement of these ends through extreme appeals to hatred.

The Communists, like the Nazis and Fascists, believe and advocate that it is the duty of government to support the people and the right of government to exact blind obedience on all matters from the people. All three of these systems seek to regiment the people under bureaucratic and paternalistic governments

through a system of planned economy. In the place of individual initiative, ambition, and effort, they seek to establish a collectivism which will transform the individual into a slave of the state. Intolerance and hatred are preached in order to gain the people's adherence to the collectivistic philosophy, and the promise of economic security is constantly dangled before their eyes to lure them into slavery. The economic security of collectivism is the security of a prison. People are asked to sacrifice their fundamental rights in return for the false promise that they will gain material comfort and economic security.

It follows, therefore, that Communism is diametrically opposed to Americanism. It also follows that a scheme or philosophy of government or a teaching which embraces all or any essential part of the principles of Communism is un-American. From a consideration of the above principles, it would appear that the following conclusions are justified: (1) Any organization or individual who believes in or teaches the destruction of our seven-fold freedom is un-American; (2) any organization or individual who preaches or promotes class, religious, or racial hatred is un-American; (3) Any organization or individual who believes in or advocates the destruction of the God-given rights of man is un-American; (4) any organization or individual who believes in or advocates disrespect for or the violent overthrow of our constituted authorities is un-American; (5) any organization or individual who believes in or advocates a system of political, economic, or social regimentation based upon a planned economy is un-American; (6) any organization or individual who believes in or advocates the destruction of the American system of checks and balances with its three independent coordinate branches of government is un-American.

It must be borne always in mind, however, that, unlike Russia, Germany, or Italy, Americanism permits American citizens to believe in, advocate, and teach doctrines which are contrary to it. In America, citizens have a right to believe in and advocate Communism, Fascism, Naziism, or any other system of government that they approve, subject to certain restrictions and regulations which in nowise destroy the principles of freedom. In this connection, however, it must be remembered that the right to teach or advocate Communism, Fascism or Naziism does not extend to aliens who occupy the status of guests and can be deported under such laws as Congress may see fit to enact.

While Congress does not have the power to deny to citizens the right to believe in, teach, or advocate, Communism, Fascism, and Naziism, it does have the right to focus the spotlight of publicity upon their activities and to outlaw any organization which is found to be under the control of, or subject to the dictation of a foreign government. Congress also has the right to require such organizations to make periodic reports to some governmental agency which shall furnish detailed information

with regard to the true names of the members of such organizations, the amount of money collected, from whom collected, and the manner in which the money is expended.

The members of the California Committee, early in its investigations, learned that it was important to define and understand the actual meaning of such terms as *Liberalism*, *Democracy*, *Capitalism*, *Utopianism*, *Republicanism* and similar terms used by Communist propagandists in order to create confusion in the public mind. The Committee, therefore, in its 1945 Report briefly attempted to explain the true meaning of some of the more important terms.

Liberalism

Liberalism emerged in Western Europe in the fifteenth century. Erasmus and other writers of the Renaissance indicated the liberal attitude in "humanism," a conception of human evolution based upon individual struggle. As feudalism went down under the impact of the industrial revolution, economic individualism forged to the front. Unrestricted freedom of action was advanced as the doctrine that would best serve the interest of society. It claimed certain inalienable and "natural" rights beyond political authority. The right of free speech, religious worship, inquiry, group association, and economic enterprise were considered the most essential of these inalienable and "natural" rights. *Liberalism* is characterized by an attitude of tolerance and reason.

Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations* expressed the formula embodied in the economics of liberalism in the basic right of free enterprise. The terms "liberalism" and "liberals" are much misused by modern left-wing speakers, writers and Communists. *Liberalism* may properly be said to be the doctrine of modern *Capitalism*.

In the political field *liberalism* seeks to check governmental encroachment on the freedom of the individual. Out of this principle came our Constitution and Bill of Rights, the extension of suffrage and the growth of representative government. This principle gave birth to the concept that sovereignty resided in the people as a whole.

Democracy

The Declaration of Independence may be said to state the essence of Democracy: "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed . . ."

The essence of Democracy is respect for the individual. It seeks to guarantee to every individual his "unalienable rights." Its limitations of freedom are marked only by the rights of others.

Equality before the law and equality in opportunity are basic Democratic principles. Checks and balances are fundamental in the government of a Democracy, and a republican form of government is the most conducive to political Democracy. The separation of the branches of government, regular elections, secret ballots, the recall, initiative and referendum and a constitution characterize political Democracy.

Capitalism

Capitalism is a form of economy. The right to private ownership of property, freedom to engage in enterprise, freedom of contract, competition, profit-making, credit and exchange and the wage system characterize capitalism. The employers, the workers, the consumers, and the government are four groups continually interested and involved in the economic process of capitalism. The government may act to define and regulate the relationship of each group but may not participate in competition with private enterprise.

In a Democracy, as has been noted, individual liberty and freedom is only limited by the rights and privileges of others. Monopoly necessarily is met by governmental regulation for the public welfare. Better working conditions, reduced hours and increased wages, workmen's compensation and social insurance are a few of the gains for labor produced by an enlightened capitalism.

Thomas Jefferson stated that "The natural progress of things is for liberty to yield and government to gain ground."

The extreme is either *State capitalism* or *State socialism*. Under German *Naziism*, Italian *Fascism* and Russian *Communism*, the government has encroached upon the private ownership of property and enterprise, and controls the freedom of employer, employee, and consumer.

Governmental intervention in the economic field is at the expense of personal freedom.

The Utopians

THE GREEKS had a word for "nowhere" and that word is "Utopia." Sir Thomas More selected this Greek word for the name of his South Pacific Island paradise. His book, "*Utopia*," appeared in 1516. Plato wrote his "*Republic*" about 2,400 years ago and outlined a government that embodied the first element of *Utopian* thinking. Sir Thomas More's "*Utopia*" elaborated on the thought. He eliminated the extremes of wealth and poverty and turned the energies of his society into cooperation. More believed that man's acquisitiveness was a source of human misery. Consequently there was no private ownership of land or resources in *Utopia*. Competitive waste was eliminated and the

work day consisted of but six hours. Medical care and education were supplied to the population without cost. Equality of the sexes and religious tolerance were established in More's *Utopia*. The officials were democratically elected and their powers limited.

The Commonwealth of Oceana was written by James Harrington in 1656. Harrington's conception of government is characterized by features now familiar in all Democratic States. The central themes are a government "of laws and not of men" and the universal distribution of property among the population.

The despotism of the feudal system collapsed before the onslaught of *Capitalism*. The industrial revolution brought about a political revolution which was closely followed by a technical revolution. Industrial inventions commencing in 1764 with the invention of the spinning jenny increased with accelerating tempo into the Twentieth Century. *Capitalism* marched forward accompanied by earth-shaking achievements. Crime, disease, ignorance, and widespread poverty was the plight of the working-class of Europe, as Capitalism pounded relentlessly forward. The *Utopians* of the Nineteenth Century spoke and worked in behalf of the working-class and, while accepting the fact of *Capitalism* and its new industrialization, spoke out against competition and exploitation.

In his *New Christianity* Saint-Simon called for a society based on the principle of human brotherhood. He appealed to the mind and conscience of his day and, impressed with the productive powers of the new industry proposed that it be socialized for the betterment of humanity.

Charles Fourier, an experienced business man himself, advocated sharing surplus profits with employees. He looked upon soldiers, philosophers, stock brokers and middlemen as "parasitic" and "unproductive."

Robert Owen was a textile manufacturer in England and an advocate of *Utopian* socialism. He attempted to put his theories into practice in his own industry in New Lanark. He fought to reduce the working day to 12 hours, for universal suffrage and for the establishment of public elementary schools.

Marx ignored the idealism, the justice and humanity of Saint-Simons, Charles Fourier and Robert Owen. He took *Utopian* socialism, gave it metaphysical wings and forged it into a revolutionary fighting force. Marx's evaluation of the philosophies of Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen were summed up by him in *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbucher*, as follows: "A radical revolution, the general emancipation of mankind, is not a utopian dream for Germany; what is utopian is the idea of a partial, an exclusively political revolution, which would leave the pillars of the house standing. Upon what does a partial, an exclusively political revolution rest? Upon this, that a part of civil society emancipates itself, and attains to general dominion; upon this, that a particular

class, from a position peculiar to itself, should undertake to effect the general emancipation of society. That class can free the whole of society, but only on the proviso that the whole of society is in the position of that class."

Karl Marx

KARL MARX was a neurotic, suffering from an intense sense of inferiority. He was born at Treves, Germany, May 5, 1818. When he was about six years old, his father, Hirschel Marx, and his family abandoned the Jewish faith and became Protestants. Marx was raised a Christian. He suffered physical pain most of his life. At times he was literally covered with boils and carbuncles and seldom was free from digestive disorders, stomach, liver and bowel troubles. He had no profession, regular occupation or dependable means of livelihood. He pretended to be a master of the methods and techniques of Capitalism, yet was never able to earn his own living. Violent, arrogant and quarrelsome, he posed as the champion of the brotherhood of man, yet remained virtually friendless all of his life.

Michael Bakunin's appraisal of Marx's character might well fit most Communist leaders today. Bakunin wrote:

"Marx loved his own person much more than he loved his friends and apostles, and no friendship could hold water against the slightest wound to his vanity. * * * Marx will never forgive a slight to his person. You must worship him, make an idol of him, if he is to tolerate you. He likes to surround himself with pygmies, with lackeys and flatterers. All the same, there are some remarkable men among his intimates.

"In general, however, one may say that in the circle of Marx's intimates there is very little brotherly practice, and a great deal of machination and diplomacy. There is a sort of tacit struggle, and a compromise between the self-loves of the various persons concerned; and where vanity is at work, there is no longer place for brotherly feeling. Everyone is on his guard, is afraid of being sacrificed, of being annihilated. Marx's circle is a sort of mutual admiration society. Marx is the chief distributor of honors, but is also the invariably perfidious and malicious, the never frank and open, inciter to the persecution of those whom he suspects, or who have had the misfortune of failing to show all the veneration he expects.

"As soon as he has ordered a persecution, there is no limit to the baseness and infamy of the method. * * *"

Marx's father was a lawyer and Marx was sent to the University of Bonn to study law. Here he became deeply interested in the philosophy of the German philosopher Hegel. He abandoned the study of law and devoted himself to mastering the Hegelian system. He received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in 1841 but was denied a position at the university. He turned to journalism and became the editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* and devoted himself to the study of Socialist literature.

Friedrich Engels was born in Barmen, Germany, on November 28, 1820. Although Marx had met Engels when he was the editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* their association did not really begin until September of 1844. Engels practically supported Marx and his family from that time until Marx's death, March 14, 1883.

Marx was expelled from France in 1845 and went to Brussels, from whence he was subsequently compelled to flee. He found a refuge in England and lived there until his death.

Marxism

MARXISM may be stated as a political theory, an economic theory and a revolutionary theory and program.

As a political theory, Marxism contends that the political state is the compelling and ruling instrument of the dominant class of which it is composed.

As an economic theory, Marxism expounds the capitalist mode of production, the exploitation of the workers by employers with the inevitable breakdown of industry.

As a revolutionary theory and program, Marxism establishes the tactics of the "class-struggle" preliminary to the violent overthrow of the capitalist state and the establishment of Communism.

Stemming from the main elements of Marxism is evolutionary socialism and revolutionary socialism (Communism). The Communists pride themselves upon following Marxian principles in every detail, although Leon Trotsky challenged the Soviet Communists in this claim. Lenin contributed to the doctrines and theories of Marx and Engels by adding an "imperialist" stage to capitalism. His greatest contribution was an elaboration of "legal" and "illegal" tactics and revolutionary technique.

The evolutionary or "gradualistic" socialists have deleted the need for revolutionary action from their particular brand of Marxism. They believe, in brief, that, without effort on the part of the proletariat, capitalism will collapse and Communism must necessarily replace it.

Marx reasoned that class antagonism can only be ended by the abolition of classes—by the establishment of a society in which there are no employers, but workers only. Surplus value is to be eliminated. He called for a rigid and ruthless dictatorship of the proletariat after the capitalist state has been destroyed. This dictatorship is to last until a socialist economy is firmly established; until all vestiges of bourgeois society have been liquidated. When the dictatorship of the proletariat has served its purpose, Marx contends that the state will "wither away" leaving but a few administrative agencies. Then the completely classless society,

Communism, will emerge. Industrial development, economic development, cultural background, the extent of economic breakdown, plus the extent and acceptance of Marxian principles by the population and the type of revolutionary leadership will, according to Marx, determine the time and circumstances in each nation for the revolution. Marxism calls for class loyalty over racial and national loyalty and allegiance. Socialism can not come, Marx declared, until it shall encompass the workers of all the world.

Marxian Dialectic

A SHIP MANNED BY FOOLS," wrote Marx in 1844, "might drive before the wind for a good long time; but it would drive onward to its fate for the very reason that the fools did not believe that such a fate was in store for them. The fate is the impending revolution."

Marx has thus determined the course of history. It is reasonable to ask for the basis of his prophecy; to inquire whether or not he is star-gazing. We are told that his conclusions are "scientific," the result of Marxian Dialectic!

The word "dialectic" first meant *conversation* to the Greeks. It became a parlor game in time and the rules of the game were called "dialectic." Heraclitus was one of its advocates. Going back to the method of dialectical thought, Hegel replaced the principle of the old logic "Everything is identical with itself, nothing contradicts itself," by the new principle "Nothing is identical with itself and everything contradicts itself." This philosophy views everything in a state of flux, movement; everything is transient, becoming and disappearing, moving always from a lower to a higher level. All movement is change, a passing from what *has* existed to a *new* existence.

Hegel, in his *Encyclopaedia*, states that true dialectic is the inner and progressive transition of one explanation into another, each of them containing its own negation. It is peculiarly characterized by doing away with itself. In his *Logic* he describes the process as being brought about by the play of internal opposition. Beginning with abstract and simple concepts there is a forward movement passing into subsequent concepts, which continually become richer and enlarged, until the whole mass of its earlier content resurges so that the absolute idea, the climax of the process, is an enriched condensation. He has more to say about it in his *Science of Logic*. It is a complex, metaphysical formula. If you do not understand it, do not worry about it. Even the Marxists do not understand it. It is not scientific and there is no evidence that true science ever used the dialectic methods in its inquiries. The propositions propounded by the dialectic methods are fantastic and prove nothing. Marx and Engels merely added the "class-struggle," the "bourgeoisie" and the "proletariat" and determined the result by wishful-thinking.

The Hegelian dialectical process contemplates a thesis (an affirmative proposition), an antithesis (a proposition in opposition) and the synthesis (the combining and reconciling of separate elements in the thesis and the antithesis). Thus, each historical movement (the thesis) gives rise to the contrary or opposing force (the antithesis) which, as it develops overcomes the former. As a result of the struggle a new historical movement or trend (the synthesis) is created. The new historical movement or tendency is always on a higher plane and remnants of the old trend or movement are always absorbed in the new. The process is conceived as an evolutionary movement created by the struggle of opposites, preceding always forward and upward. Every Communist metaphysician has deluded himself into believing that he *thinks* dialectically. He is under the illusion that his thinking is dual; that each concept includes its opposite. There is no such thing as "dialectic thinking."

Marx took over the Hegelian concept of the dialectic process, but rejected Hegel's "wishful-thinking" conclusion that history was the evolution of the genius of each state which must necessarily make Prussia dominant in Europe. Marx substituted his own "wishful-thinking" and concluded that history consisted only of the "class struggle" out of which would come the destruction of all existing states, the dictatorship of the proletariat and worldwide Communism. "(Marx) abandoned the economic man," says Max Eastman in *Marxism Is It Science*, "because he had an economic god—the self-active dialectic development of the forces of production—who was far more reliable for ideological purposes than anything so specific and dubious as a formula for human nature. The Marxian ideology consists of fitting the abstractions of the classical political economy, as amended but not transcended by Marx, into Hegel's philosophy of the universe as a dialectic evolution of abstractions—his also amended, but not transcended by Marx—and thus arriving at a mystical conviction of the 'iron necessity' of the revolution that he desired. . . . Like all religions, Dialectic Materialism rests fundamentally not on investigation and rational calculation, but on the will to believe. As Gisors says in Andre Malraux's novel: 'Marxism is not a doctrine, it is a *will* . . . you must be Marxists not in order to be right, but in order to conquer without betraying yourselves.' Trotsky has said a more extreme thing: 'The will to revolutionary activity is a condition indispensable (even) to understanding the Marxian dialectic.'"

The Communist believes that intelligent action results only when there is harmonious cooperation with the historical course of events. He must look into his crystal-ball—Marx's dialectic materialism—to ascertain the material forces at work. *Theory* and *action* are declared to be inseparable in the Marxian system. The task of the Communist, aided by dialectic, is to analyze trends in history, ascertain their direction, and then shape the strategy of revolution accordingly. Thus, until Soviet Russia is

attacked by Nazi Germany, the war is a "British imperialist war" and President Roosevelt is a "war-monger." Russia is invaded and the war becomes a "people's war." The Teheran Conference changes the American "party" into a "political association." Marxian tactics are to be kept flexible at all times and the sole test of every contemplated move is whether the action, under the circumstances and at the time in question, creates a proletarian "class-consciousness" and furthers the revolution (See heading "Schneiderman on Marxism").

The obvious weakness in the Marxian dialectic process is, that after establishing the flux and movement of history, the struggle between the thesis and the antithesis,—the eternal conflict moving always from a lower to a higher plane, that Marx brings his "immutable law" to a dead stop with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Max Eastman sums it up brilliantly in his book, *Marxism: Is it Science*:

"The Hegelain philosophy, which professed to portray an eternally fluid and evolving universe, nevertheless managed to bring that universe to a stationary goal in the knowledge of this very Hegel's philosophy, and the tempered blessings of the limited monarchy so generously and so long promised by his gracious sovereign, Frederick William the Third. And Marx's equally fluid although material universe, boasting an equally perfect and eternal evolution, comes to a dead stop when the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie has been resolved by the formation of 'an association which excludes classes and their antagonisms.' Is it a mere coincidence that Marx's economic and inward knowledge of the laws of history can not extend a little forward toward another contradiction, or that it does not fall a little short, or lose a trifle of its iron certainly, before that perfect point is reached? *Is it not quite obvious that it is not Marx's knowledge, but his purpose, that is being expressed.*" (Italics ours.)

Materialistic Interpretation of History

THE CHIEF Marxian postulate in the materialistic interpretation of history is laid down by Marx himself. "Not criticism, but revolution," says he, "is the motive force of history."

It is to be noted that the entire Marxian system is permeated with an indiscriminate interchange of "limiting conditions" and "determining causes," stamping the entire process as illogical and unscientific. The following quotation from Marx's *German Ideology* clearly illustrates this point. In one breath he asserts that the mode of production "*conditions* the social, political and spiritual life process," and then declares "It is not the consciousness of men which *determines* their existence, but on the contrary their social existence *determines* their consciousness." He sums it up as follows:

"Finally we obtain the following results from the fully developed conception of history. 1. In the development of the forces of production a stage is reached at which productive forces and means of intercourse are evolved which, under the extant conditions, only do harm; which are no longer forces of production, but forces of destruction (machinery and money). In association with this we find that a class is evolved which has to bear all the burdens of society without enjoying its advantages, which is forced out of society into the most contrast of all other classes; a class which forms the majority of all the members of society, and one from which the consciousness of the necessity for a thoroughgoing revolution, the Communist consciousness, proceeds — a consciousness which, of course, can only arise in the other classes thanks to the comprehension of the position of this particular class. 2. The conditions within which determinate forces of production can be applied, are the conditions of the dominion of a specific class of society, of a class whose social power (arising out of ownership) secures practical-idealist expression in the extant form of State, with the consequence that every revolutionary struggle is directed against a class which has up to that time been dominant. 3. In all revolutions that have hitherto taken place, this kind of activity has remained inviolate, so that there has never been anything more than a changed distribution of this activity, with a new distribution of labour to other persons; whereas the Communist revolution is directed against the kind of activity which has hitherto been exercised, and does away with labour, and makes an end of class rule when it does away with classes, the reason being that this revolution is brought about by the class which no longer counts in society as a class, is not recognized as a class, but is the expression of the dissolution of all classes, nationalities, etc., within extant society. 4. For the widespread generation of this Communist consciousness, and for the carrying out of the Communist revolution, an extensive change in human beings is needed, which can only occur in the course of a practical movement, in the course of a revolution; so that the revolution is not only necessary because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but is also necessary because only in a revolution can the uprising class free itself from the old yoke and become capable of founding a new society. For us, Communism is not a condition of affairs which 'ought' to be established, not an 'ideal' towards which reality has to direct itself. When we speak of Communism, we mean the actual movement which makes an end of the present condition of affairs. The determinants of this movement arise out of the extant pre-supposition."

Hegel conceived human beings as puppets. Feuerbach cut the strings that jerked them hither and yon, put sails on their boats and forgot the rudders. Marx, taking the Feuerbachian materialism of nature, believed he added the rudders, thus making

human beings independent actors on the stage of history. God is disenthroned and man is no longer subject to a higher will. Marx divides human beings into two classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and views all history as a bitter struggle between these two groups. He charts the destination of the proletarian class in accordance with his own wish-determinism and states that its ultimate aim is the establishment of a socialist society. The route to be followed, according to Marx, is marked by violence and revolution. His "materialistic interpretation of history" is deemed a "new dialectic" and is considered "scientific" by Communists. It is not scientific. It is wishful-thinking and metaphysical. To assert that the "contradiction" in capitalism must inevitably be "resolved" by an expropriation of the capitalists, the creation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the collective ownership of the means of production, without the consideration of obvious concrete factors, is dogmatic.

Marx asserts that the consciousness of human beings have nothing to do with the determination of their existence. It is the social existence of human beings, he declared, that determines their consciousness. Hegel had offered the pious metaphysical assertion that "Spirit is the only moving principle in history." Marx paraphrased Hegel by the impious but equally metaphysical assertion that "The forces of production are the only moving principle in history."

The material productive forces of society, contends Marx, eventually conflict with the existing productive relations. The social revolution then begins. The existing social structure does not disappear until material conditions of existence necessary for the new forces of production are fully developed and matured.

The entire social structure, we are told, is conditioned by its *economic fate*. The laws are written by the ruling class to safeguard existing property relationships. "In every epoch," Marx says, "the ruling ideas have been the ideas of the ruling class." He contends that the State always *reflects* the will of the dominant economic group, and that foreign policy is always guided by industrial needs. Morality, according to Marx, is only the expression of materialistic factors.

Max Eastman, commenting on this phase of Marxism, completely explodes its alleged "science." He states:

"There is only one way to escape from these bonds. That is to take the revolutionary motive back out of history, where Marx and Engels surreptitiously projected it, and locate it in the human breast where it belongs. It was *Marx*, and not history, that *was determined to produce a social revolution* (italics ours), and his investigation of history was an attempt to find out the method by which it could be done. When that simple truth—as obvious to a child as it is inaccessible to a Marxist—has once been acknowledged, the whole discussion loses its mystifying character at once."

It is important to note that, although Marx calls for armed insurrection, he nevertheless advocates collaboration with "bourgeois" elements for the purpose of achieving immediate gains. The "united front" and the "popular front" and Communist support of reform measures stem from this principle.

An understanding of Marx's materialistic interpretation of history and his method of dialectic is essential, if one is to understand the deceptive "sharp turn" of *Communist Party* policy. Briefly stated, as a practical process, it is a continuous analyzation of current events in order to ascertain and predict the direction of trends. The entire strategy of *Communist Party* revolt is then planned in accordance with the trends and the laws of movement, socially and economically, of people, nations and events. *Flexibility* is the key to Marxian tactics. The Hitler-Stalin Pact, "the British Imperialist War," "the People's war," the Teheran Conference, etc., are all events and trends analyzed through the spectacles of Marxian dialectic. The alleged disaffiliation of the Communist Party of the United States from the *Third Communist International* (Comintern); the alleged "dissolution" of the *Third Communist International* itself; the abandonment of the Communist political party; the creation of the new "*Communist Political Association*"; the dissolution of the *Young Communist League* and the formation of *American Youth for Democracy*,—are all recent illustrations of the result of Communist materialistic interpretation of history and Marxian dialectic.

Religion

MODERN COMMUNISM and its true believers abhor religion. Earl Browder has stated: "We Communists do not distinguish between good and bad religion, because we think they are all bad for the masses." William Z. Foster, testified before a congressional committee, that: "Our party considers religion to be the opium of the people."

Experts on Communist history and the laws of Soviet Russia have stated to your committee that Communism is the most *intolerant* of all *isms*, in spite of the loud-mouthed boastings of the American Communists that the members of their party are "liberals" and "progressives." In connection with the subject of religious tolerance and freedom in Soviet Russia, which Communist apologists are now proclaiming to the unsuspecting citizenry of the United States in their drive to make Soviet Russia appear as a *Democracy* instead of the absolute totalitarian dictatorship that it is, the committee quotes Article 126 of the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, now being sold two for a nickel, neatly bound and carefully printed in English by Ogiz, State Publishing House of Political Literature, Soviet Russia, 1938:

"Article 126. In conformity with the interest of the working people, and in order to develop the organizational initiative and political activities of the masses of the people, citizens

of the U. S. S. R. are ensured the right to unite in public organizations—trade unions, cooperative associations, youth organizations, sport and defense organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies; *and the most active and politically most conscious citizens* in the ranks of the working class and other sections of the working people *unite in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, (Bolsheviks), which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state." (Italics are the committee's.)

Thus, the great "Democratic," intolerant dictatorship of the proletariat as enunciated by its constitution permits its people to organize into particular and *specifically* named societies, thus excluding those not catalogued. This "tolerance" and "Democracy" goes even further; it permits the most active and politically *most conscious* citizens actually to unite in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Thus, the constitution itself excludes and makes illegal organizations and societies based on any other school of thought than Communism.

Article 124 of the aforesaid Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics provides:

"In order to ensure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the U. S. S. R. is separated from the state, and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and *freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens.*" (Committee's italics.)

At first blush, and without further information, it would appear that this guarantee of both religious and anti-religious freedom was the acme of religious tolerance. Vladimir Gsovski, who was formerly a County Judge and lawyer in Russia, and who is presently Assistant in Foreign Law to the Law Librarian of Congress and a professor in Russian at Georgetown University in the School of Foreign Service, has written on the legal status of the church in Soviet Russia in 8 Fordham Law Review, 1, January, 1939. Mr. Gsovski states:

"The Soviet laws directly dealing with religion and the church are not the only factors determining the status of the church in Soviet Russia. Inimical attitude toward religion in the Communist philosophy has contributed largely to the manner in which the laws were interpreted and applied. Stress is laid at one time upon propaganda, at another time upon direct persecution and suppression. To deprive the churches of any possibility of exercising influence upon the people even outside the politics is the real tenor of all the acts of the Soviet Government. To create conditions for replacement of religion by atheism is its real aim."

The committee, at this point, wishes to stress the alleged constitutional freedom of *religious worship* and the *freedom of anti-religious propaganda*. The freedom of *religious propaganda*

is thereby prohibited. On this point, Mr. Gsovski writing on the legal status of the church in Soviet Russia, states:

"In 1939 the constitutions of the major soviet republics were amended to make clear the prohibition of religious propaganda and this modified text was incorporated into the 1936 constitution."

Mr. Gsovski's treatise on this subject may be summed up as follows: Soviet statutes do not recognize the church as an organized aggregation of parishes of a given denomination. All such units, if they exist at all, must be strictly local in character. All churches are completely deprived of any property rights. Even the ownership of vestments, utensils, chalices and other objects which are merely destined for purely liturgical and ceremonial use are denied to them. All objects of historical or artistic value are taken from the churches and removed to museums, if the objects do not have a material value. Any gift made to a church or religious organization, under Soviet law, automatically becomes the property of the Soviet state, and is subject to disposal by Soviet authority. Any establishment of regular membership fee is forbidden by Soviet law under a penalty.

The activities of a church or religious group, referred to in Soviet law as a "religious association," are strictly confined to what the Soviet law terms "performance of the cult," that is, to bare performance of ceremony. "Religious associations" is a term in Soviet law that has no remote relationship to the legal entities embodied in the Anglo-Saxon sense. Under Soviet law, no church may dispense charity, teach religious doctrines, even to its own members or their children. Religious ceremonies or the display of religious symbols are strictly prohibited under heavy penalty in any governmental, public, cooperative or private institution or enterprise or in commonly used premises of an apartment. Special permission of the government must be obtained two weeks in advance for the customary God services in the open air or in any other premises than the church. Christmas and Easter are *not* holidays in Soviet Russia. Any worker who attends church on either of these days and who fails to put in an appearance at his place of work is summarily dismissed.

Soviet statutes strictly prohibit the teaching of religion or "any form of religious belief" by the church. These statutes go even further in prohibiting the teaching "of any form of religious belief" in any educational establishment and also in "teaching religious doctrine to persons under 18 years of age." Mr Gsovski, in this connection, states: "Soviet regulations are not confined to a negative combat of religion, but a *positive program of atheistic education* is officially established for the Soviet schools."

In reference to the persecution of the clergy, Mr. Gsovski says: "For 18 years limitations and especially heavy financial burdens were imposed upon the clergy of all denominations and upon monks and nuns. From the first Soviet Constitution of July,

1918 to the Constitution of 1936 the laws deprived the clergy of franchise. The disfranchise not only affected the right to vote, and to be members of the trade unions and therefore be lawfully employed especially in governmental enterprises, but also imposed higher rents for their apartments. When food and other commodities were distributed by ration on cards, disfranchised persons were deprived of such cards. Their children were practically barred from education and employment. They were subject to specially high taxes."

A religious man is suspected by the Communists of being inimical to the Soviet Government and almost automatically involves the accusation of *counter-revolutionist*. Mr. Gsovski points out that the definition of "counter-revolutionary" crime is couched in very general terms which are much broader than that of political crimes. Moreover, the Soviet court has power to sentence for acts not expressly dealt with in the Penal Code. The law provides: "Propaganda or agitation containing an appeal to overthrow, undermine, or weaken the Soviet authority or to commit individual counter-revolutionary crimes, or the dissemination, preparation, or possession of literature containing such matter * * * if done * * * by utilizing religious or racial prejudices"—entails the death penalty. Set up, side by side with the courts, are special government departments that have broad power to inflict heavy penalties without any judicial procedure and without trial, and not bound by any substantive or adjective law. These special government departments are variously known as Cheka, GPU, OGPU and, since 1934, the Federal Commissariat of the Interior—Narkomvnutel (NKVD). Mr. Gsovski states that: "For several years it had first the actual power, and later the right to put to death after secret procedure, or sentence to penal servitude (labor camps) or exile." Mr. Gsovski concludes with this statement:

"The entire set-up of the Soviet penal system does not offer any convincing evidence that the high number of prelates, priests, monks, and active parishioners were engaged in the counter-revolutionary activities for which they were prosecuted. Separation of state and church declared in Soviet decrees means actually the suppression of the church by an atheistic state. Soviet legislation on religion is a legislation of militant atheism which sought to eradicate religion from the human mind."

Much ado by American Communists was made over the new Constitution of December, 1936, above referred to and quoted, as to its guarantee of religious freedom. As a matter of fact, all information and evidence available, points to a marked increase in anti-religious activity on the part of the several agencies of the Soviet Government and certainly there has been no change in the religious outlook of American Communists. This anti-religious campaign is directed against all religions—Catholic, Protestant, Greek Orthodox, Mohammedan and Jewish. Corliss Lamont, formerly head of the Friends of Soviet Russia, wrote in *Soviet Russia*

and Religion: "The truth is that the social roots of religion are well on the way towards being totally abolished in Soviet Russia." In this same work, Mr. Lamont states as follows:

"It now remains to be asked to what extent the anti-religious campaign has been successful. The most recent figures were announced at the meeting held in Moscow in February, 1936, to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Union of Militant Atheists. The union now boasts a membership of more than 5,000,000 with 50,000 active local organizations. There is also the youth section, the Youth Militant Atheists, who number over 2,000,000. During its existence the union has published more than 1,000 anti-religious titles, with the actual total of books and pamphlets issued running into several million * * * Emelian Yaroslavsky, old Bolshevik and friend of Lenin's, who is President of the Union of Militant Atheists, claims that there are approximately 40,000,000 active atheists in the U. S. S. R. out of a population now close to 170,000,000."

Mr. Earl Browder, the American prophet of the dictatorship of the proletariat, states in *Religion and Communism*: "From this estimate of the social role of religion, it is quite clear that the Communist Party is the enemy of religion. We Communists try to do the opposite of what we hold religion does."

In a book, *Teachings of Marx for Boys and Girls*, by William Montgomery Brown, the Committee finds the following:

"Religion is a dangerous dope because it takes the people's mind off their misery and their poverty. Religion is dope like opium. Well, religion acts the same on the poor American as opium does on the Chinese coolie. Now you will understand one of the most famous sayings of the great Karl Marx. He said, 'Religion is the opium of the people.' It makes them dream of a heaven in which they will be rewarded forever, if they suffer patiently the hell they have on earth. The preacher dopes them with his sermon. Then they go home dreaming about the beautiful heaven which is no more real than the beautiful palace of a Chinaman's opium dream."

Marx contended that people can not be really happy until the illusory happiness of religion is abolished. "The demand that the people should shake itself free of illusions as to its own condition," says Marx in *Deutsch Französische Jahrbucher*, "is the demand that it should abandon a condition which means illusion."

"The social principles of Christianity have now had 1800 years for their development," Marx wrote, "and do not need any further development at the hands of Prussian consistorial councilors. The social principles of Christianity find justifications for the slavery of classical days, extol medieval serfdom, and are ready in case of need to defend the oppression of the proletariat—somewhat shamefacedly perhaps. The social principles of Christianity preach the need for a dominant and an oppressed class, express-

ing the pious hope that the former will deal kindly with the latter. The social principles of Christianity declare that all infamies will be spiritually compensated in heaven, the assertion being made a justification for the continuance of these infamies on earth. According to the social principles of Christianity, all the misdeeds wrought by the oppressors on the oppressed, are either a just punishment for original sin and other sins, or else are trials which the Lord in his wisdom sends to afflict the redeemed. The social principles of Christianity preach cowardice, self-contempt, abasement, subjection, humility, in a word, all the qualities of the mob; whereas, for the proletariat, which does not wish to allow itself to be treated as a mob, courage, self-esteem, pride, and independence, are far more necessary than bread. The social principles of Christianity are obsequious, but the proletariat is revolutionary."

The following quotations are from Lenin's *Religion*:

"Atheism is an integral part of Marxism. Consequently, a class-conscious Marxist party must carry on propaganda in favor of atheism."

"The winning over of the proletariat is accomplished, principally by dealing with their every-day economic and political interests; consequently, the propaganda in favor of atheism must grow out of, and be carefully related to, the defense of these interests."

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is guided by the conviction that only the conscious and deliberate planning of all the social and economic activities of the masses will cause religious prejudices to die out. The party strives for the complete dissolution of the ties between the exploiting classes and the organization of religious propaganda, facilitates the real emancipation of the working class from religious prejudices and organizes the widest possible scientific, educational and anti-religious propaganda."

"One of the most important tasks of the cultural revolution effecting the wide masses is the task of systematically and unswervingly combating religion—the opium of the people At the same time, the proletarian state, while granting liberty of worship and abolishing the privileged position of the formerly dominant religion, carries on an anti-religious propaganda with all the means at its command and reconstructs the whole of its educational work on the basis of scientific materialism."

"Marx said 'Religion is the opium of the people'—and this postulate is the cornerstone of the whole philosophy of Marxism with regard to religion. Marxism always regarded all modern religions and churches, and every kind of religious organization as instruments of that bourgeois reaction whose aim is to defend exploitation by stupefying the working class."

"The party of the proletariat demands that the state shall declare religion a private matter, but it does not for a moment regard the question of the fight against the opium of the people—the fight against religious superstition, etc.—as a private matter."

"A Marxist must place the success of the strike movement above all else, must definitely oppose the division of the workers in this struggle into atheists and Christians, must fight resolutely against such a division."

"In such circumstances the preaching of atheism is superfluous and harmful—not from the narrow-minded consideration of not frightening the backward elements, or losing votes at election, etc., but from the point of view of the actual progress of the class-struggle, which, in the conditions of modern capitalist society, will convert Christian workers to Social-Democracy and to atheism a hundred times more effectively than any bald atheist sermons. To preach atheism at such a time, and in such circumstances, would only be playing into the hands of the church and the priests, who would desire nothing more than to have the workers participating in the strike movement divided in accordance with their religious beliefs."

Marx's attempt to escape from ponderous Germanic metaphysics gave rise to a mystical determinism which is called "Dialectic Materialism." In his attempt to destroy Christianity, Judaism and dogmatic religious doctrines, he created a new religion, *Communism*, more dogmatic than any he sought to destroy. He became its central saint and prophet and is now enshrined with his co-saints, Engels and Lenin. A place is being reserved for Stalin. Trotsky has become symbolic of the Evil One—the "devil" of Communist theology.

Max Eastman summed it up in his book *Marxism: Is It Science*, in the following words: "Marxism was a step from utopian socialism to a socialist religion—a scheme for convincing the believer that the universe itself is producing a better society, and that he has only to fall in properly with the general movement of this universe."

Communist Ethics

THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE of Congress Investigating un-American Activities emphasized the necessity for an understanding of so-called Communist ethics. At page 28 of the Committee's report to the 76th Congress the Committee wrote:

It is impossible to understand many of the tactics and statements of Communists and their fellow travelers unless their very special code of ethics be understood. Communists repudiate in its entirety the Christian code of ethics and indeed any other code of ethics which has appealed to the decent sentiment of mankind.

Lenin summarized the Communist ethical code when he said:

Our morality is entirely subordinated to the interest of the class struggle of the proletariat. * * * For the Communist, morality consists entirely of compact united discipline and conscious mass struggle against the exploiters. We do not believe in eternal morality, and we expose all the fables about morality.—(Lenin's Speech to Youth, International Publishers, 1936, pp. 13, 16.)

In practical terms, this means that the individual Communist's ethical judgment is rigidly subordinated to the will of the Communist Party, and the will of the Communist Party is in turn whatever its most politically powerful member decides it shall be. It means, furthermore, that Communist morality is subordinated to the main goal which is the destruction, in this country, of the American form of government and the setting up in its place of the proletarian dictatorship. In both its theory and its practice, the Communist code of ethics says that truth, respect for law, and tolerance must give way to class advantage. The Communists have put the world on notice that their word, whether under oath or not, has no value whatsoever.

The Communist code of ethics not only permits, but actually glorifies as virtuous, such immoralities as perjury, destruction of property, the beating and maiming of workers who refuse to follow the dictates of Communists, shootings, stabbings, kidnappings, and bombings. It is even a matter of boasting among Communists that Stalin robbed banks in the days before the Communist regime was set up in Russia.

To summarize: The Communist code of ethics is based upon the principle that the ends of revolution justify any means, no matter how lawless, violent, dishonest, or indecent from the standpoint of accepted American standards of morality.

The Joint Fact-Finding Committee on un-American Activities in California also observed the necessity of understanding Communist ethics. Its 1945 Report to the California Legislature includes the following:

Emelian Yaroslavsky, President of the *Russian Union of Militant Atheists*, is quoted as stating "Whatever helps the proletarian revolution is ethical."

In *Problems of Leninism*, Stalin quotes Lenin as follows:

"The scientific concept, dictatorship (of the proletariat), means nothing more nor less than power which directly rests on violence, which is not limited by any laws or restricted by any absolute rule . . . Dictatorship means—note this once and for all, Messrs. Cadets—unlimited power, resting on violence and not on law."

Stalin's "ethics" in the diplomatic field is indicated in *The Real Soviet Russia* where he is quoted as follows:

"Words must have no relation to actions—otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, actions another. Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron."

Lenin in *Religion* states:

"We say that our morality is wholly subordinated to the interest of the class-struggle of the proletariat. We deduce our morality from the facts and needs of the class-struggle of the proletariat . . . we say that a morality taken from outside of human society does not exist for us; it is a fraud. For us morality is subordinated to the interest of the proletarian class-struggle . . ."

Class Struggle

IN MISERE DE LA PHILOSOPHIE, Marx stated: "Just as a necessary condition for the liberation of the third estate, of the bourgeois estate, was the abolition of all estates and of all orders, so the necessary condition for the liberation of the working class is the abolition of all classes." The "class struggle," he believed, would result in the abolition of all classes, the triumph of the proletariat, the ultimate "withering away" of the state, and the emergence of a new socialistic, classless society.

The bourgeois revolutions of the Nineteenth Century were looked upon by Marx as the prelude to the proletarian revolution. These revolutions, Marx believed, must eventually lead to the annihilation of the bourgeois system of society and he advocated Communist assistance in these struggles. Bourgeois wars and bourgeois internal conflict accelerated the tempo of annihilation. Every bourgeois victory created new political weapons for the proletariat. Bourgeois wars weakened existing governments, whether the bourgeois were defeated or victorious. The termination of each conflict placed the proletariat in a stronger political position, regardless of its outcome. "The relationship of the Revolutionary Labour Party," Marx said, "to the petty-bourgeois Democracy is as follows: It joins forces with petty-bourgeois Democracy against the fraction whose overthrow it aims at effecting; *but it opposes both the one and the other* in matters it wishes to establish on its own account." (Italics ours.)

It will be seen from the foregoing that Communists everywhere ally themselves with those they seek to destroy, for the sole purpose of hastening their destruction. Marx expresses this ruthlessness in the following language: "From the first moment of victory, those whom we shall have to regard with suspicion will not be members of the conquered reactionary party, *but those who belong to the party with which we have been allied*, those who will try to exploit our joint victory on their own account alone." (Italics ours.)

Marshal Stalin is considered the world's most outstanding Marxist today.

"A new revolution," Marx wrote, "is only possible as the sequel to a new crisis. But the one is as certain as the other."

The class struggle, according to the Marxists, is confined to the economic field for a time but soon spreads to the political field. New relationships are believed to develop gradually creating demands for a transfer of control of government. The dominant ruling class in each state never abdicates its political dominance to the challenging group. The "class struggle" is, therefore, intensified. The subservient class, now emerging from the conflict, is ultimately forced to seize political power by force and violence. It does so, and erects a new state in conformity with changed economy and, thus, creates new property relationships. "The history of all hitherto existing society," Marx asserts, "is the history of (such) class struggles."

Communist Revolution by Force and Violence

MARX CONTENTS that history proves that no class ever surrendered its power and property without violent resistance. *This is the substance of the Communist revolutionary doctrine.* No class has ever consented to its own destruction and the proletariat is warned by Marx and his disciples that they must not be deluded by the vain hope that capitalism is any exception. Concessions are not enough. *There is no compromise!* Temporary gains for the proletariat are not sufficient. Reforms are to be recognized as efforts on the part of Capitalism to entrench and preserve itself. The dictatorship of the proletariat and the destruction of all states is the ultimate Communist goal. The fight cannot be won until the bourgeois state has been completely and ruthlessly crushed. When the final test comes, the state will use every force at its command for its self-preservation — its wealth, the Army and the Navy, its gigantic organs of propaganda. The proletariat, therefore, must prepare itself for a violent, bloody revolution that will completely destroy the bourgeois state.

The *Manifesto*, by Marx and Engels, states: " * * * Communists scorn to hide their views and aims. They openly declare that their purpose can only be achieved by the forcible overthrow of the whole extant social order. Let the ruling classes tremble at the prospect of a Communist revolution. Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Proletarians of all lands, unite!"

Lenin stated: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is nothing else than power based upon force and limited by nothing * * * by no kind of law and by absolutely no rule."

Earl Browder, the foremost exponent of Communism in the United States has stated in his book, *"What is Communism?"*

"It must be emphasized that capitalism will not simply

come to an end; it can only be ended by the organized actions of the working class in collaboration with its allies from other sections of the population. * * * After this first step of taking state power has been realized, the workers make use of the state power to take possession of the instruments of production. Then the new government, at the head of the masses, reorganizes the entire national economy of the country in an organized and planned manner, along socialist lines. * * * All revolutions have been made with weapons which the overthrown rulers had relied on for their protection. * * * History does not show a single example in which state power was transferred from one class to another by peaceful means, whether in the form of voting or some other method of formal Democracy. * * * If the productive forces and accumulated wealth of society are to be preserved and further developed the property rights of the capitalists and the institutions by which they are maintained must be abolished and the exploiting minority and its agents suppressed. *Thus, some form of violence is unavoidable. There is no possible choice between violence and non-violence. The only choice is between the two sides of the class struggle.*"

Stalin stated to the Communist Party of the United States of America in 1929: "I consider the Communist Party of the United States is one of the few Communist parties to which history has given decisive tasks from the point of view of the world revolutionary movement. It is necessary that the American Communist Party should be capable of meeting the moment of crisis fully equipped to take the direction of future class wars in the United States. You must forge real revolutionary cadres and leaders of the proletariat who will be capable of leading the millions of American workers toward the revolutionary class war."

William Z. Foster stated in 1928 when accepting the Communist Party nomination for President of the United States: "We must utilize this campaign to carry on a widespread and energetic propaganda to teach the workers that the capitalist class would never allow the working class *peaceably* to take control of the state. That is their strong right arm, and they will fight violently to the end to retain it. We working class must shatter the capitalist state. We must build a new state, a new government, a workers' and farmers' government, *the Soviet Government of the United States*. * * * In all our agitation around these demands 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 upon immediate demands would lead us merely to reformism*. Our party is a revolutionary party. * * *"

The committee might continue quoting from official Communist sources for many pages in reference to the program of force and violence advocated by the Communist Party for the

overthrow of the Government of the United States, but it is felt the above quotations will suffice. It may be said without fear of contradiction that the Communist Party in America and the Communist Parties throughout the world, under the domination of the Third International, have, as their ultimate and long-range objective the destruction of all existing Democracies and governments by force and violence and the establishment of soviet governments in their stead under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The objective of world-wide revolution and the destruction of existing governments by force and violence, and the establishment of soviets, is the long range plan of the Stalinist Communist. It is an objective that can be postponed from time to time in view of the ever immediate objective of the Communist Parties of the world. Soviet Russia, itself, is the immediate consideration, and its protection, as the Fatherland of the proletariat, is ever present in the minds of Stalin's loyal comrades everywhere. An understanding of these two fundamental objectives of the Communist Party and the Third International is absolutely necessary in order intelligently to follow the apparently twisting policies and "Party Line" of the American Communist Party in California and in the United States.

The Special Committee of Congress on un-American Activities has accumulated voluminous evidence concerning the advocacy of force and violence in connection with revolutionary Communism. Many excerpts from Communist documents are published at pages 15, 16, 17 and 18 of the Committee's report to the 77th Congress, January 3, 1941. It is recommended that every student of Communism study the documents in question. The Committee at page 15, prefacing quotations from Communist literature, states: "During the year, the Committee has published 'A Compilation of Original Sources Used as Exhibits to Show the Nature and Aims of the Communist Party, Its Connections with the U. S. S. R. and Its Advocacy of Force and Violence.' Among other things, the authoritative documents included in this compilation show conclusively that the Communist Party has throughout its entire existence maintained that its objectives can be achieved only through a resort to force and violence. In these documents, the party speaks for itself."

"Leninism" or "Bolshevism"

"LENINISM" and "BOLSHEVISM" and terms used to describe the application of Marxism to the Russian experience.

Nikolai Lenin was a practical, conspiratorial revolutionist. Marxism was the "opiate" at hand and he used it liberally. Yet, he undoubtedly believed himself to be a real Marxist. He praised George V. Plekhanov's writing as "the best in the whole international literature of Marxism." Plekhanov criticizes Lenin's Marxism in the following language: "The disputed question consists in this: Does there exist an economic necessity which calls forth

in the proletariat a demand for socialism, makes it instinctively socialistic, and impels it — even if left to its own resources — on the road to social revolution, notwithstanding the stubborn and continual effort of the bourgeoisie to subject it to its own ideological influence? Lenin denies this, in face of the clearly expressed opinions of all the theorists of scientific socialism. And in that consists his (Lenin) enormous mistake, his theoretical fall into sin."

Socialism divided itself into two groups, the "*Bolsheviks*" and the "*Mensheviks*" — the "majority" and the "minority." The *Mensheviks* believe that Communism is inevitable, whether or not man exerts himself to bring it about. Lenin's "*Bolsheviks*" conspired and planned for the event.

The most distinctive feature of Lenin's tactics (which explains the recent tortuous twists and turns of the Communist Party "line") was his policy of "*sharp turns*." Changing events call for changed slogans; new trends call for new policy. Changing an "imperialist war" to a "people's war" in 24 hours becomes understandable when Lenin's policy of "*sharp turns*" is understood. Since 1919 the directives for "*sharp turns*" have been made in Moscow's Kremlin. Soviet foreign policy has always been the starting point for each "turn." The fact that Lenin's policy of "*sharp turns*" is contradictory to Marx's philosophy of historic determinism matters little to Communist revolutionary conspirators. Lenin described it forcefully as follows:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a relentless struggle, bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and industrial, pedagogical and administrative, against the forces and traditions of the old society. The force of habit of millions and tens of millions is a formidable force. Without a party of iron, tempered in struggle, without a party possessing the confidence of all that is honest in the class in question, without a party able to detect the moods of the mass and influence it, it is impossible to wage such a struggle with success.

"Not one important political or organizational question is decided by any state institution in our republic without the governing instruction of the central committee of the party."

The socialist state established by Lenin in Russia in the October revolution completely discredited Marxian dialectic. If Marx is right, the political structure established by Lenin in Russia must be the reflection of *economic conditions existing* at the time of the October revolution. It is obvious that this was not the case. Max Eastman sums it up succinctly: "Never did a *reflection* put forth such gigantic efforts to produce its likeness in the *object reflected*." (Italics ours.)

Instead of the "*withering away*" of the state, predicted by Marx, the Russian revolution gave birth to a super-state of commissars and bureaucrats. The "dictatorship of the proletariat" became state capitalism under Stalin. Leon Trotsky, who worked

shoulder to shoulder with Lenin in establishing the socialist state of Russia, sums up the result as follows:

"The realities of Soviet life today can indeed be hardly reconciled even with the shreds of old theory. Workers are bound to the factories; peasants are bound to the collective farms. Passports have been introduced. The freedom of movement has been completely restricted. It is a capital crime to come late to work . . . The frontiers are guarded by an impenetrable wall of border-patrols and police dogs on a scale hitherto unknown anywhere. To all intents and purposes, no one can leave and no one may enter. Foreigners who had previously managed to get into the country are being systematically exterminated. The gist of the Soviet constitution, the 'most Democratic in the world,' amounts to this, that every citizen is required at an appointed time to cast his ballot for the one and only candidate hand-picked by Stalin or his agents. The press, the radio, all the organs of propaganda, agitation and national education are completely in the hands of the ruling clique. During the last five years no less than half a million members, according to official figures, have been expelled from the party. How many have been shot, thrown into jails and concentration camps, or exiled to Siberia, we do not definitely know. But undoubtedly hundreds of thousands of party members have shared the fate of millions of nonparty people. It would be extremely difficult to instill in the minds of these millions, their families, relatives and friends, the idea that the Stalinist state is withering away. It is strangling others, but gives no sign of withering. It has instead arrived at a pitch of wild intensity unprecedented in the history of mankind."

Another important feature of *Leninism* is the concept of the "professional revolutionary." The official history of the Russian Communist Party states: "If you inquire, from the standpoint of the personal staff of leaders, what our party lives by at the present time, and even our states, it will become clear that to a significant degree even now after 20 years the party, so to speak, nourishes itself upon that group of professional revolutionists, the foundations of which were laid at the beginning of the century."

The professional revolutionists in the United States are the *Communist Party* functionaries, those amazing individuals who continually pop up as "executive secretaries" of this or that "front" organization; those peculiar "labor leaders" who, with no knowledge or experience in the trade or craft they purport to represent, move from one union to another. The Jeff Kibres and the Oscar Fusses are in this category.



CHAPTER V

HISTORY OF THE Communist Party

THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE Investigating un-American Activities of the United States Congress pointed out in its report on January 3rd, 1939 that "Modern Communism begins with the Manifesto of the Communist Party, by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, which appeared in January, 1848." The Congressional Committee, as well as the California Joint Fact-Finding Committee, recognized the manifesto as the "Bible of modern socialism," and emphasized it as an important world document, "as it is the foundation of the struggle of the working class for industrial and political emancipation."

The Congressional Committee, at page 13 of its report to the 76th Congress, stated the following:

To comprehend either Communism or its half-brother, socialism, it is essential to understand the main principles enunciated by Marx and Engels. When the manifesto made its first appearance in the world the proletarian movement was confined to a limited field of operation. The basic thought underlying the manifesto is as follows:

The history of all human society, past and present, has been the history of class struggles; incessant warfare between the exploited and exploiter, between oppressed classes and ruling classes at various stages in the evolution of society; the struggle has now reached a stage of development when the exploited and oppressed class (the proletariat) cannot free itself from the dominion of the exploiting and ruling class (the bourgeoisie) without at one and the same time and forever ridding society of exploitation, oppression, and class struggles.

Engels stated later that Marx, and Marx alone, was the originator of this fundamental thought. The guiding motif of the manifesto is "Proletarians of all lands, unite."

The California Committee recognized the importance of the *Communist Manifesto* and selected important paragraphs for publication in its 1945 Report to the Legislature. The Committee stated at page 80 of its Report that the *Communist Manifesto* "is now, and always will be so long as a Communist Party fraction exists, the blueprint for the Communist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Communist Party theologians praise the *Communist Manifesto*, holding it as important and as 'contemporary' as though written in 1945 instead of nearly a hundred years ago."

The following extracts are included in the Committee's 1945 Report at pages 80, 81 and 82:

"Modern bourgeois society, rising out of the ruins of feudal society, did not make an end of class antagonisms. It merely set up new classes in place of the old; new conditions of oppression; new embodiments of struggle."

* * * * *

"Our own age, the bourgeois age, is distinguished by this—that it has simplified class antagonisms. More and more, society is splitting into two great hostile camps, into two great and directly contraposed classes: bourgeoisie and proletariat."

* * * * *

"Each step in the development of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a corresponding political advance * * * The modern State authority is nothing more than a committee for the administration of the consolidated affairs of the bourgeois class as a whole."

* * * * *

"The weapons with which the bourgeoisie overthrew feudalism are now being turned against the bourgeoisie itself."

* * * * *

"But the bourgeoisie has not only forged the weapons that will slay it; it has also engendered the men who will use these weapons—the modern workers, the proletarians."

* * * * *

"Those who have hitherto belonged to the lower middle class—small manufacturers, small traders, minor recipients of unearned income, handicraftsmen, and peasants—slip down, one and all, into the proletariat. They suffer this fate, partly because their petty capital is insufficient for the needs of large-scale industry and perishes in competition with the superior means of the great capitalists; and partly because their specialized skill is rendered valueless owing to the invention of new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population."

"All classes that have hitherto won to power, have tried to safeguard their newly acquired position by subjecting society-at-large to the conditions by which they themselves gained their possessions. But the only way in which proletarians can get control of the productive forces of society is by making an end of their own previous method of acquisition, and therewith of all the extant methods of acquisition. Proletarians have nothing of their own to safeguard; it is their business to destroy all pre-existent private proprietary securities and private proprietary safeguards."

* * * * *

"All earlier movements have been movements of minorities or movements in the interests of minorities. The proletarian movement is an independent movement of the overwhelming majority in the interest of that majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of extant society, can not raise itself, can not stand erect upon its feet, without disrupting the whole superstructure comprising the strata which makes up that society."

* * * * *

"The Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against extant social and political conditions."

* * * * *

"In all these movements, the Communists bring the property question to the fore, regarding it as fundamental, no matter what phase of development it may happen to be in."

The First International

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL Association of Workers based partially on the manifesto, was established on September 28, 1864, at St. James Hall, London, largely through the efforts of Karl Marx, and was known as the First International. The statute of the International Association of Workers reads as follows:

That the emancipation of the working class is to be attained by the working class itself; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working class does not mean struggle for class privileges and monopolies but a struggle for equal rights and equal obligations for the abolition of every kind of class domination (Congressional Committee's Report, pages 13 and 14, January 3, 1939.)

Karl Marx organized and was the moving spirit of the *First International* during its short life. He worked with a subcommittee on a draft of rules and regulations, and a statement of principles for the organization in September and October of 1864. He had no scruples in deceiving both the subcommittee and the organization itself. Writing on the matter to Engels he stated: "Under the pretext that all factual matters were contained in this address, and that we need not say the same things thrice over, I modified the introduction, cut out the declaration of principles, and finally reduced the four and twenty propositions to ten." His contempt for bourgeois virtue is contained in this same report to

Engels: "Only one thing," he wrote, "I had to pledge myself to insert in the preambles of the rules two phrases about 'duty' and 'right'; also, about truth, morality and justice—but they are also so placed that they cannot do any harm."

The French Commune was proclaimed on March 18, 1871. It established new principles of strategy for European Communists which Marx introduced into his system. The struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeois was to be extended to the political field while being accentuated in the economic and industrial fields. The "class struggle" in bourgeois Democratic or quasi Democratic states was to be injected into the platform of bourgeois politics and carried into parliament (legislatures). Electoral campaigns were to be inaugurated by Communists. Marx now advocated the tactics of a law-abiding policy in conformity with the methods and trends of the bourgeois state.

This change or extension of tactics was inaugurated in the session of the General Council of the *International Workingmen's Association (First International)* held in London September 17 to 25, 1871. The preamble to the provisional rules had stated "That the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which political movement ought to be subordinate as a means." The London Conference, under domination of Marx, adopted the following resolution:

"Considering that, against this collective power of the propertied classes, the working class cannot act as a class except by constituting itself into a distinct political party, distinct from and opposed to all old parties formed by the propertied classes; that this constitution of the working class into a political party is indispensable in order to ensure the triumph of the social revolution and its ultimate end, the abolition of classes; that the combination of forces which the working class has already effected by its economical struggles ought at the same time to serve as a lever for its struggles against the political power of the landlords and capitalists—this conference recalls to the members of the International that, in the militant state of the working class, *its economical movement and its political action are indissolubly united.*" (Italics ours.) (California Committee's Report, 1945, page 82.)

The First International survived for only 9 years. In 1872 Marx withdrew his support because the anarchists were becoming too powerful and he was bitterly opposed to them, as they were against any system of government including that proposed by Marx. He preferred to pull down the house he himself had built rather than let the anarchist element control. (Congressional Committee's Report, page 14, January 3, 1939).

The Second International

The Second International was formed at Paris in 1889, six years after Marx's death, but it was based more firmly on his

doctrines than the First International and became the fountain-head of international socialism.

The World War led to a temporary disruption of the Second International, as the Socialists, with few exceptions, put patriotism before their party doctrines. The Second International is still in existence but was repudiated by the extreme radical element, of which Nikolai Lenin, a Russian disciple of Marx who had been exiled for revolutionary activities, was the leader. (Congressional Committee's Report, page 14, January 3, 1939.)

The Abdication of the Czar and Formation of a Provisional Government

There is still considerable misunderstanding regarding the part played by the Communists in forcing the abdication of the Czar in March, 1917, and in the creation of the provisional government. The fact is that the Communists played practically no part in the overthrow of the Czar's government. When Czar Nicholas II abdicated he did so to the representatives of the Duma, elected by the people. At that time Lenin was in exile in Switzerland and Trotsky was living in the Bronx, N. Y., and most of the other leading Communists were either in exile from Russia or in the prison camps of Siberia.

No matter how justifiable a revolution against the Czar's regime may have been, no credit can be claimed by the Communists in order to secure sympathy from liberals throughout the world. The provisional government, composed of liberal members of the Duma and headed by Prince Lvov, took over the control of Russia. The United States was the first nation to recognize the provisional government of Russia, which was organized on the same Democratic principles as our own.

The Communists, under instructions from Lenin and Trotsky, prepared carefully for an armed revolt and, when they struck the first blow on October 25, 1917 (old Russian calendar; November 7, our calendar), there were probably not more than 30,000 Communists in all of Russia; yet with the help of thousands of deserters from the army and the navy they quickly routed the demoralized forces of the provisional government, driving Kerensky into exile and seizing control of the entire government. Members of the former government were either killed or exiled. The constituent assembly, which had been called by the Kerensky government, was elected over a month after the October revolution. However, in view of the fact that the Communists failed to elect a majority of the members of the constituent assembly, it was dissolved by order of Lenin, thus officially placing the Communists on record as being opposed to popular government by liquidating the representatives elected directly by the people, although under soviet auspices. (Congressional Committee's Report, pages 14 and 15, January 3, 1939.)

Overthrow of the Provisional Government

One month after the establishment of the provisional government the German general staff sent Nikolai Lenin and a score of his radical followers in a closed car from Switzerland through Germany back into Russia. This was a master stroke of strategy, as Lenin rapidly undermined the loyalty of the war-weary troops by promising a separate peace, bread, and a division of the lands among the soldiers and peasants. The Communists under the aggressive leadership of Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Stalin, became the center of disloyal activities against the provisional government headed by Kerensky, a Socialist. In July 1917 the Communists were unsuccessful in an uprising in St. Petersburg, and its leaders, including Lenin, had to flee to Finland. However, with the failure of the Russian Army offensive in Galicia the difficulties of the provisional government increased. The Communists infiltrated back into Russia, and became bolder and more aggressive. Kerensky, who was a weak and vacillating leader, was afraid to arrest the revolutionary Communists, or to call upon the army commanders for assistance. (Congressional Committee's Report, page 15, January 3, 1939.)

The Third International (Comintern)

The Third or Communist International was organized by Lenin at Moscow in March 1919 to carry out the revolutionary purposes of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. It is the revolutionary international of the working class and there is no denying the fact that it has tremendous influence among the more radical workers in every nation in the world. It had its beginning in 1915 and 1916 at conferences in Switzerland of the radical groups of the Second International. At these conferences Nikolai Lenin first came into prominence as the international revolutionary leader of the left-wing Socialists or Communists.

In January 1919 the Russian Communist Party sent out a call for a congress to be held at Moscow to form the Third or Communist International. This invitation was sent to some 40 Communists, revolutionary, and left-wing Socialist groups throughout the world.

Thus, the Communist International, known in Russia as the Comintern, came into full-fledged being at Moscow in March, 1919, and has ever since been the medium of instigating class warfare and social revolution in all countries, in order to establish a world Soviet Union, with the capital at Moscow. (Congressional Committee's Report, page 15, January 3, 1939.)

The California Committee in its 1945 Report to the Legislature commented, at page 83, on the alleged dissolution of the Communist International. "In accord with Marxian dialectic and the materialistic interpretation of history," the Committee stated, "the *Third International (Comintern)* went through the motions

of dissolution in May of 1943. Any student of Marxism recognizes a Leninistic 'sharp turn' in the expedient application of Marxian dialectic to world events and for the furtherance of Soviet foreign policy."

Principles of the Communist Third International

The main principles of the Communist International are as follows: Overthrow and annihilation of so-called capitalist governmental power and its replacement by proletarian power; dictatorship of the working class; confiscation of property; arming of the proletariat; armed conflict by the proletariat against capitalism; no compromise with Socialists remaining in the Second International.

The main objective of the Communist International is to promote world revolution, in order to bring about a world-wide union of Soviets, or dictatorship of the proletariat, with the capital at Moscow. (Congressional Committee's Report, page 15, January 3, 1939.)

The Communist International and the Soviet Government

The Communist International is dominated by the Russian Communist Party and soviet officials, and could not exist without the wholehearted support of the leaders of the Russian Communist Party and the financial backing of the Soviet Government.

The two most important and powerful men in Russia, Joseph Stalin, the Communist dictator who now holds two soviet posts, and Viachaslaf M. Molotoff (or Molotov) chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars, are on the presidium or select committee that plans and controls all the policies of the Communist International, for spreading revolutionary propaganda in foreign countries in order to intensify class hatred and cause strikes, riots, sabotage, and revolutionary activities, leading to civil war and revolution.

The Communist International is actually part and parcel of the Russian Communist Party and the Soviet Government. For diplomatic reasons, the Soviet Government denies that it is responsible for the propaganda that emanates from the Communist International, but this pretense has long been apparent and has again been unmasked by the recent appointment of its two outstanding leaders, Stalin and Molotoff, to important positions in the Soviet Government.

The leaders of the Communist Party and the government called the conference for the formation of the Third International and the Soviet Government immediately contributed 2,000,000

rubles (\$1,000,000) to enable the Communist International to carry out its principles and put into effect its program for revolution in all the nations of the world. (Congressional Committee's Report, pages 15 and 16, January 3, 1939.)

The Soviet Government

The Government of Russia, which is known as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (U. S. S. R.), is an autocratic self-constituted dictatorship by a small group of self-perpetuating revolutionists. Joseph Stalin, the secretary general of the Communist Party, is the actual dictator. The Communist Party consists of 1,500,000 members, out of 150,000,000 people in Russia, but it controls the Soviet Government and the Communist International. (Congressional Committee's Report, page 16, January 3, 1939.)

The Russian Communist Party

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party or the Politbureau, is composed of 10 of the outstanding Communist leaders, including Stalin and Molotoff, and is the real power in Russia, effectively controlling and directing (1) the Soviet Government, which carries out the policies laid down by the Politbureau and administers the affairs of Soviet Russia; and (2) the Comintern, or Communist International, which is the vehicle for the dissemination of revolutionary propaganda and directs and stimulates revolutionary activities throughout the world.

The legislative power is vested in the Congress of Soviets, which meets every 2 years, listens to speeches, adopts resolutions, and selects a central executive committee of between four and five hundred members to represent it during the intermission. The central executive committee in turn selects a smaller group, known as the presidium, which is the real legislative authority and appoints the commissars and judicial officers of the Government. The presidium is closely affiliated with the politbureau, and many of its members are the same, again including Stalin and Molotoff.

At a meeting of the American commission of the Comintern at Moscow, in the month of May 1929, Stalin delivered two speeches, which the soviet press was careful not to divulge until January 1930 (Communist International, Russian edition, March 20, 1930). Stalin stated:

I consider that the Communist Party of the United States is one of the few Communist Parties to which history has given decisive tasks from the point of view of the world revolutionary movement. The revolutionary crisis has not yet reached the United States, but we already have knowledge of numerous facts which suggest that it is approaching.

It is necessary that the American Communist Party should be capable of meeting the moment of crisis fully equipped to take the direction of future class wars in the United States. You must prepare for that, comrades, with all your strength and by every means; you must constantly improve and bolshevize the American Communist Party. You must forge

real revolutionary cadres and leaders of the proletariat who will be capable of leading the millions of American workers toward the revolutionary class wars.

Molotov, member of the presidium of the Communist International and president of the Council of Peoples Commissars, read a detailed report on "The Communist International and the Revolutionary Thrust" at the tenth session of the executive committee of the Comintern, with reference to the United States, in part as follows:

The Comintern has given particular attention to the situation in the Communist Party of the United States.

A special delegation of the executive committee of the Comintern was sent to the last congress of this party (Communist Party of the United States). Afterward, for several weeks, there sat at Moscow a commission of the presidium of the executive committee of the Communist International which specially studied the situation in the Communist Party of the United States. The presidium of the executive committee of the Communist Party radically renewed the direction of the American Communist Party and created within it the conditions of a real Bolshevik development of the party and of a reinforcement of its authority among the working masses. (Congressional Committee's Report, pages 16 and 17, January 3, 1939.)

The Laws of the Communist International (Comintern)

We will turn now to some of the laws of the Communist International. Here is where we find the attempt to disguise the "force and violence" plans of the Communists. The Program of the Communist International, printed in English by the Communist Party of the United States of America, contains the following statement:

Expressing the historical need for an international organization of revolutionary proletariat—the gravediggers of the capitalist order—the Communist International is the only international force that has for its program the dictatorship of the proletariat and Communism, and that openly comes out as the organizer of the international proletarian revolution. The ultimate aim of the Communist International is to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of Communism.

The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peacefully "capturing" the ready-made bourgeois state machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The conquest of power by the proletariat is the violent overthrow of bourgeois power, the destruction of the capitalist state apparatus (bourgeois, armies, police, bureaucratic hierarchy, the judiciary, parliament, and so forth), and substituting in its place new organisms of proletarian power, to serve primarily as the instruments for the suppression of the exploiters.

This document then shows that the Communist program includes the confiscation of everything and then the setting up of an iron-fisted bureaucracy of Communism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a stubborn fight—bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, pedagogical and administrative * * *

The party advances certain transitional slogans and partial demands corresponding to the concrete situation; but these demands and slogans must be bent to the revolutionary aim of capturing power and of overthrowing bourgeois capitalist society. The party must neither stand aloof

from the daily needs and struggle of the working class, nor confine its activities exclusively to them. The task of the party is to utilize these minor everyday needs as a starting point from which to lead the working class to the revolutionary struggle for power * * *.

The mass action includes a combination of strikes and armed demonstrations, and finally the general strike conjointly with armed insurrection against the State power * * *.

It further states that during the "revolutionary upsurge" the Communist parties must—

advance partial slogans and demands * * *, linking them up with the fundamental tasks of the Communist International.

It concludes as follows:

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their aims can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all the existing social conditions * * *. Let the ruling class tremble at a Communist revolution * * *. Workers of all countries, unite!

The Constitution of the Communist International, also published in English by the Communist Party of the United States of America, contains the following statements:

The Communist International * * * is a union of Communist parties in various countries; it is the world Communist Party. As the leader and organizer of the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the protagonist of the principles and aims of Communism, the Communist International fights for the establishment of a world union of Socialist soviet republics * * *.

Each of the various parties affiliated with the Communist International is called the Communist Party of (name and country—section of the Communist International). Membership in the Communist Party and in the Communist International is open to all those who accept the program and the rules of the respective Communist parties and of the Communist International, who * * * abide by all decisions of the party and of the Communist International * * *.

After a decision has been taken by the Communist International * * * the decision must be unreservedly carried out even if a part of the party membership or the local party organizations are in disagreement with it.

The decisions of the executive committee of the Communist International are obligatory for all the sections of the Communist International and must be carried out * * *. The executive committee of the Communist International has the right to expel from the Communist International entire sections, groups, and individual members who violate the program and constitution of the Communist International or the decisions of the executive committee * * *.

In its constitution, the Communist International reserves the above rights; and, in addition, it states:

The executive committee of the Communist International has the right to establish permanent bureaus—

in all parts of the world—

for the purpose of establishing closer contact with the various sections of the Communist International and in order to be better able to guide their work * * *. The sections must carry out the instructions of the permanent bureaus * * *. The executive committee of the Communist International and its presidium have the right to send their representatives to various sections of the Communist International * * *. Such representatives receive their instructions from the executive committee of the Communist International or from its presidium and are responsible to them for their activities.

The executive committee of the Communist International or its presidium also have the right to send instructors to the various sections of the Communist International. The powers and duties of instructors are determined by the executive committee of the Communist International, to whom the instructors are responsible in their work.

The central committees of the sections affiliated to the Communist International and the central committees of affiliated sympathizing organizations must send to the executive committee of the Communist International the minutes of their meetings and reports of their work.

This control by the Communist International over its sections, such as the Communist Party of the United States of America and sympathizing organizations, is shown by many laws written into the constitution of the Communist International, even to the holding of meetings.

Congresses of the various sections, ordinary and special, can be convened only with the consent of the executive committee of the Communist International * * *

Members of sections may—

pass from one country to another—

only with the consent of the central committee.

This committee had indisputable evidence to probe by the admission of Communists that the Communist Party of the United States of America is a section of the Communist International at Moscow, and that the international does issue special decrees to the sections in this country, and that the sections here have carried out those decrees. (See Milestones in the History of the Communist Party of the United States of America.)

The Communist Party of the United States of America adopted what it called a "new constitution" for the American section at its May 1938 congress, held in New York City. This, Communists called Twentieth Century Americanism. The following statement is to be found in this constitution:

The new constitution is profoundly connected with the political life of America and is realizing in practice the instructions of Comrade Dimitrov (international secretary of the Communist International), who called on us at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International to learn as quickly as possible how to sail on the turbulent waters of class struggle * * *

The emblem of the party shall be the crossed hammer and sickle * * * with a circular inscription, having at the top "Communist Party of the U. S. A." and in the lower part "affiliated to the Communist International" * * *

The Communist Party of the United States of America is affiliated with its fraternal Communist parties of other lands through the Communist International and participates in international congresses, through its national committee, * * *. Resolutions and decisions of the international congress shall be acted upon by the supreme authority of the Communist Party of the United States of America, the national conventions, or between conventions, by the national committee.

At the Communist congress, held in New York City, at which this new "Trojan horse" constitution was adopted, resolutions were also adopted, one of which, in the form of a cable to Moscow, stated (Imprecor, No. 32, June 25, 1938, pp. 769-770):

The tenth national convention laid down as the most important task for the party the further struggle for united action of all forces of the working class, for the purpose of securing joint action of all Democratic

elements of the country. The convention indicated the concrete forms of the struggle for unity of the working class; in the first place to overcome the split in the trade-union movement in the United States of America, by creating a uniform confederation of labor. The convention formulated the program of the Democratic front, the program of uniting the American people.

A few days later, the "Trojan horse" made its appearance again when the Communists began explaining why now they were singing the Star-Spangled Banner and using American flags, along with the Internationale (the Communist song) and red flags. Here is their explanation:

(Daily Worker, July 4, 1938)

When we sing the Star-Spangled Banner and the Internationale together, when we decorate our platform today with the American flag and the red flag of the Socialist revolution * * * this is the way we express the fusion of our Communist program for socialism and the American tradition.

This recalls to the minds of members of this committee the instructions of the Communist International "to learn as quickly as possible how to sail on the turbulent waters of class struggle" and their attempted remolding of the Communist Party into something which might appear too small as an "American front." Communists are merely carrying out the instructions of the Communist International made public at the last international Congress to adopt the "Trojan horse" methods. This is explained by the Communist International in the following statement:

Comrades, you remember the ancient tale of the capture of Troy. Troy was inaccessible to the armies attacking her, thanks to her impregnable walls, and the attacking army, after suffering many sacrifices, was unable to achieve victory until with the aid of the famous Trojan horse it managed to penetrate to the very heart of the enemies' camp. We revolutionary workers, it appears to me, should not be shy about using the same tactics. * * *

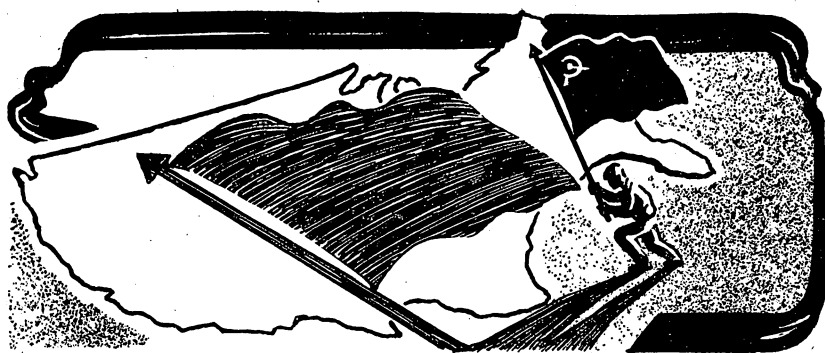
The above statement was made by George Dimitrov in an address to the seventh congress of the Communist International, held in Moscow on August 20, 1935. It may be found in *The Working Class Unity Bulwark Against Fascism*, printed by the Workers' Library Publishers.

The Communist Party explained the real meaning of this when it said:

The tenth national convention of the Communist Party of the United States of America sends its warmest revolutionary greetings to the Communist International and its helmsman, George Dimitrov, true comrade-in-arms of Stalin, leader of the struggle against Fascism and war, hero of all anti-Fascists, hero and leader of the working class.

We have learned from you how to rekindle that fire. We have learned from you how to fuse the internationalism of our social heritage with the best traditions of the revolutionary patriots of past history.

The international working class under your leadership is building unity * * * and at the head of the forces of peace stands the Soviet Union, the socialist country. * * * Our convention pledges to you and the Communist International our steadfast determination to be worthy of the model you have set for us * * * the goal of the leadership of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin—the winning of a socialist world * * *—(Daily Worker, June 1, 1938, official organ of the Communist Party of the United States of America.) (Congressional Committee's Report, pages 21 to 24, January 3, 1939.)



CHAPTER VI

Development of Communism IN THE U. S.

COMMUNISM is essentially international. "*Proletarians of all lands, unite*" is the order of the Communist Manifesto. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin prepared the blue-prints for the world revolution. Following the strategy of these conspirators, Communists everywhere engaged in deception, and switched their position from time to time with bland unconcern. Communist ethics are summed up in the statement: Dishonesty is justified if such conduct furthers the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

As has been pointed out before, the terms "*Third Communist International*" and the "*Comintern*" are synonymous. The *Comintern* was established in Russia in 1919 under the leadership of Lenin, Trotsky and other *Bolsheviks*. It is a controlling central organization to which Communist Parties throughout the world affiliate. It is actually a high board of strategy for universal revolution. The Communist Parties throughout the world, affiliated with the *Comintern*, are subordinate and subservient to it, and are pledged to abide by the decisions of the executive board in Moscow and to abjectly submit to its disciplinary power. In the section of this report on the formation and activity of the C. I. O. *Political Action Committee*, it will be seen that this situation existed from 1919 to 1940, when the *Communist Party* of the United States announced that it had severed all connections with the *Comintern*. It was another Leninistic "sharp turn" and no one familiar with Marxian dialectic was deceived by the announcement.

When the news of the Communist revolution of 1917 in Russia reached the United States, certain leaders of the *American Socialist Party* were filled with admiration, awe and reverence for

the *Bolshevik* strategists. The more radical wing of the American *Socialist Party* believed that the Russian *Bolsheviks* had demonstrated "scientific" socialism and that a new impetus had been given to the world revolution. The leaders of Bolshevism became the leaders of world revolution.

Marxism indicates three necessary steps on the road to Communism. First and foremost of these is the penetration of the laboring masses in capitalist countries, indoctrination and the creation of "class consciousness" in the minds of the workers. The second step is the seizing of power by the laboring masses and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is merely to say that the working masses, trained and disciplined by Communist leaders, overthrow by force and violence the capitalist form of government and establish a soviet of workers. The third and final step is the transition from state socialism to the classless estate—*Communism*.

As has been seen by the foregoing, Marxism conceives capital and labor in continuous conflict. This struggle, says Marx, must continue so long as the profit system exists. The profit system will continue so long as the capitalists dominate government. It can only be abolished by the forceful destruction of all capitalist states. The American Socialist sought the reformation of the government of the United States and looked forward to the establishment of a Socialist form of government. Efforts in this direction had been limited to educational campaigns designed to popularize the American *Socialist Party* as a political organization. The *Bolshevik* revolution in Russia drove a wedge sharply through the middle of the American Socialist group. One faction called for the organization of a *Communist Party* in the United States and clamored for violent revolutionary activity patterned on the strategies that had been so successfully used in Russia. The other faction, adhering to *evolutionary socialism*, preferred to travel along its established conservative line as a political movement.

John Reed, a journalist, was in Russia prior to the October revolution. He returned to the United States an ardent Communist, full of contagious enthusiasm for the Russian experiment. He spoke at meetings sponsored by the left-wing radical element of the American *Socialist Party*. Many leaders of the left-wing group became desirous of emulating the *Bolshevik* revolution in the United States and were convinced that the revolutionary technique of the *Bolsheviks* could be successfully employed in overthrowing American capital and the government that protected it. This meant a clean break with the *Second International*. It contemplated a program of penetration into the trade union movement of the United States for revolutionary indoctrination. Delegates were finally selected and sent to an International Conference at Moscow. The organization was perfected in Chicago in 1919, offices of the Party were opened, and John Reed, the first American Communist, launched a propaganda campaign through the columns of "*The New York Communist*."

Early in 1919 C. A. K. Martens arrived in New York representing the new Soviet government of Russia. Martens immediately set out to assist in the organization of the *American Communist Party*. He provided substantial financial support with money channeled into the United States from the Soviet Union.

It soon became apparent that the Russian element in the *Socialist Party* in the United States was capitalizing on the prestige established by their countrymen in Soviet Russia. The *Communist Party* that emerged from the conference in Chicago came to feeble life in the midst of petty bickering and bitter factional disputes among its leaders. The struggle was watched by Communist agents from Russia's Kremlin, and the radical defunct *International Workers of the World* (I.W.W.) were rallied to the cause and a National conference was called for June 21, 1919 in New York City.

The reverence manifested by the radicals in the *American Socialist Party* for the professional revolutionaries of Russia is amazing. Communism had been a religion from the beginning and now it was to have a diety and a constellation of saints. A halo was placed around the head of Lenin and he became an infallible oracle. C. A. K. Martens was quick to realize the potential power dormant in the reverential awe for things *Bolshevik* by American radicals, for furthering the policies of the new Soviet Government. This factor is important. From 1919 henceforth American Communists were dominated, watched, and controlled from the Kremlin in Moscow. This domination and control has never been relaxed and the American Communist is dominated and controlled by Moscow at the present time to a greater extent than ever before, although the technique is more subtle.

Socialists of Russian and Slavic descent were most enthusiastic in clamoring for the immediate formation of an *American Communist Party*, functioning as a section of the *Communist Party of Russia*. Most of the Americans in the Socialist organization, however, preferred to run the show independent of the Soviet Union. One group urged that the *American Communist Party* be led by Americans in the same manner that the *Russian Communist Party* was led by Russians. Another faction insisted that the American Communists should simply affiliate with, and be subservient to, the Russian organization. As a result of these conflicts, the conservative element in the *Socialist Party* were shunted into the discard.

Meanwhile a conflict for control of the *American Communist Party* grew in intensity between the two radical factions. Ultimately, delegates from both factions went to Moscow. The outcome was the formation of an *American Communist Party* as a section of the *Communist International*—a section of the *Communist International* functioning in the United States.

The organization was first known as the *Communist Labor Party*, but the word "labor" was eventually dropped and the

party continued as the *Communist Party*, a section of the *Communist International*.

The organization has had a stormy history in the United States. Factional strife constantly developed and party bickerings were frequent. Soviet agents, watching quietly in the background, came forth at the proper time, and, with the voice of authority, summarily put a stop to internal dissension.

Communist Beginnings in the United States

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, a charter member of the *Communist Party of the United States*, was charged with the task of directing the penetration and indoctrination of the trade union movement in the United States. The *Trade Union Educational League* was the organization created by Foster for this purpose. The funds for the activities of this front were furnished in part by the Communist Party members in the United States, and from Moscow's "*Red International of Trade Unions*," (*Profintern*). As a matter of fact most of the money was furnished by the Russian organization. The *International Labor Defense* was organized as a section of the *International Class-War Prisoners Aid Society* (MOTR). A representative from the Soviet Union was sent to America with the necessary funds for the organization of the *International Labor Defense*. These organizations were the first in a series of Soviet Branch offices established in the United States by Russian emissaries with Russian funds. The *International Labor Defense* provides legal assistance to members of the Communist movement who find themselves involved with the law. The *Trade Union Educational League* (propagandizing for industrial unionization) served its initial purpose. The same strategy of trade union penetration by *Communist Party* functionaries has continued and has achieved considerable success. The most recent triumph of this Communist technique is the *Political Action Committee* of the C. I. O.

The members of the *American Communist Party* were sent to Moscow where they attended a school maintained for the purpose of instructing international revolutionists in the Bolshevik technique.

By 1923 the members of the *American Communist Party* considered themselves under the iron discipline that was frequently exercised by the Executive Committee of the *Comintern*. The Moscow Board of Directors had the power and the right to expel an entire *Communist Party*, or any section thereof, or individual Communists, with or without cause. It assumed the right to command any activity, decision or resolution, of any *Communist Party* affiliated with the *Third Communist International*. It was regarded by Communists everywhere as the source of all authority. Lenin, while he lived, and Stalin, after Lenin's death, was the infallible last word in Communist affairs. Russia became the "*Red Fatherland*," the only country to which Communists everywhere owed their allegiance.

The youth movements of Soviet Russia were duplicated in the United States by the *American Communist Party*. The youth movement in Russia is called the *Comsomols*. Soviet children of primary school age are organized into a group known as the *Young Octobrists*. The *Young Communist League* in the United States parallels the *Comsomols* and the *Young Pioneers* of the United States are patterned after the *Young Octobrists*. These youth organizations are Communist training schools for the youth of America.

Iron Control

MANY INDIVIDUALS are attracted to Communism by the conspiratorial character of the movement. The *Communist Party of Russia*, before the revolution of 1917, was a creature of mystery, of intrigue and plotting. The Russian organization was held together during those turbulent times by dictatorial directives. The two absolute rulers were Lenin and Trotsky. The members of the party were trained to accept discipline blindly and to follow every directive without hesitation. The same iron control was experienced by the first Communists in the United States. This control has become stronger as the party has grown. A communist believes that he is a member of a secret, conspiratorial organization and that he is playing a vital role in weakening and undermining the Government of the United States. The American Communist is convinced that the American revolution can only be achieved by blindly and fanatically pursuing the intricate technique of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. The American Communist's mind is literally saturated with foreign ideologies, German ponderosities and Oriental intrigue. He must attend beginners classes, study Marxism, dialectic and materialistic interpretation of history; he must spend many hours in Communist activities; he must attend fraction, branch and unit meetings. He must join a union of some kind. He participates in open forums. He is assigned to tasks designed for revolutionary training, such as peddling *Communist Party* publications in wealthy residential districts; and in driving *Communist Party* resolutions through meetings of his trade union. He is directed to join many organizations and is instructed in the technique of dominating and controlling their actions. His entire mental outlook upon life and events is altered and changed. Conservative friends and acquaintances soon avoid the Communist convert and he finds himself associating exclusively with Communists and fellow-travelers. A break with the *Communist Party* is not a small matter and entails an emotional upheaval that is not pleasant to contemplate.

Communist Discipline

THE COMMUNIST PARTY proceeded along its troublesome path, gathering more and more members. Disciplinary control was intensified. The Communist parties throughout the world maintain what they call *control commissions*. A Communist who waivers

in his activities or thought is immediately under the scrutiny of the *control commission*. Every Communist is under the continuous observation of his "Comrades" and the most trivial anti-Communist action or word is reported. *Communist Party* members fear the *control commission* more than they fear the police. The most potent threat that can be made against a member who violates party discipline is the threat of expulsion from the organization. Disillusioned Communists who muster sufficient courage to bluntly withdraw from the organization are hounded from one job to another and harassed in every possible manner. Prospective employers are told that they are hiring ex-Communists, persons who are emotionally unstable, unreliable, and can not be believed under oath. Anonymous letters are dispatched to employers and every sort of artifice is practiced to embarrass and harass the ex-member. By whispering "smear" campaigns the *Communist Party* charges that the ex-Party member is suffering from some sort of mental disability. An ex-Communist who criticizes the party or who reveals its secrets is immediately branded as a psychopathic case, a pervert, a chronic liar, a criminal, a stool-pigeon, a red-baiter, a witch-hunter—a miserable wretch suffering from practically every ailment known to humanity, including vitamin deficiency. It is remarkable that a person, by merely severing his affiliation with the Communist Party, is immediately afflicted with the same variety of ailments and vices.

Six Periods of Communist Strategy in the United States

THE AVERAGE MAN can not be blamed for being confused by the Communist conspiracy in America. Distorted news items, lying editorials and articles profusely and generously scattered through Communist Party organs and the periodicals of front organizations and Innocents Clubs have carefully smudged and obscured the real objectives of these cheap conspirators in the American picture. This program of deceit and hypocrisy is part and parcel of Communist Party tactics. The greater part of the Communist press is disguised and for public consumption purports to be anything but what it really is. Front organizations, periodicals and magazines do most of the Trojan Horse work. Like its cowardly members, hiding their Communist Party affiliations under fictitious names, many of these disguised Communist periodicals and magazines find their way into the homes of unsuspecting and ordinarily patriotic Americans. There is little wonder that the average citizen is confused when confronted with Communism.

Although it is termed the Third or Communist International, the Communist International has never been international in the generally accepted sense of the term. The Bolshevik revolution which overthrew the Kerensky government under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky culminated in what is now known as the

Communist International (also known as the Comintern). It was founded in the Kremlin in Moscow in March of 1919 by 35 delegates and 15 guests. It is significant, in considering the international aspect of the so-called Communist International, that all but one of the founders were Russian. From its beginning up to the present time it has been characterized by a greedy and stubborn nationalism. The Communist parties that later developed in the other countries of the world, including the United States, have, in fact, only been branch parties of the Russian Home Office of the Comintern and these parties scattered throughout the world reflect in every instance, from the very beginning down to the present time, the *foreign policy* and the *interest* of Soviet Russia. Thus it is, that the policies, purges, leadership and the "party line" of the Communist Party in the United States have always turned on *Soviet events, ambitions and needs*.

The key to the strange activities, machinations and twisting policies of the torturous "Party Line" of the American Communist is found in the unchanging Communist slogan "*Defend the Soviet Union*." It explains, also, the pitiful failures of the Communist Party in the United States to capture Yankee interest and support. Because its slogans and its policies were based on conditions existing in Soviet Russia and on the *foreign policy* of that country, the American people failed to respond to the ill-fitting and foreign-sounding slogans of a group of American lunatics concerned only with the protection of a foreign dictatorship. The turnover of membership in the Communist Party of the United States has been tremendous since its inception in 1919. The mortality rate in membership from year to year is significant of its failure to capture the American mind. Yankee practicality blinks unresponsively at slogans such as "Defend the Soviet Union" and "The Americanism of Lenin and Lincoln." But, year after year, many a tricked and duped American has become in actuality the agent-stooge of the foreign, totalitarian, dictatorship of Soviet Russia.

To understand clearly so-called American Communism, it is necessary to examine its history since its inception in Chicago in 1919. This can only be intelligently done by a parallel examination of the history of the Soviet Union for the same period. Eugene Lyons has roughly divided Communist development in the United States into five ages, each period turning on events in Soviet Russia and reflecting in each period the *needs, ambition and foreign policy*, NOT of the United States, its workers or its people, but of Soviet Russia. To the five ages of Eugene Lyons the committee has added a sixth, and prognosticates a seventh. In order better to clarify the findings of the committee in the field of Communism, we briefly outline these six periods of Communist conspiracy in the United States.

First Period (1919 to 1921)

The Bolshevik Government found its territory invaded and besieged by foreign armies and effectually blockaded in 1919. It

needed a militant internationalism in non-Bolshevik countries to break the strangle hold of the economic blockade and it sorely needed a pro-Bolshevik sentiment in non-Bolshevik countries to bring about the withdrawal of the armies that were invading its boundaries. Consequently the Communist parties throughout the world were ordered to be militantly revolutionary and to work in their respective countries for the succor of the Soviet Union. Hence, in the United States, the Communist Party, emerging from its Chicago convention in 1919, was fanatically revolutionary and openly rebellious, calling for the immediate overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. It likewise propagandized for the Soviet Union and attempted to create pro-Bolshevik sympathies in America.

The Special Committee on un-American Activities reported to the 76th Congress January 3, 1939, pages 18 to 21 inclusive:

The Government, by use of the provisions of the war-time legislation, drove the Communist Party underground, where it remained in an illegal status until 1924, when the repeal of the war measures and the consequent halting of Government activities by the agents of the Department of Justice, permitted it to reappear. The Communists came more and more into the open until today they flaunt their revolutionary activities throughout the country. Since 1925 the Department of Justice has had no power, no authority, or no funds from the Congress to investigate Communist propaganda or activities. During the period that the Department of Justice had actual authority the Communist Party was driven underground where it could not function successfully. Just as long as the agents of the Department of Justice were active the movement remained comparatively stationary and innocuous. At the present time the Communist Party of the United States is thoroughly and highly organized, nationally and locally, and is extremely active.

The following is part of the testimony of William Z. Foster, twice candidate of the Communist Party for President of the United States, before the Fish committee in which he explains some of the principles of his party:

The CHAIRMAN. Would you mind stating to the committee the aims and principles of the Communist Party?

Mr. FOSTER. The aims and principles of the Communist Party, briefly stated, are to organize the workers to defend their interests under the capitalist system and to eventually abolish the capitalist system and to establish a workers' and farmers' government.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, can you tell us more definitely if the principles of the Communist Party, as advocated in this country, or anywhere else, are the same?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes

The CHAIRMAN. Does the Communist Party advocate the confiscation of all private property?

Mr. FOSTER. The Communist Party advocates the overthrow of the capitalist system and the confiscation of the social necessities of life; that is, the basic industries and other industries for producing the means of livelihood for the people. By the property of individuals, personal belongings, and so on, no; that is, in the sense of their personal property.

The CHAIRMAN. When you refer to the capitalist system, just what do you mean?

Mr. FOSTER. I mean the system under which the industries of society are owned by private individuals and are used for the exploitation of the workers employed in those industries, for the profit of those who own the industries, and that this system is maintained by the Government as the major central function of the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Does your party advocate the abolition and destruction of religious beliefs?

Mr. FOSTER. Our party considers religion to be the opium of the people, as Karl Marx has stated, and we carry on propaganda for the liquidation of these prejudices amongst the workers.

The CHAIRMAN. To be a member of the Communist Party, do you have to be an atheist?

Mr. FOSTER. In order to be—there is no formal requirement to this effect. Many workers join the Communist Party who still have some religious scruples, or religious ideas; but a worker who will join the Communist Party, who understands the elementary principles of the Communist Party, must necessarily be in the process of liquidating his religious beliefs and, if he still has any lingerings when he joins the party, he will soon get rid of them. But irreligion, that is atheism, is not laid down as a formal requirement for membership in the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been to Russia?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes. Eight or nine times.

The CHAIRMAN. You are familiar, then, with the workings of the Communist Party in Russia?

Mr. FOSTER. Reasonably.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, can members of the Communist Party in Russia be married in the church and maintain religious beliefs of that nature, and practice them?

Mr. FOSTER. My opinion is that a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union who would be married in a church would not be of any value to the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Could he maintain his membership in the party?

Mr. FOSTER. He would not.

The CHAIRMAN. He would be put out of the party?

Mr. FOSTER. Eventually, if not for that specific act.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it not be the same in this country?

Mr. FOSTER. As I stated before, workers who would be so imbued with religious superstitions that they would be married in a church would be of no value to the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. And the same thing would happen to them in this country that happens to them in Russia?

Mr. FOSTER. Of course.

The CHAIRMAN. Does your party believe in the promotion of class hatred?

Mr. FOSTER. This is a peculiar question. What do you mean by "class hatred?"

The CHAIRMAN. I mean stirring up and exciting class antagonism and hatred of the working class against the other classes, so called?

Mr. FOSTER. Our party believes in developing the class consciousness of the workers; to educate the workers to an understanding of their class interests and to organize them to defend that class interest which, inevitably, brings them into conflict with the capitalist class in its whole system of ideology.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the Communists in this country advocate world revolution?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; the Communists in this country realize that America is connected up with the whole world system, and the capitalist system displays the same characteristics everywhere—everywhere it makes for the misery and exploitation of the workers—and it must be abolished, not only on an American scale but on a world scale.

The CHAIRMAN. So that they do advocate world revolution; and do they advocate revolution in this country?

Mr. FOSTER. I have stated that the Communists advocate 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 and the struggle of the workers for bread and butter.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, are the Communists in this country opposed to our republican form of government?

Mr. FOSTER. The capitalist Democracy—most assuredly. We stand for a workers' and farmers' government; a government of producers, not a government of exploiters. The American capitalist Government is built and controlled in the interests of those who own the industries, and we say that the Government must be built and controlled by those who work in the industries and who produce.

The CHAIRMAN. They are opposed to our republican form of government?

Mr. FOSTER. Most assuredly.

The CHAIRMAN. And they desire to overthrow it through revolutionary methods?

Mr. FOSTER. I would like to read from the program of the Communist International at this point. The Communist International program says—

Mr. BACHMANN. From what page are you reading?

Mr. FOSTER. Page 34—

"The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peaceful capturing of ready-made bourgeois state machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The bourgeoisie resorts to every means of violence and terror to safeguard and strengthen its predatory property and political domination. Like the feudal nobility of the past, the bourgeoisie can not abandon its historical position to the new class without a desperate and frantic struggle; hence the violence of the bourgeoisie can only be suppressed by the stern violence of the proletariat."

The CHAIRMAN. Just what is the Third International?

Mr. FOSTER. The Communist International is the world party of the Communist movement.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the Communist Party of the United States connected with it?

Mr. FOSTER. It is.

The CHAIRMAN. In what way?

Mr. FOSTER. It is the American section.

The CHAIRMAN. You take your orders from the Third International; do you?

Mr. FOSTER. The question, "Do we take our orders from the Communist International?" is a question which reveals the utter distance of the capitalist conception of organization from that of the worker. The Communist International is a world party, based upon the mass parties in the respective countries. It works out its policy by the mass principles of these parties in all its deliberations. It is a party that conducts the most fundamental examination of all questions that come before it and, when a decision is arrived at in any given instance, this decision the workers, with their customary sense of proletarian discipline, accept and put into effect.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you do take the orders and carry them out, as decided in Moscow by the Third International of the Communist Party?

Mr. FOSTER. I stated it is not a question of taking orders.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, putting them into effect?

Mr. FOSTER. It is a question of working out policies with

the Comintern, in the Comintern, as part of this proletarian organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, they have to carry out those orders; do they not?

Mr. FOSTER. Carry out the policies?

The CHAIRMAN. Carry out the orders and policies as initiated by the Third International of the Communist Party over in Moscow?

Mr. FOSTER. We carry out the policies in the way I have stated.

The CHAIRMAN. You believe that by advocating the substitution of the soviet system of government for the republican form of government you are operating under the law?

Mr. FOSTER. I, of course, do not say we derived our theories from the Declaration of Independence, but the Declaration of Independence says that when a government demonstrates that it no longer represents the interests of the masses it is not only the right but the duty of these masses to dispose of that government and to establish one that will represent their interests—to abolish that government.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, what you advocate is a change of our republican form of government and the substituting of the soviet form of government?

Mr. FOSTER. I have stated that a number of times.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, if I understand you, the workers in this country look upon the Soviet Union as their country; is that right?

Mr. FOSTER. The more advanced workers do.

The CHAIRMAN. Look upon the Soviet Union as their country?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They look upon the soviet flag as their flag?

Mr. FOSTER. The workers of this country and the workers of every country have only one flag and that is the red flag. That is the flag of the proletarian revolution; it was also, incidentally, the flag of the American Revolution in its earlier stages. The red flag has been the flag of revolution for many years before the Russian revolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the workers of this country consider, then, the Soviet Government to be their country. Do they also consider the red flag to be their flag?

Mr. FOSTER. I have answered quite clearly.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you owe allegiance to the American flag; does the Communist Party owe allegiance to the American flag?

Mr. FOSTER. The workers, the revolutionary workers, in all the capitalist countries are an oppressed class who are held in subjection by their respective capitalist governments and their attitude toward these governments is the abolition of these governments and the establishment of soviet governments.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, they do not claim any allegiance, then, to the American flag in this country?

Mr. FOSTER. That is, you mean the support of capitalism in America—no.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean if they had to choose between the red flag and the American flag, I take it from you that you would choose the red flag; is that correct?

Mr. FOSTER. I have stated my answer.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not want to force you to answer if it embarrasses you, Mr. Foster.

Mr. FOSTER. It does not embarrass me at all. I stated very clearly the red flag is the flag of the revolutionary class, and we are part of the revolutionary class.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood that.

Mr. FOSTER. And all capitalist flags are flags of the capitalist class, and we owe no allegiance to them.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that answers the question.

Second Period (1921 to 1928)

This period saw the launching of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in Russia. The new economic policy was, in fact, a compromise between state and private economy. The Soviet Union found itself in many economic difficulties and began to feel the need for exchange and traffic with other governments. To effectuate this it created the fiction of a separation between the Soviet Government and the Communist Party of Russia. This fiction was embellished and carried further by apparently effecting a separation between the Communist International and the Russian Communist Party. These fictions, it was believed, would soften the attitude of capitalistic governments and permit the Soviet Union to deal with them. As a result of this desperate need for exchange and traffic with other governments, the Communist Parties scattered throughout the world were ordered to retreat from their plotting and to soft-pedal their demand for open revolt and to do their propagandizing within the laws of their respective countries. A lull in world-wide revolutionary propaganda ensued and the comrades in the United States busied themselves with trapping and exploiting sympathetic liberals and progressives and in creating friends for Soviet Russia. The key phrases of this period were "United Front" and "Boring from Within."

Third Period (1928 to 1935)

This period saw the launching of the first "five-year plan" in Russia and the exiling of the so-called Communist Party "leftist," Leon Trotsky. NEP, the new economic policy, was violently wiped out. Private farming came to an end and the forcible socialization of farming began. The most brutal "speed-up" in the world's history began in Russian industry. Soviet Russia more and more turned to greedy nationalism. Workers' control in industry was completely abolished and Soviet Bureaucracy took over. History will undoubtedly reveal that the Fascization of Soviet Russia began in this era. Purges and official mass murders terrorized the entire country. The old Bolsheviks and the heroes of the revolution were slaughtered without compunction, sympathy or trial. Soviet Russia began to look for military alliances and started to woo Germany and Italy. A new revolutionary upsurge was ordained for the Communist Parties in the United States and throughout the world—a new revolutionary upsurge, not so much against capitalism, but more against socialists, conservative labor leaders and trade unionists, liberals and progressives—all lumped in one terrible category—"Social Fascists." This period of Soviet *need* and *ambition* undoubtedly cleared the way for Hitler and Mussolini.

Fourth Period (1935 to 1939)

Soviet Russia's unsuccessful wooing of Hitler and Mussolini led to the change of policy introduced to the world in 1935. The Seventh World Congress, held in Moscow in 1935, gave birth to the new Trojan Horse policy of Dimitrov and the subsequent creation of "Peoples" and "Popular" fronts. The fear of a German and Japanese invasion of Soviet Russia gave rise to a "collective security" policy and the Communist Parties in the United States and throughout the world were ordered to carry these new policies into effect. Despairing of any alliance with Germany or Italy, Soviet Russia decided to appear to be "Democratic" and "anti-Fascist" and ordered the branches of the party throughout the world to propagandize and advertise Soviet Russia on this basis. The Communist Party in the United States became "Twentieth Century Americanism"—the real "friend" of Democracy and the "guardian" of every tradition of freedom and civil liberty. The Communist Party of the United States went to great lengths to advertise Soviet Russia in this new "Democratic" light. Soviet Russia, meanwhile, subscribed to the Kellogg Pact and made non-aggression pacts with her neighbors. Although Lenin had called the League of Nations the "League of Robber Nations," Stalin now entered the league. A phoney constitution for the Soviet Union was drawn but never put into effect and a short time later Stalin physically liquidated two-thirds of the members of the committee who drew the constitution. The threat of world-wide Communist revolution was laughed away and Stalin later lightly described it all as a "comic misunderstanding."

Anti-Nazi leagues flourished in the United States and the Anti-Nazi League of Hollywood grew to considerable proportions. The comrades in America and California exploited to the fullest the growing horror in the minds of all Americans of the brutality rampant in Hitler's Third Reich. The ruthless and barbarous persecution of the Jews by Hitler and his bloody minions, the unspeakable and unbelievable tortures inflicted on the innocent scapegoats of "Fuehrer Aryanism," stirred up a righteous indignation in the hearts of every liberty-loving American citizen. V. J. Jerome (whose true name is Isaac Romaine), personally supervised the organization of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League. Mr. Jerome had been sent to Hollywood some time before by the Communist Party Central Committee to take over the duties of Stanley Lawrence in "improving cultural work" in California. It was V. J. Jerome who brought John Howard Lawson to Hollywood. He helped organize study clubs and coordinated Communist Party work between Hollywood groups and downtown Los Angeles sections. He was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States and co-editor of its magazine, *The Communist*, as well as being Chairman of the Cultural Commission of the Communist Party of the United States. The Anti-Nazi League banked some \$89,892.51 between May 14, 1935, and August 16, 1939.

In spite of this exploitation by the Communist Party of the emotional upsurge against Hitler and his regime, the American Communists regarded the war in Europe as purely an imperialistic struggle. The *party line* during this period was to heap abuse and vilification upon, not only Nazi Germany and its Axis partners, but upon the victims of its aggression. Some 30 days before the amazing and abrupt termination of this fourth period of Communist strategy, Foreign Commissar V. M. Molotov stated:

"* * * there is nothing surprising in the fact that at the end of April the head of the German state in one speech scrapped two important international treaties — the naval agreement with Great Britain and the non-aggression pact between Germany and Poland. There was a time when great international significance was attached to these treaties. But Germany made short work of them, disregarding all formalities. Such was Germany's reply to the proposal of Mr. Roosevelt, President of the United States—a proposal permeated with the peace-loving spirit." (*Soviet Union and the Peace Front*, by V. M. Molotov, International Publishers, Inc. page 5.)

In October of 1940 the *Peace Officers Association of the State of California* held its twentieth annual convention in Fresno. Delegates to this convention represented the law enforcement agencies of the State of California. They had long been concerned with the activities of the *Communist Party* and had given serious study to its aims, objects and techniques. On page 6 of the report appears the following statement:

"Contrary to its ridiculous claims the Communist Party is not intrinsically a political party. It utilizes the political angle as a means of procuring legal protection while it engages in constant efforts to win over the American people to Communism as opposed to American Democracy. And while on this subject, it should be pointed out that Communists claim in a righteous manner that they want to preserve American Democracy. That statement is all right as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough; it should go further to include this phrase: 'We want to preserve American Democracy until we have at last gained control of the government, and no longer need the Democratic form of government to provide protection for our undermining activities'."

On pages 12 and 13 of the report, the following statement is made:

"The stream-lined Communist Party which we see in operation today is scarcely recognizable on the surface as the hard-bitten, fighting, sneering and threatening organization it was some years ago. In those days the party made no bones of saying right out loud that it advocated the overthrow of this government by force and violence. The Communists believed that the overthrow could be accomplished only through a bloody revolution, as the 'capitalist class' would not relinquish its wealth and possessions without a struggle.

"That old-time party was an open challenge in the teeth of its enemies by refusing to recognize National Holidays, by refusing to permit the American flag to be displayed at its meetings and by flaunting its theories of promiscuity in the faces of decent citizens.

"By these defiant tactics more enemies were made for the party than converts, so the next obvious move was made; the entire face of the party, as well as its tactics, were changed. It was 'Americanized' to the furthest extent possible, considering the material the Communists had to work with.

"First, the party began denying that it advocated force and violence; next it threw off its sickly revolutionary cloak and donned a robe embroidered only with the word 'political party.'

"Next came the adoption of the practice of always displaying the American Flag at Communist and subsidiary meetings. It was now seen at the head of parades, in all party centers, etc.

"The Communists who had been sneering, 'We don't celebrate capitalist holidays' or 'We don't observe bourgeois traditions,' now began closing shop on National Holidays and began flying the Stars and Stripes from their windows, in fake deference to our National traditions and institutions.

"Next came the positively startling and amazing proclamation that Communists love the American traditions and in-

stitutions and want to preserve them and also want to preserve Democracy.

'While not of importance, it is amazing to note that these pronouncements by the party stimulated its natural enemy—the Trotsky group—to some of its highest achievements in sarcasm and irony; the Trotskyites, exposing this knavery and deceit, with masterful strokes of the pen and with caustic words, caricatured Earl Browder wrapped in the American Flag and fraternizing with the capitalist class.'

The California Peace Officers Association's report on the embarrassment experienced by the Communists in its "line" switching is described as follows:

"But there remained the advocacy of indiscriminate carnality for the party to live down. This was more or less of a problem, for the membership had both the *Communist Manifesto* and the program of the Communist International, no less, for its authority on this subject; and the said program set forth that the myth of the 'Sanctity' of the 'Home' was a pack of nonsense, and something that the bourgeoisie had cooked up; that children should not be burdened upon parents, but should be wards of the State; further, it gave the general impression that human beings should have no limitations or inhibitions imposed upon their personal desires.

"So here was a pretty kettle of fish: Here was the Communist Party trying to discard its more barbarous and loose libertinism for the attempted appearance of respectability. But within the party's ranks there existed a situation where white women openly consorted with Negro men; white, black, Japanese, Mexican and Filipino members had set up their own little personal alliances with the full approbation of the party. 'Communist marriages,' not blessed by benefit of clergy, founded upon this color-and-race combination basis abounded and were not to be easily dissolved by a sweeping mandate of the party, so the party had no alternative other than to permit them to continue—while the party leaders held their breath and hoped in the names of Marx, Engels, and Lenin that the public would not learn of them!

"Meanwhile the party had gone through some extremely unpleasant experiences because of its encouragement of interracial affairs; jilted Negroes, who had been discarded by jaded 'Comrades' in more cases than one took revenge through vindictive retaliation in the form of physical violence. These embarrassing situations were kept as quiet as possible, with a significant forbearance from any form of punishment for the aggressor, setting a precedent in the annals of Communist Party history. It is interesting to note that there are no present allusions to the odoriferous section of the Communist theory which endorses salacity and which decries restraint of any personal lust.

"Even the Communist press came in for a wash-day renovation. The 'Daily Worker,' long admitted as the official organ of the Communist Party, went through the suds of deception and came out as white as snow with the announcement that three American women (whose ancestry dates way back to there) had purchased the paper and would continue its publication in the interests of 'giving the truth' to the working class. It was to be a purely respectable and humanitarian venture, of course! (In the absence of a better known punctuation mark which would indicate sarcasm and irony, we must be content with the exclamation point.)

"In California a similar action was taken. The 'Western Worker' which had previously been the official organ of the Communist Party of the West Coast, also went through the wash and returned to the newsstand as the 'People's World,' completely freed from the tell-tale red of Communist soil.

"But—looking behind the scenes we still find the 100 per cent Communist staffs on both of these publications; and we still hear the old familiar instructions to Party members to 'raise \$50,000 for the *People's World* at once and to work hard to build up the sustaining fund for the *'Daily Worker'*."

Trojan Horse Tactics

THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE on un-American Activities reporting to the 76th Congress, January 3, 1939, commented on the change of Communist international policy that took place at the beginning of the fourth period, as follows:

In 1935 the Communists changed their strategy and tactics to what is now known as the "Trojan Horse tactics." Georgi Dimitrov, in an address to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, held in Moscow in August 1935, said:

Comrades, you remember the ancient tale of the capture of Troy. Troy was inaccessible to the armies attacking her, thanks to her impregnable walls, and the attacking army, after suffering many sacrifices, was unable to achieve victory until with the aid of the famous Trojan horse it managed to penetrate to the very heart of the enemies' camp. We revolutionary workers, it appears to me, should not be shy about using the same tactics.—(Printed by the Workers Library Publishers, New York City, a Communist publishing house, in reporting the full text of Dimitrov's addresses to the Congress of the Communist International July 25 to August 21, 1935.)

The new tactics have proven to be very effective and successful. Instead of conducting labor organizations of their own, as they formerly did, the Communists have found it much more effective to penetrate legitimate trade unions and to seize strategic positions and offices in those unions. Under the new policy, the Communists form units or fractions within labor unions especially in the heavy industries. These units work in complete unison and harmony under instructions. Their members were well trained in organizing work. In addition to this, they are actuated by a fanatical zeal. When the industrial unions sprang up like mush-

room growths in the heavy industries, there was a scarcity of trained and skilled organizers. Having permeated the organizations, the Communists stepped into the roles of organizers and found it easy to seize strategic positions in the unions. Many of the Communists became organizers, stewards, and members of the executive boards.

The same tactics of penetration or "boring from within" were used successfully on other organizations, such as political parties. Formerly the Communists had their own candidates and their own ticket which they actively and openly supported. Now the Communists either do not put up candidates or, if they do, it is for the purpose of deception. Actually the Communists actively support "left wing" elements in other political parties.

Not only do the Communists penetrate other organizations, but they set up numerous organizations with high-sounding titles and laudable objectives. These are known as the "front" organizations of the Communist Party. The majority of members of these organizations are unaware of the Communist control or influence, but we invariably find outstanding Communists occupying strategic positions within the organizations. From these vantage points they are able to subtly shape or influence the policies of the "front" organizations and direct their activities. The ease with which Communists are able to infiltrate these organizations and seize important positions would be unbelievable if we did not have before us the most convincing proof. The explanation is that many of the non-Communist members are inactive and indifferent while the tightly organized group of Communists within the organization are well organized and fanatically zealous. It is the old story of a well-organized minority being able to outmaneuver an unorganized and indifferent majority. Herein is typified the genius of Communist strategy. They have simply put into effect what has been demonstrated time and time again; namely, that an active and disciplined minority is always able to outmaneuver a disorganized majority. The Communist influence in the United States cannot, therefore, be measured by its size. The Communist program does not call for large numbers. When the Communists seized control of Russia they comprised less than 1 percent of the population of Russia.

Their real influence must be measured in terms of their ability to direct or influence other organizations and groups who have many times the membership that the Communist Party claims. The effectiveness of the Communists in the United States must be gaged by their ability to infuse the poison of class hatred into the blood stream of the Nation. It is not the open and undisguised activity of the Communists that we need fear. It is not their direct influence which should occasion alarm. It is rather the subversive and insidious way in which they go about their destructive work; the penetration of other organizations; the seizure of strategic positions in other organizations and in the Government itself; the subtle and indirect influence which they exert—

these are the things which constitute the Communist menace to America. If the Communists worked in the open there would be nothing to fear, but when through policies of deception and tactics that are cleverly concealed they pursue their destructive plans, it becomes important to reckon with them as menacing factors in our national life. Many of the activities and tactics of the Communists appear ridiculous to the average American and, by reason of this fact, he is prone to discredit the seriousness of these activities. He is apt to overlook the important fact that the minds of most Communists are diseased and that their thinking and process of reason are fantastic and often border on insanity. Indeed the very philosophy of Communism is fantastic and unreal. There is nothing in the experience or reason of man to justify it; it is the product of mental warping. It is, therefore, natural that minds which can seriously entertain such a destructive philosophy, and such an unreasonable conception of man in the universe, should be productive of fantastic schemes and activities. It is strange but true that this irrationalism affords the Communists their most effective guise because the average American is inclined to "laugh it off." The Communist is cunning enough to take advantage of this attitude on our part so that he may prosecute his subversive work unmolested.

Fifth Period (1939 to June 22, 1941)

The Soviet Union amazed the world and many of its deluded Communist members in the United States, by signing a pact with Nazi Germany, August 23, 1939. The Comintern immediately ordered its parties in the United States and throughout the world to renew their revolutionary character. "Collective Security" was immediately scuttled and the Communist parties everywhere became isolationists and belabored Great Britain and the "British Imperialist War." In the United States, the Communists launched the slogan "The Yanks Are Not Coming" and attacked President Roosevelt viciously as a "warmonger." Strikes in war and defense industries were fomented and viciously carried on by Communists throughout the United States. Meanwhile, Soviet Russia attacked Finland and partitioned Poland with her Nazi comrade-in-arms. Nazi Bundsters and American Communists joined hands in sabotaging United States aid to Great Britain. Members of both organizations began a penetration of the America First Committee. Conscription and lend-lease proposals were viciously and bitterly opposed. Anti-Nazi leagues in America were quickly abandoned for American Peace Mobilization fronts and new name-calling, including "warmonger" and "imperialist," were shouted at anyone who decried Nazi brutality and aggression. The fifth period of Communist development in the United States will always be remembered for its sharp curve in 1939 with the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact and its breath-taking flip-flop June 22, 1941 when Hitler's hordes swept into the Ukraine.

About a week after the signing of the Stalin-Hitler non-aggression pact. Foreign Commissar Molotov wrote in *The Meaning of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact*, Workers' Library Publishers, August 31, 1939, page 3:

"* * * the conclusion of a pact of non-aggression between the U. S. S. R. and Germany is of tremendous positive value, eliminating the danger of war between Germany and the Soviet Union."

Commisar Molotov continued in the same article (page 8):

"As you see, Stalin hit the nail on the head when he exposed the machinations of the Western Europe politicians who were trying to set Germany and the Soviet Union at loggerheads. It must be confessed that there were some short-sighted people in our own country who, carried away by oversimplified anti-fascist propaganda, forgot about this provocative work of our enemies. Mindful of this, Stalin even then suggested the possibility of other unhostile, good-neighborly relations between Germany and the U. S. S. R. It can now be seen that on the whole Germany correctly understood these statements of Stalin and drew practical conclusions from them. The conclusion of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact shows that *Stalin's historic prevision has been brilliantly confirmed.*" (Committee's italics.)

In Molotov's report to the Supreme Soviet, October 31, 1939, Workers' Library Publishers, Inc., page 5, the foreign commissar further solidified Soviet Russia's new policy toward Germany, in the following language:

"* * * Germany is in a position of a state which is striving for the earliest termination of war and for peace, while Britain and France, which only yesterday were declaiming against aggression, are in favor of continuing the war and are opposed to the conclusion of peace. The roles, as you see, are changing."

And further in the same report, page 8, Molotov continues:

"The relations between Germany and the other Western European Bourgeois states have in the past two decades been determined primarily by Germany's efforts to break the fetters of the Versailles Treaty, whose authors were Great Britain and France, with the active collaboration of the United States. This, in the long run, led to the present war in Europe * * *. The relations between the Soviet Union and Germany have been based on a different foundation, which involved no interest whatever in perpetuating the post-war Versailles system. *We have always held that a strong Germany is an indispensable condition for a durable peace in Europe.*" (Committee's italics.)

On page 23 of his report to the Supreme Soviet, Foreign Commissar Molotov asks some questions about the United States:

"In any event, our country, as a neutral country, which is not interested in the spread of war, will take every measure to render this war less devastating, to weaken it and hasten its termination in the interests of peace. From this standpoint, the decision of the American Government to lift the embargo on the export of arms to belligerent countries raises just misgivings. It can scarcely be doubted that the effect of this decision will not be to weaken the war and hasten its termination, but, on the contrary, to intensify, aggravate and protract it. Of course, the decision may insure big profits for American war industries. But, one asks, can this serve as any justification for lifting the embargo on the export of arms from America? Clearly, it can not."

Thus it was, in compliance with Soviet foreign policy, that the Communists in the United States and in California launched a campaign for isolation and nonintervention, joining hands with the America First Committee, The German-American Bund and many other anti-war, isolationist organizations. Harry Bridges' Union, the *Maritime Federation of the Pacific*, originated the slogan "The Yanks Are Not Coming!" and this defiant expression of nonintervention became the password in every Communist front organization. *Labors' Non-Partisan League* of California circulated thousands of paper book matches bearing this slogan. It was heard from the rostrum of every Communist front organization, such as the *American Peace Mobilization* and the *American Student Union*.

So that no doubt be left in the minds of anyone, the Committee quotes the above-mentioned V. J. Jerome, the American Communist bell-wether of the fellow-traveling cultural clique, in *Social Democracy and the War*. Workers' Library Publishers, Inc., 1940 (pages 45-46):

"Since the warmongering campaign opened, innumerable trade unions and other mass organizations have adopted resolutions against this country's involvement. A. F. of L. and C. I. O. State labor bodies and city councils, national unions and locals, the unemployed, church bodies, and the vital youth movement are saying, with the national convention of the C. I. O.: Labor wants no war or any part of it. * * * The voice of militant labor rings forth in ever-swelling volume in the slogan first sounded by the Maritime Federation of the Pacific: 'The Yanks Are Not Coming!' The Communist Party of the United States declares: '* * * we Communists will continue the broadest collaboration with all elements in the labor movement to advance the struggle for working class unity by educating, rallying, and unifying the workers against capitalist reaction and exploitation and to keep America out of the imperialistic war'."

In April of 1941 circulars were being generously and copiously circulated throughout California, carrying to the uninformed and the innocent, the Americanized version of the foreign policy

of Soviet Russia. Pamphlets demanding and proclaiming: "Get Out and Stay Out of the Imperialist War! No Convoys! No A. E. F. The Yanks Are Not Coming—Friendship With the Soviet Union!" were distributed at the University of California at Berkeley and throughout the United States.

The committee finds that the Communist Party in California, acting through unions which it dominated and controlled, launched an amazing epidemic of strikes in key defense industries and were successful in many cases in tying up production of armament, die-casting, steel, planes and ships.

Mr. Hugh Ben Inzer, who was president of Local 216 of the United Automobile Workers Union, C. I. O., testified under oath before the California committee, October 16, 1941. Mr. Inzer stated that he had been an assemblyman for General Motors in South Gate since November 16, 1936. He stated that he was acquainted with Lew Michener, Wyndham Mortimer, Philip M. (Slim) Connelly and other leaders of the C. I. O. We quote Mr. Inzer's testimony verbatim from Volume IV of the committee's transcript, beginning at page 1215:

"A. (Inzer) When I was elected to the presidency of Local 216, I was asked by the Regional Director to take time off and come down to the Regional Office for a couple of days at the expense of the International. In other words, the International would pay my expenses. So that was around the 8th of May, 1940, and at that time I took this time off and went down and I reached the office about 9:30 in the morning and from that time until noon I was introduced to different people in the C. I. O. Building, who worked in the offices and he stated those were the people I would now have to cooperate with—I was the new president of Local 216, and they were all in the C. I. O. movement. So, then, we proceeded to go out for luncheon.

Q. Now, where are the headquarters you spoke of?

A. (Inzer) That's the Currier Building at Spring and Third, I believe.

Q. In this city?

A. (Inzer) In Los Angeles, yes, sir.

Q. All right, Mr. Inzer.

A. (Inzer) About twelve we went out to lunch and I went out to lunch with Michener and a person known as Slim Connelly.

Q. Now, is that Philip M. Connelly?

A. (Inzer) That's Philip M. Connelly.

Q. What position, if any, did he occupy in the C. I. O.?

A. (Inzer) He holds a position as President of State C. I. O.

Q. He is still?

A. (Inzer) Yes, he is—

Q. And—pardon me.

A. (Inzer)—he was also Secretary to the Council here in Los Angeles.

Q. Now, while you were there, did you have a conversation with Mr. Michener and Mr. Connelly relative to the general situation among the automobile workers?

A. (Inzer) I did, yes, sir.

Q. And the Union situation in the vicinity of Los Angeles in that industry?

A. (Inzer) That's right.

Q. And did that conversation occur while you were at lunch?

A. (Inzer) No, after lunch we went into the Regional Office and he said there were some more people coming in and we were going to get together on a program to follow for the next year and it took place after lunch in the Regional Office.

Q. And after you went back to the Currier Building, following your luncheon, did you go upstairs in the building or were you on the ground floor?

A. (Inzer) We went upstairs in the building, I believe the Regional Office at that time was on the fourth floor—I know it was on one of the floors above the first floor.

Q. Yes.

A. (Inzer) So we went up to the Regional Office and went into the Regional Director's Office and we were seated there.

Q. Did some other people come in?

A. (Inzer) Two men came in, other than Connelly, Mortimer and Michener and myself, two other men. One came in and was introduced to me as Mr. Diebel; another man came in and was introduced to me as Mr. Perry.

Q. Now, were you present here when Mr. Diebel testified before this Committee?

A. (Inzer) Yes, sir, I was.

Q. Did you have an opportunity to observe him?

A. (Inzer) No, other than his back walking up and from the witness stand.

Q. Were you able to tell whether or not that is the same Mr. Diebel you met at the Currier Building?

A. (Inzer) I am positive of it.

Q. You are sure it was?

A. (Inzer) I am sure it was.

Q. I hand you a photograph and ask you if that is a photograph of Mr. Diebel? (Handing to witness.)

A. (Inzer) That is.

Q. You recognize him as the same person who was present at the meeting you are now testifying about?

A. (Inzer) Yes, sir.

Q. Are you sure of that?

A. (Inzer) Yes, sir, I am positive.

Q. Who else came in?

A. (Inzer) There was a colored fellow came by the name of Perry. They introduced him as Mr. Perry.

Q. Was that Mr. Pettis Perry?

A. (Inzer) I found out later it was, I found out later it was Pettis Perry.

CHAIRMAN TENNEY: He is a Negro, is he not?

A. (Inzer) He is a Negro, yes, sir.

MR. COMBS: Go ahead.

A. (Inzer) These men came in and sat in. I didn't know who these people were any more than I know the people out in the audience, all I thought was they are some part of the Labor Movement. So Mr. Connelly and Mr. Michener began to tell me that we would have to set up an organization among all the Locals, that is, to have the Presidents of the Locals and the Executive Board of each Local to be ready to cooperate with the Regional Office at any time in case of an emergency, and what I gathered from the conversation of the meeting, the emergency was this: Any time they wanted to call a strike at any plant that has a C. I. O. contract that they could put so much pressure on the management by calling the other plants in Los Angeles out in sympathetic strike with the plant trying to get a contract, by so doing they could force the management of that company to sign the contract that the Union wanted. So they also stated that this man who they introduced as Mr. Diebel had cooperated with them in the past in putting out literature. They went ahead to state they cooperated in literature known as "The Yanks Are Not Coming" and he said also any time we need any literature printed that this man had a print shop and would be glad to cooperate in putting out any literature that we needed.

Q. That was said in the presence of Mr. Diebel?

A. (Inzer) That was said in the presence of Mr. Diebel and the rest of the men in the meeting.

Q. When that portion of the conversation occurred, Mr. Inzer, were you seated any place in the room?

A. (Inzer) We were seated in the room in chairs (indicating).

Q. Around a table?

A. Inzer) No, the chairs were just pulled out and seated in the room (indicating).

Q. The conversation was perfectly audible to all persons present?

A. (Inzer) Yes.

Q. All right, go ahead, and give us the substance of what occurred.

A. (Inzer) This statement in regards to putting out the literature and he agreed he would do that. Then they stated Mr. Perry was the head of an organization who could furnish us with men, with a lot of man power, and also furnish us with pickets, men to put out literature and men to do any kind of a job that we needed so long as our men were tied up on the picket line and by so getting that cooperation we would be able to force the management of the plants to sign an agreeable contract with the Union.

Q. Well, now,—

A. (Inzer) Mr. Perry agreed he was at the head of an organization and could supply any amount of men that were needed.

Q. Was the organization identified at that time or subsequently?

A. (Inzer) No, it was not.

Q. All right.

A. (Inzer) No, it was not.

Q. You did not know the organization they were referring to?

A. (Inzer) I did not know the organization, no, sir.

Q. Had you ever seen either Mr. Diebel or Mr. Perry before, to your knowledge?

A. (Inzer) No, sir, I had never seen them before in my life.

Q. All right, go ahead.

A. (Inzer) So after these two points were brought up these men disappeared, they got up and left the room.

Q. Did they leave the room together?

A. (Inzer) No, they didn't.

Q. Who left first?

A. (Inzer) I believe Mr. Diebel, and in five or ten minutes Mr. Perry followed out.

Q. All right.

A. (Inzer) So, then, we continued with our conversation and in the meantime though, I had been used to running into

the Communist activities in the C. I. O. before that time, and I could see that this program was leading right up to the same thing, Communist C. I. O. on the Coast. So the next day,—after these fellows left we talked about ten or fifteen minutes, and I went back to my office. The next day I was supposed to go down again but I went back to my own office and called up the Regional Office and told them I was there in case they needed me. Mr. Michener wanted to know what was wrong and I told him I had investigated and found out who these men were and I, as President of Local 216, I would not be connected with the Regional Office, my rank and file would not cooperate,—by the way, our Local consists of 1800.

Q. They didn't approve of it?

A. (Inzer) They don't approve of that influence in the Union.

Q. They are aware the influence is there?

A. (Inzer) Absolutely, yes, sir.

Q. Now, Mr. Inzer, you say you did make an investigation following this meeting which you have testified about?

A. (Inzer) That's right.

Q. Did you find out what organization Mr. Perry spoke of when he mentioned that he had an organization through which he could furnish pickets, and so forth?

A. (Inzer) Yes, I went back to the Union and asked some of my Executive Board if they had heard of these men and they said they had heard of them and they believed one was on the German-American Bund and the other the Communist Party. I had a friend who was very active in different work in Los Angeles and I knew he was well acquainted or would know of them, so I asked him and he was quite shocked to know that I had been to such a meeting, and he readily told me that this one, Hans Diebel, was at the head or active in the German-American Bund in Los Angeles and he did have a bookstore on 15th Street and also Perry was the head of the Communist Party and he took me down to the places and I looked in and satisfied myself as to who they were,—they were there.

Q. You went to both addresses?

A. (Inzer) I saw both persons.

Q. You conducted an investigation that satisfied you that the statements you had obtained concerning their activities were correct?

A. (Inzer) Absolutely, yes, sir.

Q. What happened to you then in your Local 216?

A. (Inzer) Well, as soon—

Q. Of course, there was the declaration of war between Russia and Germany?

A. (Inzer) That's right. As soon as the Regional Director mentioned or found out I was not going to cooperate with him and the reason he wanted me to cooperate with him was the Communist Party here in Los Angeles controls the C. I. O., and I don't mean partly, I mean they control it, they do what they want to with it. Any time they send a Communist out to my Local to sell the rank and file that all he wants to do is to have them work with him and help put it over, and after I would refuse any issue he'd attack me for not cooperating with the Regional Office and he also brought Mortimer out to do the same thing, and try to poison the minds of the rank and file, who I represented, so they'd not pay any attention to me and be against my act.

The California committee included the above excerpt from the testimony of Hugh Ben Inzer as proof of the collaboration and cooperation of the Communist Party and the German-American Bund with such Communist-dominated union organizations as the C. I. O. under the leadership of Philip M. Connelly and Lew Michener during the fifth period of Communist strategy. The identity and affiliation of Pettis Perry, then the Secretary of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County, and Hans Diebel, of the German-American Bund, in the City of Los Angeles, are well known.

Sixth Period (June 22, 1941, to ?)

THE SIXTH PERIOD OF COMMUNISM in the United States began with Hitler's invasion of Soviet Russia. The Communist press in the United States up to this event was still attacking President Roosevelt as a "warmonger" and belaboring the "British Imperialist War." Strikes all over the country were instituted by Communist dominated unions. With the startling news that the "Fatherland" had been attacked by Hitler's hordes, the strikes stopped in defense and war industries throughout the United States. Peace mobilization fronts and leagues evaporated into this air. "All Out Aid to Soviet Russia, Great Britain and China" replaced the former slogans of "Stop the British Imperialist War" and "The Yanks Are Not Coming." This latter slogan was soon considerably amended to read "The Yanks Are Not Coming Too Late." President Roosevelt became an overnight hero instead of a "warmonger." Every Communist in California and throughout the United States became a chauvinistic patriot and "Unity Leagues" of this and that for "Victory" mushroomed throughout California and the United States. Although the anti-religious campaign of Soviet Russia was flourishing up to the violation of the Soviet-Nazi Pact and Soviet Russia's *League of the Militant Godless* was still vigorously functioning, the Communist Party of America began, in this period, to extol the religious tolerance of Communism. The American Communists were ordered to emphasize the "Democracy" of Soviet Russia and its fervent championship of civil liberty.

Dictator Stalin's "historic prevision," as Foreign Commissar Molotov had hailed it, was thrown in the ash can as Hitler's panzer divisions went crashing over the Soviet frontiers. New slogans and proclamations appeared on the familiar mimeographed circulars and pamphlets of the Communist Party pamphleteers as soon as the comrades had caught their breath and determined the new foreign policy of the "Fatherland." On September 16, 1941, another circular appeared at the University of California at Berkeley, this time urging the students to: "Unite the campus to defeat Hitler and Hitlerism! Defend America by full and immediate aid to Great Britain and the Soviet Union! Aid China Embargo Japan! Make the campus a fortress of Democracy! For unity and victory—Join the American Student Union!"

It was Russia, and NOT the United States that was invaded by Germany. The news of this event, however, was attended with repercussions in the United States and in California which were immediate and profound. A strange and significant quiet prevailed over America's labor front. Overnight the *Imperialist War* of June 21, 1941, was changed by some strange, international magic, into a *people's war* which involved the Soviet Union. The American Communists would now take all the Yanks they could get. American Communists were now declaring that "Now * * * this is *OUR* war * * *," as did Rose Segure and other California Communists and fellow travelers. Foreign Commissar Molotov now ordained that it would be all right for America to lift the embargo on arms to belligerents; particularly to the Soviet Union and Britain.

Americans everywhere should concern themselves seriously with the changes that came to California and the United States; changes which effected the release of defense industries from the strangle hold of Communist dominated unions, the sudden change in propagandizing in our State educational institutions. It should carefully be noted by all students of these matters that these changes were caused, not by anything happening directly in or to the United States. Again they turned on the *need* and *foreign policy* of a foreign government thousands of miles away. The fact should be emphasized that there exists in the State of California an organized group of subversive individuals, completely dominated by a foreign power, with sufficient influence in our American Labor movement to launch a strike epidemic in our defense industries when the purpose suits the foreign power, and to turn it off again like water from a tap when the foreign policy of the dominating foreign power commands. While the needs of the foreign power dominating this group in California and the United States may correspond presently with our own needs, it may well be, in the future, that the needs of the dominating force exerted on these American subversives may be detrimental in the extreme to our own needs and purposes. It is high time for the people of this State thoroughly and completely to understand and realize that the members of the Communist Party are an organized iron disciplined group controlled, unquestionably, by a foreign power, Soviet Rus-

sia. These people should be regarded for what they actually are—agents of a foreign power, and should not be, in any way, looked upon as super-patriots and saviors of the working class of America and California, as they would like to lead us to believe.

The official mass murders of Soviet Russia's Fifth Period, together with its amazing trials in which every defendant attempted to out-confess the other; literally bubbling over with the admission of treasonable crimes against the Soviet Government, fantastically, eagerly and enthusiastically inviting the death penalty are now being sold to the American people by the Communists as far-visioned statesmanship on the part of Dictator Stalin. Ambassador Joseph E. Davies' book, *Mission to Moscow*, is now pounced on by the Communists of America as corroborating evidence of the statesmanship of Joseph Stalin in defending the "Democracy" of Soviet Russia and the United Nations. This phase of Ambassador Davies' book, *Mission to Moscow*, should be read in conjunction with the report on the trials by Dr. John Dewey, *Men and Politics* by Louis Fischer and writers who were in actual attendance at the trials in Russia and who possessed a knowledge of Communist ideology and tactics.

Hewlett Johnson, the aged Dean of Canterbury, has written a book, *Soviet Power*, and this volume is now being given widespread circulation by the Communist Party of America. Eugene Lyons, who spent considerable time in Soviet Russia, calls this book of the Dean of Canterbury "a topsy-turvy book * * * an Alice-in-Wonderland volume that can only be catalogued as literature of hallucination * * *."

The members of the California committee realized on the morning of June 23, 1941 that an era of Communist strategy had come to an end in California and in the United States. The committee had been preparing a series of hearings connected with the strikes at the North American Aircraft Company in Inglewood. This plant had been closed June 6, 1941 by the C. I. O. but had been reopened several weeks later by the United States Army acting under the direction of the President of the United States. While the committee did not have an opportunity fully to investigate this strike it learned that its leaders in the C. I. O. were the same old Communist and fellow-traveling crowd. Wyndham Mortimer—whose Communist Party name was Baker—Lew Michener, Elmer Freitag—who was registered as a Communist in 1938—and lesser lights such as Jeff Kibre and Don Healy, were the Stalinist leaders of this piece of defense sabotage in America. It was all over, of course, when Hitler's panzer divisions drove into Russia June 22, 1941. The committee knew that the Communist Party of the United States would receive new instructions; that the revolutionary character of the Communist Party of America would be disguised; that the Communists of California would, as long as it assisted Soviet Russia, be the most enthusiastic patriots for the defeat of Hitler and the enemies of the Red Fatherland.

What love of the United States, its Constitution, Flag, traditions and way of life could not accomplish in its appeal to men like Wyndham Mortimer and Lew Michener, invasion of a foreign totalitarian dictatorship accomplished overnight. The people of California and the United States should never forget that the defense efforts of our great Nation would have been ruthlessly sabotaged by what purported to be an American labor movement—the C. I. O.—had it not been for the *need* of a foreign dictatorship thousands of miles away.

The committee reports, therefore, that, in this, the Sixth Period of Communist development and strategy in California and the United States, the war efforts of our State and Nation are presently safe from Communist interference and sabotage. Every real Communist in the United States will sacrifice, fight, and die if need be, just so long as the sacrificing, fighting and dying assists the Red Fatherland — Soviet Russia. Meanwhile, Americans should make no mistake about the true situation. The Communist Party of the United States of America is *NOT* willing to sacrifice, to fight or to die, to preserve American Democracy, its Constitution, its Flag, its tradition, or its way of life. The long range objective has not changed and *will not change*. The revolutionary spirit is temporarily on ice and the Seventh Period of Communist development in this country may see it in all its grim horror if the *needs, ambitions and foreign policy* of Soviet Russia so ordain.

Those who have read thus far are well capable of drawing their own conclusions. The committee's investigators already report plans of the Communist Party in California for the formation of soldiers' and sailors' councils in the Army and the Navy, patterned after similar councils set up in the armies and navies of the Czar and the Kerensky government in Russia in 1917. Reports reaching the committee from closed meetings of Communist groups throughout California tell of plans for soviet governments throughout Europe upon the collapse of Hitlerism and the weakening of the Nazi-yoke. While it is not the province of the committee to prognosticate the future, the committee, must, nevertheless, state with all the emphasis at its command that this, the Sixth Period of Communist development and strategy, is not the last period. The committee warns the people of California and of the United States that there *WILL BE* a Seventh Period of Communist strategy in America. Only the vigilance of the American people and the devotion to the Constitution and traditions of the United States on the part of public officials can successfully block the Seventh Period of Communism from being the *last* period of the American way of life.

Totalitarian rattlesnakes apparently find satisfaction in warning their prospective victims before striking. The Democracies of the world can not complain that Hitler had not warned them of his world aggression ambitions in the pages of *Mein Kampf*. The purpose of the Third International, from the beginning and throughout its history, has been boldly stated as world domina-

tion and the destruction of all existing forms of government. Even the Japanese Imperialists, while not quite so blatant and open in their avowed objectives, have indicated the course that they would pursue at the proper moment. Similarly the Comintern today indicates the course of its next period of strategy.

Support of Soviet Foreign Policy

From the foregoing it will be seen that the interests of the Soviet Union, during the Hitler-Stalin Non-Aggression Pact, were served by their representatives and affiliates in the United States by the launching of a campaign to keep America out of the "imperialist war." The *Communist Party* called for an embargo on the shipment of materials of war to belligerent countries. They opposed conscription and fought military training. They called President Roosevelt a "war-monger," created and directed the *American Peace Mobilization*, joined with isolationists and German Bundsters. They held frequent peace demonstrations and shouted that "The Yanks Are Not Coming!" Simultaneously an epidemic of strikes was launched by Communist-controlled union organizations in key defense plants throughout the United States.

When Germany invaded Russia on June 22, 1941, a typical Leninistic "sharp turn" was executed by the *Communist Party* in the United States. Immediately the *American Peace Mobilization* was dissolved. The epidemic of strikes ended abruptly. The "imperialist war" became a "people's war" and the Communist slogan of the day was "All aid to the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the Allies." They were no longer interested in placing an embargo on the shipment of materials of war to belligerent nations and they became particularly anxious that such materials be shipped to the Soviet Union. They no longer opposed military training or conscription. President Roosevelt ceased to be a "war-monger" and the *Communist Party* wanted all the "Yanks" they could get. A howl went up from American Communists for the immediate opening of a "second front."

Soviet foreign policy was supported by American Communists through every period.

Trotskyism and Lovestoneism

L EON TROTSKY was one of the group that signed the Manifesto launching the Comintern in March of 1919. Undoubtedly Lenin distrusted Stalin and preferred Trotsky as his successor. All contemporary writers of the time and evidence available now indicates this fact clearly. Certainly Leon Trotsky was Lenin's closest associate and confidant. Stalin had moved cautiously and it was apparent in 1926 or 1927 that Trotsky's pretensions to the dictatorship were doomed. Charles E. Ruthenburg, "the American Lenin," died suddenly early in 1927 and the American Bolsheviks started a mass scramble for power in the United States. Jay Lovestone, Benjamin Gitlow, William Z. Foster and other pre-

tenders to the throne vacated by the "American Lenin," Charles E. Ruthenberg, dashed madly off to the Kremlin in their scramble for Ruthenberg's crown. Jay Lovestone and his group, being luckier guessers than the others, for the time, at least, took the lead in demanding Trotsky's ouster from the International. Lovestone and his followers, subsequently slated for the same fate, viciously attacked Trotsky and his adherents as Trotskyites, a sort of "left-wing" Communism. Those who had espoused the cause of Leon Trotsky were branded as Trotskyites and the first major purge in the Communist Party of America occurred in 1928 when James Cannon, Max Schachtman and other bad guessers on the outcome of the Stalin-Trotsky contest in Russia, were expelled from the party. Jay Lovestone and his American group later guessed wrong in a contest that developed between Stalin and Nikolai Bukharin. Although Stalin was reported as ridiculing rumors of an impending break between himself and Bukharin, clever Stalinists veered away from Bukharin. Jay Lovestone, representing the great majority of Communists in the United States, was foolish enough to believe Stalin's protestations and maintained friendly relations with Bukharin. Intrigue and plotting inside the Communist Party of the United States soon culminated in a smear campaign directed against Jay Lovestone and his adherents because of their friendship with Bukharin and they were attacked as "Bukharin Right Deviators." A Comintern Commission was set up in Moscow under the supervision of Viacheslav Molotov and Lovestone and his followers, although representing the greatest number of American Communists, were charged with treachery, stupidity and unprincipled opportunism and were thrown out of the party. Hence, the second great American purge by the Communist Party occurred in America and the expelled members became known as Lovestoneites.

The so-called orthodox Communists—orthodox because they followed the Stalin school and Stalin is on the throne in Moscow—undoubtedly reserve their deepest hatred for the Lovestoneites and the Trotskyites—and in any choice between these two factions and capitalism—the Stalinists would unhesitatingly take the latter. A person who merely murders his grandmother is a nice fellow compared to a Trotskyite, from the Stalinist point of view.

Don Morton, a former Communist Party member, told the California committee (Volume VI, pp. 1783-1794) that the Communist Party planted spies in the Socialist Party and in the Fourth International and that these spies reported to the Stalinist group on the activities of the Trotskyites.

William Schneiderman (Vol. V, pp. 1260-1342), Secretary of the Communist Party in California, testified that the Communist Party regarded the Trotskyites as "agents of Fascism" and that the Party has held them in this light ever since they were expelled. The Lovestoneites, according to Mr. Schneiderman, are viewed in the same category—"agents of Fascism." Illustrating

the venom and bitterness with which the orthodox Stalinites look upon the Trotskyites, Mr. Schneiderman told the committee that Alexander Noral had denounced his sister, Norma Perry, for Trotskyite activities in San Francisco at a convention of the Communist Party in 1938.

Mr. William Schneiderman (Volume V, p. 1341) regarded the reading of Max Eastman "a waste of time." Mr. Eastman, he stated, belonged to the "Trotskyite element."

Mr. Bert Hanman, a self-admitted former member of both the Stalinist and Trotskyist variety of Communism in California, testified before the committee in San Francisco (Volume VI, pp. 1695-1727). Mr. Hanman testified that he had entered the University of California from Chowchilla in the Fall of 1925 and that he was graduated from the College of Commerce in 1929 with a degree of B.S. He received his Masters Degree in Economics in 1930.

Returning to Chowchilla, Mr. Hanman took over his father's business and later decided to be a writer. He studied Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. About this time he met Norman Mini and William Gannon in Sacramento and also met Carl Patterson, the then State Organizer for the Communist Party. It was Mr. Patterson who started the *United Farmers' League* in California for small farmers. Mr. Hanman testified that this was a Communist Party front. Mr. Hanman stated that the movement began early in 1933 when most of California's small farmers were destitute. All of the members of the *United Farmers' League* were bona fide farmers except Patterson, the organizer. Mr. Hanman stated that he worked with the *United Farmers' League* and that he then joined the Communist Party, helping Patterson organize the farmers into a Communist Party Unit in Chowchilla. He stated that this became a unit of some 30 members.

Mr. Hanman was invited by Sam Darcy through Louise Todd to attend a district committee meeting of District 13 of the Communist Party in San Francisco. He told the committee that this meeting was held in a very secret manner in a garage. Among those present, Mr. Hanman named Lillian Monroe, Caroline Decker, Pat Chambers, Paul and Violet Orr, Elmer Hanoff, Sam Darcy, Louise Todd and Carl Patterson. Mr. Hanman stated that Elmer Hanoff was known at that time as the "Red Star Man," which term indicated a member of the Communist Party disciplinary body. Mr. Hanman testified that the vaunted and confusing term of Communist Party lingo, "Democratic centralism" really meant dictatorship. He stated that he had been led to believe that the Communist Party was a Democratic organization but soon learned that it was built and functioned only on dictatorship lines. He testified that the Communist Party in California is completely controlled by a very small group sitting at the top. He stated that party functionaries agreed with him that the Communist Party was not all that it should be.

One of the tactics used by the Communist Party in winning the farmers was playing the "Pied Piper" through the *United Farmers' League*. The activities of the league induced the county to supply squirrel poison and the *United Farmers' League* members put it out helping the farmers thus rid themselves of a squirrel plague. Mr. Hanman said this tactic gave the farmers a feeling of unity and that it strengthened their moral. It was then easy enough for the Communist controlled *United Farmers' League* to lead the farmers in requesting a reduction in power rates. Mr. Hanman testified that the *United Farmers' League* collapsed in 1934 after he moved from Chowchilla to Berkeley.

Mr. Hanman went to Salt Lake in 1934, at about the time Norman Mini and others were arrested and charged with criminal syndicalism. He stated that he was gone about three months and during this time he became interested in Trotsky's writings. He stated that he believed the Fourth International movement corrected many ills of the Third International. He discussed this matter with Norman Mini who agreed with him, mainly because criticism had become impossible in the Communist Third International.

Returning to Berkeley Mr. Hanman was reinstated in the Communist Party. Meanwhile Caroline Decker, Norman Mini and others were in jail in Sacramento on the Criminal Syndicalism charge and the Communist Party had made no attempt to bail them out. Mr. Hanman attended a joint county meeting of the East Bay Section of the Communist Party about this time and learned that the Communist Party was "disciplining" Caroline Decker and the others because of some trouble between a fraction of the *California Workers' Industrial Union* and the "Darcy Bureaucracy" over management of that organization. At this meeting, Mr. Hanman requested the Sacramento trial be placed on the agenda. This was refused. Mr. Hanman insisted on speaking of the Sacramento trial anyway. Miles Humphrey was the chairman of this meeting. Being unable to do anything for his comrades in Sacramento at the Communist East Bay Section meeting, he prepared a paper on the Sacramento cases and submitted same to Sam Darcy, sending a copy of the paper to Caroline Decker in Sacramento. Mr. Hanman testified that this action made Sam Darcy very angry. He was called before a general membership meeting of the Communist Party over which Elmer Hanoff, the "Red Star Man" presided. The witness told the committee that this was, indeed, bureaucracy "really at work." He testified that only members friendly to the bureaucracy were notified of the meeting and that he was not allowed to speak in his own behalf. He was charged with being a Trotskyite and the chief evidence in support of this charge was that he had had a cup of coffee with a known Trotskyite. He testified that all rights of lower Communist Party organizational bodies were ignored. Despite the steam-roller methods used in expelling him, Hanman stated that there were several dissenting votes.

After his expulsion from the Communist Party Hanman immediately contacted a Trotskyite group in the bay area headed by one Barney Mayes. Mayes was at that time the editor of *The Voice of the Federation of the Maritime Federation*. Hanman then joined the *Workers' Party*, the American section of the Fourth International, headed by Leon Trotsky. (Leon Trotsky was at that time in exile in Norway.) Hanman contacted the *Non-Partisan Labor Defense* (which is to the Fourth Communist International what the *International Labor Defense* is to the Communist Third International) on behalf of the Communist defendants charged with criminal syndicalism in Sacramento. He stated that the *Non-Partisan Labor Defense* raised money through the Socialist Party in New York and offered to put up bail for the defendants. When the Communist Party heard of this move on the part of the Trotskyist *Non-Partisan Labor Defense* it immediately ordered the Sacramento defendants to refuse "counter-revolutionary" bail. Hanman's activities for the defendants, however, caused the Communist Party immediately to busy itself in behalf of its "disciplined" members languishing in the Sacramento jail.

Mr. Hanman told the committee that after these events he acted as an organizer for the *Workers' Party* for a time and that he brought Lillian Monroe, Charles Cornell and a Joe Hanson of Salt Lake City into the Fourth International. Charles Cornell, the witness testified, later became a bodyguard for Leon Trotsky in Mexico and Joe Hanson became Trotsky's secretary.

The witness concluded his testimony by stating that after a time he began to run into the same sort of bureaucracy in the Fourth International he had encountered in the Third; that he uncovered the same kind of double-dealing and the same lack of Democracy under Trotsky that he found in the Stalin faction.

Mr. Hanman now looks upon himself as something of a "political derelict."

Legal Political Communist Party—A Fiction

The fourth period of Communist development and strategy in the United States, based on the parallel period of the *need, ambition and foreign policy* of Soviet Russia, saw the rise of Communism in the United States as a legally constituted political party. While beginnings had been made before this period the names selected had been more deceiving, such as the Communist Labor Party, Workers' Party, et cetera. It must be remembered that this fourth period, beginning in 1935, had seen the launching of the Trojan Horse Cavalry and the creation of "people's fronts," "popular fronts" and "collective security." Fascization of Soviet Russia had been under way for some time. Stalin had despaired of forming an advantageous pact with Hitler and Mussolini and was in growing fear of a German and Japanese war. The comrades of the Communist Parties of the world were ordered to sell Soviet Russia to their respective countries on the basis of "De-

mocracy" and "anti-Fascism." In conformity with the new slogan "Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism" and the Communist-advertised agreements between Marx, Lenin, and Stalin and Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, the Communist Party of the United States of America launched its *legal* political party in earnest. The revolutionary character of the party had not changed. It was merely in moth balls. What the Communist Party of America did, so reasoned the Kremlin strategists, reflected the character of the Soviet Government. So it was that selected comrades in the various states were ordered to register as members of a legally constituted Communist Party. Former members of the Communist Party have stated that at no time in the United States did more than 20 per cent of the membership of the Communist Party register openly as such. This strategy served two purposes. First, it helped the Red Fatherland in its current maneuvering and secondly, it permitted greater recruiting of unwary Americans into the party and gave an air of respectability to the odious appellation of "Communist."

It must be emphasized and remembered that the Communist Party is fundamentally and basically a secret, conspiratorial branch of a foreign government. Its members, for the greater part, in affiliating with this secret and conspiratorial group, do so under assumed and fictitious names. The committee has examined many Communist Party membership books and has in its files photostats of the applications for membership of many Communists. In nearly every case the applicant gives first his real name and then sets forth the fictitious name under which he desires to be known in Communist circles. The majority of Communist members are registered in other legal parties, and in recent years have concentrated in the Democratic Party. In the period under discussion, the Communists in California were able practically to capture the Young Democrats of this State, and had strong working fractions in nearly every official Democratic County Committee.

The California committee is in possession of a mass of evidence concerning many individuals throughout the State of California and their relationship with the official secret, conspiratorial Communist Party. Where such an individual is of prominence, and therefore of great value to the Communist strategy, no record is made of such an individual's affiliation. Among the Communists themselves such an individual is referred to as "a member at large." Because of his or her importance, no formal application for membership is ever demanded and no party-book or other indicia of membership is issued. For general purposes such individuals are generally listed as "fellow travelers." He or she is easily catalogued once the observer understands the policies of Soviet Russia and its agents in California and in the United States. The "fellow traveler" follows the party line without deviation. If his activities tally with the changing policies of the periods of Communist strategy outlined herein, there can be little doubt of his close association with the Communist Party of

America. The real *liberal* or *progressive*, retaining intellectual independence and freedom of thought, is not for any great length of time a fellow traveler in this sense. The true fellow traveler is one who called Roosevelt a *war monger* from 1939 to June 22, 1941 and who subsequently took the breath taking flip-flop on June 22, 1941 when Hitler invaded Soviet Russia. The fellow traveler is never registered in the legally constituted Communist Party.

Typical of witnesses who deny affiliation with the Communist Party but whose activities and philosophy meticulously follow the Communist Party line was Laurence B. Smith (Volume VIII, pp. 2432-2437). Mr. Smith told the committee that he had never affiliated with the Communist Party but that he had attended many of its functions. He told of attending a function given for the benefit of the *People's Daily World*, Communist Party newspaper, in the C. I. O. Hall on Eighth Street, in San Diego, in April of 1941 and of attending a meeting in Los Angeles in November of 1941 to hear Robert Minor, National Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States. He admitted having made contributions for the defense of William Schneiderman. He had been a member of the *American Civil Liberties Union* for some seven or eight years. He frankly told the committee that he was against sending aid to Great Britain until they were "united to defeat Fascism." (Great Britain united, according to Communist reasoning, to "defeat Fascism" when Soviet Russia was invaded by Nazi-Germany.) Mr. Smith added: "If that's the party line, I agree with it."

The people of California should recall that practically every appellate court decision passing on Communism in California has adjudicated it to be a criminal conspiracy to destroy the government of the State and of the Nation and the property of the citizenry by force, violence, sabotage and treason. In the case of the *People vs. Taylor*, 187 Cal. 378, the court stated: "There seems to be no doubt that its aims, objectives and purposes were in full accord and in entire sympathy of that body (Communist Party of Russia) in Russia." The court went on to further state that: "Taylor disclaimed any hope of success of change through the ballot, and advocated getting results by force. He favored sabotage as a weapon of the working class against the employers and capitalists * * *. During the time he was advocating all such measures, Taylor was active in the work of the Communist Labor Party."

The agitation-propaganda department of the Communist Party, known to the Communist as the "Agit-Prop" has laid down a policy of disloyalty to the United States. This has been confirmed by testimony of Earl Browder under oath. When questioned as to the attitude of the American Communist in event of war between the United States and Soviet Russia, Mr. Browder stated as follows: "The American workers, when called upon to go into this war against the Soviet Union, must refuse to fight

against the Russian workers, and go over on the side of the Red Army. The American workers, like the Russian workers in 1917, must turn the imperialist war into a civil war against the real enemies—the capitalist class of the United States which exploits and oppresses the American working class.” Earl Browder further testified that if America made “an aggressive war against the Soviet Union, I would stand as absolutely opposed to such a war, and as doing everything possible to stop it. * * * Even to turning such a war into a Civil war. * * * I can only answer for myself personally, and I can not say ‘My country, right or wrong.’ If I thought my country was wrong, I would oppose its entrance into such a war and conduct of such a war, just as I opposed the entrance of America into the war in 1917, when I thought it was wrong.”

We have heretofore quoted William Z. Foster, who was the Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States and three times its candidate for the presidency of our country, in reference to the Communist use of the ballot. It will not be remiss again to quote this leading light of Communism in the United States. He said: “* * * The Communist International is a world Party, based upon the mass parties in the respective countries. * * * I stated very clearly the Red Flag is the flag of the revolutionary class, and we are part of the revolutionary class * * * and all capitalist flags are flags of the capitalist class, and we owe no allegiance to them. No Communist, no matter how many votes he should secure in a National election, could, even if he would, become President of the present government. When a Communist heads a government of the United States, and that 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.”

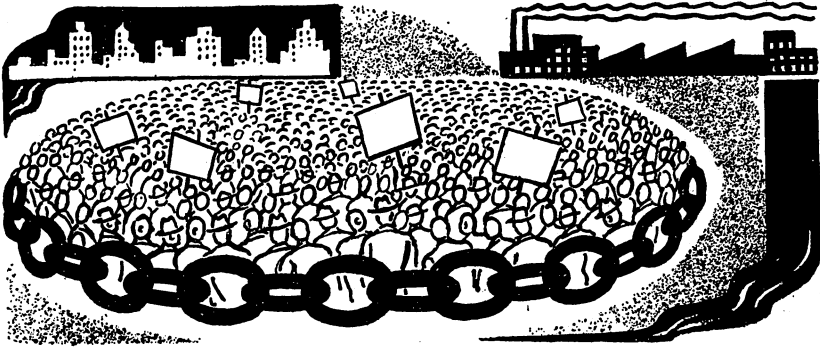
In 1939 the Special Committee of the United States Congress on un-American Activities made the following statement:

In the former tactics of the Communist Party it was the invariable rule to place its own unmistakably labeled candidates before the electorate. It was easy then for the voter to make his choice between Communist and non-Communist candidates. Today, however, there are new tactics. The Communist Party has adopted the practice of boring from within the major political parties. It presents its candidates to the public with Democratic and Republican labels, with grave political confusion resulting.

It is one of the major aims of the Communist International, in the present world situation, to form what are called People's Fronts. In both Spain and France this aim has been achieved, with consequences known to all the world. This same aim dominates the present strategy of the Communist Party in the United States, and it is toward the formation of the People's Front here that the Communists have adopted the practice of entering their political candidates with the labels of the two major parties.

The strategy of the Communist Party looks toward the eventual formation of a national farmer-labor party in the United States. While remaining a relatively small minority within such a farmer-labor party, the Communists would nevertheless seek to dominate the whole of it. The theory behind such political coalitions is to divide American political thought along class lines, with the avowed object of intensifying and embittering class conflict. All of this the Communists conceive to be a necessary prelude to class warfare and the final emergence of its dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Communist Party aims especially at the disintegration and final destruction of liberal political parties by making within those parties a coalition with political elements which are working for a planned economy even though they do not use any one of the European labels for such economy.



CHAPTER VII

Communist Organization

THEORY AND PRACTICE

The Congressional Committee reported in 1939:

WE HAVE SHOWN that Communism is a world-wide revolutionary movement aiming ultimately at the setting up of a world union of soviet socialist republics. This is a proposition which is beyond dispute. It is substantiated by voluminous literature of the Communists themselves.

In this plan for world revolution, the Communists have omitted no country or people as too small or insignificant to command their attention. They have, on the other hand, taken the logical position of concentrating their attention upon the richest and most populous countries of the earth. Among these the Communists recognize the United States of America as the foremost. The Communist's conquest of the earth will be far less than complete until it has conquered America and destroyed our free institutions.

It follows logically from the Communist International's plan of world conquest that every possible tactic, device, maneuver, and intrigue would be employed to gain such an end as the Communization of America. These tactics, devices, maneuvers, and intrigues are both boldly open and patiently subtle, both violent and insidious. The tactics and maneuvers for revolutionary ends are the meat and drink of a Communist. They are the very air he breathes.

This committee has received voluminous and substantial evidence both in the form of authentic Communist literature and in the form of testimony from those who have been active in the Communist movement. This evidence has turned the spotlight of publicity upon Communist tactics, devices, maneuvers, and intrigues to such an extent that the whole American people is better acquainted with the nature and purposes of Communism than it was at the beginning of the work of this committee.

Organization and Operation

The technique, the organization and the operation of the Communist Party in California and in the United States should be known to every American. Far too few of our loyal Americans realize the intricate and efficient organization of this subversive group. The success of the Communist Party in certain trade unions and other mass movements is directly attributable to the ignorance of responsible labor leaders and the rank-and-file of both labor and other mass movements of Communist organization, operation and tactics.

The California committee has studied the manuals of the Communist Party and its textbooks, minutely cross-examined paid Communist functionaries and through investigators working both inside the Communist Party and in many of its front organizations have been able to ferret out much of its intricate organization and operation.

The Communist Party has divided the United States into districts. California is designated in this division as District XIII. Each district is divided into some 250 sections and these sections are again divided into what they term shop, town, street, farm units and, in California, in and during periods of open development, into Congressional and Assembly districts. Each unit or division is known as a unit bureau and is governed by a committee under which it operates and organizes. Smaller subdivisions of the lesser units are called "fractions" and "cells." Fractions and cells are immediately created in mass organizations when three or more Communist members find themselves together in the same organization.

Communist fractions or cells are continually subdividing as recruits are added to each cell or fraction. It is seldom that a fraction or cell contains more than eight members. By this method the Communist Party is enabled to spread its network of propaganda and influence in factories, mines, on ships, in shops, and other mass organizations. It is mandatory for Communist Party members to join the union in the place where they work and cells and fractions must be organized immediately.

The Communist Party Manual provides that "Every party member * * * must be a real organizer of mass struggles." This same manual provides that the "task" of each fraction, cell or shop unit is "to establish strong connections with all the workers in the factories" in order that these workers be mobilized for "quick action when the need arises." Every Communist member is mandated to prevent exposure of comrades in their *illegal* work. For this purpose special groups of Communists are trained. A group of this type is known to the comrades themselves as the "Antiseptic Squad." The work of the Antiseptic Squad is to defend Communists and Communism. One of its most important jobs in recent years is the smearing and discrediting of such committees as the Dies Committee and the Committee Investigating un-American Activities in California.

Don Morton, former Communist member, testified that during his membership in the party he had charge of the *League Against Yellow Journalism*. (Volume VI, pp. 1783-1794.) This activity of the Antiseptic Squad was particularly organized to propagandize against anti-Communist papers and magazines and, according to Mr. Morton, was particularly anti-Hearst because the Hearst papers were most consistent in their editorial attacks against Communism. Mr. Morton testified that part of his duty was distributing approximately 500 cards a week urging people not to read the Hearst papers and that through his supervision some ten to twelve thousand cards were distributed between April and September of 1936.

Street fractions or cells are mandated to assist shop units in strikes, picketing, street demonstrations and in the collection of strike relief. To these fractions and cells is given the task of organizing people in the neighborhood for the purpose of carrying on "mass work (street meetings, house to house canvassing, etc.), and to win election votes for the Communist Party." (Communist Party Manual, pages 49, 65 and 66.)

The Communist Party Manual, on page 25, states:

"* * * one of the organizations of the Communist Party is suitable for *legal* existence * * * and the other for * * * underground, *illegal* existence."

The manual mandates that Communist Party members organize and lead the workers in order to safeguard the organization and prevent its members from being discharged in any shop or factory where they are caught agitating or propagandizing. It demands that party members "must submit to the *iron discipline* of the party." The manual commands that the Communist Party be "rooted in the factories, mines, ships, docks, offices, et cetera," and demands that its organization in these places be such that it will "best safeguard the party members and other militant workers from bosses, stool-pigeons and thugs." Shop units or cells are ordered to secure jobs for party members and the manual commands that all Communists work together in "a conspirative manner" to organize and lead the workers.

The above briefly outlines the underground, secret and conspiratorial organization and operation of the Communist Party in the United States and California. In addition to this organizational set-up, which is particularly designed for the *illegal* work of the party, there has existed for many years *The Young Pioneers*, the *Young Communist League*, and the Communist Party itself, which may be either open or secretive.

The Young Pioneers is a Communist youth organization for girls and boys of grade-school age. It is built along the same lines as the Boy Scout movement, but dedicated, instead, to hatred of American institutions and the American Flag. The *Young Spark* is one of the publications for the Communist *Young Pioneers*. We quote from one of its issues: "The Young Pioneers of America is a workers' children's organization, and the Red Flag is their

Flag. * * * We Pioneers are proud to stand by the Red Flag."

The following is an excerpt from *Who are the Young Pioneers?*, a Communist publication (pages 26 and 27):

"Then why do we say the workers' children should join the Pioneers or the Nature Friend Scouts or the I. W. O. Juniors instead of the Boy Scouts? For this reason: You can use all knowledge either for the working class and against the boss class, or for the boss class and against the working class. And the Boy Scouts teach you to use your knowledge for the boss class. They teach you to be 'patriotic.'

"And what does the 'patriotism' of the Boy Scouts and the bosses mean? It means that when the bosses of this country want markets for their goods and decide to go to war to get the markets from other countries, YOU should put on a uniform and go to war for those bosses and their profits. * * *

"The 'patriotism' of the Boy Scouts and the bosses means defending the government and the property of rich and corrupt millionaires and their politicians and preventing the workers from getting a living from their labor by fighting against strikers and the unemployed who demonstrate for relief."

We quote a poem from the April, 1935, issue of the *New Pioneer*, one of the publications of the Young Communists (page 18):

"Our Leader"

"Lenin is leading the way
He won't let the capitalist lead us astray
'Away with Capitalism and the King!
'Lenin and Soviet Russia!'
The cry will ring.
Workers stop your toil!
Farmers, don't till the soil!
We march today under the blood stained red
We will fight to have our families fed.
We march amid mothers' and fathers' applause;
We will fight for a just cause.
Lenin is our leader today—
Under Lenin we can not lose the way.
We will destroy the capitalists;
They won't be able to resist,
Because we march under blood stained red,
And we have Lenin at our head."

This poem is not only interesting because of its revolutionary content but because it was written by a ten year old boy named Theodore Lerner of Brooklyn, New York. Sufficient has been shown thus far proving the foreign control of the Communist Party. Mr. Jack Moore testified (Volume 1, p. 16) that he had joined the *Young Communist League* in 1934. He stated that the organization was an affiliate of the *Young Communist International* with headquarters in Moscow and that it was a training

ground for Communists; that it participated in various non-Communist school and civic activities as well as in trade unions, unemployed organizations, etc., in order to spread Communism.

In recent years the system of dividing the country into districts has been abandoned and each State has maintained its Communist organization with a general secretary in charge, each county having its own chairman, secretary and treasurer. During the last few years in which the movement functioned as a political party it followed the laws applicable to political organizations. In California the *Communist Party* held its conventions at about the same time and in the same manner as the *Democratic* and *Republican* Parties. Their candidates for State elective offices appeared on the ballot at general elections. In the larger cities candidates were nominated for municipal offices. At all times a secret or underground Communist organization was maintained, not only for the purpose of creating the peculiar attraction found in a secret, conspiratorial revolutionary organization, but also for the practical purpose of always having an organizational structure under iron discipline ready in the event that the open organization above-ground should be broken up or demoralized by legal action.

Foreign Control of American Communists

COMMENTING IN 1939 on the control of American Communists by the Communist Third International, the Special Committee on un-American Activities of the United States Congress reported as follows:

It was established, through reputable witnesses who submitted unimpeachable and voluminous evidence, a portion to which we will refer in each instance, that the Communist Party of the United States of America is a section of the Communist (Third) International which has its international headquarters in Moscow. This connection was not only shown by original copies of the membership books (1938) of the Communist Party of the United States of America, on which the words "The Communist Party of the United States of America, section of the Communist International" appear, as if water-marked on each page, but also by the words, "Communist Party of the United States of America is a section of the Communist International." This statement appears in the editorial heads of the official organs published in the United States by the Communist Party of the United States of America, and it is emphasized in most of their literature.

It was also established, through witnesses who presented authentic evidence, particularly the Communist Party Manual on Organization and Milestones in the History of the Communist Party, in addition to other Communist documents, that those joining the Communist Party of the United States of America not only join the Communist Party as a unit, but also as a section of the Third International. The following statement appears on the 1938 membership card of the Communist Party, originals of which were introduced as evidence before the Committee:

The undersigned declares his adherence to the program and statutes of the Communist International and of the Communist Party of the United States of America, and agrees to submit to the discipline of the party and to engage actively in our work.

On page 42 of the Communist Party Manual on Organization, published by the Communist Party of the United States of America for circulation among its members, the following statement may be found:

The Communist International is the international organization of the Communist Parties in all countries. It is the world Communist Party. The Communist Parties in the various countries, affiliated with the Comintern (Communist International), are called sections of the Communist International.

On page 43 of this same document, this statement is made:

The decisions of the executive committee of the Communist International are binding for all parties belonging to the Comintern (Communist International), and must be promptly carried out.

Pages 8 and 9 of the manual contain this statement:

As the leader and organizer of the proletariat, the Communist Party of the United States of America leads the working class in the fight for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a socialist soviet republic in the United States. * * * Our Party realizes that certain conditions must exist before the outworn capitalist system can be overthrown.

For a revolution it is essential that a majority of the workers, not a majority of the people as they would lead you to believe they mean, should fully understand the necessity for revolution and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; secondly, that the ruling classes, not the class to which they usually refer as capitalists, be in a state of crisis which draws even the most backward masses into politics, weakens the government and makes possible for the revolutionists to overthrow it rapidly.

It continues on pages 12, 13, and 14:

The state is an instrument in the hands of the ruling class for suppressing the resistance of its class enemies. In this respect the dictatorship of the proletariat in no way differs, in sense, from the dictatorship of any other class * * * The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be "complete" Democracy, a Democracy for all * * * Pure Democracy—"perfect" Democracy—and the like are but bourgeois screens * * * The revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system is the historic mission of the working class.

As a section of the Third International, the Communist Party of the United States of America entered into an agreement entitled "Twenty-one Conditions of Admission Into the Communist International," by O. Piatnitsky. It was published in this country by the Communist Party and circulated among members of the party. It states:

1. The entire propaganda and agitation must bear a genuinely Communist character and agree with the program and the decisions of the Third International. All the press organs of the party must be managed by responsible Communists who have proved their devotion to the cause of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat must not be talked about as if it were an ordinary formula learned by heart, but it must be propagated for in such a way as to make its necessity apparent to every plain worker, soldier, and peasant through the facts of daily life, which must be systematically watched by our press and fully utilized from day to day * * *

2. Every organization that wishes to affiliate with the Communist International must regularly and systematically remove the reformist and centrist elements from all the more or less important posts in the labor movements (in party organizations, editorial offices, trade unions, parliamentary groups, cooperative, and municipal administrations) and replace them with well-tried Communists, without taking offense at the fact that, especially in the beginning, the places of experienced opportunists will be filled by plain workers from the masses * * *

It is their duty to create everywhere a parallel illegal organization machine which at the decisive moment will be helpful to the party in fulfilling its duty to the revolution * * *

4. The duty of spreading Communist ideas includes the special obligation to carry on a vigorous and systematic propaganda in the Army. Where this agitation is forbidden by exceptional laws it is to be carried on illegally. Renunciation of such activities would be the same as treason to revolutionary duty and would be incompatible with membership in the Third International * * *

6. Every party that wishes to belong to the Third International is obligated to unmask not only open social patriotism, but also the dishonesty and hypocrisy of social pacifism, and systematically bring to the attention of the workers the fact that without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no kind of an international court of arbitration, no kind of an agreement regarding the limitation of armaments, no kind of a Democratic innovation of the League of Nations will be able to prevent fresh imperialistic wars * * *

9. Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International must systematically and persistently develop a Communistic agitation within the trade-unions, the workers' and shop councils, the consumers' cooperatives, and other mass organizations of the workers * * *

10. Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International is obligated to offer unqualified support to every soviet republic in its struggle against the counterrevolutionary forces. The Communist Party must carry on a clean-cut program of propaganda for the hindering of the transportation of munitions of war to the enemies of the Soviet Republic; and, furthermore, they must all use means, legal or illegal, to carry propaganda, etc., among the troops sent to throttle the workers' republic * * *

As a rule the program of every party belonging to the Communist International must be sanctioned by the regular congress of the Communist International or by its executive committee. * * *

16. All decisions of the congresses of the Communist International as well as the decisions of its executive committee, are binding upon all the parties belonging to the Communist International. The Communist International, which is working under conditions of the most acute civil war, must be constructed along much more centralized lines than was the case with the Second International. * * *

17. In connection with this, all parties wishing to belong to the Communist International must change their names. Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International must bear the name Communist Party of such and such country (section of the Third International). The question of name is not only a formal matter, but is to a high degree a political question of great importance. * * *

21. Those party members who, on principle, reject the conditions and theses laid down by the Communist International are to be expelled from the party. The same thing applies especially to delegates to the special party convention.

We have shown the connection between the Communist Party of the United States of America and the Third International, and that the Communist Party of the United States of America is bound by the laws of the Third International.

The Honorable Charles Evans Hughes reporting to the United States Senate January 21, 1924 in his capacity as Secretary of State, said:

"It will be seen that the question of whether Communist programs contemplate the use of force and violence has been passed upon by every class of tribunal which would pass upon it, namely, Federal and State Courts, administrative tribunals and Legislative Committees of both Federal and State governments and in every case the result has been in support of the position that force and violence are inseparable from Communist programs."

Mr. Hughes stated further, in the same report:

"It is believed that the evidence presented by the Department of State established the unity of the Soviet Government, and the Communist International, all of which are controlled by a small group of individuals, technically known as the political bureau of the Russian Communist Party. Second, the spiritual and organic connection between this Moscow group and its agents in this country — the American Communist Party and its legal counterpart, the Workers' Party. Not only are these organizations the creation of Moscow, but the latter has also elaborated their program and controlled and supervised their activities. While there may have existed in the United States individuals, and even groups imbued with the Marxist doctrines prior to the advent of the Communist International, the existence of a disciplined party equipped with a program aiming at the overthrow of the institutions of this country by force and violence is due to the intervention of the Bolshevik organizations into the domestic political life of the United States. The essential fact is the existence of an organization in the United States created by and completely subservient to a foreign organization striving to overthrow the existing social and political order of this country. Third, the subversive and pernicious activities of the American Communist Party and the Workers' Party and their subordinates and allied organs in the United States are activities resulting from and flowing out of the program elaborated for them by the Moscow group!"

Stalin told the American delegation to the Third Communist International in Moscow in 1927: "The Communist Party of America, as a section of the Third International must pay dues to the 'Kiminterne'."

If anyone should believe that the testimony given by William Z. Foster reflected a passing period of Communist policy, the testimony given by Mr. Foster before the Dies Committee on September 29, 1939, dissipates that idea. Mr. Foster virtually confirmed the testimony he had given before another congressional committee several years previous. Earl Browder testified before the Dies Committee in September of 1939 also, and stated:

"The Communist Party of the United States is affiliated with the Communist International * * *. We have participated in the International Congress; we have sent delegates to all the International Congresses since the third Congress * * *. It was only an organizational question that there was any ignoring of the Constitution. *Politically, there has been the closest collaboration, the closest relationship * * *. So far as the political essence of the problem is concerned, there is the closest harmony between the Communist Party of the United States and the Communist International.*"

In order that no doubt be left on the subject, Mr. Browder stated there is no "single instance where the Communist Party of the United States has ever disagreed with the Communist Line in Russia."

As has been shown, the *foreign policy, need and ambition* of Soviet Russia itself determines the policies of its Communist branches throughout the countries of the world. The method promulgated by the Third International for the combining of legal and *illegal* tactics in the countries in which the branches are operating, permit the Communist Parties literally to "fly through the air with the greatest ease," leaping from one convenient trapeze to another. Thus, the enactment of Federal statutes, providing, in part, that all organizations controlled or dominated by a foreign power, register as such with the Department of State, saw a frantically-called special convention of the Communist Party of the United States November 16-17, 1940. Certain of the gullibility of Americans in their unquestioning acceptance at face value of the truthfulness and honesty of anything printed in a so-called constitution, this convention of the Communist Party amended its so-called constitution to conform to the new Federal statutes. Thus it was that the revised constitution emanating from this special convention of the Communist Party of the United States provided in Article VII, Section 1, as follows:

"The supreme authority in the Communist Party of the U. S. A., is the national convention. Regular national conventions shall be held every two years. Only national conventions are authorized to make political and organizational decisions binding upon the entire party and its membership, except as provided in Article VII, Section 6." (Section 6 provides that between conventions the highest authority of the party is the National Committee.)

As far as the new constitution is concerned, the Communist Party of the United States was divorced from the Third International. The Communist Party press in the United States openly laughed at the subterfuge—this typical application of the method of combining legal with *illegal* tactics. Actually the Communist Party of the United States redoubled its efforts for the sabotaging of our defense efforts and continued to carry out the mandates of the Hitler-Stalin pact. Paid Communist functionaries, such as Jack Moore and William Schneiderman, when subpoenaed before

the public hearings of the committee, were able to shout from the housetops that the Communist Party was a law-abiding political group "carrying forward the traditions of Jefferson, Payne, Jackson and Lincoln," upholding "the achievements of Democracy, the right of 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,'" and that the Communist Party "defends the United States Constitution against its reactionary enemies who would destroy Democracy and all civil liberties."

The Alleged Dissolution of the Comintern

IN 1943 MOSCOW ANNOUNCED to the world that the Communist International, or "Comintern," had been dissolved.

The Report of the Canadian Royal Commission investigating facts relating to and the circumstances surrounding the communication by public officials and other persons in positions of trust of secret and confidential information to agents of a foreign power contains several pages concerning the alleged dissolution of the Comintern. The following is from pages 37 to 41 of the Royal Commission Report:

Gouzenko stated before us that the Communist International, or "Comintern," whose dissolution had been announced in Moscow to the world press on May 15th and June 10th, 1943, continued to exist and to function secretly.

In his statement of October 10th, 1945, Gouzenko said:

"The announcement of the dissolution of the Comintern was probably the greatest farce of the Communists in recent years. Only the name was liquidated, with the object of reassuring public opinion in the Democratic countries. Actually the Comintern exists and continues its work * * *

The documents which Gouzenko brought with him corroborate this testimony.

The Registration Card at the beginning of the 1945 dossier kept in the Soviet Embassy on Sam Carr, National Organizer of the Communist (Labour-Progressive) Party of Canada, contains after the mimeographed heading *Biographical Data* the following typed entry, in Russian:

Detailed biographical information is available in the Centre in the Comintern.

The evidence shows that this document referring in the present tense to the Comintern, was prepared by Lt. Col. Rogov early in 1945.

Gouzenko defined the Comintern as follows:

"The Communist International, the Comintern, is the staff headquarters which directs the activities of the Communist parties all over the world."

Gouzenko was questioned further about the above entry in Carr's dossier:

Q. I just want to come back to that last subject for a moment, to make it perfectly clear to myself. I am looking at Exhibit 19, the first sheet which is headed, "Registration card" dealing with Sam Carr. The last two lines read, "Detailed biographical information." Apparently that if the form before it was filled in; after that it says. " * * * the Comintern. Knows Russian perfectly. Finished the Lenin School in Moscow." If the Comintern means the staff in Moscow which runs the Communist Party, as I understand it, in Russia and abroad, does that reference on Carr's registration card mean that he is a member of that staff?

A. No.

Q. All right; then what is the explanation?

A. On every Communist there is a file at the Comintern at Moscow; for every Communist in the whole world there is a file at the Comintern at Moscow. More detailed information is on the files at the Comintern.

Q. So this reference on the registration card means that if anybody is looking at this registration card and wants more information on Carr than it contains, there is more information on file at Moscow?

A. That is right.

Q. And am I correct in understanding that the word "Comintern" is also used in Russia to refer to the secretariat in Moscow of the foreign Communist Parties? Is that correct?

A. No. The Comintern or Communist International is like a headquarters that directs the activities of the Communist Parties in the whole world.

Q. That is approximately what I said; a headquarters staff?

A. Yes.

* * * * *

Q. This first sheet in Exhibit 19-A was not typed out until early in 1945, but it contains a reference to the Comintern, does it not?

A. Yes.

Q. The Comintern was supposed to have been abolished before 1945?

A. Supposed to be abolished in 1943, but it is not so.

Q. It is not abolished?

A. That is right.

Q. In 1945 Rogov typed or had typed the statement that they had Comintern records still available to refer to?

A. He knew very well the Comintern existed in Moscow.

Q. Rogov knew the Comintern had not been abolished and that all the records were complete there?

A. That is right.

Q. It would have been possible — I am not saying it is so — for the Comintern to have been abolished as an organization and all the records still kept?

A. That is right, and all the personnel is still kept in Moscow; it is just the name that is abolished.

Gouzenko, in his evidence on the Comintern, spoke generally of it as a headquarters staff controlling the activities of Communist Parties in other countries in various aspects, including political aspects. His detailed evidence dealt however with the role of the Comintern specifically in espionage activities, since it was in one of the espionage branches that Gouzenko himself had direct personal experience.

Prior to coming to Canada in the summer of 1943 Gouzenko, as we have already pointed out, had worked for a little over a year in the "Centre" of *The Director* in Moscow of the Military Intelligence organization. He testified that he had there enciphered and deciphered telegrams to and from many other countries disclosing the use of local Communist Parties for espionage purposes, in networks similar in general outline to that which Col. Zabotin later headed in Canada.

An aspect of Comintern activities is illustrated by the "Witczak passport" case. It has been established that Sam Carr, National Organizer of the "Labour-Progressive Party," acting on instructions from Moscow delivered through Col. Zabotin and his assistants, undertook in 1944 to obtain illegally a Canadian passport for a Soviet agent located in California, and at the end of August 1945 did in fact obtain this passport by forgery and bribery. It was needed to replace a Canadian passport, about to expire, under which the Soviet agent had been living in the United States since 1938. The earlier passport had been appropriated by Russian agents from a Canadian member of the International Brigade in Spain during the Civil War there, and the Soviet agent in California had been living in the United States under the name and with the passport of this Canadian. * * *

There is evidence that *The Director* in Moscow intended to develop further, and extensively, this practice of planting agents, under cover of false documentation, not only in other countries as pseudo-Canadians, but in Canada also. For this purpose too the assistance of Sam Carr was enlisted.

Thus one of the pages in the Russian dossier on Sam Carr contains the following list of assignments, headed "Task No. 3 of 1.8.45":

1. Requirements which a person living as an "illegal" must meet (nationality, citizenship, occupation, education, knowledge of languages, family and financial conditions, etc.)
2. Ways of legalisation (organization of a commercial

undertaking, joining a business firm as a partner, kind of firm, joining as a member any office, joining the army as a volunteer, accepting employment.)

3. Documents which an "illegal" must possess (passport, different kinds of certificates, references, recommendation letters, etc.)

4. More expedient methods to slip into the country.

5. To provide for secure living quarters and financial means during the period when the "illegal" gets acquainted with the local set-up and conditions.

6. To reveal the channels of influence of the English government on the foreign policy of Canada.

7. Conditions of entry into the country and of moving about in the country.

8. Conditions of adaptation and living in the country.

9. Methods of work of the counter-espionage. The organization of the Federal and provincial counter-espionage services.

Colonel Zabotin and his colleagues obviously attached importance to this, and the following page in the dossier, headed "*Assigned personally 16.8.45*," reads in part:

THE TASK

1. To write a report on the technique of making up passports and other documents, indicating precisely who on your side (Frank's) is engaged in this activity.

2. What documents can be made and can be received through you.

There is also evidence suggesting that other false Canadian passports had been obtained previously to the Witczak passport. A Colonel Milstein, who came to North America in the summer of 1944, under guise of a diplomatic courier with a Soviet passport in the name "Milsky," to inspect the agency networks in Mexico, the United States, and Canada, was particularly interested in reviving the use of persons in Canada who had assisted in production of illegal passports some time previously. He discussed this subject at length with Sam Carr, and according to Gouzenko he reported to Moscow that the possibilities in this field were great.

One of the documents in the dossier on Sam Carr refers to this discussion between Colonel Milstein, whose cover-name was *The Commander*, and Carr:

Sam, 14 Montrose, Lloydbrook 7847.

14.6.44 The Commander met Sam and agreed on meetings between him and Leon once in 3 months. The regular meeting was fixed for 15.9.44 at 21.00, *Dominion* Boulevard (opposite Windsor Hotel) in *Montreal*. On 15.9.44 to discuss:

1. Who prepares passports, i.e. what kind of people are they. Are they not the old shoemakers who a few years ago fell through.
2. To take money to the meeting.

Shoe is a cover-name used by the Russian Military Espionage service for passport, and *shoemaker* for a person making or obtaining passports for the service.

The efficient functioning of the Comintern organization is further shown by the highly systematized interest of *The Director* in Moscow in each non-Russian agent, and in the recruiting of new agents. Before a new agent could be employed by Col. Zabotin for espionage purposes he had to propose the name, with particulars to Moscow. Moscow would then check independently, inferentially through one of the other agency systems before approving or withholding approval.

Marxian "Democratic" Centralism

Theoretically, the Communist organization enjoys what it terms "Democratic Centralism." The doctrine is rather intricate and, while the term indicates Democracy in procedure, its "*Centralism*" is its contradiction. Hand-picked delegates from the lowest stratum of Communist organizations compose the membership of the next stratum. Hand-picked delegates from this group compose the membership of the next highest, and so on to Stalin. The group at the top is the governing body of the whole and all decisions are made at this central point, the apex of the pyramid. The orders and directives pass downward through each stratum of the party. Although completely totalitarian in character it is considered "Democratic" because the delegates to each higher group are theoretically selected by the membership of their respective units. It is authoritarian and autocratic in operation.

A book entitled *THE COMMUNIST PARTY - A MANUAL ON ORGANIZATION*, published by the Workers Library Publishers in July 1935, is considered the most important Communist document on Communist theory, practice and organization. Jack Stachel, in a preface to the manual, states: "This organization Manual fills a long-felt need. It will be welcomed by many thousands of active Party members who have looked forward to its publication for a long time."

The manual, under the heading "Basic Principles of Party Organization," states as follows: "The Communist Party is organized in such a way as to guarantee, first, complete inner unity of outlook; and, second, combination of the strictest discipline with the widest initiative and independent activity of the Party membership. Both of these conditions are guaranteed because the Party is organized on the basis of Democratic centralism."

The manual proceeds to explain "Democratic" centralism, as follows: "Democratic centralism is the system according to which:

1. All leading committees of the Party, from the Unit Bureaus up to the highest committees, are elected by the membership or delegates of the given Party organization.

"2. Every selected Party committee must report regularly on its activity to its Party organization. It must give an account of its work.

"3. The lower Party committees and all Party members of the given Party organization have the duty of carrying out the decisions of the higher Party committees and of the Communist International. In other words, decisions of the C. I. and of the higher Party committees are binding upon the lower bodies.

"4. Party discipline is observed by the Party members and Party organizations because only those who agree with the program of the Communist Party and the C. I. can become members of the Party.

"5. The minority carries out the decisions of the majority (subordination of the minority to the majority). Party questions are discussed by the members of the Party and by the Party organization until such time as a decision is made by the Party committee or organization. After a decision has been made by the leading committees of the C. I., by the Central Committee of the Party, or by the National Convention, this decision must be unreservedly carried out even if a minority of the Party membership or a minority of the local Party organization is in disagreement with it.

"6. The Party organizations, Units, Sections, and Districts, have the full initiative, right and duty to decide on local questions within the limits of the general policies and decisions of the Party."

The manual then goes on to state that the decisions of higher bodies in the Party are binding on the lower bodies.

The manual minutely discusses the importance of Communist Party discipline, as follows:

"Party discipline is based upon the class-consciousness of its members; upon the conviction that without the minority accepting and carrying out the decisions of the majority, without the subordination of the lower Party organizations to the higher committees, there can be no strong, solid, steered Party able to lead the proletariat. This discipline is based upon the acceptance of the C. I. and the Party program and in the confidence of the membership in the Communist International and in the Central Committee.

"There can be no discipline in the Party if there is no conscious and voluntary submission on the basis of a thorough understanding of the decisions of the Party. *'Only conscious discipline can be truly iron discipline'* (Stalin).

"Why Do the Communists Attach So Much Importance to Discipline?"

"Because without discipline there is no unity of will, no unity in action. Our Party is the organized and most advanced section

of the working class. The Party is the vanguard of the proletariat in the class war. In this class war there is the capitalist class with its henchmen and helpers, the reformist leaders, on one side, and the working class and its allies, on the other. The class war is bitter. The enemy is powerful; it has all the means of deceit and suppression (armed forces, militia, police, courts, movies, radio, press, schools, churches, etc.). In order to combat and defeat this powerful enemy, the army of the proletariat must have a highly skilled, trained General Staff (the Communist Party), which is united in action and has one will. How can an army fight against the army of the enemy if every soldier in the army is allowed to question and even disobey orders of his superior officers? What would happen in a war if, for example, the General Staff orders an attack, and one section of the army decides to obey and go into battle; another thinks that it is wrong to attack the enemy at this time and stays away from the battle; and a third section decides to quit the trenches and retreat to another position instead of going forward?"

Structure and Function of Communist Party Organizations

The Communist Party Manual on Organization carefully outlines the structure and functions of its organizations. Under this heading the manual states the following:

"The most important points where the Communist Party must work untiringly so as to fulfill the task of winning the majority of the working class for the struggle against capitalism are the following:

"1. The big factories, mines, mills docks, ships, railroads, etc., where the great masses of the basic sections of the proletariat are employed. The Communist Party puts its main energy into building Party organizations in these places.

"2. The A. F. of L. unions and Railroad Brotherhoods, where millions of organized workers can be won for the Party program and led into decisive struggles. The Communist Party realizes that one of the most important tasks in winning the majority of the decisive sections of the proletariat is gaining influence among members of A. F. of L. unions. In order to achieve this, every available Party member must join the union of his industry, craft or occupation and work there in a real Bolshevik manner, helping to build the union, fighting for better conditions, exposing the bureaucratic, treacherous leaders as the agents of the employers and, in this way, proving to the rank and file what the leadership of the Communists means in the labor movement.

"3. The independent unions where the Communists must work with the same energy and perspective as in the A. F. of L. unions.

"4. The organized and unorganized masses of unemployed. The Communist Party fighting for unemployment relief and insurance leads and organizes the unemployed masses, maintains fractions in all organizations of the unemployed and forges an unbreakable link between the unemployed and employed workers in the fight for social insurance and better conditions.

"5. The fraternal, cultural and sport organizations in which there are large numbers of working people. The Communist Party persistently works in the mass organizations of workers, especially workers in basic industries, and through the effective work of disciplined fractions leads them and wins their confidence in the Communist Party.

"6. The Negro organizations (churches, fraternal, cultural, etc.). The Communist Party through well functioning fractions in these institutions of the Negro people, leads the fight for the special interests of the Negroes (against discrimination, segregation) for the liberation struggle of the Negro people.

"7. The huge farms where large numbers of agricultural workers are employed. The Communist Party through its farm Units fights for the interests of the agricultural workers (farm laborers) and organizes them in unions.

"The main strategic aim of the Communist Party is to win the majority of the working class for the proletarian revolution. In order to achieve this aim the Communist Party establishes closely knit organizations everywhere where workers work for their living (factory), where they live (neighborhood), where they are organized for the defense of their economic interests (unions and unemployment organizations), or organized for satisfying their cultural desires (clubs, sports and cultural organizations). These Party organizations which lead the masses in the struggle for their economic and political demands are the following: (1) Shop and Street Units. Both of the forms of organizations are full-fledged Party bodies. (2) Fractions. The Party leads the masses organized in unions and other mass organizations through the fractions which are instruments in the hands of the Party to carry the policy of the Party among the masses."

Communist Pledge

The Communist Party Manual on Organization, under the heading "What Are the Conditions for Membership in the Communist Party?", states that the "conditions" are contained in a pledge "read by Comrade Browder to 2,000 workers who were initiated into the Party in the New York District in 1935." The pledge is as follows:

"I now take my place in the ranks of the Communist Party, the Party of the working class. I take this solemn oath to give the best that is in me to the service of my class. I pledge myself to spare no effort in uniting the workers in militant struggle against fascism and war. I pledge myself to work unsparingly in the

unions, in the shops, among the unemployed, to lead the struggles for the daily needs of the masses. I solemnly pledge to take my place in the forefront of the struggle for Negro rights; against Jim-Crowism and lynching, against the chauvinist lies of the ruling class. I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, the land of victorious Socialism. I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the Party, the only line that insures the triumph of Soviet Power in the United States."

Legal and Illegal Methods

The program of the Communist International bluntly directs " * * * legal methods must unfailingly be combined with *illegal methods* * * *." One of the conditions laid down for admission to the Communist International, promulgated by O. Piatnitsky, is as follows:

"The obligation to spread Communist ideas include the particular necessity of persistent, systematic propaganda in the army. Wherever such propaganda is forbidden by exceptional laws, it must be carried on *illegally*. The abandonment of such work would be equivalent to the betrayal of revolutionary duty and is incompatible with membership in the Third International."

Section 36 of Part V of the Constitution of the Communist International provides:

"The Communist Parties must be prepared for transition to *illegal* conditions. The E. C. C. I. (Executive Committee of the Communist International) must render the Parties concerned assistance in their preparations for transition to *illegal* conditions."

Joseph Stalin, himself, writing in Volume 1 of *Leninism* throws aside all pretense and states:

"The revolutionary will accept a reform in order to use it as a means wherewith to link legal work with *illegal* work, in order to use it as a screen behind which his *illegal activities* for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the Bourgeoisie may be intensified."

Methods and tactics of combining legal work with illegal work on the part of the Communists everywhere accounts, particularly in the United States, for the secret conspiratorial, underground groups, who use fictitious names and deny their affiliation with the party. These tactics readily explain the shifting and deceit in the changing public declarations and documents of open Communist functionaries. Thus, it is, when the Congress of the United States enacts a statute providing for the registration of the members of groups dominated by foreign governments that the open functionaries of the Communist Party acting for the protection of the secret and underground membership, revise their

public constitution "as a screen behind which * * * the *illegal activities* for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the Bourgeoisie may be intensified."

The committee learned from William Schneiderman (Volume V, pp. 1260-1342) that the Communist Party did, in fact, call a special National convention in New York on December 16, 1940 for the purpose of amending the Constitution to comply with the Voorhis Act—the Federal statute requiring the registration of subversive groups. In this connection Mr. Schneiderman stated that "revolution is one of the historical facts of the world * * * we are part of it." He admitted that changes in the Communist Party Line in America and California were the result of changes in world events.

He said that the Communist Party believed it a mistake for the United States to enter the war until the Soviet Union was attacked. He amplified this statement by adding: "Any attack on the Soviet Union is an attack on the interests of the workers throughout the world." He stated that the use of the term "*Fatherland*," referring to Soviet Russia, was merely symbolic and that William Z. Foster used this term in the symbolic sense when he stated that "Russia was the Fatherland of all workers and the Red Flag the flag to which the Communist Party owed allegiance." He stated the slogan "The Yanks Are Not Coming" was the Communist Party slogan prior to the invasion of the Soviet Union by Hitler but after the invasion it became a "reactionary slogan," and that after the Soviet Union was attacked the role of America was changed.

An understanding of this insidious method of combining legal with *illegal* methods on the part of the Communist Party in the United States explains many inconsistencies, mental maneuverings and actual perjuries on the part of many Communist witnesses who have testified before the committee.

— *California Report*, 1945, pp. 22-23.

Communist Party Methods for Exposing Spies Within the Party

The Communist Party Manual on Organization sets forth the methods of character assassination against those who would expose the conspiratorial character of the Party. The following is an extract on this subject from the manual:

"The working class is constantly at war with its enemy, the capitalist class. In this war (class struggle), as in any other war, the capitalist class has one main objective — to defeat its enemy, the working class. In order to achieve this aim, the capitalists use all possible methods to disorganize, demoralize and divide the ranks of the proletariat. One of the most effective weapons in the hands of the enemy is the agent-provocateur, the stool-pigeon, the spy in the ranks of the working class, and especially in the ranks of the vanguard of the proletariat — the Communist Party.

"The activities of these human rats can be listed as follows:

"1. Agents-provocateurs are planted in the Party either by the police department, Department of Justice, 'patriotic' organizations, or counter-revolutionary Trotskyites, with the aim of disrupting the work of the Party organizations. The methods they use are:

"(a) Creating sentiment against the leadership of the Party;

"(b) Systematic destructive criticism against the line of the Party;

"(c) Provocative proposals for certain actions, which, if adopted, would lessen the confidence of the masses in the ability of the Communist Party to lead them, because of the unnecessary sacrifice as a result of such provocative action;

"(d) The spreading of rumors about individual leaders of the Party, concerning their political integrity or personal life;

"(e) Creating an atmosphere of spy mania in the Party organization by skillfully spreading rumors about certain individuals being spies;

"(f) Accepting important assignments at strategic points and certain activity and then sabotaging the carrying out of the assignment, in this way disrupting the action of the Party organization.

"The most effective weapon in the hands of the Communist Party against these agents-provocateurs is the carrying out of the general line of the Party, the uncompromising fight against any one who attempts to deviate from this line, Bolshevik self-criticism and correction of mistakes and shortcomings in the work of the Party organization or individuals in the process of applying or carrying out the general line of the Party. In a Party organization where these principles are strictly adhered to, agents-provocateur will be exposed very quickly.

"2. The second type of class enemy in the ranks of the Party and in other workers' organizations is the stool pigeon. They have the task of gathering information about the Party and the individual members. They work diligently, attend every meeting, and take responsible assignments in the organization. They strive to be promoted to higher positions in order to get more important information to the Police Department, or to their bosses. They are very inquisitive about individuals, their names and addresses; they always like to get some inside 'dope' from and about higher committees. They are present in every possible place they can get into. They try to get hold of documents and keep them for a day or so. They try to find ways and means of getting to other Party organizations and Fractions than their own.

"Against both types of rats, the best safeguard is the proper selection of new members. While we do not create difficulties for workers to join the Communist Party, we have to be careful in accepting new members, especially those who have had no previous connections with any workers' organizations or with indivi-

dual members of the Party, or whose previous record is hard to obtain. In order to counteract the activities of the stool pigeon, we have to keep before our eyes, always, the following general rules:

"1. Do not tell any member anything about Party members which does not concern that member.

"2. Do not discuss any Party question outside of the meeting of the Party organization (Unit, membership, Unit Bureau, Section, Committee, Fraction). Stop discussing inner Party questions on the street corners or in cafeterias, where anyone can listen in. Do not broadcast inner Party decisions to long-eared stool pigeons who are waiting for the information.

"3. Avoid, as much as possible, keeping membership lists with names and addresses, and if you have such lists, do not keep them in your home, or in the headquarters of the Party Unit or Section, or in your pocket.

"4. Documents which are not for publication should be read only by those Party members to whom they are addressed, and should be destroyed immediately after reading. Documents which need study must be carefully safeguarded. Every member who has such a document must return it after reading it to the Party committee, which destroys it immediately.

"There is a tendency among some comrades to hide from the masses the fact that a stool pigeon has been discovered in the organization. In certain places, the comrades develop the theory that if we expose the stool pigeons the workers will be afraid to join the Party — because there are spies in the organization. This conception is entirely incorrect. The mass exposure of a stool pigeon will greatly increase the confidence of the masses in the Party, since it proves the Party is able to find out who the class enemies are in its ranks.

"There is only one proper method of exposing the stool pigeons — and that is *mass exposure*, creating and organizing *mass* hatred against these rats. Experience of the Communist Parties prove that such mass exposures not only do not scare away workers, but have resulted in hundreds of new recruits to the Party.

"The following methods have been used very effectively in many places and can serve as a model for exposing spies:

"1. Photograph the spy, and print his picture in the *Daily Worker* and in leaflets and stickers. Spread this material in the place where the spy was operating.

"2. Organize systematic agitation among the workers where the spy was operating.

"3. Mobilize the children and women in the block in the part of town where the stool pigeon lives to make his life miserable; let them picket the store where his wife purchases groceries and other necessities; let the children in the street shout after him or after any member of his family that they are spies, rats, stool pigeons.

"4. Chalk his home with the slogan: 'So-and-So who lives here is a spy.' Let the children boycott his children or child; organize the children not to talk to his children, etc.

"Such forms of agitation will gather around the issue hundreds of workers who were outside of the influence of the Party before, and who will now come with us on some action. At the same time, we will expose and get rid of the spy, not through individual action, *but through real mass mobilization.*"

Hand-Book for Revolution

In 1939 a Soviet Commission announced the publication of a work which was to be the textbook for Communist Parties throughout the world. This work includes in condensation the writings of Lenin and Stalin and embodies the philosophy of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. It traces the history of the abortive Russian revolution of 1905 and the successful revolution of October, 1917. It describes in minute detail the step by step strategy used by the *Bolsheviks* in their struggle for power in Russia. It describes Communist infiltration into the Army and Navy of Russia; its struggle to control transportation and communication facilities. The book was printed in many languages and distributed in every country where a *Communist Party* was organized. Its publication was hailed in the *Communist Party* press of the United States as a work to be used as a guide for revolutionary action. It was immediately adopted for Communist beginners' classes and study groups throughout the United States.

The Communist Press

The *People's Daily World* is the successor to the *Western Worker*. It is the official West Coast motor-drive for Communist Party transmission belts, although it has attempted to disguise its red character under the cloak of labor. In order that its identity be thoroughly established the committee has traced its genealogy. The hammer and sickle, together with the statement "Western Organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A., Section of the Communist International" appeared on the masthead of the *Western Worker* until Monday, March 8, 1937. The hammer and sickle disappeared from the masthead of the *Western Worker* with the issue of March 8, 1937, and instead of the statement "Western Organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A., Section of the Communist International," appeared the slogan "People's Champion of Liberty, Progress and Peace." In the notice of publication column, however, the hammer and sickle, together with the statement "Western Organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A.," was carried. The hammer and sickle still appeared in the official notice of publication column until the issue of April 5, 1937.

The last edition of the *Western Worker* appeared December 30, 1937. It was still listed as the "Western Organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A.," however, and page 2 of this issue con-

tained a full-page advertisement announcing the "*People's Daily World*," the new paper. The first paragraph entitled "Farewell" is as follows: "This is the final edition of the *Western Worker*, as it makes way for the *People's World*, its successor, which will make its first appearance on January 1st."

The first issue of the *People's Daily World* appeared January 1, 1938. At the head of its official notice of publication column, the name "*People's Daily World*" is followed by the following slogan and statement: "For Security, Democracy and Peace. Formerly *Western Worker*, founded 1932."

On this same page appeared a group of greetings to the *People's Daily World*. We quote the "greetings" "From the Communist Party":

"This historic occasion, the publishing of the first issue of the daily 'People's World,' marks the sixth anniversary of the founding of the *Western Worker* in 1932. It took six years of struggle since that first mimeographed edition grew into a mighty people's organ which will speak not only for the Communist Party but for all those progressive forces that will constitute the American peoples' front.

"The Communist Party could not have done it alone. It took tens of thousands of workers, farmers, and middle class people on the Pacific Coast to build a daily people's voice. They have participated in a great historic event; the inauguration of a new type of daily press, which will serve the people of the West and all America. Together with the 'Daily Worker' of New York and the 'Mid-West Daily Record' of Chicago, the *People's World* will be a part of a powerful chain of people's daily papers that will strike a telling blow against reaction and Fascism, and for Socialism.

"We want to take this opportunity to express our thanks to all those who contributed their efforts to make the daily 'People's World' possible. New Year's greetings to all of its readers, party members and nonparty members alike, from the California State Committee of the Communist Party.

"(Signed) ANITA WHITNEY,
State Chairman,

WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN,
Secretary,
Communist Party."

Every effort was made on the part of the Communist Party sponsors of the new paper, the *People's Daily World*, to disguise its Communist character. Many labor leaders throughout the State were called and asked to express an opinion on the desirability of a daily newspaper devoted solely to labor news. Many legitimate labor leaders, unfamiliar with the *Western Worker* or Communist tactics, were tricked into making statements welcoming the appearance of a "real" labor paper. Thus it was that certain labor

leaders throughout California were later embarrassed when learning that they had unwittingly offered congratulations on the appearance of a Communist publication on the West Coast.

William Schneiderman, Secretary of the *Communist Party of California*, was examined in San Francisco in reference to many matters, among which was the "*People's Daily World*." His testimony in this connection, is as follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XXIV, pp. 313-319):

Q. By Mr. Combs: Now, Mr. Schneiderman, here's another question that may seem somewhat naive—I spoke to you about it before you were sworn to testify—in response to a great many questions that have been asked by the Committee during the four years of its existence regarding the status of the *People's Daily World*, as to whether it was or was not an organ of the Communist Party, the answer has been universally that it was not. We have run across some excerpts from the Communist Party publications, official publications, that would indicate it is. I'm going to read the excerpts to you and ask you whether or not you are familiar with them, and by way of foundation I'll ask you if you are familiar with the old *Western Worker*?

A. Yes.

Q. That was unquestionably the official organ of the Communist Party of this State, was it not?

A. Yes, it was.

Q. And it went out of business in 1938, did it not?

A. Yes, the end of '37.

Q. And it was succeeded by the *People's World*, was it not?

A. May I explain that?

Q. Yes.

A. Originally it was our intention to publish the *Western Worker* as a daily newspaper. When we began to go over the budget of how much it would be to run a daily newspaper it became obvious to us that we ourselves couldn't support and finance a Communist daily newspaper, so we gave up the idea and agreed to support the launching of an independent progressive newspaper, in which the Communists participated in its launching, so that the *People's Daily World* never had the same status as the *Western Worker*, which was the official organ of the party.

Q. Did you ever hear of the *California Guide*, which was published by the California Communist Party in 1938?

A. I believe so, yes.

Q. I'm reading from the *California Guide* of 1938 (reading): "We open the New Year in California with a daily people's voice—a voice which will be heard in every corner

of our State, championing the rights of all the oppressed and exploited—our own People's World." Are you familiar with that excerpt?

A. It sounds familiar.

Mr. Combs: The next excerpt is from the Communist Bulletin—I don't have the exact title of this here, I copied it verbatim and I don't have the exact title. The excerpt is as follows (reading):

"In the first instance in 1938, three steps were necessary in bringing about a big circulation of the People's Daily World. The first step was to establish a circulation drive committee for the several forces"—I don't understand it, it seems ungrammatical—(continuing to read):

"2. To organize a plan around which the unit and branches could mobilize their work"—the person who wrote this is not as glib as you are, Mr. Schneiderman—(continuing to read):

"3. To make the '42 drive successful by seeing to it that every section, unit and branch shall make up a small committee to direct the work." Did you ever hear of anything like that?

A. I can't place that. We have never made a secret of the fact we are interested in building the People's World circulation, since other people in other political parties wouldn't.

Q. The Party Organizer was issued by the Communist Party of the United States—you knew that, didn't you?

A. Yes.

Q. From page 10 of the March, 1938, issue is the following (reading): "We have repeatedly emphasized the necessity of utilizing our press for the recruiting of new members. We now stress the need for making use of our press for the education of those who join. We have not only the Daily Worker and the Sunday Worker, but the Mid-West Daily Record and the West Coast People's Daily World. We must strive to make our new members readers of our daily press. That is not all. We should see that these new comrades receive at least a minimum of necessary party literature and strive to popularize The Communist and the Party Organizer among them."

That was the March issue. In the April issue of the Party Organizer on page 24 was the following (reading): "The Party press is indispensable in recruiting. Give or sell copies of the Daily Worker, and Sunday Worker, the Midwest, the Daily Record, the Western People's World to your contacts, your friends and fellow workers. Follow up the list of readers of our Party press."

That is from an article "How to Recruit" as told by the

delegates to the National Party Builders Congress. The next excerpt is from the Party Organizer for April, 1938, page 38 (reading):

"Another trade unionist among the same group became so enthusiastic about finding the Party that he immediately asked us to bring some one down to his neighborhood to talk about the Party. We had three sessions with some people and recruited two more. Another important new member is a Negro woman who formerly did important work in the Democratic Party. I worked with this woman, helped her build a woman's group, and explained how we helped build organizations. She became very enthusiastic about this and promised to arrange classes where we will speak to progressive Negroes in Los Angeles about the Party.

"I want to speak about one of our other comrades' experiences. There is a Chinese laundry in her neighborhood and all of our comrades had been collecting clothes and money for the Chinese people. The comrade immediately made it her business to take something there every week, and she took our press with her, the People's World." The next is from the Party Organizer for April, 1938, page 5 (reading):

"We have broken into the trade unions with our People's World, which I now handle instead of the Daily Worker. I have special customers for the Sunday Worker. It has been much harder to sell the Daily Worker in A. F. of L. unions than in C. I. O. unions, but I still sell the Daily Worker there too. I asked the workers if they know about the Communist Party and about Communism. They say, 'No!' I say: 'Read that paper, read something for your own interest.' That is how I get them to read the People's World and I have steady customers for the paper in the A. F. of L."

Would those expressions in the Party Organizer tend to make it appear to the layman that the People's World was an official organ of the Communist Party?

A. I think that bears out the statement I made that we had originally intended to publish a daily newspaper of our own. Just the term "our press" doesn't mean it is an official organ of the Communist Party. As a matter of fact, we call it our press, it is the only newspaper that gives a fair and objective view of Communism without red-baiting and without distortion such as we usually expect from the daily newspapers.

Q. Who is the owner?

A. It is owned by a corporation, the Pacific Publishing Foundation.

Q. That corporation was formed when?

A. I think two or three years ago.

Q. Before that it was a co-partnership?

A. Before that, yes.

Q. Isn't it owned by a co-partnership, which is doing business under the name and style of the Pacific Publishing Company?

A. I don't know. It is a —

Q. (Interrupting) You are sure it is a corporation?

A. Yes.

Q. How do you know that?

A. The masthead says owned by West Publishing, Inc.

Mr. Combs: I thought it used to be known by the name of the World Publishing Company.

Chairman Tenney: Do you know any of the stockholders in the foundation.

A. Yes, some of them.

Q. Are you a stockholder?

A. No.

Mr. Combs: Q. Mr. Schneiderman, the People's World just went into a new building, did it not, not long ago?

A. Yes.

Q. Moved to a new building?

A. Yes.

Q. When was that about, how long ago?

A. A few months ago.

Q. Where is that located?

A. I don't recall the address. On Folsom Street.

Q. Do you write for the paper from time to time?

A. No, although they have published extracts from my speeches or articles from other publications.

Q. Do you have anything to do with the policy?

A. Only so far as I know the editors, and we, naturally, exchange views on questions.

Q. What I mean, we're not trying to insinuate anything, but what I'm trying to get is an expression whether you do or do not—do you have anything to do with the formation of the editorial policy from time to time?

A. I'm not connected with the editorial board, no.

Q. Not officially—what I'm trying to get is this: Harrison George is the editor?

A. Yes.

Q. You have known him for a long time?

A. Yes.

Q. Does he ask your advice about the editorial policy of the paper from time to time?

A. Sometimes, yes.

Q. Does he follow it?

A. Not always.

Chairman Tenney: Was Mr. George a member of the Party?

A. Yes.

Q. He is a member of the Communist Political Association?

A. Yes, I believe so.

The "*People's Daily World*" of the West Coast and the "*Daily Worker*" of New York constitute but a small part of the printed material constantly distributed by the Communists in the United States. Each of the "front" organizations, under innocent names, publish their own organs. "*The Communist*" is a monthly publication carrying articles by prominent Communists in America. In line with the current policy of the Communists, the monthly publications, "*The Communist*," will appear in a new format in January, 1945, under the title "*Public Affairs*."

Most authoritative and most revered of Communist writers and modern Marxian theoreticians is Lenin. Stalin is considered just as authoritative and is second only to Lenin. *Communist Party* propaganda pamphlets, containing the philosophy of Marx, Lenin and Stalin, can be purchased in any of the many book stores sponsored by the Communists in California. The *Progressive Book Shop* in Los Angeles and the *Twentieth Century Book Shop* in San Francisco are two of the prominent distribution centers for Communist propaganda in California. In the most remote corners of California Communist literature can be obtained from a *Communist Party* member assigned to that task by his superiors.

Communist Postwar Strategy

Communists everywhere are admonished to be prepared to take full advantage of internal conflicts. They are told that in the event of a world war they must be alert to entrench themselves solidly in order to be prepared to take advantage of post-war economic confusion. On page 68 of "*The Communist*" for November, 1935, appears the following statement:

"The Soviet Union will be forced, in case of war, to ally herself with *Capitalist power*. If the Soviet government, even now, is forced to adapt its diplomatic methods to those of Capitalist allies; if the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, even now, *disapproves* of the Communist Parties of the countries allied to the Soviet Union in order to please *Capitalist allies* and asks them to submit to the demands of their Capitalist war ministers—if this is happening now, there will certainly, in the event of war, be a still greater danger that the

war policy of the Soviet Union may be influenced by the pressure of her Capitalist allies, and that therefore her revolutionary working-class character may be obscured or diluted. In view of this danger, international Socialism must insist that the Soviet government *conduct the war as a revolutionary war, a war of propaganda* with a view to bringing about the working-class revolution in Germany, and to facilitate in the other countries *the use of war for the overthrow of the Capitalist regime.* * * * Socialism must not forget that the aims of the Capitalist governments allied on the side of the Soviet Union are entirely different from its own. It must therefore maintain, with regard to these governments, its complete independence. It must not accept political responsibility for their conduct of the war. *It must not enter into a 'civil peace' with them.*" (Italics ours.)

The Communist plan for the control of the countries of Europe, after the anticipated world war, is set forth in "*The Communist*" for November, 1935, at page 1065:

"The capitalist governments will go to war with the intention of destroying Germany's power forever. * * * *Our aim can only be to bring about the working-class revolution in Germany, and, as soon as the revolution is victorious, immediately to make peace with the new working-class Germany* * * * and to bring about the union of all the European nations and the federations of Socialist workers and peasants States.

* * * "The capitalist governments will at first try to defeat Germany in alliance with the Soviet Union. Every victory of the Soviet Union will add to her reputation in Europe and Asia, and thereby endanger the Capitalist system. Soon the countries allied to the Soviet Union will be more afraid of the victories of their ally than of the victories of the common enemy. Having first tried to defeat Germany they will, on the very day after the common victory, turn on the Soviet Union in order to save the Capitalist system. Against this, our aim must be first to defeat Fascism by a common effort, *and then to organize in common with the Soviet Union and the victorious German revolution the Socialist economy of Europe.*

"Therefore the Socialist parties of the Democratic countries allied to the Soviet Union, from the first day of the war, must make the masses understand the *difference* between their own aims and those of the Capitalist classes." (Italics ours.)

In "*Foundations of Leninism*," at page 54, Stalin declares:

"Today, both in England and America, 'essential for every real people's revolution,' is the break-up, the shattering of the 'ready made' big machinery. In other words, the war of violent revolution, the war of destruction and the machinery of the bourgeois States, as a condition precedent for such revolutionary movement of the imperialist countries. * * * Lenin is

right in saying: "The proletarian revolution is impossible without the violent destruction of the bourgeois big machine, and its replacement by a new one."

The Communists of California were quick to capitalize on the distress of the unemployed during the depression. When the migration of agricultural workers from the so-called dust bowl region began to seriously aggravate the unemployed situation in California, the Communists immediately launched a campaign designed to control the *State Relief Administration* of the State. Party members were successful in securing appointments and jobs in this agency, at the same time clamoring vociferously for greater appropriations from the State Legislature. They sought to increase the personnel of the staff of the Relief Administration and to extend qualifications for relief, thus necessitating the need for greater appropriations. Communist employees of the *State Relief Administration* affiliated with the "*State, County and Municipal Workers of America*" (SCMWA), a Communist-inspired and dominated organization. Applicants for relief soon learned that their appeals to the *Relief Administration* were postponed and disregarded until they became affiliated with "*The Worker's Alliance*," a Communist organization headed by Alexander Noral, a registered member of the Communist Party. An Assembly Investigating Committee was created, and after a series of public hearings and reports to the Legislature, the Communist members were dismissed from their positions in the *State Relief Administration*. As a result, the Communist plan to use an economic crisis for recruiting hundreds of thousands of unemployed people into the Party was thwarted.

The policy of the world-wide Communist movement in taking advantage of major conflicts, such as the war, for the purpose of getting control of one country after another, is being revealed in the daily press as this report is written. Within the past few days a commission of the United States Government has been ordered out of Bulgaria by the Soviet Union. British troops are being compelled to fight in Greece against a group of Greek Communists who are endeavoring to forcibly overthrow the tottering vestige of government and seize permanent control for themselves. Italy had barely surrendered when emissaries from the Soviet Union appeared and started to conduct huge mass meetings for the purpose of seizing control of the government. In France, Maurice Thorez, the Communist leader who fled to the Soviet Union in exile when the war started in 1939, has returned and is now organizing the Communists in that country. The Soviet Union has organized a group of Germans into a "Free Germany Committee" for the purpose of Bolshevizing postwar Germany.

For a great many years the countries of India and China have been fertile fields for Communist agitation. The situation in these countries is similar to the situation that existed in Russia prior to the revolution of 1917. In both India and China the governments are weak. The Communists of both countries are working for the destruction of the respective governments under Moscow directives and are making headway.

William Schneiderman, Secretary of the *Communist Political Association of California*, was examined by the committee October 27, 1944, in San Francisco, concerning the International aspects of Communism. As the basis for this examination he was asked about the textbook compiled by the Soviet Commission, published in 1939, and distributed in every country in which a *Communist Party* was functioning. Schneiderman stated that the volume was printed in 27 languages. He denied that the book was being extensively used at the present time. He admitted that there were Communist Parties functioning in the United States, Mexico, South America, China, India, Canada, Germany, Italy and France. He stated that all of these Parties were founded on the same philosophy, that their members studied the same textbooks, followed the socialism of Karl Marx, and, generally, conformed to the *Communist Party* "line" as it developed and changed from time to time.

Schneiderman on Marxism

Examined on the subject of Marxian dialectic, William Schneiderman testified as follows (Com. Tr. Vol. XXIV, pp. 285-288):

Q. By Mr. Combs: Isn't it a fact that the essence of the Communist ideology is found in chapter four of the textbook that I have just mentioned, the chapter being entitled historical and dialectical materialism?

A. That gives a basis for the philosophy of Marxism. Not necessarily all of the Marxian ideology.

Q. What is meant from a Communist standpoint or a Marxist standpoint by dialectical materialism?

A. It's a scientific method of thought which describes the laws of motion of society, and that's about the limit that I could give you verbally. If you want a more precise definition, I'll be glad to write it and have it included in the record.

Q. No, it was a preliminary question. My next question: Do they teach embryonic students historical and dialectic materialism?

A. I have never taught the subject, so I couldn't say. It's a rather complicated subject.

Q. Yes, I know.

A. It's a subject for more advanced students. We don't in public activities discuss philosophy, naturally. A small minority of the people are interested in the philosophy.

Q. But the Communist ideology was essentially predicated on philosophy?

A. Yes, materialistic philosophy.

Q. And still is?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, Mr. Schneiderman, you recall when the Comintern or the Third International was dissolved, do you not?

A. Yes.

Q. Was there any change in the essential attitude of the Communist Party after the dissolution of the Comintern, so far as its basic ideas and objects were concerned?

A. No.

Q. It remained the same afterwards as it did before?

A. That's right.

Q. Has there been any change in the basic objectives and purposes and ideology of the Communist movement in the United States after the formation of the Communist Political Association?

A. Yes, there has. As a matter of fact, even before the formation of the Political Association.

Q. How long before?

A. I would date it about January of this year.

Q. January 1st?

A. The month of January.

Q. And what event brought about that change?

A. The event which caused us to revise our estimates of what is likely to happen was the Teheran Conference that took place between the American, British and Soviet Governments.

Q. Now, Mr. Schneiderman —

A. (Interrupting) Just another sentence or two—we came to the conclusion that this marked a basic and fundamental change in the whole world situation by bringing about a world coalition, and instead of fighting each other we saw a long and indefinite period of peace and stable relations in all countries as a result of the victory in this war, and we came to a conclusion as a result of this coalition and cooperation on an international scale that resulted from the conference at Teheran that American capitalism had a very bright future of prosperity, strength and stability, for the first time it found a world market which could take care of all the goods this country could possibly produce.

Q. You have given an excellent example of the process of dialectic materialism?

A. I suppose you could call it that.

Q. In other words, the attitude of the party in this country changed because of the fact they view these events through the lenses of Marxism or dialectical materialism, isn't that true?

A. That's right.

Q. Did the same change of attitude occur when the Ger-

mans invaded the Soviet Union in June, 1941?

A. What do you mean, the same change of attitude?

Q. Was it again the application of dialectical materialism that resulted in that change of attitude?

A. No. I believe that many people who are not Marxists developed a change of attitude on the world situation.

Q. Unquestionably we could —

A. (Interrupting) We found the change of the history that was marked by Munich, that is, appeasement—appeasement of Hitler, and that this had changed into an entirely different war because of the attack by the Germans on the Soviet Union, and it was recognized by the American Government, and they changed their views and pronouncements very considerably after June, 1941.

Q. Getting back to the basic question, wouldn't you say that was a change of attitude of the Communist working of dialectic materialism again?

A. I suppose so.

Thus, no less an authority than William Schneiderman, former secretary of the *Communist Party of California*, and presently secretary of the *Communist Political Association of California*, tells us in Marxian language that the *Communist Political Association* is just the same as the *Communist Party* that preceded it. Its change of name and change of policy is in strict conformance with Marxian dialectic and a result of the Marxian materialistic interpretation of history plus a Leninistic "sharp turn." The painted leopard is a leopard still.

The Teheran Conference where Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt met to discuss the problems of their respective nations regarding the common war effort, was proclaimed by Communists throughout the world as a breath-taking and profound event. There was nothing exciting to the Communists in the meetings which had previously taken place between Churchill and Roosevelt and between Churchill and Stalin. But when Marshal Stalin, the infallible head of the Communist religion, leaves Moscow and travels to Teheran for the purpose of conferring with Churchill and Roosevelt, the event becomes earth-shaking and Marxists everywhere view it through the spectacles of dialectical materialism.

American Communists again removed their proletarian overalls, donned dinner-jackets and attempted to assume an air of respectability. They had made the change before and they did it again with the same bland indifference that characterized their leap from "The British Imperialist War" to "People's war."

At its New York Convention the "Party" went through the motions of committing political suicide. The *Communist Party* of the United States was dissolved. In the same breath and in the same convention the *Communist Political Association* of the Uni-

ted States was born. *The Young Communist League* met in convention, apparently committed *hari-kari* and in the same meeting brought forth a new organization, "*American Youth for Democracy*." The same thing happened in Canada. All of these "quick changes" took place, according to Communist reasoning, because Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin had met and discussed international affairs at Teheran.

The sixth period of Communist strategy in the United States may have ended with the Teheran Conference and the frantic name-changing in official *Communist Party* organizations. The committee is entirely too close to the picture at this writing to definitely state whether the sixth period closed with this event or whether it was a logical development of the same period. Whether it was merely a continuance of the sixth period or the ushering in of the seventh, the committee states unequivocally that a new period in Communist strategy in the United States will begin when the war is concluded. The Communists of America have carefully laid the ground work and are prepared for the events that are to come. They expect social upheaval and economic disruption to follow in the wake of war. They believe that there will be a bitter and discontented people throughout this broad country of ours; widespread unemployment, rising prices and staggering public debts. Hundreds of thousands of war veterans will be attempting to adjust themselves to civil life. The groundwork for race riots is already laid. There will be confusion and chaos. Hundreds of thousands of workers will be discharged from closing wartime factories, swelling the army of the unemployed. They believe they will be in a position to foment dissension. The Communists of the United States and of the world have a program. Although, as has been shown in this Report, there is nothing "scientific" about Marxism, it is, nevertheless, a blueprint for revolution.

An informed public is the only obstacle in the path of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the only power that can stop the march of Red Fascism.

The Communist fight against legislative committees investigating subversive activities is understandable. They know that the dark corners of their alleged philosophies can not stand sunlight; that their machinations and intrigues can not withstand exposure. They know that once the people learn that their "scientific socialism" is "phoney" and that their "dictatorship of the proletariat" is slavery and Red Fascism, they will be compelled to go out of business. The F. B. I. can only arrest them when they break the law. They have the *International Labor Defense* for these occasions and "defense committees" which collect money and create causes celebre—and its good propaganda for the revolution. The people do not understand.

The Communist fight against legislative committees investigating subversive activities, we repeat, is *quite* understandable.

Communist Strategy in the Western Hemisphere

Communist strategy for the conquest of North and South America has lost none of its cunning since the beginning of its sixth period marked by Hitler's invasion of Russia. The committee finds that plans for the destruction of the institutions and Democracy of the United States, as well as for the destruction of Mexican, Central and South American republics, are being carefully laid and worked out with vicious exactitude, even while Communist spokesmen call for "unity" and "world peace." The committee finds that the Communist objective for the violent and forceful overthrow of the Government of the United States, and of the Governments of Mexico, Central and South America, is being carried forward *now* and that Communist strategists believe their efforts will be crowned with success within a decade.

The June 24, 1944, issue of the Mexican pictorial publication, *Manana*, contained the speech of a Chilean Senator, Elias Laferte, before the ninth Congress of the *Communist Party* of Mexico. The May 22, 1944, issue of the *New York Times* states that Chilean Senator, Elias Laferte (which is the correct spelling) is President of the *Communist Party* of Chile, and that he attended the 1944 National Convention of the *Communist Party* of the United States of America held in New York City, in May, 1944, at which time the name of the organization was changed to the *Communist Political Association*.

The "*Corporation Carp*," mentioned in the translation of Laferte's speech, is apparently the *Carp Export and Import Company*, headed by Sam Carp, whose brother-in-law is Molotov, the Soviet Premier. (See the Dies Committee Report for extensive details on *Carp*.) The "*Lombardo*," mentioned frequently, is Vincento Lombardo Toledano, head of the *Confederation of Latin-American Workers*.

The translation of the editorial note preceding Elias Laferte's speech is as follows:

"On the 18th of last May, somewhere in Mexico City, the most important leaders of National Communism, in company with other foreign comrades — Sokolov — among them — met mysteriously to bring to a close, by secret session, the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Mexico, which had been openly begun in the Palace of Fine Arts. The culminating speech was to be delivered by one of the most important Red Leaders of America, Lafferte, Chilean Deputy, invited to dictate assignments to the Mexican companions. Days earlier, another prominent Marxist figure — Sokolov — had explained how the sovietization of Mexico had been thoroughly studied and planned from Moscow ("*Excelsior*" Friday, June 16, first page). Lafferte went farther: He singled out *Catholicism* as the most formidable enemy of Communism in its

struggle to get control of power in America, and in a sensational passage of his speech, he pointed out the methods which Communism must employ on this continent, to disparage first, and to destroy later, the religious forces which stand in the pathway of Moscow's Bolshevizing of America. One of the most important continental Communist leaders of European stock, Lafferte, explained what had been until now the political assumption for Marxism in America; what tactics must be used; what procedure must be followed to obtain in a brief time the control of a continent which—he explains—is found at the present time under the yoke of two imperialisms: the Catholic and the Anglo Saxon. After an intensive reporter effort *Manana* has secured the authentic documentation of the historic gathering of the 18th of May and presents in these following pages the opinions poured out by Lafferte, according to the stenographic version of the above mentioned closing session.

"America—Mexico particularly—is on the point of receiving the blow"

The article as it appears in *Manana* is titled "*A Sensational Document, The Plan for the Sovietization of America.*" The English translation of the entire article follows:

"C. Blas Manrique: Due to the absence of Comrade Livinson the lecture is postponed. Comrade Lafferte has the floor and will dictate his lecture as the final act of our Congress. It is requested that the comrades who have not yet received their *stipend* for expenses, will report to the offices of Licenciado (Attorney) Livinson in the Workers' University from 6 to 8 at night, bearing their corresponding receipts and expense accounts. It is requested of the comrades that before leaving the hall, they will come by and get their supplies of propaganda and final instructions for their respective zones. The comrades of the Federal District, Jalisco and Nuevo Leon, have been designated to accompany Comrades Lafferte, Duran and Davies Ben to the airport tomorrow when they will leave on urgent business for the United States. The delegates only, will accompany the Presidium on a courtesy visit to the high functionaries of Mexico—which was solicited and granted by them—the Generals Maximino Avila Camacho, Lazaro Cardenas, Antonio Villalobos; then all comrades must attend the banquet at Pena Montanese in honor of Comrade Lafferte. On the 19th and 20th, the secretary of the Party will receive and dispatch the Zone Chiefs dealing with local affairs. Comrade Lafferte now has the floor.

ADDRESS OF COMMUNIST LEFERTE

"C. Lafferte: In a few words, in order not to tire the Assembly's attention I shall refer to the general situation of the American Continent, of England, and of Russia, for what it is doing to our World Communist Party. To clarify concepts

it is necessary to point out that the U. S. S. R., the government of Marshal Stalin continues faithful to the legitimate orientations which you have just listened to. She continues being faithful a hundred per cent, and it is not convenient among ourselves to attach any importance to the tactics of the fight which from time to time is promulgated from Moscow and other places controlled by Marxism, with the purpose of appeasing the distrust and suspicion of the capitalist system. In these moments in which the war effort of the United Nations must be harmonious in order to end the might of the Axis, the opportunities for the infiltration of Communism throughout the world are superb, not only the proletarian field, but also in the intellectual and cultural field, *in the military field*, in the field of finance and international commerce. In regard to the proletarian field, our base consists of the Union of Soviet Syndicates which maintains relations with some countries such as the Workers' Congress of England, the labor organizations of India, Australia, New Zealand, Africa, the C. I. O. of the United States, the Railroad Brotherhood of that country, and the C. T. A. L. in Latin America. Within these organizations the Communist units have a sufficient control to permit us to have hopes of triumph. If it is true that the English labor leader is not adapted to ideological orientation in our cause, we have in Hillman and in Lombardo two prominent authorities on this continent. In order to succeed in Latin America we have contingents in the General Federation of Labor organized in Argentina through councils and national federations of industry. We all know what the present situation in Argentina is, and for that reason it is clear to say nothing. But their Marxist chiefs have succeeded in escaping from the persecution of the government, and only a few of the most prominent have been taken prisoner as have been a few of the workers' leaders. Nevertheless the crisis which will be provoked by the Argentine expropriations by the Anglo Saxon governments will favor Communist infiltration. It is to be studied in the case of Argentine how hatred of the Anglo Saxons can be taken as an advantage in favor of our cause when they see they must fall under the domination of the Anglo-American arms. Other countries which have fallen under the influence of the present nationalistic Argentine government are Paraguay, Peru, Bolivia, and in part the Government of Chile, my own country. Nevertheless all this wooden frame will crumble when the Argentina Government falls. *The revolution which is being germinated under our direction and aid in those countries will be aided by the United States, England, and Brazil.* The directive elements of the federation of workers in Paraguay are at present in exile because of the persecution dealt them by the new government, *but there as in Bolivia we have succeeded in having the Anglo Saxon diplomacy not recognize the new government, placing it in the same position as Argentina.* In Chile the

Communist Party and the Federation of Labor work in open cooperation, and we take part in the government. Economic necessity has forced the Rios Government to recognize Argentina. Nevertheless, we have great hope that the very government of Rios will aid the Communistic revolutions which will take place in those countries utilizing the above mentioned conditions. *The case of Venezuela and Colombia, countries perfectly controlled by Anglo-American Imperialism, are difficult because there we do not, as yet, have the situation very well controlled.* It has been necessary to insist that the present President of Colombia not renounce his office because new elections could be fatal for the liberal regime which permits the existence of the Communist Party. The Colombian Federation of Labor is organized by Communist councils and we have the control of the organization. Not so in Venezuela where the laws which have lately been promulgated are contrary to us; but are unable to make an open fight against the present government of Venezuela by virtue of the fact that it would signify our complete defeat in that country. In Ecuador we have organized the National Committee of Ecuadorian Labor which is in the phase of agitation and union propaganda. Also in Peru, there only exists a National Committee of Unification of Workers, formed by our units, but which has found a very strong resistance from government and the other social classes.

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL INTRIGUE

"The revolutions set for El Salvador have placed the plutocratic government on the alert, and I have information that the persecutions against our clubs have intensified. Notwithstanding, in the United States I shall utilize this information to get the Department of State, in Washington, to intervene in favor of our units, designating them as Democratic revolutions struggling for Democracy and in favor of the United Nations. The same gestures were successfully obtained here in Mexico, and we have been assured that Mexico will intervene in favor of revolutionists seized in Nicaragua, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Peru, Ecuador, and Venezuela.

In respect to Costa Rica the government will be organized by elements in sympathy with our ideology in union with President Picado P.; and the strengthening of our cause has been favored by the establishment of relations with the U. S. S. R. I consider it convenient to indicate that the activities of the units in all these republics of the South are being favored by the diplomatic activities of the Minister of Foreign Relations of the Government of Moscow, supported by the Department of State in Washington, and the Secretary of Foreign Relations in Mexico, because at the time of establishing diplomatic relations, the cultural missions, the commercial and financial missions which now have their main office in the

embassy of Oumansky and in the financial offices of Corporation Carp and Agency Amtorg of Washington: and those which possibly may be installed in Canada favor the Communist infiltration in Latin America. As fighting tactics, there has been installed a branch of both agencies in Canada, in order to place in competition the American industrialists and business men against the industrialists and business men of the Federation of the British Nations. All the English business interests of Latin America will try to sell in the U. S. S. R. through the offices of Carp Corporation and Amtorg Agency of Canada. All North American interests will do the same in the respective offices in Washington. On the other hand, the financial, industrial, business Russian experts will travel throughout the American continent accompanied by Canadian, English and American financiers, business men and industrialists. Thus our work will be facilitated for controlling the countries of this continent.

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION

"With reference to the cultural tasks, the infiltration of units in the student masses of all countries will permit a sweep toward the Russian culture, supported by the diplomatic offices. The intellectuals, who by monetary necessity will accept collaboration with the Government offices of the USSR on this continent and with the newspaper agencies of our propaganda parties in all countries, also will give a cultural character to Communist infiltration. We have societies of friends of the USSR in Brazil, Colombia, Uruguay, Chile, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Mexico, the United States and Canada. The intellectual groups which are working in favor of the liberation of France, Germany, Poland, Spain, etc., also will become agents of our Cause as are those which are already organized.

MILITARY AND RELIGIOUS OPPOSITION TO COMMUNISM

"Let it not be believed that the success which we have attained in the proletarian, cultural, and financial fields is placing triumph within our grasp. The military and religious organizations, the same as the capitalistic interests, are our strongest enemies. In Argentina and in Brazil, the military and the Catholics are strongly united in power. There, only the cultural and financial missions are working tranquilly in our favor. In Chile the military question is serious enough, although the religious is very weak. In Colombia, the reverse is true, the religious question is very strong and the military is almost in our favor. But, while in Brazil, Argentina, and Chile, the capitalist interests do not pay much attention to social struggles, in Colombia and in Venezuela where there are elements prepared for the struggle against our cause, we find interests alert to anything which signifies the infiltration of our ideology and they will fight us to the bloody finish.

Of that we have proof by the way in which our comrade Lombardo has been treated in his visits to those countries. The press became enraged against him. Nevertheless, *at least as far as Colombia is concerned the Government is on our side*. In the United States, Mexico, Cuba, Costa Rica the government sympathizes with our cause, and we can say that the military problem does not exist for us; but there does exist and in a form quite strong, the religious problem and the capitalist interest, especially the Anglo-American investments which have already permitted at their cost our triumphs. The capitalistic interests which are most against us are the petroleum interests of all continents, for they guard jealously against Communist infiltration. But we are opposing our enemies, in the first place the Democrats and the Republicans, since our tactics have always been to accuse the capitalists of being imperialists, *whether they are or not*; afterwards, we oppose the Socialist Democrat political parties and the labor unions. In many cases we have utilized the governments themselves, showing them the danger which can exist for the nation in which foreign enterprises, especially Anglo Saxon can take advantage of national wealth. These tactics have served us to place in a disadvantageous position throughout the American continent capitalistic Anglo-American investments. Now we have proceeded in the very government of Argentina in such a manner that some elements disguised as nationalist have succeeded in expropriating the Anglo-American interests. (laughter). It is true that many elements will consider that we have given arms to a totalitarian and Fascist enemy such as the present Argentina government; but it must be remembered that one of our fighting principles consists in attaining for the Latin American countries full economic and political economy, and in liquidating the semi-feudal vestiges which characterize those Latin countries through the existence of Anglo-American interests which have always looked upon them as colonies. At the same time it is fitting to insist that we are obliged to provoke situations which can favor the expropriation of all enterprises which currently belong to the bosses, especially in a time of international crisis of those bosses whose nationality can be a future danger for our fighting program. It is for this reason, although it may seem an aberration, that the disappearance of English and North American capitalists from Latin America means a triumph for our cause, and in this way, we shall fulfill one of the postulates of the *World Communist Party*, which postulate is becoming synthetized also in one of the principles of the Campaign Program of the Federation of Workers in Latin America, when it says in its declaration No. III that: The Manual Laborers and the Intellectual Workers of Latin America declare that the principal task of the working class of Latin America consists in attaining full economic and political economy for the Latin American nations and in liquidating the

semifeudal vestiges which characterize their countries, with the purpose of raising the economic, social, and moral conditions in which the great masses of the people are found. This declaration of principles which is fixed in the Postulates of our *World Communist Party* in the campaign program of the workers of Latin America must be explained in two parts: first, that on trying to point out that the principal task of the working class is to attain full economic and political autonomy, this means that the working class must liquidate the economic oppression which exists in each nationality; at this moment, those economic pressures on the Latin American countries are represented by Wall Street and by the City of London, for French and Spanish capital, since it is not invested in the principal national wealth, never will be a danger for the Communist movement nor for the workers' social movement; however, our attack must be, even though we are in favor of the United Nations' struggle against Hitler and Japan, our attack and our watchword in regard to Latin America must be to liquidate Anglo-American capitalism and to obtain full economic autonomy and with it full political autonomy. Later, when the State shall have expropriated for itself all those natural resources and all enterprises of the Anglo-American countries we shall take control of the State by means of political movements. In the second place, when our declaration of principles refers to liquidating the semifudal vestiges which characterize the Latin American countries, we are referring especially to the spiritual and political power of the Catholic Church, Apostolic and Roman. The more than 400 years of spiritual control of the people can not mean for us an easy overthrow of the Catholic Church which has always been characterized as an enemy of our Cause. Campaign tactics make it necessary for us to appear as sympathizers of Religion and even in the U.S.S.R. the Soviet Government has been itself obligated to ease up on religion.

CATHOLICS NOT DECEIVED BY COMMUNISTS

"But it is not possible that either we or the Catholics are deceived. It is very dangerous to make declarations of this nature in countries where the political and spiritual power of the Church is above the government, but in the case of Mexico, triumph of our Communist cause, I have been fully convinced where the government is our ally, and where there have been bloody struggles with the Church, with the Church left in defeat, it is necessary to convert this country basically to the Communist and ideological socialist struggle against the Church.

THE UNITED STATES AND CATHOLICISM TO BE ATTACKED

"In the course of my constant travels through Latin America, studying in detail the general problems and the problems of each nation which are obstructing us from reaching the triumph of our Communist cause, I have been fully convinced

that these two are our worst enemies: (1) American capitalism which has dreams of imperialism and colonizing in South America; English capitalism which feels itself strongly supported by the war machinery of the imperialistic and totalitarian Federation of British Nations; and (2) the Catholic Church which has its strong control both spiritual and political over the majorities in each country, especially in the lower classes where we will have to displace the Catholic Church with the purpose of making proselytes to our cause.

"These two factors are our international and inter-American problems which we must attack. Already I have spoken of how capitalism must be displaced; also our illustrious comrade Sokolov has already explained our campaign tactics, making a brilliant comparison between the historic struggles of our Bolshevik Communist Party in Czarist Russia and our present and future struggle on this American continent in order to bring to an end socially the capitalist ideology, and to bring to a finish politically the governments which protect that capitalist ideology. It is necessary now to refer to the problem of the Catholic Church because it is not a problem of one single Latin-American nation but rather a problem of all this Continent, especially *in the key countries, which are Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, and Colombia.*

"We have explained that in Argentina the coalition of the military, or the capitalist, and Catholics are our principal enemy; we have explained that in Brazil the coalition equally tripartite of the Catholics, the military, and the capitalists are obstructing our path, in spite of the initial intentions of some of our elements and units which have infiltrated themselves into the intellectual and student class, just as there are some also among the workers and natives especially among the latter, who are perpetuating the brilliant memories of the famous acts of Carlos Prestes in his revolutionary march toward the high States. In Venezuela and in Colombia only the capitalists and the Catholics are confronting us, and the same is happening in Mexico. But here we have the resurgence of the Catholic spiritual power being sufficient to organize two parties which although they are not to be feared because of the insignificance of the personality of their leaders, they can present us future problems by which I consider that this chosen group of units and leaders of the Communist Party here gathered will review their knowledge of the weakness and defects of the spiritual power of the Catholic Church, and I hope that also you may be able to say you are increasing your knowledge of the same. In all my travels through the Continent I have been sharing my knowledge in lectures similar to the present, either in gatherings, or in watchword circles, with all our campaigners of each city, of each village, or each ranch large or small, of each Indian community, of each union, of each factory, of every city or rural school, of every university; let this knowledge be repeated in articles, bulletins, books,

motion picture plots, plots of the legitimate stage, etc., all of you protecting yourselves by having it deal with advanced studies in science or civilization, of the future order, and for the good of learning and culture as a struggle against ignorance, and as a struggle against fanaticism, for the good of the people.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

"These watchwords I have divided in three parts, as follows: Roman Catholicism is essentially immoral; Roman Catholicism is idolatrous; and the Catholic Priesthood is an agent of immorality. It is urgent *as campaign tactics that we infiltrate in the mind of the children, in the mind of the natives, in the mind of the workers, in the mind of the students, the worst accusations against the Catholic Church, in order that they draw away from her and enroll in our ranks* as fervent sympathizers of the cause of the future of the world, which we ourselves must present as the cause of Communism protecting the cause of humanity. We must say that the system of iniquities, held, taught, and practiced by the Catholics, has no equal. It is audacious, aggressive, intolerant, and cruel, blind, obstinate and blasphemous; nevertheless, it is also insidious, adaptable, and at times conciliatory; it is pompous, servile, royal, and a cheat. There is no other religion or philosophy which is launched on a task so tremendous of corruption, or universal degradation, no less.

"In the study of the Roman evil, one thing we must always keep in mind, the iron authority of the Pope, the theologians, and the saints. In Romanism the individual must give account to his masters, authorized in spite of the consequences, and the base of the Catholic system of morals rests on the iniquitous teachings and the immoral example of the saints, converting to that religion by a virulent code of laws, a priesthood that is wicked and a power bloodthirsty and cruel.

"We must say, shout, and insist that with a celibate priesthood, the Catholic leader never will be able to live a normal religious life, nor even a normal human life, and that it is *impossible* for him to set an example of good living. We must say and shout, we must insist that the plan of Romanism in the life of each country is to hold supremacy over the civil government in order to enslave all the inhabitants, and that in order to acquire that control over the civil government, it has to use fraud, deceit, and injustice; we must insist that the Catholic notion of universal dominion requires that its leaders adulate and protect these politicians who are ready to sell their soul, their honor for money and power; that the Romanists have taken on themselves the task of fighting free men in a manner most impious; that they can not alter that policy; the pretension that the salvation of the soul by which they deceive the inexperienced, depends on ceremonies, and not on the faith of

humanity gives rise to the discredit of morality in favor of the ritual; that the confession degrades the confessor and the penitent; that the channel of worldliness which passes continually through the mind and the heart of the Catholic priest, almost necessarily carries him to his corruption, insofar as his instructions relax the moral level of the devoted; that the necessity imposed by the confessional on the priest, of labeling and classifying sins according to superficial appearances brings him to all sorts of difficulties and contradictions. If the priest would allow that all powerful God, which they say exists (invention for fools), to take sole charge of his most delicate work, free from the bad practice of the spiritual quacks, a great number of difficulties would be spared and several million sick souls which the Catholics have sunk in darkness would have the opportunity to be cured. That the shame of having to confess ones sins to a corrupt man frequently results in a real sadness and humiliation plunging a free soul into inferiority complex, converting his life into an eternal suffering. That this is a shame especially in respect to women. That the theologians have elaborated a system of specious reasoning which is not only ridiculous and vile, but terribly corrupting. That the first frightful effect which the system produces is the corruption of the priests themselves. That the fact that they hide, evade, deny, and are infuriated when this said system of specious reasoning is exposed is clear evidence that they are already corrupted. That the system of specious reasoning is argued out because it is founded on the so-called notes of saintliness. That Catholicism must prevail or fall with its pretensions of saintliness and because its vaunted saintliness is only the blackest of evils. That the very fact that the Catholics give themselves free rein in their confusion on the revelations of the intrinsic evils of their doctrines constitutes a death clink for the impious Christian Catholic Church of Rome. That the ultimate plan of Romanism is not moral character or salvation from the power and exercise of sin, but salvation from a hell and an imaginary Catholic purgatory.

"We must add that it is not certain that Catholic theologians authorize universal evil; for example, they do not teach that every good Catholic has the privilege of stealing everything that he can lay hand on, that they have certain rules for robbery, and that everything must be practiced in accordance with these rules. Moreover, they do not hold that faithful Catholics can or must lie all the time; it must be for a worthy motive. That Catholic theologians will frown on a rash prevarication if it has no motive. But that these limitations serve double purpose: to establish the authority of the holy fathers as specialists in the art and science of lying and stealing, and at the same time they give a place to a vestige of conscience which even the Catholic spiritual guides cannot exterminate absolutely.

"We ought to say that if anyone doubts the practical effects of the Catholic system of immorality, he has only to observe the fanaticism, the pride, the obstinacy, the savage obduracy of the devout Catholics when confronted by genuine iniquities taught them by their leaders with ostentation of authority and with perfect clarity. It seems that the typical Catholic has some kink in the brain. This is his argument: Catholicism cannot contain any error; therefore, it has no error. Besides, if a thing is erroneous, it is not Catholic, because Catholicism cannot teach error.

"The refined hypocrisy of the Popes and Bishops of Catholicism date from epochs quite remote. More than 200 said in substance the following: 'Another of the papal skills is that after having founded their own cause on so many falsehoods and having sustained them with so many lying allegations in order to make the people believe that we cultured and free men are liars and that nothing we say can be believed, they accuse us of slandering the priests and of bearing false witness to Catholics and for that reason no man must read our books and converse with us nor believe us well-intentioned. They forbid us free men from quoting their own Catholic writers, by teaching ignorant people to say that we are slandering them. Although we quote the book, the page, and the line and tell them that those books are printed in Rome and not in the French University or in the Sorbonne, and that they were written by Catholic writers, they do not believe us because the ignorant have been instructed from the pulpits to take us for liars and incapable of doing good. If we quote any one of the priests, they say we change or corrupt what they have said or that they do not say such a thing. If we show them the books published by their own doctors and licensed by their superiors and printed by the papists, they force the ignorant not to believe us, accusing us of falsification.'

"This situation which seems unreal, I have found in my journey throughout Latin America. I have had conversation with cultural elements which seem not to be contaminated by religious fanaticism, and in all seriousness they have wanted to oppose my ideas with these futile arguments. I have come across workers and farmers, women, comrades, and even professors, in whom one should expect a certain degree of culture. These were in Valparaiso, Buenos Aires, Quito, Antofagasta, and after listening to my lecturers and after reporting them to the priests in the confessionals, instructed by the priests, they would approach me in all seriousness, and in blind faith ask me for the salvation of my soul, requesting that I stop slandering the poor old priests, that I cease corrupting their wholesome predictions, that I leave off counterfeiting their texts, stop attacking the Catholic Church and that with resigned repentance I go to ask pardon from the parish curate

or district priest. What must be done with cases like these? Ignorance and credulity thus united on purpose are a brass wall opposed to our efforts. With what hope will we be able to speak to those who do not wish to hear us? Against that wall there are no other arms except tenacity and patience. Avoid brusque attitudes, persevere in faith, and work as if the obstinacies of those minds submerged in a fanatical lethargy did not strike us. Already I have said that it is no easy task to bring to an end a labor like the Catholic which has lasted 400 years in the soul and the mind of the people. Fortunately, utilizing books, schools and all propaganda facilities, infiltrating ourselves tenaciously in the fields, the unions, seeking out the Indian even to his refuge in the forest or on top of the mountains, entering the mind of the ignorant worker by means of bulletins, of books, of leaders' speeches, taking advantage of their economic struggles, we must little by little go *killing in them* the heritage of fanaticism which they received from their parents, from their grandparents and their great grandparents. *Under the pretext of culture, of learning, of civilization, of philosophy, and of the modern sciences, we must launch attacks against religion.*

"Fortunately for some time now there has been a change favorable to our plans. That is to say, one half of the Catholics of the world are more or less heretics. We must thank God for that. (Laughter).

"In addition to those Catholics more or less susceptible to our arguments, we have already a great number of free thinkers, of atheists who are very susceptible of falling in the ranks of our subordinates as Communists *because now they have no religious defense.*

"Our people ought to know that the extensive evil which is found among Catholics is not the incidental result of abuse of a good religion, but is a logical and necessary product of a religion whose heart is rotten. Some of the possible consequences of the Catholic moral theology would be tragic if they were not amusing. We take for example, the doctrine of venial sin in stealing. The Catholics give the rule that stealing, except that would be necessary to sustain the family one day, is a venial sin for one who falls thus a victim, and he goes to purgatory. (Laughter). To steal more would be a mortal sin, for which the delinquent one would go to hell, and never would get out of there.

"Let us suppose that a good Catholic on a dark night steals and kills the goat of his neighbor in the belief that the animal is of ordinary breed; that the owner of the goat on the same night kills instantaneously the thief without giving him a chance to confess or to receive that extreme unction of which the innocents boast so much. (Laughter.) And let it be said that the goat was one of the finest Angoras, and that it had a value greater than that necessary to sustain for a day the

family from which it was stolen. The poor but faithful Catholic would be eternally lost, but without his knowing it, and without having been able to repent before his priest. How would the village priests answer this problem? Surely they would be unable to decipher it. This has happened on many occasions. I set these simple examples before you *because they are the best arms to cast doubt*, among the Indians, the workers, and the ignorant. I suggest that you use simple examples like these, to sow doubt, because they are the ones that give the best results.

COMMUNIST CONQUEST OF THE WORLD

"It is conspicuous that the governments of Catholic countries almost always are enemies of priests, because they know that they are perfectly imbued with the theories of the Jesuits. Their idea (the Jesuits) is that the Church is good although the priests are bad. The governors and the presidents of Mexico and other Latin American countries generally consider the Catholic priests as one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of education and morality. In Spain the same thing almost is true, in spite of the fact that Franco is considered one of the pillars of the Church; but the Jesuits consider him an enemy. In all South America there is sustained also the same ancient struggle of free men, of the laymen against the priests. The group of ignorant and degraded priests has much to do with the weakness and illiteracy of the American Indians and since the United States threw off the Spanish yoke, that country has demonstrated the superiority of Democracy and socialism over those countries dominated by a conservative Catholicism and Jesuits. But, to conclude, I wish to point out a very special case which may come to our aid. The laws of the republics of this continent permit the freedom of worship. In this form it is convenient for our authorities to permit the entry into our countries of bodies of other religions, as the Mormons, the Angelicans, Protestants, Buddhists, Jews, Mohammedans. These sects are allowed to have their temples open and free. They will help us to sow confusion in the minds of the Indians and workers. They will help us to lose respect for religion. In this manner, little by little, we shall infiltrate our theories of positivism and individual and collective economy in order that the new generations will consider that all these religions are no more than garbage, and must be cleared away as soon as possible in order to permit a better life. It is suitable then, comrades, that we keep in mind these orientations in order that when you return to your zones, you may give instructions to your units on the form of combatting the power of the Catholic Church, assisting the rest; and that you may prepare yourselves for the crusade which must carry us to triumph. The road of salvation of Mexico only has one sure road. Let us prepare ourselves for Mexico and Latin America to be ready to play a dominant role in the *future Communist con-*

quest of the world. From this Nation let there go out the conquistadores (conquerors) to other countries less prepared. Let Mexico convert herself into a centrifugal force for all this continent; let Mexico be the country of freedom for the proletariat and the American Soviet. Let us launch from here the first shout of freedom, and on hearing this battle cry, this daring voice of our people, all the other peoples of America may run immediately, raising very high the red and black banner of social revindication. Our work is to aid, to aid more and more all those in the Americas who fight for our Cause, to integrate all their forces to the contribution of the struggle; to organize a great political movement of unity, which consolidated with the struggle of the people and the *Communist Patriots, faithful to the Fatherland of the World Proletariat, faithful to the U. S. S. R.,* will impel us and draw us to that glorious happy day which is about to arrive; the radiant day of liberation for all the World which will arrive with the overthrow of capitalism. Comrades, cheerio! (Applause and shouts.)"

Fellow Travelers

THE SPECIAL CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE investigating un-American activities, in its Report to Congress in 1939 commented on Communist fellow travelers as follows:

In the Communist movement, the fellow travelers are more numerous than the card-holding members of the party. As a rule, the fellow travelers go along, in the limited duties expected of them, as faithfully as if they were actually party members. It is, however, important to recognize that there are many degrees in fellow traveling. Some are closer to the party than others. Usually the fellow travelers are middle-class intellectuals—professors, writers, clergymen, and even important government officials. In some respects, the fellow traveler is a far more valuable instrument of the Communist Party's purposes than a party member would be. He may, therefore, exert a more insidious influence in Communist subversive activities than the person who openly acknowledges his Communist Party membership.



CHAPTER VIII

Communist Strategy AMONG THE UNEMPLOYED

IN 1940 THE CALIFORNIA ASSEMBLY appointed a Committee, chairmanned by the Honorable Samuel W. Yorty, to investigate subversive activities among the unemployed and in the State Relief Administration. The Committee submitted its findings in two reports, both of which are now out of print. The Yorty Committee was the first official Legislative group mandated to investigate subversive activities in California.

First Yorty Report

IN THE SHORT TIME during which the committee has functioned it has been impossible to make a complete and comprehensive survey of inefficiency and subversive activity in the State Relief Administration. But enough evidence has been submitted to the committee to enable it to form some definite conclusions relative to the conduct of the State Relief Administration.

The Communist Party is now, and has for the past two years, at least, successfully followed a plan of infiltration into the State Relief Administration with a view toward domination of same.

The first part of this plan was carried out when the Communists developed their so-called "united front strategy," and instructed members to move into and work within the Democratic Party in this State. Through their activity within the Democratic Party the Communists gained sufficient influence with the present State administration to enable them to place many of their members in high official positions in the Los Angeles County State Relief Administration. They also have been able to force the present State administration to delay commencement of decisive action to stop their activity and to influence relief policies of the administration.

It is well known that members of the Communist Party, except those few who openly register as Communists to keep the party name on the ballot, conceal their affiliation with the Communist International by registering to vote in parties other than the Communist Party; by maintaining the utmost secrecy in their party affairs; and by assuming fictitious names which are used within the party. That Communists are all members of the same international party regardless of what nation they may be in was frankly admitted to the committee by Dr. V. A. K. Tashjian, alias Parker, head of the control commission of the Communist Party in Los Angeles County. Communists obligate themselves to live up to the Communist constitution when joining that party. When they violate same they are called in and disciplined by the control commission. The Communists do not hesitate to disparage, vilify and attempt to discredit any member who, for any reason opposes its policies or discloses party secrets, including the identity of party members. Therefore, it is obvious that Communists within the State Relief Administration are directed in their activities not by the best interests of the State of California, but by the control commission of the Communist Party.

It is not hard to understand why a party member or former party member is reluctant to divulge Communist machinations when one considers that the Communists remain always in a position to disgrace such former member by simply exposing his past Communist activity in the "People's World," or any other of the party organs. The Communists have spent years devising other means for keeping party members and machinations secret in addition to the intimidation method described above. For example, members who become exceptionally important in labor groups, or Communist "Front" organizations are permitted to withdraw from the party in order to lessen the chances of exposure. Such Communists then work with the party but not as a member thereof. This arrangement makes it possible for them to make a technically truthful denial of present party membership while nevertheless carrying out the aims of the Communist Party. After denying membership in the party they are automatically reinstated. This convenient rule also makes it possible for Communists to deliberately lie under oath. In fact, Communists are taught to have no respect for an oath and to disrespect the American Government and all its branches, including the courts and legislative bodies. They are directed to lie to official bodies when this is necessary to protect the Communist Party from exposure. Ethical standards maintained in America are completely disregarded. Party members are instructed to take advantage of trials or other public proceedings to propagandize for the Communist Party.

Members of the Communist Party follow the "party line." This so-called "line" is the course of procedure laid down by the international heads of the party, it is binding upon all members, they adhere to it without the right to question its correctness. It is well known now that the Communist Party's activities in

America are directed from Russia. The members of the party are lured into a fanatical faith in its ultimate aims. Some of them are, no doubt, carrying out part of a vicious plot to destroy Democracy in America without realizing the effects of their particular actions. The recruiting of such persons into foreign controlled organizations and the use of them for propaganda purposes is part of the new foreign spy technic developed during the last decade. This technic is aptly described by Joseph Gollomb in his book, "Armies of Spies," material for which was obtained from the police files in the various countries where such spy systems have been in operation. These persons, who in international police work are designated as "termites," are merely the first line invaders. The foreign propaganda which they disseminate and the course of procedure followed by them is the first part of a carefully calculated plan to "bore from within" in order to weaken the governments in the nations where they work. No person can appreciate the danger of the army of Communist "termites" in America and their activities in the State Relief Administration without first studying the effectiveness of this new spy technic in other nations.

Working in the open the Communists could not hope to enlist as much support in America as they can by working under cover. Many persons, not actual members of the party help the Communists execute their plans by following Communist leaders, whose identity as such, is concealed. Communist "front" organizations are used to enlist the support of such unsuspecting followers. While ordinarily, the great majority of the membership in Communist "front" organizations is not Communist, the organizers and principal officers who control such groups are either members of the Communist Party or dependable allies. Such so-called "front" organizations do not openly espouse Communism and the destruction of Democracy. They usually espouse some currently popular cause which attracts non-Communists into these organizations. The contact thus gained by the Communists is then used to dupe the nonmembers into following the line laid down by the Communist party to subject them to a disguised poison propaganda, and to recruit as many party members as possible.

An example of a Communist "front" organization is the "League for Peace and Democracy" which the Communists are now liquidating because of the fact that this organization has been completely exposed as a Communist "front." One of the purposes of this league, which was known at first as the "American League Against War and Fascism," was to keep the United States disarmed and pacifist minded. In this way the Communist International hoped to weaken our national defense and international prestige as much as possible. A report made by the Communist party in June, 1936, said: "The American League Against War and Fascism is one of the outstanding examples of a broad people's front. Its third congress held in Cleveland, Ohio, last January, registered a representation of mass organizations of the most varied kind with a membership of over three million." The

members of this league were pledged to resist military training of all kinds and to demand "total and universal disarmament as proposed by the Soviet Union." It is interesting to note that while using such "front" organizations to work for disarmament in America, the Soviet Union was rapidly expanding its own armaments.

Another Communist "front" organization is the "Workers' Alliance." This organization is used to propagandize and recruit the unemployed. Its identity is disclosed, among other places, in a book entitled "The People's Front," written by Earl Browder. Mr. Browder says, "We Communists were the pioneers in this and many other fields. It was the Communists who raised the slogan of national unification, fought for it consistently and finally brought about the merger of all into the Workers' Alliance." In California the "Workers' Alliance" poses as a friend of the unemployed. The real purpose of this Communist "front" is to use the political power of the unemployed to break down the administration of relief, to bankrupt the State, and thereby weaken one of the 48 pillars of the Government of the United States. The Communist leaders of the "Workers' Alliance" will certainly continue to demand more and greater relief appropriations, loose standards of eligibility, lax administration and unrestricted use of relief organizations for political purposes. In order to carry out its phase of a diabolical program, the Communist-controlled "Workers' Alliance" constantly makes unreasonable demands upon the State and insists that relief be given to ineligible persons.

The ability of the "Workers' Alliance" under the present administration to keep ineligible persons on the relief rolls makes membership in that organization attractive to chiselers, and also, makes it possible for that organization to pose as an effective protector of the unemployed. So disguised, the "Workers' Alliance" is a fertile propaganda field and recruiting ground for the Communist Party. Captain Donald A. Gooch, an administrative assistant in the Los Angeles County State Relief Administration, appointed by Dewey Anderson, frankly told the committee that the "Workers' Alliance" had been able, by exerting pressure on the Relief Administration, to keep people on relief who were not legally eligible.

The "Workers' Alliance" is in reality the worst enemy of California's destitute unemployed. Its activity is calculated to, and does engender public resentment against arrogant demands made in order to jeopardize the continuance of proper relief. Breakdown of California's relief agencies would cause the condition of distress and hardships which is so desirable to Communist organizers and "termites."

The committee finds that membership in the "Workers' Alliance" is directly and indirectly advocated by Communist officials in the State Relief Administration. No effort by the administration has been made up to this time to curb the activities of such officials.

Another effective Communist controlled "front" organization, used to control relief policies, is the C. I. O. "State, County and Municipal Workers of America." This union is usually designated by its initials SCMWA. The SCMWA directs its attention to administrative employees of the State Relief Administration. By enrolling the administrative personnel in this Communist "front" organization, the Communist Party is able to bore from within the State Relief Administration and carry out its destructive policies. Through its members it is in a position to encourage chiseling, to sabotage or influence administrative policy, and to show favoritism to members of the Communist "front" organizations on the outside, thereby doing its part to build these "front" organizations, and through them the political influence of the Communist movement. Much pressure from within has been put upon the administrative personnel in Los Angeles County to join the SCMWA. The personnel is informed in a subtle way that no one except union members can get anywhere in the State Relief Administration, and that jobs of members can be protected by the organization, through its influence with friendly State Relief Administration officials.

Another group controlled largely by Communists in Los Angeles County is "Labor's Non-Partisan League," the secretary of which, Mr. Don Healy, was formerly openly registered in the Communist political party. The name is misleading since most of the organizations of which the league is composed, are not even required to be labor organizations. Labor groups in the league are simply used as a "front" by the Communist control organizations which dominate the league. This so-called "Labor's Non-Partisan League" poses as a friend of laboring men and women. It carries out the usual Communist strategy of making such unreasonable demands on behalf of labor that public opinion becomes adverse and progress of labor is retarded. The purposely contemptuous demands made by the League's masked Communists discredit the entire labor movement in the minds of the people who do not realize that this organization is controlled by Communists instead of American working men. The retarding of reasonable reforms for the benefit of labor is desired by the Communists because it results in discontent and the national disunity desired by the Communist Party and the organizations which they control. The great mass of workers who contribute to the support of "Labor's Non-Partisan League" do not realize that they are financing the Communist activities of Mr. Don Healey in his disguise as a representative of American labor. Neither do they realize that the foreign-directed activities of such Communist agents as Mr. Healy are calculated to eventually destroy the effectiveness of labor organizations by turning them into Communist "front" groups. It should be remembered that Communists make no secret of their intention to gain control of labor organizations.

Another labor organization in which Communist members are particularly active in Los Angeles County is the "Newspaper

Guild." Communists are very desirous of controlling the sources of information available to the American people. A free press available for the exposure of Communists is a bitter enemy to them. An example of their work was brought to the attention of the committee by reporters who covered the committee hearings in Los Angeles County. Some reporters frankly informed the committee that it would be difficult for them to get accurate stories into their papers because of higher-ups on their papers known to be either Communists, members of, or Communist sympathizers in, the "Newspaper Guild." Some of the articles purporting to describe hearings of your committee in Los Angeles County plainly showed the effect which Communist censorship can have on part of the American press at the present time. These actually rivaled the "People's World" in rank distortion. It is easy to see that where the guild has a closed shop contract with a newspaper, it can cause a reporter to lose his job by expelling him from the guild. Where the guild is controlled by the Communist Party, the Communists can effectively carry on their campaign to destroy the freedom of the press. Your committee feels that newspaper publishers are making a mistake in not more frankly exposing their difficulties with Communist guildsmen to public scrutiny. Freedom of the press and the dissemination of accurate news is vital to our Democracy and must be energetically protected.

"Labor's Non-Partisan League," with which the "Newspaper Guild" is affiliated, has been very active in bringing pressure to bear upon the present State administration to influence the relief policies thereof, and to resist administrative changes necessary to public welfare. "Labor's Non-Partisan League" was one of those groups which came into the Democratic Party of California as part of the Communist "United front" policy. It now uses the contact established therein to threaten a revolt within the party when the administration refuses to heed its demands. This is merely another example of the Communist "rule or ruin" tactic. "Labor's Non-Partisan League" and its allies have worked hard and effectively to prevent the administration from taking a forthright stand on the question of Communism in the State Relief Administration. The secretary of the league, when appearing before the committee, indulged in the usual Communist tactic of attempting to use the committee hearing as a soap box from which to shout Communist propaganda in the hope that his allies, in the "Newspaper Guild" would be able to so use his statements in their news stories so to cover up the shocking disclosures of Communist activity in the State Relief Administration. This typical Communist labor misleader showed the usual Communist disrespect for the tribunals of a Democracy. He left the hearing in an orderly manner only after the chairman was forced to threaten to have him ejected by committee attendants.

Among the SRA officials and employees called before the committee were Alice Orans, chief aide to the Assistant Director of Relief in Los Angeles County; Samuel Ayeroff, District Director

in Los Angeles County; Jules Kievits, District Director in Los Angeles County; Allen Metcalf, former head of the Surplus Commodities Division of the State Relief Administration in Southern California; Leonard Jones, Director of Works Projects; Lawrence Buchanan, Zone Supervisor in the Surplus Commodities Division; and Claudia Williams of the Planning Research Division. These employees came before the committee with their counsel and at the suggestion of said counsel repeatedly refused to answer questions relative to their opinions of Communism. The attorney who represented them is a member of the firm of Wirin, Gallagher, and Johnson. This firm, it is significant to note, represents Communists in Los Angeles County on many occasions. One of its members, Mr. Leo Gallagher, was the official Communist candidate for Secretary of State at the last general election. It is significant also, that these employees all engaged the same attorney who is, of course, recognized as an authority on the legal technicalities involved in aiding accused Communists to keep their Communist affiliation concealed. The very fact that these employees felt the need for such counsel, and refused to frankly explain their views on the subject of Communism, is a matter not overlooked by the committee. Mr. Joe Ayeroff, another witness questioned by the committee, was also represented by Mr. Wirin. Mr. Wirin, informed the committee that he was scheduled to represent three other witnesses which the committee did not have time to hear in Los Angeles: namely; Ned Healy, District Supervisor; William Harper, District Supervisor; and Katherine Kilbourne, Assistant Director of Los Angeles County.

Dr. Tashjian, who is known as Dr. Parker in the Communist Party and who frankly admitted his position in the Communist Party, was represented by Leo Gallagher, mentioned above. Among the other SRA officials questioned were the County Director, Sam Houston Allen, who also felt the need for counsel, although he is himself an attorney; and Lona Claypoole, Social Service Interviewer. These witnesses were without exception hesitant, nervous, and unwilling to give forthright or frank answers to questions put by members of the committee. The conduct of these employees was something entirely new in the annals of legislative hearings in California. It is inconceivable that employees with nothing to hide would so conduct themselves.

Alice Orans is one of the ring leaders in the Communist group in the Los Angeles County State Relief Administration and is one of the chief advisers to the director, Sam Houston Allen. She was transferred from a district office to the main office by Mr. Allen at the suggestion of Katherine Kilbourne, a close political friend of the State Administration. Mrs. Orans was formerly active in the "League for Peace and Democracy." She admitted organizing one of the typical Communist "front" organizations, the "Women's Committee to Aid Agricultural Workers." As is the usual practice, unsuspecting non-Communists were induced to join this committee, among them being the wife of screen star Melvyn Douglas, Helen Gahagan. Mrs. Orans admitted to the

Committee that Mr. Douglas had complained to her about the relation of this committee to Communist activity. The committee also has other information linking Mrs. Orans with the Communist Party. She is a powerful figure in the Los Angeles SRA office, feared by the non-Communist members of the Staff. She and Katherine Kilbourne are reported to have called in and summarily fired two SRA employees who signed a report made by the State Employees Association to the Legislature. In this report Communist activity in the State Relief Administration was condemned. Mrs. Kilbourne works very closely with Mrs. Orans. Both of them constantly display their friendship with Communist "front" organizations and exercise undesirable influence in the State Administration.

Joe Ayeroff, brother of District Director Sam Ayeroff, is former head of the Young Democrats in Los Angeles County. The Young Democratic Clubs of which he was county chairman have fallen under the control of the Communist Party as a result of Communist efforts exerted as part of their "united front strategy." Joe Ayeroff has used his influence as a leader of the Young Democrats to execute orders of the Communist Party and to influence the Administration in its conduct of the State Relief Administration. Joe Ayeroff was identified by Rena Vale, a former Communist, as a former member of the Political Commission of the Communist Party in Los Angeles. He was identified by George Bertholon, former member of the Young Communist League, as having been an active member of the League.

Sam Ayeroff was identified by Mr. Bertholon as a member of the Political Branch of the Young Communist League. He admitted knowing many of the members of said political branch, as well as having met with them, but told the committee that he thought the group was a discussion club. The committee also is informed that Sam Ayeroff was president of the Thomas Jefferson Branch of the Young Communist League and as such met in the special president's branch of the Young Communist League. According to evidence given to your committee, the Young Communist League is a training ground for the Communist Party and is directed by the party in the same manner as other party organizations.

Mr. Jules Kievits, another District Director, became a citizen of the United States in 1938. He was an active ally of the Communist Party until obtaining citizenship due to difficulties the Communist Party has experienced with non-citizen members. He was identified by Miss Vale as alternate delegate for Don Healy of Labor's Non-Partisan League to the meetings of the political commission of the Communist Party in Los Angeles. This presents the strange case of a relief director who was applying for citizenship in the United States while working with an organization which has for its purpose the destruction of American Democracy.

Allen Metcalf, former Surplus Commodities Director and now successor to Joe Ayeroff as County head of the Young Dem-

ocratic Clubs recognized as official by the State Administration, admitted that he was former secretary of the "League for Peace and Democracy." Ezra Chase, another former secretary of this League, told the committee that he was placed in said position by the Communist Party and that in his opinion the Communists would not allow a non-member to hold said position in this organization which they controlled. Metcalf is, in the opinion of your committee, one of the Communists who led the infiltration into the Young Democratic Clubs for the purpose of gaining control of the same. It is significant that under his leadership the Young Democrats have passed a resolution demanding the discontinuance of the investigation of Communists by your committee. Allen Metcalf, along with the Ayeroffs, was among those concerning whom David Gill, former president of the Young Democrats, testified as having, in his opinion, carried on Communist activity within the Young Democratic Clubs. Mr. Metcalf is now using his position in the Young Democratic Clubs to dissuade the Administration from taking a clear cut stand against Communism and other abuses in the State Relief Administration.

Leonard Jones, Director of Works Projects, was identified by Mr. Bertholon as a member of the political branch of the Young Communist League, and as having been host to this branch of the League at his home on several occasions. Jones also admitted knowing and meeting with many members of the branch, but he also made the absurd explanation that he thought the meetings were simply get-togethers of a study club. Two employees formerly under Mr. Jones, testified that he encouraged them to join the Communist Party. An artist, formerly employed by the WPA, testified that Mr. Jones, in speaking before a group of WPA artists, subtly advised them to join the "Workers Alliance" if they desired SRA favors.

Lona Claypoole, who wrote under the pen name Lona Wells, denied any connection with the "Workers Alliance," but when confronted by Mr. Bertholon admitted she was active in the "Public Works and Unemployed League" which was simply a forerunner of the "Workers Alliance." Mr. Bertholon identified her as a member of the Communist fraction in that group and also as one who had been assigned by the Communist Party to act as secretary of another typical Communist "front" organization, "The American Standards of Living Committee." Miss Claypoole qualifies social workers. None can now be employed in the Los Angeles SRA office without her approval.

Lawrence Buchanan, Zone Supervisor of Surplus Commodities, who was identified as a member of the political branch of the Young Communist League, also admitted knowing the members thereof and also said he thought it was a study club.

Don R. Healy was identified by Ezra Chase, a former Communist, as having been a member of the Communist Party's Enlarged Trade Union Commission. Mr. Healy admitted knowing all of the members thereof; remembered attending meetings in the

room where the group held its meetings; but testified he didn't know they were Communist meetings. As stated above, he admitted being a former legally registered Communist when confronted with a photostatic copy of his former registration certificate.

Donald A. Gooch, mentioned above, in addition to frankly deploring the influence of the "Worker's Alliance" in the State Relief Administration, also testified that the morale in the State Relief Administration is at a very low ebb because of the activities of these Communist pressure groups and their friends on the inside, as well as the investigation which said activities have made necessary. Mr. Gooch testified that these pressure groups were so strong that on one occasion they were able to keep a man employed in the State Relief Administration for six months after it was known to the Administration that he had been guilty of theft in his work.

Mr. Fred Foster testified that he was assigned by Sam Houston Allen, County Director, to investigate Communists in the Relief Administration. He admitted calling on John D. Home of the American Legion and exhibiting to said Mr. Home a list of persons whom Foster thought were Communists. Foster testified that he obtained information from the sheriff's office, a United States Intelligence office, the Police Department, and from Susie Clifton, a close friend of the State Administration. He said he read the names of those whom he suspected to Mr. Allen but that he could not prove they were Communists and that Mr. Allen did not ask him for a written report. The findings of Mr. Foster were entitled to some credence on the basis of testimony given before your committee.

Sam Houston Allen, Los Angeles County Director of the State Relief Administration, admitted being a former member of the Ku Klux Klan, but testified that he was expelled from said group when he discovered its purpose. He steadfastly denied knowledge of Communism in the State Relief Administration and was completely satisfied to stop investigating after the Foster report. Your committee is convinced that Mr. Allen has permitted Communists to have a free reign in the Los Angeles County State Relief Administration and to successfully carry out their policy of infiltration. In order to protect himself from exposure as an ally of the Communists, or a tool in their hands, he refuses to admit the existence of Communism in the Los Angeles County State Relief Administration; refuses to believe any testimony that runs counter to his preconceptions; and has joined with the Communists in their attack on the committee members and the witnesses summoned by the committee to identify Communists in the State Relief Administration. Mr. Allen has since deliberately distorted a statement by the committee to make it appear that the committee had asked for an investigation of the witnesses who identified Communists in the State Relief Administration when, in fact, the committee felt that his SRA employees were guilty of

perjury, and that action should be started against them. The Communists and their allies, including Director Allen, The SCMWA (State, County and Municipal Workers of America), Labor's Non-Partisan League, Worker's Alliance, and the People's World are making a determined effort to discredit the former Communist Party members who came before the committee to identify the Communists in the State Relief Administration.

According to their self-confessed head of the Communist control commission, Dr. Tashjian, alias Parker, former members who discuss the Communist Party on the outside are called "Trotskyites," "stool pigeons," and similar names. In spite of the scurrilous attacks on those said witnesses the Communists have not attempted to deny that they were in fact former members of the party, and therefore, in a position to identify their former comrades. This identification of Communists in the State Relief Administration is the fact in which the committee and the public has an interest. No campaign of personal vilification against these witnesses can be anything more than a smoke screen since the Communists find it impossible to deny, what they have already admitted, that these Communists were former members of the party. The claim by the Communists that they expelled those members and their alleged reasons for expelling them is simply an admission that they were members, and as such, able to obtain information relative to Communist activity.

The committee found these witnesses able to answer readily, to quickly identify the Communists in the State Relief Administration, to call them by their names, and to make the SRA Communists squirm unpleasantly when in their presence. Your committee feels that the Communists in the State Relief Administration deliberately perjured themselves in testifying before the committee and recommends that the transcript of the testimony be printed and a copy thereof delivered to the Attorney General with the request that he make a complete investigation and bring charges against any witnesses found to have perjured themselves before your committee. Communist Leo Gallagher shouted to the committee that Communists dared not admit their membership in the party for fear of losing their jobs. His attempt to justify the lies of Communists who deny their affiliation with the party offered one official Communist explanation for the answers given to your committee by the accused SRA officials. No such reason existed on the part of the witnesses who identified these officials as Communists.

Your committee finds that the Los Angeles County State Relief Administration is completely demoralized, split up into opposing camps, and that it has become a fertile recruiting ground for the Communist Party both directly, and indirectly through the above described Communist "front" organizations. Your committee has received much information from employees in the State Relief Administration who have requested that their names be kept confidential because of fear of reprisals by the Communists who

control the Los Angeles State Relief Administration. Members of the Staff are repeatedly questioned concerning their opinions of State relief policies, by the Communist commissars in the State Relief Administration, and their satellites, who endeavor in this way to determine the attitude of these workers toward the relief policies of the Communist Party. The same Communists who protest vehemently that restrictions on their political activities constitute a violation of their rights, are the same ones who intimidate and unhesitatingly deny the right of non-Communist members of the SRA staff to criticize the activities of the Communists in the State Relief Administration.

Your committee finds that the State Relief Administration of Los Angeles County is guilty of lax administration; favoritism toward the Communist Party and members of Communist "front" organizations; that it has yielded continuously to the pressure of these Communist groups exerted from both inside and outside the State Relief Administration; that members of these organizations inside and outside the State Relief Administration, condone chiseling and corrupt practices. Such groups encouraged persons to stay on relief rather than seek employment with a view toward bringing about constantly increasing relief costs and taxes in the State of California. By this method they hope to bring about a breakdown of the machinery of government and to weaken the government so as to hasten the day in which these "termites" for a foreign aggressor nation hope to see the destruction of Democracy, and with it, the liberties of free Americans.

Your committee finds that the vacillating policy of the administration in dealing with this problem, its hesitance to take any action in spite of repeated statements of intention to do so, and its failure, even up to this time, to issue an order calling for the dismissal of Communists from the State Relief Administration, have encouraged the Communists in their activities. Inaction has given apparent proof to Communist boasts that the administration does not dare to fire them or to take effective action against their members in the State Relief Administration. This encouragement by inaction is doing much to add to the membership rolls, and influence of, the Communist Party and its controlled organizations.

Until this inquiry by your committee no decisive action against the Communists in the State Relief Administration had been taken by the government of the State of California. In view of this fact it seems indeed fortunate that the Legislature in its wisdom saw fit to appropriate relief funds at the regular session of the Legislature sufficient to last only until the convening of this special session. It appears that the State Relief Administration would otherwise now be snowballing into one of the greatest and most dangerous Communist controlled monstrosities in the United States

It is apparent to your committee that the Los Angeles County State Relief Administration is a disunited and inharmonious organization in which petty commissars and political puppets run

wild under the benevolent encouragement of incompetent officials and Communist Party "termites." The committee finds that the apparent attempt of the State administration to build a political machine in the Los Angeles County State Relief Administration, has played into the hands of the Communists, who moved into the Democratic Party, and who, working from the bases established therein, have moved on to the control of the Los Angeles County State Relief Administration. They are now engaged in a campaign to frighten relief recipients into supporting the indefensible relief policies they would impose upon the State of California. They are threatening with insecurity and starvation, the thousands of deserving destitute citizens of California, for whom the State government has every intention of making proper provision. These Communist commissars do not hesitate to use intimidation to obtain the political support of persons on relief in order to maintain themselves in fat political jobs where they can dissipate the funds intended for the relief of destitution in California. They constitute a dangerous and malignant growth that must be dealt with quickly and decisively by the government of the State of California.

Your committee finds that it is necessary that the Legislature take immediate steps to bring the State Relief Administration under control, and to completely divorce same from politics.

Your committee feels that with the time and funds allotted to it, it has been possible to uncover only a few of the most glaring abuses existing in the State Relief Administration and that the ramifications of Communist infiltration and progress in California are such that a further inquiry of a broader nature should be undertaken at once. Said inquiry should be financed in a manner permitting the hiring of competent investigators and the necessary personnel to conduct a complete and thorough investigation in the entire State of California.

The committee has not yet completed its work and will therefore render a supplemental report at a later date.

Second Yorty Report

"FIFTH COLUMNS"

THE WORLD has recently been shocked by the deadly effectiveness of subversive organizations working within such nations as Czechoslovakia, Austria, Poland, Spain, Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium. Organizations of foreign directed termites, commonly called "fifth columns" have demonstrated their ability to paralyze the defenses of victimized nations while cooperating with outside aggressors. It is evident that a relatively small organized force can render a whole nation helpless by coordinating its activities with forces driving from the outside.

The great masses of the people are always completely unarmed and unorganized. When confronted with an organized and disciplined group, they find themselves helpless. The Communist,

or Bolshevik Party, has already demonstrated the ability of a small organized group to overthrow a government when that government is in a state of crisis resulting from either internal conditions, or the necessity of defending itself against outside forces. It is difficult to realize that the Russian branch of the Communist Party had a membership that included only an infinitesimal part of the population of Russia, when it successfully captured control of the government of that country and commenced its dictatorial domination over millions of Russian people. Those who scoff at the dangers of Communist activity in this country unknowingly befriend persons engaged in a treasonable conspiracy, because such scoffing tends to lull the populace into a state of false security which hinders effective work calculated to stop the march of "fifth columns."

COMMUNISM VS. AMERICANISM

The Communist Party is bent upon overthrowing the American Government in order to substitute a dictatorship for our Democracy. These traitors probably do not have the power to accomplish this objective today without outside assistance. But they are preparing to strike whenever we face a crisis of sufficient gravity to weaken our resistance. As part of our national defense we must stop them before they are able to attain sufficient strength to accomplish their objectives.

STALIN AND HITLER

Protected on the east by an alliance with Stalin, Hitler's hordes have been freed to concentrate on the destruction of once peaceful and independent republics. If Hitler and Stalin can destroy the Democracies of Europe, there is a grave danger that their lust for power may soon attempt to span the Atlantic. In this event, it is imperative that we face these hordes free from the treachery of traitorous Nazi and Communist termites who would not hesitate to stab us in the back and to attack our defenses from the inside. The fate of nations like Norway and Denmark should teach us the necessity of curbing treasonable conspiracies existing within our country.

DUTY OF AMERICANS

Those who believe in Democracy have a right, and it is their duty, to defend that Democracy from enemies both within and without. Those who believe in the Constitution of the United States have a right, and a duty, to see to it that subversive groups are not permitted to subvert constitutional rights, in order to bring about their destruction. The Communists and Nazis, who are today screaming for protection of their constitutional rights are at the same time completely ignoring the obligations which such rights entail; namely, the duty of protecting and upholding the government provided for in the Constitution. Those who demand protection under the Constitution in good faith should be

willing to support the entire Constitution, rather than to pick out and support only the provisions of which they approve, and under which they claim privileges.

IN THE SRA

Your committee has been amazed at the extent of Communist infiltration into the State Relief Administration. Under the cloak of this branch of State government, Communists have found their way into widely separated areas of the State. In these areas, they are engaged in carrying out a well-planned scheme to undermine State government. Some of the strategy employed by them is quite apparent. It follows very closely the pattern laid down by the founders of the Communist Party and it parallels to a great degree the strategy of the Communist Party in Russia—with allowances made for the differences in the problems faced by the party because of the differences in the two nations.

In *The Communist Party Manual on Organization*, hereafter referred to as the *Manual*, Comrade J. Peters said:

"As the leader and organizer of the proletariat, the Communist Party of the United States of America leads the working class in the fight for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a socialistic Soviet republic in the United States, for the complete abolition of classes, for the establishment of socialism, the first stage of the classless Communist Society. * * * Our Party realizes that certain conditions must exist before the outworn capitalistic system can be overthrown. What are the conditions? Comrade Lenin answers this question, ' * * * for revolution it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the class-conscious, thinking, politically active workers) should fully understand the necessity for revolution and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; secondly, that the ruling classes be in a state of governmental crisis which draws even the most backward masses into politics, * * * weakens the government and makes it possible for the revolutionaries to overthrow it rapidly'."

CRISIS AWAITED

The Communist Party is simply awaiting a crisis. Through its efforts in the State Relief Administration, it is endeavoring to aggravate the present condition brought about by unemployment in California and in the nation. It is attempting to do this by maliciously endeavoring to increase relief costs to such an extent that taxpayers will be unable to carry the burden and all relief will thereby be jeopardized. Under the guise of aiding the needy, the Communists are actually carrying out this program calculated to eventually deny relief to the destitute. They want to cause unbearable suffering. Such suffering is useful to them in their revolutionary agitation.

DOMINATED BY RUSSIA

It is evident that the Communist Party is not endeavoring to engage merely in the advocacy of the theories of Socialism or Communism. It is rather determined to force its will upon a majority of the people of the United States, whether or not they are willing to accept it. Instead of being an advocate of mere theories, the Communist Party is part of an international organization dominated by Russia, and bound to carry on activity beneficial to that nation, irrespective of the effects such activity may have upon the nation in which the Party members live, and to which they pretend to give allegiance.

The international character of the Communist Party is well outlined in a Communist Party Membership Book for the year of 1933. The first paragraph in said book reads as follows:

"A member of the party can be every person from the age of 18 up who accepts the program and statutes of the Communist International and the Communist Party of the United States of America, who becomes a member of a basic organization of the Party, who is active in this organization, who subordinates himself to all decisions of the Comintern and of the Party, and regularly pays his membership dues."

This official Party book demonstrates very well the fact that the Communist Party is not an ordinary political organization. It is, rather, a disciplined army of "termites." In describing the principles upon which the Party is founded, the book says:

"Acceptance and carrying out of the decisions of the higher party committees by the lower, strict Party discipline, and immediate and exact applications of the decisions of executive committee of the Communist International and of the Central Committee of the Party * * *

"After a decision has been adopted by the congress of the Comintern, the Party convention, or by the leading Party committee it must be carried out unconditionally, even if some of the members or some of the local organizations are not in agreement with the decision. * * *

"The strictest Party discipline is the most solemn duty of all Party members and all Party organizations. * * *

"He who weakens, no matter how little, the iron discipline of the Party of the proletariat (especially during the period of dictatorship), effectually helps the bourgeoisie against the proletariat." (Lenin)

In the same official book under the heading, "What is the Communist Party?" appears the following:

"It incorporates the whole body of experience of the proletarian struggle, basing itself upon the revolutionary theory of Marxism and representing the general and lasting interests of the whole of the working class, the Party personifies the

unity of proletarian principles, of proletarian will and of proletarian revolutionary action." (From the program of the Communist International.)

AN ARMY ON THE MARCH

The Party manual referred to above also discusses discipline under the heading, "Why do the Communists attach so much importance to discipline?" It says:

"* * * How can an army fight against the army of the enemy if every soldier in the army is allowed to question and even disobey orders of his superior officers. What would happen in a war if, for example, the general staff orders an attack and one section of the army decides to obey and goes into battle; another thinks it is wrong to attack the enemy at the time and stays away from the battle; a third section decides to quit the trenches and retreat to another position instead of going forward?

"Let us take an example from the class struggle. The district committee decided that a demonstration should be held against police terror and gives directions to the Sections to mobilize the whole membership to get the greatest possible number of workers to the demonstration. The date and place of the demonstration are set by the district committee. One section, after receiving the decisions, works out plans to mobilize the masses, and activates the whole Section to work for the demonstration. Another Section does not think the issue is very important and neglects to mobilize the membership; a third Section decides that the time set by the committee is not the best one and instructs its members to mobilize at a later hour; and a fourth Section decides to come at an earlier hour. What kind of a demonstration would it be? What would workers think and say about such a party?

"Our Party cannot lead the masses if there is not unity in action. Unity of will and action can be achieved only if all of the members of the Party act as one—are disciplined. If each Party member should decide which decision of the Party he wanted to carry out; if each member would carry out only those decisions which he liked and ignored those with which he disagreed, it would be impossible to lead the masses in a struggle against capitalism. An army with that kind of leadership would be defeated."

Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the fact that the Communist Party describes itself as a disciplined army bound to follow the program given to it by the Communist International irrespective of the nature of that program. This is completely unlike the American concept of political parties. It explains the meaning of the term, "Fifth Column," which accurately describes the fact that the disciplined army working within a nation, is an integral part of that army of invasion, with whom it is bound to

cooperate when directed to do so. This Communist discipline, when understood, explains the success of the Communist Party in organizing demonstrations such as that fostered by Labor's Non-Partisan League and the Workers Alliance in Sacramento on February 25, 1940.

WORKERS ALLIANCE DEMONSTRATION

There is no doubt that the so-called Workers Alliance march on the State Capitol was, in reality, a Communist political demonstration of the type used by the Communists, as part of the revolutionary training of the masses. Evidence adduced before the committee establishes the fact that letters directing Workers Alliance members to march on the Capitol were sent out from the State office and signed by the State President of the Workers Alliance, Mr. Alex Noral, who not only admitted his membership in the Communist Party, but also exhibited his official membership book. This is only one concrete example of the disciplined activity of many similar Communist-organized and directed demonstrations, which have been prevalent in California in recent years. It is worthy of note here, that similar demonstrations were employed to protest lay-offs of unnecessary SRA personnel, by the Communist-controlled Union to which many members of the relief staff belong.

DECEPTION USED

The Communist Party is today endeavoring to deceive the American people into believing that the party is not international in character, foreign directed, or planning to overthrow the American government by force and violence. The Communists are afraid that legislation may be passed by the National Congress outlawing all political groups advocating force and violence as a means for bringing about changes in government. Therefore, the deceptive strategy of the Communist Party is aimed toward making it appear that the Communist Party does not fall within that classification.

MANY FOOLED

Many people have been fooled by this Communist scheme because of their failure to realize that the Party is a disciplined army of termites. This army, at any given time, may not advocate immediate revolution, because its whole strategy is directed toward building organizations from undercover until sufficient strength is attained to make success of forcible action practically certain. The fundamental principles of the Communist Party are not always divulged to new recruits, unless they have responded to discipline and Communist education to such an extent that they can be trusted to keep concealed the revolutionary intent of the Party. Your committee has heard the testimony of former Communists, some of whom were in the party only a short time, and

who never fully understood its true purposes. Others were heard who ranked high enough in the Party to be informed relative to its real, underlying, revolutionary character.

The whole history of the Communists prove that they would never hesitate to lie regarding their immediate or ultimate objectives, just as the termites in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Belgium pretended to give allegiance to their governments before the day for open betrayal arrived. Such termites in America are lying and hiding their real intent. They are awaiting an opportune moment to execute their nefarious schemes by sabotaging our defenses, or seizing control of our Government.

The "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)" edited by a Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and authorized by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, shows very clearly that the Bolsheviks have never hesitated to make use of illegal methods. It should be remembered that the Communist Party is part of the same international group which called itself the "Bolsheviks" when plotting the Russian Revolution.

In the official history, the following quotation makes this point clear:

"Lenin proposed that the Party of the Bolsheviks should be called the Communist Party, which was the name given by Marx and Engels to their Party. This name was scientifically correct, for it was the ultimate aim of the Bolshevik Party to achieve Communism."

Even the present Communist Party Constitution in which much deceptive working is employed to set forth the ostensible intent of the Communist Party, reads as follows:

"* * * that is, by the establishment of Socialism according to the scientific principles enunciated by the greatest teachers of mankind, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, embodied in the Communist International."

Some parts of this Constitution can only be understood by one who has studied Communist strategy. For instance, in the Constitution of the Communist Party, the Preamble says,

"* * * It is devoted to defense of the immediate interests of workers, farmers, and all toilers against capitalist exploitation and the preparation of the working class for its historic mission to unite and lead the American people to extend these Democratic principles to their necessary and logical conclusions * * *"

To understand this language one would have to know that the Communists teach that the historic mission of the working class is to lead a revolution for the purpose of establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat. Such dictatorship is to the Communists, "the necessary and logical conclusion."

VIGILANCE NEEDED

During this period of world crisis, it is most important that the American people be not lulled into a tolerance of Communist organization by false claims of devotion to American Democracy. America is a capitalist country in which citizens have a right to own their own homes, and other property which they may acquire legally, and hold same subject to the right of government to levy taxes upon such property, or to take it for public purposes by paying compensation therefor. The Communist Party advocates the destruction of all capitalist countries. In order to destroy capitalism, they feel justified in setting up a dictatorship and in ruthlessly stamping out all persons who disagree with them by murderous purges or otherwise.

COMMUNIST THEORY

The official history of the party referred to above, and hereafter referred to as the official history, discusses the Communist attitude toward revolution in the following language:

"Marx and Engels discovered the laws of development of capitalist society and proved scientifically that the development of capitalist society, and the class struggle going on within it, must inevitably lead to the fall of capitalism, to the victory of the proletariat, to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Marx and Engels taught that it was impossible to get rid of the power of capital and to convert capitalist property into public property by peaceful means, and the working class could achieve this only by revolutionary violence against the bourgeoisie, by a proletarian Revolution, by establishing its own political rule—the dictatorship of the proletariat—which must crush the resistance of the exploiters and create a new, classless, Communist Society."

This is the theory upon which the Russian dictatorship was established, and upon which the Communists justify the total destruction of all rights of free speech, press, assemblage and religion in Russia.

WOULD DESTROY CONSTITUTION

Today we find the Communist termites in America demanding the right to use privileges guaranteed by the American Constitution, in order to work for the destruction of our Constitution and the right that it gives all of us, to disagree at all times with our government, so long as we express our disagreement in a manner within the framework of the Constitution. The Communists yell loudly for their Constitutional rights. They completely ignore the fact that exercise of these rights necessarily places upon one the duty of defending the Constitution, and the American Government, against its enemies—both within and without the nation.

The Communists in Russia tolerate no difference of opinion

and they would tolerate no difference here, if allowed to seize power. They justify such intolerance on the grounds that they know they are right. But our American form of government is based upon the tolerance of disagreements expressed peaceably in campaigns calculated to win the support of a majority of the people. Those successful in attaining power in our government are nevertheless bound to defend the right of others to differ with them, so long as no forcible effort is made by those who disagree, to impose their will upon the majority in the manner advocated by the Communist Party.

In the official history, the following quotation illustrates the Communist attitude in Russia toward the liberties which they demand in America:

"In order to consolidate the Soviet power, the old, bourgeois State machine had to be shattered and destroyed and a new, Soviet State machine set up in its place. Further, it was necessary to destroy the survivals of this division of society into estates and the regime of national oppression, to abolish the privileges of the church, to suppress the counter-revolutionary press, and counter-revolutionary organizations of all kinds, legal and illegal, and to dissolve the bourgeoisie constituent assembly."

In the above quotation, the term "counter-revolutionary," referred to the activity of those who opposed the Bolshevik Revolution.

Under Communist government where the State is everything, and the individual nothing, government is not restrained by the necessity of collecting taxes from the population in order to carry on its activities. There is no balance between public and private ownership.

There is no right to strike under Communist Government because strikes are considered acts against the government. This fact is completely ignored and concealed by the Communists who work within the American labor movement telling workers that a Communist Government would be beneficial to them. Political demonstrations such as those organized by Communists in this country would not be tolerated by a Communist Government. Such demonstrations would be classed as counter-revolutionary, and persons found engaged in them would be promptly and effectively liquidated.

COMMUNIST HYPOCRISY

These examples of the destruction of individual rights under the Communist Government of Russia, are set forth here to direct attention to the hypocrisy of the Communists and their accomplices in this country, who set themselves up as the guardians of American civil liberties and Constitutional rights. The framers of the Constitution never intended that it be interpreted so as to grant a license to destroy the government to tools of foreign aggressors.

The right to rely on the Constitution for protection should include the obligation to use the privileges granted by it in good faith—and good faith is something the Communists can not honestly claim.

The sugar-coated program of progressive reforms openly advocated by the Communist Party is simply a flypaper calculated to win support from the unwary in order to lead them down the road of desecration and destruction which is Communism. The same tactics were used in Russia by the Bolsheviks. Their official History says at one point:

"The petition was discussed at workers meetings where amendments were made. Bolsheviks spoke at these meetings without openly announcing themselves as such. Under their influence, the petition was supplemented by demands for freedom of press, freedom of speech, freedom of association for workers * * * an 8-hour day * * *."

Of course these demands were made before the Communists seized control over the government and stamped out all of the rights of others which they had so vociferously demanded for themselves.

FEAR OF REPRISALS

Few persons who have left the Communist Party have had the courage to speak out against it. This results from fear of reprisals by the comrades who have no respect for laws. This results also from the fact that persons who have left the Communist Party are often so ashamed of ever having been part of it, that they fear exposure. In this regard it is interesting to note that the Communists, themselves, hold the threat of exposure over their members at all times, as a matter of discipline. The Communist Constitution says on this point,

"* * * or members whose actions are detrimental to the Party and the working class, shall be summarily dismissed from positions of responsibility, expelled from the Party and exposed before the general public."

Communists in the State Relief Administration have used as a smoke screen for their activities a CIO union called the State, County and Municipal Workers of America. Such use of legal organizations is an old tactic of the Communist Party. By hiding behind what appears to be a labor organization, and by using as "fronts" non-Communists led into such an organization, they are able to screen their activities. The Communists then endeavor to make it appear that attacks on them are attacks on a labor union.

COMMUNISTS CONTROL SCMWA

Your committee knows that the leadership of this SRA group is Communistic. In order to deny this fact, when questioned before the committee, these leaders would have to perjure them-

selves. For this reason, they devised the strategy of hiring attorneys, in every case either Communists or known sympathizers, who in purporting to represent the best interests of all members of the so-called union, made it clear to all of them that they should not answer questions relative to Communism. This meant that Communists and non-Communists alike, who were members of the so-called union, would refuse to answer questions relative to Communism. This saved the Communists from the necessity of being the only ones forced to refuse to answer in order to escape exposure or possible prosecution for perjury. Non-Communists were thus used as a screen.

The record shows that your committee constantly advised members of this Communist controlled organization, that if they were not Communists they should answer the questions frankly and not be dupes for Communist hoodlums. But the typical Communist discipline was already so well inculcated into the minds of the members of this organization, that only a few had the courage to defy their leaders by stating to the committee that they were not Communists, and that they did not believe in Communism. Those who did testify were dismissed from the union for so doing. In contrast to the attitude of the disciplined members of this so-called union were all of the other witnesses who came before the committee, in every case without attorneys, and in every case with a willingness to answer questions put by the committee relative to Communism.

SABOTAGE RELIEF BILL

An example of Communist discipline of members of this so-called union was the order it issued to its members in San Francisco instructing them not to work overtime even though they were offered time off at a later date to make up for the extra hours. This order was carried out with the consent of the administrator in San Francisco who agreed not to take any action against the recalcitrants for their refusal to cooperate. The union stated as one of its reasons for ordering the members not to work overtime, that it did not want to help the reactionary Legislature of the State of California which it claimed was on the spot because of Senate Bill No. 81. In other words, the leaders of this so-called union who opposed Senate Bill No. 81 wanted to do everything they could to make it turn out badly in order to keep relief costs high in the State.

In San Francisco, the workers who were not members of this group worked exceedingly long hours to bring that district into compliance with Senate Bill No. 81 and to clean up the case load. During the period of readjustment members of the so-called union deliberately refused to aid in the program of readjustment. That the county administrator would agree not to hold such action against the recalcitrants seemed incredible, but it is, nevertheless, true. Certainly in making evaluations or in compiling the ratings of members of the staff, this arbitrary refusal to cooperate should

have been taken into consideration. But with the evaluations, or ratings, being made by those who sympathized with the so-called union's attitude, its members, quite naturally, had no fear of finding their inexcusable conduct detrimental.

UNDERGROUND TACTICS

Use of legal organizations, such as the SCMWA, to cover up illegal (or what the Communists call "underground") activity is a fundamental tactic of the Stalinists. This tactic is especially useful during periods when the attention of the people is directed toward the subversive character of their activities. This is the situation in America now and, as one would expect, the Communist Party is going "underground." In other words, fearing that it will soon be made illegal, it is preparing to combine illegal underground activity with work through controlled legal organizations like the SCMWA. In going underground the Communists also are breaking down their party units into small groups less apt to be detected. Such small groups, even if detected, will represent such a minute part of the party as to make the arrest of any one of them inconsequential to the party structure.

Describing such periods in their official history the Communists say:

"Lenin pointed out that at such moments revolutionary parties should perfect their knowledge. During the period of rise of the revolution they learned how to advance, during the period of reaction they should learn how to retreat properly, how to go underground, how to preserve and strengthen the illegal Party, how to make use of legal opportunities, of all legally existing, especially mass, organizations in order to strengthen their connections with the masses * * *.

"The Party had to reckon with a new situation. Offensive tactics had to be replaced by defensive tactics, the tactics of mustering forces, the tactics of withdrawing the cadres underground and of carrying on the work of the Party from underground, the tactics of combining illegal work with work in the legal working class organizations.

"The surviving legal organizations served as a sort of screen for the underground organization of the Party and as a means of maintaining connections with the masses. In order to preserve their connections with the masses, the Bolsheviks made use of the trade unions and other legally existing public organizations, such as sick benefits societies, workers cooperative societies, clubs, educational societies and Peoples Houses.

"* * * Thanks to a skillful combination of illegal and legal work, the Bolsheviks were able to become a serious force in the legal workers organization. This was revealed, incidentally, in the great influence which the Bolsheviks exercised on the workers groups at four legally held Congresses that took

place at that period * * * a Congress of peoples universities, a women's Congress, a Congress of factory Physicians and a Temperance Congress."

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION

This analysis of the Communist tactics employed in Russia when their status was comparable to their current status in the United States, explains the presence of Communists in so many American legal organizations formed to foster progressive reforms. This shows, also, that the interest of the Communists in these organizations is not an honest interest in the things for which the organizations stand, but rather, a desire to use the opportunity afforded by work within such groups, to establish contacts helpful in the dissemination of agitational propaganda, used by the Communists in preparation for the overthrow of our government.

In a further discussion of this tactic, the official history says:

"In this difficult period, the Bolsheviks set an example of how legal work should be combined with illegal work."

It is evident that that example is being followed by the Communist gangsters in the United States today through their activities in the SCMWA and similar groups.

The official history said further:

"The Bolsheviks wanted to create a new Party, a Bolshevik Party, which would serve as a model for all who wanted to have a real revolutionary Marxist Party."

It is also evident that this model is now being copied by the Stalinists in the United States. At another point in the official history in describing illegal activity the following appears:

"The conference noted that the most important rule of Bolshevik tactics in periods of retreat, namely, to combine illegal work with legal work within the various legally existing workers societies and unions, was being observed in all localities."

COMMUNIST NEWSPAPER

One of the important phases of Communist activity is the publication of a newspaper for purposes other than mere dissemination of news. The confidential Communist Party Guide issued from the state headquarters in California described the "People's World" as the Communist newspaper of California. The official history quotes Lenin as saying:

"A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and collective agitator, but also a collective organizer."

In publishing the "People's World," the California Communists demonstrate once more the fact that they are simply following the pattern laid down by Lenin, and others, and successfully followed by the Bolsheviks in Russia. As a matter of agitation, the "People's World" often writes articles describing suicides by the

unemployed. Of course, it always blames lack of work for these actions whether or not the actual facts so indicate. Just as you would expect, the official history in describing the work of the Bolshevik paper, "Pravda" said:

"Pravda often reported cases of suicide of unemployed and starving workers who had lost all hope of ever finding jobs again."

Another statement by the Communists in their official history showing the importance they attach to a newspaper and the uses they can make of it is very interesting:

"Pravda helped to organize the mass actions of the proletariat at the time of a big lock-out in St. Petersburg in the spring of 1914. When it was expedient to declare a mass strike, Pravda called upon the workers to resort to other forms of struggle such as mass meetings in the factories and demonstrations in the states. This could not be stated openly in the newspaper, but the cause was understood by class-conscious workers when they read an article by Lenin bearing the modest title, 'Forms of the Working Class Movement' and stating at the given moment, strikes should yield place to higher form of working class-movement * * * which meant a call to organize meetings and demonstrations.

"In this way, the illegal revolutionary activities of the Bolsheviks were combined with legal forms of agitation and organization of the masses of the workers through Pravda * * *.

"Pravda stood in the center of the struggle for the Party principle, for the building up of a mass working class revolutionary party. Pravda rallied all the legally existing organizations around the illegal centers of the Bolshevik Party and directed the working-class movement towards one definite aim * * * preparation for revolution * * * in the Pravda editorial office was concentrated a large share of the organizational work of the Party, here meetings were arranged with representatives from Party nuclei; here reports were received of Party work in the mills and factories; and from here were transmitted the instructions of the St. Petersburg Committee and the Central Committee of the Party."

"PRAVDA" OF CALIFORNIA

Evidence adduced before your committee together with an analysis of articles appearing in the "People's World" shows conclusively that this Communist propaganda organ is simply the "Pravda" of the California Communists. It is doing the identical work here that "Pravda" did in the preparation for the Russian Revolution. Communist Party members are constantly admonished to support and obtain subscriptions for this Communist propaganda paper.

The "People's World" was much in evidence around the offices of the State Relief Administration investigated by your

committee. Members of the SRA Staff openly solicited subscriptions for it during working hours. It was posted on the bulletin board daily in some offices, and in others, copies were left on tables where they could be conveniently picked up by members of the staff.

During the hearings of your committee, this Communist paper printed scurrilous attacks upon members of the committee. It consistently distorted the facts and resorted to deliberate lies. The committee found that a large percentage of the members of the SRA Communist controlled union subscribed to this paper. Some of them testified before the committee that they considered it the "only truthful paper in California"—and this in spite of the fact that the "People's World" acclaimed the Russian invasion of Finland. It clumsily changed its policy to pro-Hitlerism when the Stalin-Hitler Alliance was made although before the Alliance it was loud in its condemnation of the Nazis.

ATTACK PREPAREDNESS

The "People's World" has recently devoted much space to attacks on the American preparedness program and the work of J. Edgar Hoover. To find such a subversive newspaper openly and widely supported by members of the State Relief Administration staff affiliated with the SCMWA is shocking and disgusting. No one not sympathetic with the Communists could read this propaganda sheet without resenting the rank distortion to which it stoops. It is not a newspaper in the American sense, at all. It is the central organ in California of the international gangsters in the Communist Party.

Subversive organizations have been greatly aided in carrying out their international conspiracy in this country by the laxity of our laws designed to curb treason and foreign espionage. Law-enforcement agencies are the hated enemy of subversive groups. They constantly carry on a campaign for the purpose of discrediting all agencies of government created to check on subversive groups.

The successful sabotage of European Democracies by these international gangsters has caused our national government to invoke the services of the G-Men in the Department of Justice, in order to ascertain the extent of plans for sabotage or overthrow of the American Government. The FBI under Mr. J. Edgar Hoover is a department of which every American is proud. Nothing could be more reassuring to patriotic Americans than knowing that the G-Men are on the trail of the international gangsters working here in America. On the other hand, nothing could strike more fear into the hearts of subversive elements than being cognizant of surveillance by Mr. Hoover's G-Men. In view of these facts, it is not surprising that in recent months, the Communists have embarked upon a scurrilous "smear" campaign, intended to discredit J. Edgar Hoover and the Department of Justice.

"SMEAR" METHODS

As is usual with these despicable vermin, they are not attacking Mr. Hoover on the grounds that he is checking on subversive activities, but rather they are pretending to see in his work an attack on labor unions. In other words, the subversive groups are once more attempting to hide behind American labor, once more proclaiming that their civil liberties are in jeopardy, once more screaming that constitutional rights are being violated, once more conducting a typical scheming, underhanded "smear" campaign, all of which is planned to do just one thing—that is to carry out the Communist program of "smearing" everyone, and every organization that conducts a fight against their subversive machinations.

Naturally the Communist-controlled SRA union has been called upon to do its part in the "smear Hoover" campaign. The fact that this campaign originated with the Communist Party is not open to doubt. Every piece of Communist literature published in recent months has carried analogous attacks on the FBI. For instance, a May Day pamphlet recently issued from the National Communist Party office in New York, said:

"* * * The Bill of Rights is being trampled under foot by the Dies Committee and FBI. Attempts are made to curb and cripple the trade unions. Anti-war fighters, especially the Communists, are being persecuted and jailed."

Another Communist May Day pamphlet written by Lewis Budenz says:

"* * * In Detroit, the plug-uglies of J. Edgar Hoover—who learned his lessons from the strike-breaker and labor spy, William J. Burns—have shown their true, hideous faces."

PATTERSON SUPPORT

A handbill recently issued by the People's World containing a subscription blank, and urging support of the Patterson slate of convention delegates, listed several reasons for dissatisfaction with the New Deal. One of the acts for which the New Deal was condemned was, "attacks on trade unions by the Department of Justice." The Communist-inspired Patterson slate, in its proposed program, sandwiched in a condemnation of the FBI with the usual sugar-coated proposals calculated to fool the masses of people into following Communist leadership. Another handbill advertising a meeting for the benefit of William Schneiderman, California head of the Communist Party, against whom the government has recently taken action, listed as one of the topics of talk: "Are the recent activities of the FBI a menace to American Democracy?" Many other examples of this widespread Communist "smear" campaign, including attacks on the FBI in the People's World, could be cited. It is singular that one of the first to place the Communist "smear" machinery in operation against the FBI was the notorious Communist accomplice, Harry Bridges.

The so-called union to which the SRA staff belongs had done its part in the "smear Hoover" campaign through the bulletins published by it. In one of these bulletins—along with the ever-recurrent attacks on your committee—the following language appears:

"* * * California's open shoppers want to break the unions. The Yorty Committee has asked for a membership list of State, County, and Municipal Workers Union and is incensed at the idea that they might not be supplied. Naturally, if these unions give their membership lists to Yorty, they have opened the way to wholesale blacklisting and for the notorious snooping of the FBI. Once material is made available so that governmental agencies can regulate union activities, we are well onto the road to Fascism."

DECEPTIVE PROPAGANDA

This Communist propaganda demonstrates again the Communist tactic of hiding behind labor organizations. Both your committee and the FBI have exposed Communists. When these Communists happen to be found working within labor organizations, they always use deceptive propaganda designed to make attacks on their subversive activities appear to be attacks on labor. They always attempt to scare union members by threats of blacklisting, or something else. This is done to convince union members that they must rally to the defense of the subversive elements in order to defend themselves. Such is the Communist program for recruiting support for their policies from those who do not realize for what they are being used. In line with their policy of calling everything they don't like an attack on trade unions, one bulletin issued by this so-called union in the SRA carried the following choice propaganda:

"* * * It was also brought out that the current drive for the reduction of relief budgets is part of a drive against trade unions * * *"

The same tactic was employed in a Communist May Day pamphlet which contained the following:

"* * * On May Day, we can rally against these assaults on our trade unions. On our banner, we can proclaim: 'Save the unions! Halt the attack on our organizations!' In order to put the skids under the trade unions, Washington has carefully prepared the way through the persecution of Communists. * * * The Communists are persecuted for one reason above all: that they are unflinchingly opposed to American entry into this imperialistic war. They are persecuted, further, because thereby the Department of Justice can establish a precedent under which to lay waste the entire labor movement."

FALSE PEACE STAND

In recent months, the Communists have endeavored to maintain connections with the masses by setting themselves up as the

champions for peace. Any thinking person should easily see through this smoke-screen. The Communists are yelling for peace because this offers a convenient method for carrying on propaganda against the Allies and in favor of the Hitler-Stalin Alliance.

They have hit upon a clever slogan, "The Yanks Are Not Coming." This slogan is being publicized in practically all Communist literature just as is the attack on the FBI. Under the guise of a demand for peace, the Communists are fighting the American preparedness program which has the support of all informed and patriotic Americans. The subversive groups want to keep America weak. They would like to see us fall prey to the Hitler or Stalin war-machines. They would like to see us unable to defend ourselves if attacked by their international gangster cohorts. They would like to keep us unable to prevent sabotage perpetrated from the inside. They would like to see America make the same mistake, that many nations of Europe made, when they sought peace through unpreparedness.

Unfortunately many Americans are today being fooled by the fake peace propaganda of the Communists. As part of their program the Communists are carrying on a vicious attack against President Roosevelt in which they condemn him for being more friendly to the Allies than to Hitler. As usual, the Communists pretend to see in the realistic and necessary American preparedness program, an attack on labor unions. In fact, this subversive group, which has reduced lying and deception to a fine art, can be expected to find an attack on labor unions in most anything. So the "Yanks Are Not Coming" and "Stop Roosevelt's War Policies" are being added to the current slogan of the international gangsters.

In the People's World handbill favoring the Patterson slate referred to above, among the charges against the New Deal are the following:

"* * * Tremendous boost in war appropriations; sale of military secrets and airplanes to Allies; Roosevelt administration no longer neutral—assists Allies."
If Stalin and Hitler were being assisted they would not complain.

CRIPPLE LEGITIMATE UNIONS

An official Communist May Day circular offers a fine example of propaganda condemning American aid to Finland, and showing the utilization of the slogan, "The Yanks Are Not Coming" by this group:

"* * * Under the hypocritical slogan of 'Neutrality' and 'Aid to the Democracies' by methods short of war, big business and the Roosevelt government have lifted the arms embargo, and turned America into an arms factory for the Allies, opposing the ending of war, and doing everything in their power to spread it. Through this and similar measures such as loans to Finland and the Scandinavian countries, through

diplomatic intervention and other aid to the Finnish White Guards, American Imperialism has already taken a long step toward dragging the American people into war. * * * Attempts are being made to curb and cripple the trade unions. Anti-war fighters, especially the Communists, are being persecuted and jailed. * * * The workers organized in the CIO, AFL, and Railroad Brotherhoods, the young people through the American Youth Congress, the toiling farmers and the negro people through the militant organizations, are daily expressing their opposition to the war and hunger program. The slogan, 'The Yanks Are Not Coming' has become the rallying cry of millions."

A strikingly similar combination of the slogan, "The Yanks Are Not Coming" with the anti-Finnish propaganda is contained in a SCMWA bulletin. This bulletin also contains the typical Communist propaganda against the Allies. It says:

"* * * 'The Yanks Are Not Coming' was the slogan selected by the 117 official delegates from 53 counties. * * * Britain and France's encouragement of the invasions of China, Ethiopia, Albania, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, and their non-intervention in Spain, indicates that the ruling classes are not particularly interested in maintaining Democracy. The recent great amount of propaganda about Finland and the contributions of Italy, England, and other nations of planes and credits to that nation, did not stem from love of Democracy but from the desire of capitalist nations to provoke a war against the Soviet Union, a socialist nation."

SRA COMMUNISTS

The Communist group in SRA has flooded the State offices with propaganda following the Communist Party line. In fact, the State Relief Administration has apparently become a spearhead of the entire Communist propaganda campaign in California. This phase of the so-called union's activity will be considered again below.

SHARP TURNS IN COMMUNIST POLICY

The chameleonic Communist Party line oft-times results in a change of immediate policy, but the long time objective, namely, the setting up of a dictatorship, never changes. The necessity of making changes to coordinate with new policies of Soviet Russia is a great handicap to the Communist Party consistency. During the years when the Communists regarded the Nazis as enemies of Soviet Russia, they propagandized against the Nazis and organized groups such as the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League through which to carry on such activity. The "People's World" and other organs of the Party during this period could not think of vile enough names to call Adolph Hitler. In an official Los Angeles County Communist publication issued in commemoration of the

Twentieth Anniversary of the Los Angeles County Communist organization, and written before the Hitler-Stalin Pact, the following statement appears:

"* * * In the name of the Communist Party of the United States, Earl Browder and William C. Foster, general secretary and chairman, respectively, have written to President Roosevelt and to all members of the Congress of the United States, pledging the Party support of President Roosevelt's peace policies as approved by the majority of the American people."

At another point in the same publication, it says:

"* * * In this period of war crisis, when Hitler and the Munichmen are spreading their hideous destruction, the military defense of our country becomes a key factor for national security."

The program of the Communists as set forth in this publication as its 12th plank contains the following:

"* * * Full official city and county support of President Roosevelt's Peace Policy of Collective Security, cooperation of all local law-enforcement bodies with Federal services for detection and prosecution of all agents and spies of Nazi, Japanese, and other Fascist governments in local aircraft and fishing industries."

The ink was hardly dry on this publication when the Hitler-Stalin Pact was signed. During their campaign against the Nazis, the Communists had believed that Soviet Russia would conclude a pact with the Allies against Hitler. When the world was stunned by the agreement between Hitler and Stalin, the Communists fumbled for several days without knowing how to explain the unexpected turn of events calling for the formulation of an entirely new party line.

STALIN NAZI SWITCH

Stalin had given Hitler the assurance he needed against attack from the East, in order to make it possible for him to start his campaign of destruction against the Scandinavian countries and the small republics to the West. In explaining their change of attitude toward the Nazis, after the pact was signed, the Communists reached the zenith of hypocrisy. The Russian Commissar of Foreign Affairs in addressing the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, said:

"* * * It is our duty to think of the interests of the Soviet people, the interests of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics * * *. Only when it became clear to us that the German government desired to change its foreign policy so as to secure an improvement in the relations with the USSR, was the basis found for the conclusion of a Soviet-German Non-Aggressive Pact. Everybody knows that during the last six

years, ever since the National Socialists (Nazis) came into power, political relations between Germany and the USSR have been strained * * *. Exposing the hullabaloo raised in the British, French, and American press about Germany's plans for the seizure of the Soviet Ukraine, Stalin said, 'It looks as if the purpose of this suspicious hullabaloo was to incense the Soviet Union against Germany, to poison the atmosphere and to provoke a conflict with Germany without any visible ground.' * * * We have always stood for amity between the peoples of USSR and Germany for the growth and development of friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the German people. * * * Is it really difficult to understand that the USSR is pursuing and will continue to pursue its own independent policy, based upon the interests of the peoples of the USSR and only their interests? * * * This Pact not only eliminates the menace of a war with Germany, narrows down the zone of possible hostilities in Europe, and serves thereby the cause of universal peace; it must open to us new possibilities of increasing our strength."

No greater batch of lies was ever concocted by the Stalinists than those used in their attempt to justify the Hitler-Stalin Pact, and the changes in their propaganda and policies made necessary thereby. It is difficult to imagine such a brazen liar as was Stalin when he accused Americans of trying to provoke war between Russia and Germany. The fact of the matter was that his gangsters in this country were busy conducting Nazi campaigns because they feared a possible plan of Adolph Hitler to drive to the East, which drive was described, by Hitler, in his book, "Mein Kampf," and which was most certainly not an invention of the American press, as claimed by Stalin.

Molotov's Lies

Hypocrisy, Communist style, bristles also in Molotov's claim that the Communists always stood for friendship between Germany and Russia. Molotov told the truth when he mentioned the previously existing strained relations between Russia and Germany. It was obviously these strained relations that caused the Stalinists in this country to carry on an anti-Nazi campaign in the interests of the Soviet Union. It was the end of these strained relations, and the Hitler-Stalin Pact, that caused the Stalinists in America to completely change their position by commencing attacks against American preparedness measures, and also by condemning as "unneutral," those who continued to denounce Hitler, just as the Stalinists did before the pact. This change of policy on their part was brought about solely in the interest of the Stalinist dictatorship even though such interest is directly adverse to the national safety of this country. Molotov lied again when he said the pact was in the interest of universal peace. He knew that the real purpose of the pact was to give Hitler the protection he needed in the East, to permit him to turn his destructive efforts in another direction.

The awkward change of the Communist policy in this country brought about by the Hitler-Stalin Pact is also exemplified in their change of heart relative to Federal investigation of Nazi and Fascist spies. Since the pact has made the Communist and Nazi termites in this country part of the same "fifth column," they now stand together in a campaign to smear the counter-espionage work of the FBI which the Communists themselves advocated before the pact. All of these examples add to the abundance of evidence, that the allegiance of the Communist Party members is not to the United States. They demonstrate the danger and the foolishness involved in permitting such foreign directed agents to carry on their poison propaganda under the cloak of official positions in the State Relief Administration. They show the impossibility of relying upon their stated or pretended intentions in determining the real nature of their program.

Not long ago, the Communists carried on an extensive campaign in favor of lifting the embargo on the shipment of arms to Loyalist Spain, giving as their reason the fact that a small nation was being invaded by outside forces. But when the United States proposed to help Finland and to lift the embargo on shipments of arms to the Allies, the Communists scurried to form peace councils for the purpose of denouncing everyone as "unneutral" who advocated the same changes in the Statutes which the Communists advocated before the Hitler-Stalin pact.

Compulsory Military Training

Another example of Communist hypocrisy is their attitude toward compulsory military training in the United States. In the official history of the party, referred to above, describing some of the measures taken by the Bolsheviks in Russia after they seized power, the following appears:

"* * * Therefore the Congress considered it the fundamental task of the Party, (Communist) to adopt the most energetic and resolute measures to strengthen the self-discipline and discipline of the workers and peasants, to prepare the masses for self-sacrificing defense of the Socialist Country, to organize the Red Army and to introduce universal military training."

It is quite apparent that the Communists advocate military training for Russians because they want Russia to be strong. They denounce military training in America because they want America to be weak.

The Communists are now condemning American foreign policy as "imperialistic." The proposal of some United States Senators that we purchase certain islands near the Canal Zone is labeled "an imperialistic scheme" by the Stalinists. The sale of arms to the Allies is condemned as a program of the American Imperialists. The United States is placed on their list of hated imperialistic nations. As an indication of what might be expected

from Communists in this country in case we were compelled to defend ourselves against Stalin or his pal, Hitler, one needs only to turn again to the official history of the Communist Party for a statement of its attitude toward what it terms, "an imperialistic country." It should be borne in mind that the United States is classed as a bourgeois nation in Communist terminology.

The official history says:

"In opposition to the Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionary policy of defending the bourgeoisie fatherland, the Bolsheviks (Stalinists) advanced a policy of 'the defeat of one's own government in the imperialist war.' This meant voting against war credits, forming illegal revolutionary organizations in the armed forces, supporting fraternization among the soldiers at the Front, organizing revolutionary actions of the workers and peasants against the war, and turning these actions into an uprising against one's own imperialist government * * * Lenin held that the policy of working for the defeat of one's own imperialist government must be pursued not only by the Russian revolutionaries, but by the revolutionary parties of the working class in all the belligerent countries * * * The Bolshevik Party (Communist) was the only proletarian party which remained faithful to the cause of socialism and internationalism and which organized civil war against its own imperialist government."

Since the United States is now called Imperialistic, these quotations may be the basis for determining what the Communist policy might be in case this country faced a crisis. Along this line, the following quotation from the official history is also indicative:

"Lenin always taught that without a revolution of the working class, capitalism can not be overthrown; therefore, while defining imperialism as moribund capitalism, Lenin at the same time showed that 'Imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat.'"

Let persons who scoff at and ridicule the fight against Communism in America consider well these expressions of policy recommended for Communists engaged in sabotaging their own nations. The Communists in America, with their dreams of themselves at the head of a Communist dictatorship in America, may be laughed at now by persons who fail to comprehend their insidiousness, but in case of a crisis in America, those who today ridicule anti-Communist activities will find that their apathy to duty has actually aided the activities of traitorous international gangsters.

Army, Navy Threatened

It is well known that Stalinists in America are today attempting to extend vicious activity into our army and navy. Some of this terming is on the west coast. The Legislature will remember that William J. Plunkert was appointed by Governor Olson to a

position as Deputy State Relief Administrator immediately after the Olson Administration came into power. Plunkert then commenced a Communist Program in the State Relief Administration and only a storm of protests caused the Governor to dismiss him from the State service. Almost immediately after this dismissal, Plunkert became field representative for an organization similar to the SRA union. It is called the United Federal Workers of America. Its purpose is to organize federal employees. In a bulletin issued by this organization on November 29, 1939, the Communist activities of Mr. Plunkert are made apparent under the heading "Field Representatives Report," where it is stated:

"W. J. Plunkert just came back from a trip to Oregon and Washington (State). In Oregon, the WPA State Administrator sent out official notices that he was in town and would speak. The same thing happened at Bonneville Dam and in Seattle. Organization is proceeding at Bremerton Navy Yard, where there are 7,000 federal employees."

Here we have a known Communist reporting on organizing work among our armed forces. This Stalinist, during the period he was with the State, was able to start much of the SRA infiltration that still exists. He offers a good example of the type of official that this administration had permitted to find a place in the State Relief Administration. The interest of this man in gaining a place in the SRA should be apparent from his present activities. Although he is gone, the SRA is still loaded with Bill Plunkerts. They are effectively carrying on the work in which he was so interested.

Communist Gangsters

It cannot be emphasized too often that the Stalinists in America are a disciplined army of international gangsters. Their immediate policies change in accordance with desires of Dictator Stalin. Their plans do not call for actual seizure of power until they are prepared, and assured of a fair chance of success. This strategy also is outlined in the official history where they say:

"The Bolshevik Party was opposed to armed action at that time, for it considered that the revolutionary crisis had not yet matured, that the army and the provinces were not yet prepared to support an uprising in the capitol, and that an isolated and premature rising might only make it easier for the counter-revolutionaries to crush the vanguard of the revolution."

Let no one suppose that because the Communists are not uprising now, that they are not planning, preparing, and awaiting the opportune moment to strike at the foundations of American liberty.

An analysis of the changes in Communist strategy brought about by the Hitler-Stalin pact tends to explain some of the queer political maneuvering that has taken place recently in the United

States and in California. It is clear that before the pact, the Stalinists were able to screen their activities quite well since their foreign policy seemed to favor the Allies, just as did the overwhelming majority of the people of the United States. Therefore, by supporting American foreign policy and joining in with all groups advocating economical reforms of any kind, the Stalinists were able to fool many people into believing them to be genuinely interested in progressive measures. Their strategy of joining with American progressive groups in a "united front" made them less obvious than they would be if engaged in advocating a program of their own. In the 1938 elections, the Communist Party stated its strategy in the following words:

"Wherever an honest progressive is running against a reactionary in the final elections, the Communist Party withdraws its candidates and works for the election of the progressive—but when the only candidate of the two major parties is an arch-reactionary—the Communist Party will keep its candidate in the field and will work toward the defeat of the reactionary."

This was the strategy being carried out by the Communists who, without invitation, proclaimed themselves supporters of candidates representing the so-called liberal wing of the Democratic Party. By this strategy, they hoped to legitimate themselves to a degree and to gain influence in liberal circles, preparatory to use of the entire liberal movement as a shield against attacks upon them. This strategy worked very well before the Hitler-Stalin Pact and is successful in some degree even today. But the pact did place the Communists in an embarrassing position. They were forced to attempt to justify it while the American liberals with whom they had joined were condemning it, and as if that were not enough, they were soon forced to justify the Russian invasion in Finland, while the President of the United States and the liberals with whom they had joined were denouncing it. Then on top of it all, they were forced to lend encouragement to foreign marauders by fighting a preparedness program calculated to give the United States sufficient strength to resist any possible foreign aggression.

At the same time, their resolutions favoring the third term for Roosevelt had to be hurriedly rescinded because of his condemnation of both the Russian and German aggressions. The Communists who had called everybody a reactionary who opposed the third term, had to start calling everybody a reactionary who favored it. All of these political gymnastics served to expose the international aspect of their program and to lose for them the respect that had built up during the period of the operation of their successful "united front" traps.

"United Front" Traps

In striving to drag the non-Communist elements among the "united front" groups over to the changed Communist policy, they

cracked the "united front" wide open, and gradually isolated, and exposed themselves, to a greater and greater degree. Now, unable to work harmoniously with either the Republican Party or the Democratic Party, the Stalinists face the necessity of forming a new party which they can manipulate while remaining in the background. Apparently they are trying desperately to use Labor's Non-Partisan League as the basis for such a Communist vehicle.

In the Communist Party Manual on Organization under the heading "Allies of the Proletariat," appears the following:

"The chief strategic aim of our Party in the present period is to win the majority of the working class in their struggle against capitalism. This is an essential condition for victory over the bourgeoisie, and for preparing the workers for the decisive battles for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system is the historical mission of the working class but the workers cannot fulfill their mission if they fail to win over the wide sections of the toiling masses. It is essential that the proletariat wins to its cause all its allies without whom there cannot be a successful revolution.

"Who are the allies of the working class? The open letter adopted by the Central Committee in July, 1933, very clearly answers this question: * * * The main task of the Party in its work among the agrarian toilers is above all, the organization of the agricultural wage workers, organizing them into the trade unions and the Party, organizing and leading strikes of the agricultural workers for better wages and working conditions. Such strikes in many places have played an important part in the development of the farmer's movement. * * * The other important ally of the American proletariat is the mass of 13,000,000 negro people. * * * The Party can stand at the head of the national revolutionary struggle of the negro masses against American Imperialism only if it energetically carries through the following tasks: The Party must mobilize the masses for the struggle for equal rights of the negroes and for the right of self-determination for the negroes in the black belt."

Communist utilization of youth groups is described in the official history in the following words:

"The Congress (Communist) adopted a resolution on the youth leagues, which, at that time, frequently sprang up spontaneously. As a result of the Party's subsequent efforts, it succeeded in definitely securing the adherence of these youth organizations, which became a reserve of the party."

Little need be said to informed Americans about success of Communists in taking advantage of the depression to indocinate American youth.

Lewis Involved

In view of the above plan of Communist strategy, it is interesting to note that John L. Lewis recently took the lead in threatening to form a third party with its initial membership based upon a uniting of the very groups listed by the Communists as their potential allies in the movement toward revolution. Lewis announced that he had obtained the support of the National Negro Congress. Shortly thereafter, the President of the National Negro Congress refused to stand for reelection. He gave as his reason the fact that the National Negro Congress was accepting contributions from the Communist Party and that he felt such contributions would cause the Communists to dominate the organization. Lewis also announced that he had obtained the support of certain of the youth groups for his plan. These are the youth groups that so openly disclosed their Communist sympathies in a recent convention.

One should not overlook the fact that the Communist-controlled Workers Alliance is already affiliated with Labor's Non-Partisan League, and is therefore, part of the basis for the third party which Mr. Lewis has threatened to form. The agricultural workers, described by the Communists as their necessary allies, remain to be organized and recruited. To do this job in California is the task of the Communists in the State Relief Administration who, under the cloak of SRA, have found their way into communities all over California. Intense propaganda work is being carried on by these State employees who form a part of the Stalin army of international termites.

Professional Revolutionists

The Communists call the more advanced comrades professional revolutionists. They are described in the party manual in the following language:

"Comrade Lenin in his writings always stressed the necessity of developing a core of comrades from among the best tested, mass leaders, to such a point that they would be able to serve the proletariat as trained, skilled revolutionary leaders. There is a misconception in the ranks of the Party as to what professional revolutionist, in the Leninist sense, is. Some are of the opinion that a professional revolutionist is a comrade whom the Party takes out of the factory and assigns as a full-time functionary; in other words, that the Party organization supports him while he spends all his time on Party work. This notion is wrong.

"The professional revolutionist is a highly developed comrade, trained in revolutionary theory and practice, tested in struggles, who gives his whole life to the fight for the interests of his class. A professional revolutionist is ready to go whenever and wherever the Party sends him. Today, he may be

working in a mine, organizing the Party, the trade unions, leading struggles; tomorrow, if the Party so decides, he may be in a steel mill; the day after tomorrow, he may be a leader and organizer of the unemployed."

The day after tomorrow has arrived for many of the professional revolutionists working in the outlying areas of California, ostensibly as employees of the State Relief Administration but in reality as part of the disciplined Stalinist army of agitation, determined to capture the support of agricultural workers for the Communist conspiracy against American liberty. The parts of the plan fit together perfectly. The present movement for a third party based upon the Communist outline, is summed up in a Communist May Day pamphlet which says:

"The time is rotten ripe for an independent political expression of the common people through the initiative of progressive labor. Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party, has said—and said correctly: 'The issue before the American masses today is not the third term, but the third party.'"

The Communists are today finding themselves exposed by their necessary fidelity to the rapidly changing whims of Comrade Stalin, Czar of all the Communists. In California, upon finding themselves in this position, and thus unable to continue to work as Democrats, they were recently forced to arrange for the filing of an independent slate of Democratic Convention delegates, nominally pledged to Lieutenant Governor Ellis E. Patterson—a slate which used as its slogan one borrowed directly and totally from an official Communist May Day pamphlet which said in part:

"We, the working people, must promote the building of a new mass party of the people—a broad peace party that will fight for us—only through such an anti-imperialist people's front and party—can we best advance our fight for JOBS, SECURITY, DEMOCRACY, AND PEACE."

Communist May Day circular also said:

"Not a man, not a cent, not a gun for the imperialist war and military preparations."

The Patterson slate throw-away sheet said under the heading of "Peace, Not War":

"No men, no arms—no loans to foreign powers. Stop intrigue leading us into war."

Many similar statements used by the Patterson slate can be traced directly to Communist propaganda. The overwhelming rebuke given the Patterson group by the people of California may cause the California strategists to endeavor to work out some policy to substitute for the "independent action" plan which proved so disastrous from the standpoint of votes. But even at that, the Communists need not feel too down-hearted. Their slate did get some 50,000 votes in the State. As a speaker on the "People's World" radio program put it:

"Our slate may have been defeated but we proved we had 50,000 loyal and socially conscious voters in California."

Dangerous "Fifth Column"

Every Californian should ponder this consoling statement addressed to California's fifth column. 50,000 termites, or even 25,000 could succeed in doing an inconceivable amount of sabotage if this country were attacked. Of course, all persons who voted for the Patterson slate were not Communists. Many were, no doubt, fooled into voting for it. But one thing is certain. All of Mr. Stalin's army of Communists in California did vote for the Patterson slate since it was a direct reflection of their change to a third party strategy.

The Stalinists working in the SRA and operating through the so-called union are a valuable bulwark of the party. Headed by Comrade Jeffrey, they have lost no time in starting to employ the usual Communist tactics of lies, deception, and constant agitation. Their bulletins have fed a stream of Communist propaganda to the entire SRA staff. Their infiltration in all parts of California has given them contact with the unemployed all over the State.

In usual Communist fashion, they have never hesitated to show their contempt for the government of California. With great bravado, they have threatened the Olson administration and forced it to back-water on occasion after occasion. Like all Communist-led groups, their word is worth nothing. For example, in a pamphlet issued by the Washington headquarters of this so-called union, the "State, County, Municipal Workers of America affiliated with the CIO" under a program listing the aims of the union, appears the following:

"These aims shall be accomplished by means of legislation, negotiation, and education. Strikes and picketing shall be deemed a violation of the policies of this organization."

But this statement of policies was like all Communist statements—no more reliable than those who made it. Everyone now knows that this so-called union resorted to picketing of the State Building and SRA offices in typical Communist fashion the moment it had a grievance against the State. To further make a sheer mockery of the statement of the policy of the national organization of which it is a part, the so-called union even made a motion picture of its own demonstrations which it named, "Picket" and described as a picture of "the largest white-collar picket line in San Francisco's labor history."

Rowdy SRA Staffs

Of course, all Communist-led demonstrations called for the use of songs, so the members of the relief administration staff were called upon to sing songs while demonstrating outside of State offices. Some of these songs were the same as those sung

by Communist-controlled Workers Alliance gangs that marched on the State Capitol this year. Some of these songs, typifying the rowdy attitude of staff members who follow the Communist Program, are set forth below:

SING IT PRETTY:

Tie a Can to Politicians (Solidarity Forever)

Oh, they're passing out the gravy
To the phonies and the flinks;
If you want our frank opinion,
Confidentially, it stinks.
They're filling key positions
With a gang of missing links
To wreck the SRA.

Chorus—

Tie a can to politicians,
Tie a can to politicians,
Tie a can to politicians,
And save the SRA.

Oh, they're shooting craps with Phillips,
And they're cutting cards with Call;
They are drinking Yorty's whiskey
And they're calling Hoover "Pal";
The Associated Farmers
Are invited to the ball
To wreck the SRA.

Chorus—

Send a wire to Governor Olson,
Drop a line to Walter Chambers,
Help us stop the politicians,
For a decent SRA.

Come Join the Song (Come Join Our Band)

Come join the song
If you're a union member strong;
Let the whole world see
That we have solidarity.
Together we stand,
The strongest union in the land.
One for and all for one,
We'll stand together
Till our fight is won.

Solidarity Forever

When the Union's inspiration through the workers' blood shall run,
There can be no power greater anywhere beneath the sun;
Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble strength of one?

But the Union makes us strong.

Solidarity forever!

Solidarity forever!

Solidarity forever!

The Union makes us strong.

In our hands is placed a power greater than the hoarded gold,
Greater than the might of armies magnified a thousand-fold.

We can bring to birth the new world with the ashes of the old,
For the Union makes us strong.

Chambers Is Having a Heck of a Time (Mademoiselle of Armentieres)

Chambers is having a heck of a time,
Parley Vous;

Chambers is having a heck of a time,
Parley Vous;

Chambers is having a heck of a time,
Trying to break our picket line,

Hinky Dinkey Parley Vous.

Chambers gave us a run-around,
Parley Vous;

Chambers gave us a run-around,
Parley Vous;

Chambers gave us a run-around,
But we got off and went to own,

Hinky Dinkey Parley Vous.

Issued by State, County, Municipal Workers of America, Local No. 3,
Balboa Bldg.

SRA Unionists Arrogant

No State administration with the slightest regard for maintenance of the dignity of government would have tolerated for a minute the insubordinate and arrogant attitude of the leaders of the so-called SRA union. No administration, not forced by unseen fetters to tolerate the threats of this pressure gang, could conceivably have permitted them to openly defy it. As an example of how this gang was permitted to carry on ridiculous activities within the SRA, the following random quotations are taken from some of their bulletins:

DAY OF RECKONING IMMINENT

Meanwhile the State CIO and LNPL (Labor Non-Partisan League) are completing plans for a showdown with Governor Olson on immediate adjustment of our grievances; the rescinding of layoffs and the reinstatement of dismissed union members.

HERE WE GO AGAIN

The Governor of the State of California has demonstrated his bad faith with 3,000 members of the SCMWA, the entire labor movement, and the people who elected him to office, it was stated here today by members of the District Executive Board of SCMWA * * * If the word of the Chief Executive is no good, then upon whom can we depend? The union's program supplies the answer—**WE CAN DEPEND ONLY UPON THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE AND WE MUST REACH THEM.**

KEEP IN MIND THAT THE RECENT ACTION OF THE ECONOMY-MINDED LEGISLATURE HAS THREATENED MANY OF OUR HARD-FOUGHT GAINS. IT REQUIRES THE UNITED AND VIGOROUS SUPPORT OF EACH AND EVERY MEMBER OF OUR LOCAL TO HOLD FAST TO OUR ACHIEVEMENTS.

THE UNIONS DEMAND TO MEET WITH A RESPONSIBLE SRA REPRESENTATIVE:

Mr. Chambers agreed to meet with the union members on a weekly basis until the authority and functions of the SRA Board of Personnel Standards and Appeals has been further clarified * * * The more than detailed plans are under way for a campaign of pressure, including a systematic series of news releases being compiled by the Newspaper Guild, a law suit in preparation by CIO attorneys, and a series of radio programs.

IT SHOULD BE CLEAR TO ALL SRA WORKERS THAT THE SCMWA CAN, AND WILL, CARRY ON AN EFFECTIVE FIGHT FOR THE PROTECTION AND RIGHTS OF SRA WORKERS.

The following bulletin of this so-called union is so typical of its attitude that it is reproduced here in its entirety:

SCMWA

Carried Layoff Fight to—

GOVERNOR OLSON

Bulletin to All SCMWA Locals

Everything's in good faith, said the Gov to the press, so SCMWA is laughing up its sleeve. Not that it's so funny. It just means that the Union has (apparently) got the runaround again and this time it's a real fancy high-type runaround from the highest official in the State, Governor Culbert L. Olson, the man we fought for and campaigned for and saw elected on a progressive people's platform in 1938—remember?

OKAY, GOV, YOUR DEAL

The Governor got into Los Angeles yesterday from his Palm Springs hideout and immediately announced that he would be happy to meet with SCMWA and discuss our problems. So we went in good faith to arrange

for an audience. But the Governor wasn't the same man today that made expansive statements to the press yesterday. Ho, ho, said the Gov, meet with a negotiating committee? That's a laugh. I might as well be the administrator. Tell you what I'll do boys, I'll come out and give a speech to your whole picket line.

OUR DEAL, GOV, TRUTH IS TRUMPS

Sure, we said, that'll be dandy. Then you can tell the press and the people on the street, and the whole world what a swell liberal you are and how busy you are carrying out the program (like telling the Legislature the SRA absolutely, positively, needed 95 million but you'd settle for 66 million—which meant you'd settle for a helluva lot less than 66 million—didn't it, Gov?) anyhow you're happy to entertain any grievances any time, any place, anyhow, but not just now, SCMWA.

THE ONLY ANSWER IS NO

No soap, Gov, we said. We demand that we negotiate with you as a serious body attempting to get justice for our members out of a situation that is completely devoid of justice. You can save the speeches for the National Convention. We are only concerned with the bread and butter of 6,000 clerical and professional workers in SRA. We are not interested in politics. We are only interested in sane and just SRA personnel policy and procedure.

WE DEMAND SOMETHING

Your Administrator has proven himself incapable of administration. The SRA Board of Standards and Appeals to which you refer us is an evasive nonconvening body which, by its acts, proves that it has no intention of abiding by its word. We come to you only because we find no one in SRA with whom we can negotiate as a final authority.

SUMMING UP

So that's the Governor's offer and that's SCMWA's rejection. We demand that the Governor hear us or appoint someone who will. We will not accuse the Governor of bad faith until he, by his own actions and statements has made himself open to such charges. But we demand a place of final authority and we don't mean the SRA Board of Personnel S. and A. or the Relief Commission and we'll keep up our picket line until and unless we get such an audience.

SCMWA MEETS OLSON

TUESDAY, MARCH 19, 1940

Finally we got a meeting with Governor Olson. And what a meeting. At least it served as an eye-opener for some of the 150 SCMWA members who were there. The meeting opened with Chapman outlining why we were there. The Governor wanted to know what our grievances were that we couldn't get adjusted and we gave him a few examples. He actually opened his remarks by waving a big fat case record around and stating this was too much work and not related to determining whether a person was eligible for unemployment relief. Page: Elimination of Social Service. The Governor then went into a tirade about his liberalism and his "program" and how the administration must be staffed with people who were in "sympathy" with his program. Furthermore they must have people who were "loyal" to him and his program and he couldn't stand for any opposition. Stated that he would fire "every union member" if necessary. Anyone who opposes must be fired if he is a member of SCMWA or California State Employees Association or whatnot.

The meeting in toto was a complete verification of our charge that Chambers does not have authority to administer the program. At one point Chapman said "why, Chambers doesn't even have the authority to spit out the window" and this was not denied by Olson. Of course, our main demand was that Olson instruct Chambers and the Board that we are

to negotiate with Chambers and get answers from him. At the mention of "negotiate" Olson hit the ceiling. **NEGOTIATE?** "That's the wrong attitude." We should send in our "constructive suggestions" and allow the administrator to do what he saw fit with them. "He's the administrator, isn't he?"

When we told him that we didn't want to be shoved off onto this damn Board he wanted to know what we'd do if he decided that we should be, to which we replied that we would continue to fight and take this thing to the public. "And support the recall?" demanded Olson, to which we gave no answer.

The Gov. obviously didn't understand what we were talking about. At one point we were reiterating and pointing out what good trade union points these were (after he had just tried to bait us into stating we spent more time on politics than anything else) which brought forth a tirade about what a great trade union man he is, and had been for years. He also wanted to know how many of those assembled had been taken on during the last year—to which question about one-third raised their hands. "That's pretty good," says the Gov. A member present made some statement about there not being the mess there is today if the Administration hadn't "been piddling for the last year." This, of course, riled the Governor.

At the end we made it very clear that we were not satisfied with the runaround that he was giving us, but that if we could get an answer immediately that would be O.K. We also agreed to get to him with the list of our grievances we desire to take up immediately. We issued press releases stating the meeting was wholly unsatisfactory, that the Governor was demanding "blind faith" and that he is motivated by the one desire (apparently) to have relief administered by good, needy Democrats.

WE'LL FIGHT IF IT TAKES ALL SUMMER

SCMWA pickets and mass demonstrations in Los Angeles resulted in the audience with Governor Olson. Today (Wednesday) San Francisco SCMWA'ers start picketing. Tomorrow we hope to see Oakland hit the line.

**WE WILL TAKE OUR FIGHT TO THE PEOPLE OF CALIFORNIA
—THE PEOPLE CAN'T LET US DOWN BECAUSE**

WE'RE FIGHTING

**AGAINST THE SPOILS SYSTEM IN RELIEF FOR DECENT AND
EFFICIENT ADMINISTRATION OF SRA**

ISSUED BY

**STATE, COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL WORKERS OF AMERICA
(CIO) DISTRICT PUBLICITY COMMITTEE**

522-23 Balboa Bldg., San Francisco

Phone: YUkon 2012

FLASH

SAN FRANCISCO NEWS (MARCH 20, 1940)

Los Angeles, March 20.—Governor Olson promised members of the State, County and Municipal Workers of America today that he would appoint a person or committee to negotiate with them on their demands for reinstatement of dismissed State Relief Administration employees.

Another bulletin describes how 250 persons descended upon Walter Chambers en masse in order to bring pressure to bear on him. It says under the heading "Who Did It":

"You can thank the SCMWA—as you probably know, we had a 'little' meeting with Walter Chambers Thursday noon—only 250 strong, members from all over Los Angeles County, came to see justice done, insisting that layoffs be made on a fair basis. What a thrill.

"There were newspaper reporters there, and photographers, and stenographers, and division heads and us. We talked, the administration talked, and we wound up in a meeting a little later with a slightly smaller committee. We gained the point. Thursday night, we held a mass meeting at which 800 people yowled their support of our program in no uncertain terms. Friday, we met practically all day with the Administration, and the result—glance at these victories and quit worrying about being laid off without a sound reason.

"The evaluations which, incidentally, have been admitted as being worthless but which we agreed to use because of the shortage of time, will be grouped into 3 categories of efficiency * * *."

Another bulletin containing an attack on your committee also says under the heading, "SCMWA National President Wires Protest to Olson on Alameda Firings":

"President Flaxor last Thursday sent the following wire to Governor Olson: 'Outrageous dismissal of score of seasoned welfare workers from staff of Alameda County office of State Relief Administration who are leading members of our union violates your pledge to end political spoils manipulations and anti-union discrimination in SRA. By breaking pledge you have slapped in the face the clean politics and liberal movements of California. Only immediate re-instatement of these loyal and efficient employees and setting up of an impartial appeals board—which you promised at my meeting with you at your apartment three weeks ago, following earlier dismissals of hundreds of experienced SRA employees to make room for political hacks—can save your administration from the stigma of stabbing the merit system in the back and selling down the river the good government and progressive forces which elected you.'"

Exposure

If ever the SRA Communists made their intention of building a pressure gang by a combination of relief administrators and clients into a Communist-dominated machine, they did so recently when they issued a bulletin appealing directly to relief clients for support in their fight to remain on the State payroll. This bulletin also is important enough to warrant inclusion here in its entirety:

STATE COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL WORKERS OF AMERICA LOCAL 91

May 17, 1940

Mr. Relief Client:

How do you like being kicked around? You are in need and are entitled to speedy and adequate service. Are you getting it? The answer is no!

Alameda County SRA has reached an all time low in efficiency and consideration for the needs of unemployed people. Many needy applicants

are being refused help without any good reason. Many checks are late, or short or never come at all. People are forced to wait for weeks before getting their first checks. WPA certifications are delayed.

WHY?

The answer is clear. On April 23rd, a new director, Mr. D. C. Willford, came into Alameda County. In the name of "efficiency" he laid off 30 employees (out of a staff of 275). They included clerks, stenographers, social workers, and most of the supervisors. This brought the total of recently-laid off people to nearly 200—out of a staff of 450.

The lay-off of the 30 people not only was done with no regard for what would happen to the relief clients and their families but was also a clear-cut union-busting move. All but one of the thirty were members of the SCMWA Local 91. It included most of the executive board of the union. All were efficient and had years of service.

The reason for this is a plain one. Mr. Willford is acting for Governor Olson in his drive to lower relief standards and prepare for return of relief to the counties. Return of relief to the counties means control of relief by the Associated Farmers and the Republican party. The SCMWA opposes both schemes. Our union has always fought for better—more adequate—more efficient relief, and will continue to do so. Therefore Governor Olson decided to get it out of the way so there would be no opposition to his relief cuts.

Busting our union today means relief cuts for you tomorrow.

We are with you on your fight for adequate relief.

We have been laid off because of this. We ask you to support us in our fight to return to our jobs.

Send cards and letters to Governor Olson, B. C. Willford, Walter Chambers.

Hoodwinking the Public

This bulletin shows clearly the deliberate, planned, intention of the Communists in the State Relief Administration to court the favor of relief clients; to hoodwink them into following the Communist program calling for ever greater demands from the taxpayers; and to eventually cause a breakdown of relief agencies. Nothing could better demonstrate the obvious fact that these SRA Stalinists have no regard for the welfare of the State of California. Instead of doing their jobs, they are using official positions to carry out an organizing campaign directed by the Communist Party. Their attitude toward their work, and the State Government, has caused the shattering of the morale in every office in which they have gained a foothold.

The committee has evidence to show that members of this so-called union were told to slow down, lest by doing too much work, they might keep other persons out of work. This slow-down policy was pursued in spite of the fact that it meant more excessive overhead and consequently less money for the relief clients, for whom the Communists constantly shed crocodile tears.

San Diego an Example

One of the best examples of the effect of this motley crowd on a relief office was the situation in San Diego County. Director Roe of that county told the chairman of this committee that after

getting rid of the Stalinist gang, he felt that he was doing a better job with 70 employees than he had formerly been able to do with 150 employees.

San Diego County is not an isolated example of the effect of Communists on the efficiency and morale of the State Relief Administration. Wherever their so-called union has gained a foothold, the staff has been split into two camps.

In all of the counties where your committee has conducted an investigation, the so-called union crowd have definitely held the upper hand. They have carried on an underhanded campaign to eliminate from the relief administration those who do not approve of their policies. In typical Communist style, the SRA Communists have publicly condemned politics in relief while using every possible political trick to influence relief policies and personnel procedures. In one of their bulletins they, themselves, outline the politics employed by them to keep friendly directors in office. The said bulletin under the heading of "SCMWA Fights Political Intrigue in SRA":

"In cooperation with the CIO and the LNPL, SCMWA has been successful in organizing community pressure to thwart reactionary political forces in the attempt to remove progressive SRA county directors in four counties. Further action to combat these removals was taken by the SCMWA District Council when resolutions were adopted, protesting the proposed changes in Tulare, Fresno, and San Joaquin Counties * * * The Legislative Committee was instructed to prepare educational material on the issue of politics in relief for the use of LNPL and the State CIO. The council condemned any move to replace Directors McGrath, LeFevre and Halloran."

Two of these directors which the SCMWA was so interested in having retained were questioned by your committee. One of them, Mr. LeFevre, had absolutely no social welfare experience; was a director purely and solely because of political connections; and was definitely sympathetic to the Communists. The other one, Mr. McGrath, was proved to be a staunch defender and active accomplice of the Communists working under him in his county. Thus, while using every manner of politics to keep their accomplices in office, the Communist-controlled SCMWA had the unadulterated gall to pretend to oppose politics in relief. In other words, these perpetrators of a despicable political conspiracy to control the State Relief Administration announced themselves as opposed to all politics in relief, when in reality, the only politics they opposed were those that ran counter to their revolutionary machinations.

It goes without saying that, in the face of this political pressure, the administration did actually back down and retain in power the directors defended by the SCMWA. In view of this, how could anyone expect these directors to refrain from juggling

evaluations so as to keep the Communists on the pay roll while firing others. After such a demonstration of devotion to them by their comrades, the directors would naturally be expected to reciprocate.

The bulletin quoted above was issued in December, 1939. The so-called union was, at that time, laying the groundwork for its fight against the ouster of Communists working for the State Relief Administration. The strategy of this fight was to confuse non-Communists by leading them to believe that an attack on the real Communists would be detrimental to all liberals whether Communists or not. This is another example of the old tactic employed by the Communists when they claimed that attacks on them were, in reality, attacks on the labor movement behind which they always hide. This same "anti-politics bulletin" says under the heading of "Dies 'Purge' List":

"Regarding this list, well-founded rumors indicate that the administration has obtained, through the Dies Committee, a list of so-called 'Red' in SRA. All union members know exactly what this means. Every liberal person, every trade-unionist, and, for that matter, every honest supporter of the New Deal and of the Governor's Relief Program will be a suspect! This is the blackest form of intimidation, and one which the union will fight to a standstill.

"The committee requested either explicit confirmation or denial of the existence of such a list, and asked for a reaffirmation of circular letter No. 18 guaranteeing against discrimination because of political affiliations.

"The Administration gave an evasive answer to this question."

It is evident that long before your committee was appointed by the Legislature, the Communists in SRA, through their controlled organization, were laying plans to fight for retention of their comrades in case of exposure. Incidentally, this same bulletin makes the usual complaint against understaffing. The complaint is raised by the SCMWA as part of its campaign to add comrades to the State Relief Administration payroll. Such comrades, by following the so-called "liberal" relief policies, can then justify their addition to the staff by adding to the relief rolls. In this manner both the cost of administration and the cost of relief are increased, and by this method is advanced the Communist policy of adding to relief costs in order to wreck the State Relief Administration.

SRA Wreckage Plan

Only a professional revolutionist like John E. Jeffrey, well schooled in the art of subterfuge and deception, could have successfully steered the course of SRA wrecking which was plunging the State headlong toward bankruptcy when the Legislature wrested control from the weak and befuddled Olson Administra-

tion. In this connection, the Legislature should understand that Jeffrey's comrades who infiltrated into California communities through the SRA, did not confine their activities to that organization only. For instance, in Stockton, one of the Communists, Goodman Brudney, was instrumental in forming the "San Joaquin County Youth Council" through which much Communist activity has been carried on. Mr. Brudney also branched out from his base in Stockton to aid in the forming of a similar "Youth Council" in Sacramento. A great deal of Communist propaganda designed for America's youth is disseminated through groups formed in just this manner, and controlled through the energetic action of Communists, whether they represent the majority in such groups or not.

The Communists brought into Stockton through the State Relief Administration also attempted to capture control of the Young Democrat's organization in that area. Failing in this, they formed a new Young Democrat's club which affiliated with that branch of the Young Democratic clubs, recognized by everyone as being the object of a Communist drive—a drive which only recently has met resistance from many in the organization who were previously hoodwinked by the Communists. The whole plan which the Communists follow in the communities to which they find their way under the cloak of SRA, is so complete and effective and so cleverly screened as to appear almost fantastic to persons not familiar with the intricacy of their conspiracy.

The enthusiasm of the SRA Communists for forming "Youth Councils" was demonstrated in another locality by a lengthy report on such activities contained in a SCMWA bulletin published in Oakland, which said:

"A phenomena of this age is the rising tide of the youth movement in the United States. The fence-building attitude is striking harmonious chords for the young people leaving schools and colleges to find themselves lost in the chaos of other people's back-yards. Too many young people are without jobs, are living in substandard homes, are without proper nourishment, find themselves discriminated against by racial or religious reasons. Confronted with problems of youth, left neglected by their elders, we young uns have taken the initiative and throughout the country are organizing to guarantee the security of the future.

"The appearance in California of the Model Legislature heralded a wave of the movement which, in the last two years, has swept the State. Now the East Bay has joined in the formation of local youth councils which conducts the work in each community from Legislature to Legislature.

"Meeting at the YMCA on November 5 was a group of delegates and visitors which formed itself into the permanent East Bay Youth Council. There were 184 present representing 58 different organizations. Delegates attended from AFL and CIO unions, political groups, church groups, and civil groups.

"The program of the conference included a symposium on youth and peace. * * * It was felt by all present that the enthusiastic spirit and determination to carry their plans into definite action augured well for the success of the East Bay Council. * * * Affiliated with this excellent organization is the SCMW Local No. 91 which has sent delegates, and made a financial contribution, and has continued to be active through representation of the executive committee."

Here, once again, we get a glimpse of the Communist-organizing policy being carried out in the various California communities by SRA members skilled in Communist organizing strategy; directed and disciplined on a state-wide scale by the State headquarters of the Communist party, itself in turn taking direction from Comrade Stalin, Czar of all the Communists in the world.

The Youth Legislature for which the SRA staff so energetically organized, was the one that recently held a state-wide meeting at which its sympathies for the Communist party were completely exposed.

The SRA Communists conducted a campaign of vicious lies against the restrictions on relief placed in effect by this session of the Legislature. They even went so far in San Francisco as to attempt to cause a breakdown of that agency when it was involved in adjusting its operations to the Relief Act. Hoping to cause a breakdown through their controlled union, they compelled all members to refrain from working overtime even though they were offered time off in return for such cooperation. They refused to work because, as one of their bulletins put it, they did not want to help "take the Reactionary Legislature off the spot." They obviously felt that a breakdown would reflect adversely upon the judgment of the Legislature.

Browbeat Cooley

A meeting was arranged by them with the Administrator, Mr. Cooley, after which they were able to announce that he had agreed to abolish compulsory overtime, and that he had guaranteed them that they would not be discriminated against for not engaging in overtime work on the special audit then being made. After this meeting, overtime was to be on a voluntary basis but the union ended even this by issuing a bulletin which said:

"Nevertheless, the union, by a majority vote, failed to see the necessity for overtime in this instance even on a volunteer basis. * * * For this reason, the union decided that, for the protection of those members, it was necessary to take a uniform stand. * * * Union members therefore will not volunteer to work overtime in the current review."

As a result of this refusal to cooperate by the so-called union, the work thrown on the other members of the staff was very heavy. In spite of this, the special audit was completed. The people who completed it will receive no credit for their loyalty in

their evaluation ratings since Mr. Cooley agreed with the so-called union not to discriminate against them as a result of their indefensible attitude.

Working through this so-called union, the Communists endeavored to arouse public protest against the restrictions on relief to aliens contained in the present Relief Act. They also sought public support in fighting the three-year residence clause. Naturally, these Communists want to protect the alien element since the aliens offer some of the best subjects for Communist indoctrination. Then, also, the most valuable Communist accomplice in California, Mr. Harry Bridges, happens to be an alien. They also oppose the three-year residence clause. This clause makes infiltration of Communists, desiring to organize here at the taxpayers' expense, more difficult. These restrictions also reduce the cost of relief and are, therefore, ruinous to the Communist's plan of increasing relief cost so as to bring about eventual bankruptcy and breakdown.

This so-called union showed no regard for the organized workers of California in its attitude toward the Relief Act. It is obvious that a continued influx of aliens and paupers from other States would be certain to create an army of unemployed persons, likely to break down labor standards in California, through intense competition for available jobs. Since this influx is desired by the Communists but not by bona fide labor unions, it is obvious that the so-called SRA union was adopting the Communist attitude toward the Relief Act rather than that of a bona fide labor union.

Attack Relief Act

The SRA Communists also viciously attacked the clean politics provisions of the present Relief Act. These provisions were enacted to restrict pernicious political activity and protect relief recipients against intimidation or coercion by those administering relief. The provisions, however, did more than that. They became an obstacle to the energetic political activity being carried on by the Communists, who had infiltrated into the various parts of the State in order to set up their propaganda organizations. It is interesting to see who the union turned to when it wanted a speaker to discuss the clean politics provisions at one of its meetings. Their own bulletin tells the story. It says:

"Herbert Resner, San Francisco labor attorney and Labor's Non-Partisan League spokesman, Monday evening addressed the regular meeting of the SCMWA, discussing the implications of the little Hatch Bill (clean politics provisions) and the relief measures before the Legislature.

"He warned of the danger involved in any attempt to curtail the political liberties of State employees and cautioned his listeners to be on guard against restrictions against their civil and political rights. 'Labor's Non-Partisan League aims to carry the fight against such discriminatory measures to the highest courts,' declared the labor attorney."

This so-called labor attorney is a notorious accomplice of the Stalinists. He is one of the attorneys that the committee was forced to oust from the hearings in Alameda, where he was directing the defiant demeanor of members of the so-called SRA union, who were summoned before your committee. The stand taken by this Communist-controlled group against the "clean politics" provisions of the relief act demonstrates the utter hypocrisy of their public statements condemning politics in relief.

Communist Direct Strategy

The Communist-devised strategy followed by members of the so-called union who appeared before your committee and refused to testify, placed them in a very definite class. All other SRA employees appeared before the committee without counsel; made no complaints about the questions asked by the committee; and all answered the questions frankly and easily. In some cases the Communists failed to tell those whom they influenced that refusal to testify constituted a crime under the California Penal Code. In cases where they did so advise their group, they assured them that the committee would never cause any of the recalcitrants to be prosecuted. But the Communists were wrong in this. After enduring the defiance of the Communist-influenced staff members with patience through an entire hearing in Alameda, only to find the same defiance in Visalia, the committee felt compelled to take action. Your committee felt called upon to defend the dignity of government against this typical Communist tactic of displaying contempt for that which they would destroy. Charges were brought against one of the SRA Communists in Tulare County. They were based upon his refusal to produce records of the Communist group when ordered to do so by the committee. The committee had evidence that outside money had been obtained to subsidize the activities of the SRA Communists who formed the so-called union in order to screen their activities. The financial records of this group might show the extent to which outside subversive groups contributed to its support. For this reason, the records were subpoenaed by the committee. The Communist financial secretary of the Tulare local of the union was convicted by a jury in Visalia. His case is now on appeal. Other charges are pending in Stockton and more will probably be brought in the near future.

The committee feels that it is necessary to deal firmly with the Communists and their followers in the SRA, in order to uphold the laws of the State of California and also to force these subversive gangsters to respect the government which they despise. Since the prosecution in Visalia, the SRA Communists have apparently decided to revert to the strategy they first employed in testifying before your committee, namely, that which called for the denying of all Communist affiliations, even in the face of incontrovertible evidence.

Gangsters in Workers Alliance

Proof of same as previously pointed out, this Communist group has not limited its propaganda activities to the SRA offices. It is carrying its poison propaganda to the unemployed in accordance with directions of the International Gangsters seeking destruction of American Democracy. There is much evidence to show that the Communist staff members cooperate with the Communist-controlled Workers Alliance by encouraging relief applicants to join the Alliance. Sometimes this was done openly and sometimes by the dropping of an easily understood hint. The agents of Joe Stalin, Czar of all the Communists, have constructed a propaganda network reaching out to the unfortunate and discontented throughout California, reaching out for the purpose of luring them into Communist organizations where the Communists hope to influence them to follow revolutionary leadership. As an example of the propaganda fed to the unemployed by the Communists, the following quotation from a widely distributed Communist pamphlet is notable. Under the heading, "What Will a Worker's Revolution Achieve?", a glowing picture is painted in these words:

"With the overthrow of capitalism and the introduction of a new social system, a classless society, there would be tremendous changes and almost unlimited possibilities for advancing the welfare of all. While we can not give details in advance of this development, the approximate results would be as follows: (1) the abolition of poverty, (2) The abolition of the mass murder known as war, (3) Tremendous expansion of production through the removal of the obstruction of profit making, the workers having the opportunity of consuming the bulk of what they produce, (4) The disappearance of panics and unemployment, as in the event of overproduction, the people would simply cut working hours, or take a holiday until consumption overtook production, at least until the surplus was greatly reduced, (5) The elimination of the costs of armies and navies (the burden now paid by the capitalists out of the surplus values exploited from the workers), (6) Enormous reduction in crime through the removal of its main cause, poverty, and consequently a reduction or elimination of police, judges, jailers, and other present expenditure, (7) Reduction in general waste such as competitive advertising and other non-essentials."

These are but a part of the many promises held out by Communist agents to the people whom they hope to recruit into their army of destruction. The fact that these promises would never be kept is unimportant to the international gangsters who make them, since once they have seized power, they can proceed as they have in Russia, to stamp out all of the liberties of the people, and to liquidate anyone who dares to object to their tyranny. Americans are unwise who laugh at such promises, underestimating their effect on those who find themselves in unfortunate circum-

stances, due either to inability or economic conditions. It is foolish to fail to recognize the ability of Communists to attract the discontented, by holding out to them promises which they would never attempt to fulfill even if given the opportunity; by such promises followers are gained. As the Communists themselves say in their 20th Anniversary Booklet:

"* * * The Communist Party of the United States, although a relative small minority party * * * exerts an influence upon public thought far beyond the confines of its membership."

In this publication they described some of their activity in Los Angeles in the following words:

"By 1929, the Party had gained a great deal of experience in various forms of mass work. In 1930, in the midst of the crisis, the party, together with the trade union unity league, organized a huge mass meeting of over 40,000 people at the City Hall on the question of adequate aid to the unemployed. The demonstrators carrying slogans demanding 'Work or Wages' were met by more than the usual array of police and although the demonstration was finally broken up, the prestige of the Party was lifted immeasurably in the eyes of the working people of Los Angeles."

This latter statement bears testimony to the ability of the Communists to take advantage of a crisis in order to enflame masses of people, and to induce them to follow Communist leadership, even though in most cases, the followers do not know who they are following.

Trained to Smear

Communists are trained in the uses of propaganda. They are experts at "smear" campaigns. In attacking an individual, no lie is too vicious if it serves their purpose. Their "smear" campaign against J. Edgar Hoover; their "smear" campaign against Martin Dies; their "smear" campaign against the members of your committee—all of these and others serve to reveal the web of powerful propaganda contacts which they have spun throughout the United States by a series of steps following the identical pattern now being used in the State Relief Administration.

The SRA rules and procedures are contained in a manual which staff members are instructed to follow. This manual, of course, must be interpreted. Evidence adduced before your committee proves that the number of persons declared eligible for relief can be greatly affected by the particular interpretation placed upon the rules set forth in the manual. The Communist group in the SRA follow what they call a "liberal" policy. In effect, all this means is that they interpret the manual so as to make an applicant eligible for relief if it is possible to do so. Case histories examined by your committee showed lax investigation on the part of those committed to the so-called "liberal" relief policy.

The fact that no rules can be formulated that are not subject to some interpretation, makes it imperative that the administering staff be composed of persons with an understanding of the relation between the needs of the unemployed and the ability of the taxpayers to pay the cost of relief. The Communist-influenced group have no appreciation of the burden being borne by the taxpayers of California in order to provide relief to the needy. They completely disregard the fact that many persons paying the cost of relief are, themselves, undergoing almost unbearable privation in order to keep from becoming public charges. The Communists condone chiseling. They make no effort to understand that the proper function of a relief agency, is to attempt to help people to help themselves, rather than to make them permanently dependent. The effect of the Communist intake policy in execution was well demonstrated in Alameda County where the relief administration was found to be completely dominated by the Communist element. The State Controller's office reported that over-payments to relief clients and chiseling were more extensive in this county than in any other county in Northern California.

Dovetail Moves

The Communist activity in the SRA "dovetails in" with the Communist program carried out through the Workers Alliance. These two Communist-dominated organizations represent the main organizing and propaganda machines of the Communists in the phase of their work relating to agitation among the unemployed. The State head of the Workers Alliance, Alexander Noral, who directed the recent Workers Alliance march on the Capitol, admitted to the committee as previously stated that he was a member of the Communist Party. According to Communist definitions, Noral would be classed as a professional revolutionary. It is obvious that Noral and Jeffrey, one directing the Communist Program from outside the SRA and the other from the inside, are a pair of professional revolutionaries executing important assignments for the Communist Party. As would be expected the local Workers Alliance Directors in all three of the counties visited by the committee, where Workers Alliance directors were interrogated, turned out to be Communists. These counties were Alameda, San Joaquin, and Tulare. In all of these counties, Communists directed the so-called "grievance committees" which were used to place pressure on the SRA staff to obtain special consideration for members of the Alliance. In some cases, Workers Alliance representatives took relief applicants to the SRA offices and answered all necessary questions for them.

In the SRA offices investigated, Workers Alliance representatives were permitted to assume a certain amount of authority in the arranging of interviews and other SRA work. In Alameda County, Workers Alliance members obtained appointments by telephone through their organization and were interviewed imme-

diately upon arrival at the SRA office at the same time as others who had stood in line all day and were given appointments far in advance. In this particular county, the application form was marked in the upper right-hand corner with a cross mark and the letters W.A. so that the social worker would know he was dealing with a Workers Alliance member. One non-Communist SRA employee testified that Workers Alliance members were treated like honored guests when they called at the SRA office. Naturally, such favoritism was advertised by the Workers Alliance in their drive for members. In this the Communists in the staff cooperated with the Communists in the Workers Alliance to help build that organization.

Money was raised in the State SRA office in Los Angeles to help finance the recent Communist march on the Capitol. Members of the staff in the Alameda office joined in this march, leaving their work to do so. Testimony showed that even the sister of Lieutenant Governor Patterson, a member of the Alameda staff, cooperated in arranging the march to Sacramento. The songs rendered by the Communist-led group that marched on the Capitol were the same as those sung by the SRA staff in their demonstrations. Incidentally, demonstrations by staff members were joined by their Workers Alliance comrades.

The evidence shows that the Workers Alliance, in many cases, arranged to have its members out of town and ahead of other persons. In Tulare, the Communist Workers Alliance representative on one occasion actually walked in and closed the SRA office reception windows; announced that no more applications would be accepted that day; and finally had to be persuaded to leave one window open to care for emergency medical cases. Word has been spread among relief recipients all over California that, if you join the Workers Alliance, you will get what you want. Innumerable examples could be cited showing that Communist staff members have cooperated with the Workers Alliance to lend truth to this assertion.

Admitted Pressure Group

The State head of the Workers Alliance testified that it was a "pressure" group. He admitted that it collected some \$88,000 a year from relief clients in the State. This figure was considerably smaller than the one estimated by another head of the Workers Alliance which was closer to \$250,000 a year. Even accepting the figures of Mr. Noral \$88,000 a year, exclusive of outside contributions, is still a sizeable sum with which the Communists can finance a campaign of agitation among the unemployed. The Workers Alliance and the SCMWA are both affiliated with the principal Communist-controlled political group in California, Labor's Non-Partisan League. The unity of purpose between the Communists in the Workers Alliance and the Communists in the SRA staff is evidenced by their joining together in a common po-

litical arm, Labor's Non-Partisan League. In the Los Angeles County Communist Anniversary book is the following statement:

"In 1937, we saw the birth of Labor's Conference for independent political action in which Communists took active part. This was the immediate predecessor of the Labor's Non-Partisan League, founded here in 1938."

The Communist Party guide obtained by your committee also shows clearly the Communist coordination with Labor's Non-Partisan League in this State. In fact, this organization is the spearhead of the Communist activities in the political field. During its early stages, many non-Communists were fooled into joining it, but since the Hitler-Stalin Pact, the changing Communist Party line has caused most of the non-Communists to withdraw any support they may have previously given the organization.

Non-Partisan League

Labor's Non-Partisan League was one of the leaders in the third term movement until the Communists turned against Roosevelt. When this happened, it hurriedly rescinded its endorsement of the third term, denounced Roosevelt, termed his supporters reactionaries, and placed itself squarely behind the Patterson slate of Democratic Convention delegates. Use of Labor's Non-Partisan League for the launching of a third party based upon a coalition of groups recommended by the Communist Party is described in another section of this report,

Of the counties investigated by your committee since the Los Angeles hearing, Alameda County was the worse. In this county, even the directors showed such unmistakable sympathies for the Communists as to make it apparent that they were either Communists themselves or so closely allied with the Communists as to make them indistinguishable from the other Communists. When one director was asked by the committee if he thought it was proper to have Communists working in the State Relief Administration and taking orders from Communists on the outside, he actually replied: "I could find no fault with it."

This director had no experience in relief administration whatsoever. When he took office, a known Communist, Leonard Fels, was sent in to teach him to perform his duties. He, himself, testified that since the appointment of a relief director in his county was to be political, he felt he was as well qualified to do the job as any other person active in politics in the county.

This director is a good example of the political depths to which the present State administration has stooped in its attempts to use the SRA for politics. To allow this man to administer the SRA office and to countenance the deplorable Communist activity carried on there, constitutes an offense against both the people of Alameda County and the people of the State of California. No

more motley crowd of incompetents and Communist hoodlums could be found anywhere than was exposed by your committee in the Alameda SRA office.

Control of SRA Intake

The Communists always make a special effort to control the "Intake Department" of the SRA office. This is where they can make the most effective contact with the unemployed while carrying out their plan to build up the relief costs with the hope of bankrupting the State and fostering a governmental crisis. In Alameda, Communist control of "Intake" was complete. That Director Gallagher's incompetence was known to the Administration long ago, is evidenced by the fact that he was once actually discharged, but was able at that time to exert enough political pressure to have his discharge countermanded.

In Tulare County, the Director, Harold McGrath, was an experienced social worker, definitely sympathetic to, and an accomplice of, the Communists. He pretended to know nothing whatever about Communism, couldn't say whether it was good or bad, and used a rather poorly feigned ignorance to hide his views from the committee. In the case of McGrath, as in the case of Gallagher, the Administration can not claim that it was unaware of his activities since he, too, was once about to be discharged, but was retained as a result of political pressure, credit for which was taken by the Workers Alliance and the SCMWA. Under McGrath, many Communists were brought into Tulare County from outside. A letter from the personnel files in his office addressed to him by one of the Communist gang, asked him for a position in his county on the grounds that the applicant wanted to work in the vicinity of the farm labor camp. McGrath shows favoritism to the Communist group to such an extent that the non-Communists are made to feel like unwanted outsiders in his office. He has deliberately caused the changing of ratings of his employees in order to fire non-Communists while retaining incompetent Communist hoodlums. The Intake Supervisor in that county is a personal friend of McGrath's whom he has advanced rapidly to that position, thus following directly the Communist strategy for capturing control of "Intake." The "Intake" Supervisor has proven himself incompetent as a social worker but he has the one qualification demanded for the job by the Tulare SRA director, namely, the approval of the Communist Party.

Stockton Condition Deplorable

Conditions in Stockton present a shocking picture of Communist infiltration. Director Le Fevre was another one of those who feigned ignorance and was unable to say whether Communism was good or bad. Of course, he subscribed to the "People's World" but he couldn't tell from reading it that it was a Com-

munist organ. His testimony clearly showed his sympathies to the Communists. Under his directorship, the County SRA has been made the object of a veritable Communist "blitzkrieg." A group of young Reds, many of them from New York, have become the dominant force in this office while non-Communist members are being ousted. In this office, too, the non-Communists are made to feel that they have no contact with the Director.

It appears that the successful infiltration into Stockton started with the transfer to Stockton of an SRA worker named Mellincoff. This transfer was apparently engineered by Bill Plunkert. Some of the political activities of the Stockton Communists have been described elsewhere. Their attitude toward your committee was one of extreme defiance. The investigation showed very clearly that these persons were not interested in the State of California, except as an object of Communist activities. The evidence showed that on one occasion, the State Administration tried to transfer a non-Communist employee to Stockton to replace one of the Communist gang. But the Workers Alliance demonstrated against the replacement in front of the Stockton SRA office. Director Le Fevre then refused to assign any duties to the non-Communist and used his political influence to have the transfer cancelled.

Le Fevre is another director who has been retained by the Administration in spite of repeated protests from the people in San Joaquin County. His appointment to office was purely political. He testified that he had no previous social welfare experience. He has been retained because of his political influence, although the Administration has been aware for some time of his friendship with the Communists. In fact, it is inconceivable that the flagrant Communist activity in Stockton could be carried on without the knowledge of the Administration. The supervisor of intake under Mr. La Fevre is one of the top leaders in the Communist movement within the California State Relief Administration. In spite of his exposure, he is still carrying on his duties in Stockton. Every American patriot has a right to be incensed when known and exposed Communists continue to carry out their treacherous subversive schemes while being supported out of tax funds.

Charges have been preferred against those witnesses who defied your committee by refusing to answer its questions during the Stockton inquiry. In referring to this, a SCMWA bulletin issued May 10th, demonstrates the same old strategy of the Communists who can always be counted upon to yell "persecution." The bulletin says:

"Like a tiger who has tasted blood, the Yorty Committee caused the arrest of 19 Stockton union members on charges of contempt of a legislative committee. They were paraded through the waiting room and promptly whisked away in the 'Black Maria' to the local Bastille, where they were held pending bail. During the 24 hours required to raise bail, eight

of the men were held in the infamous 'Tank No. 1,' forced to sleep on the floor because of lack of beds and denied the right to receive visitors or receive food and smokes sent in by friends.

"Within one half-hour of this incident, the State Office of the SRA fired every member cited. The local director, Fred Le Fevre, promptly re-hired them. Needless to say, the heat on him has increased as a result of this courageous action.

"* * * The notorious labor-hating police judge, E. E. Breitenbucher, asked the total bail of \$9,500 cash or \$36,000 property bail.

"Due to intense intimidation by the American Legion, it took some time to raise this fabulous sum. * * * The city of Stockton is preparing to spend thousands of dollars for individual persecution of each union member by jury trial."

Once again in this bulletin, the old Communist gag of hiding behind union membership is in evidence. The fact that the persons who violated the law were members of the Communist-controlled union is used by the Communists to claim that a union is being persecuted. The plain fact of the matter is that a section of the Penal Code is being invoked against all those who violated it without any regard to their membership or nonmembership in any labor union.

The Reds and their accomplices now cry for sympathy although they deliberately, by planned organized action, conspired to commit the crime with which they stand charged. One thing is certain, persons opposed to Communism would receive little sympathy from these would-be Commisars if the Communists were in control of the machinery of government. If this were the case, persons who offended the laws would not be tried by a jury as these defendants will be; instead, the violators would be more effectively liquidated, and without any delay. The American Government is more kind to its enemies. The defendants are being given the privilege of remaining free on bail pending trial. They will be tried by a jury of citizens and will have the right to appeal and to have the verdict set aside if there is a miscarriage of justice in their trial. All of these privileges are guaranteed them by the government which they have defied, and which some of them desire to destroy.

False Claims

Certainly, they are in poor grace in yelling "persecution." Their attempt to make union membership an issue in the trials is nothing more than the usual insidious Communist subterfuge. The same bulletin quoted above also carries a heading describing the Zukas trial in Visalia as one being marked by KKK threats, and as being held "in an atmosphere of vigilante intimidation" and threats of overt violence. No greater batch of lies was ever con-

cocted. The fact of the matter is, the trial court used scrupulous care to protect every right of the defendant Zukas. Furthermore, although the defendant, Zukas, was known to be a Communist conspirator, this fact was never mentioned during the trial by the prosecution. Of course, every time a Communist violates the law, the same old claim of frame-up and persecution is thrown up as a smokescreen. It is all part of their book of classic tactics.

San Francisco

In San Francisco, your committee found that after the passage of the present Relief Act, an effort was made to effect a face-saving, clean-up of the county SRA. This clean-up was conducted under the threat of legislative investigation. There is no other apparent reason why it was not undertaken long before. During the clean-up, non-Communist employees of the staff worked overtime on a special social audit. Members of the Communist-controlled group refused to work overtime. They refused with the consent of the director, Edwin James Cooley.

Evidence proved that San Francisco County SRA was loaded with an excessive number of employees for long periods of time. During some periods, over 100 unnecessary employees were carried on the pay roll, according to the testimony of Director Cooley. The county director first endeavored to place the blame for this condition on Mr. C. C. Alexander who worked in the San Francisco County office for a short time as personnel supervisor. But when investigation by your committee proved that these claims of Mr. Cooley contained no element of truth, Mr. Cooley then placed the blame on Walter Chambers, State Relief Administrator.

Communists Favored

The evidence showed that members of the Communist-controlled union held a favored position with the director. This situation may have resulted partially from the fact that this director was in office when the present administration assumed power. Since the Communist-controlled group was openly favored by the Olson Administration, Mr. Cooley may have felt it politically expedient to make friends with them. This he did very successfully. At one time, he actually agreed to a tentative personnel plan which provided that the Communist-controlled group would be the "sole bargaining agency" for all of the employees in the San Francisco County SRA office. An example of the intimidation of non-Communists by the Communist-controlled group in the San Francisco County SRA was the trial of one of the non-Communists conducted in that office. Charges were filed by the Communist-controlled union. The trial was set by Mr. Cooley who acted as judge. The SCMWA acted as prosecutor. The charges included an allegation that the defendant had walked into a picket line to patronize a cafe that turned out to have been closed at the time the offense was supposed to have been committed. Other trumped-

up charges, similar to this one, formed the basis for the SCMWA complaint. Even though they could not establish the truth of their charges, the SCMWA had to be appeased so Mr. Cooley transferred the defendant to a different department.

Another example of the attitude of Mr. Cooley and his chief lieutenants toward anti-Communist employees is shown by the following letter which is reproduced in full because it sums up in adequate language the conclusions and opinions of many of the employees in Mr. Cooley's office:

San Francisco, California, May 22, 1940.

Mr. Sam Yorty,
New Clayton Hotel,
San Francisco, California.

Dear Sir: Your SRA hearings seem to be effective everywhere but in San Francisco County. Why isn't something being done about this office? I was one of those who testified at the San Francisco hearing to the effect that I had lost my position because I wouldn't "play ball" with the SCMWA outfit.

I had heard that the San Francisco office was understaffed and some clerical help would be called back, so decided to go in and see Mr. Cooley and ask to be reinstated. A friend arranged the interview as Mr. Cooley's office is not very easy to get into. I entered the office expecting some courtesy and a discussion on job possibility and wasn't prepared for what happened. I was in a sweat chamber; I was an accused criminal who had to defend herself; I had dared to accuse Mr. Robert West, a district office manager of discriminating against me because I wasn't a member of the so-called union. Witnesses were brought in against me. Mr. Cooley said I would have to prove my statement. I told him this was a rather difficult thing to do, but I had worked for the organization for three and a half years and had never had any trouble before. I didn't know Mr. West before he was made office manager and he didn't know me; that there was no reason for his disliking me, but he most definitely did and made it "tough" for me every minute he was my superior.

You are acquainted with Mr. Cooley's methods of 'trying' people. Mr. Cooley asked me to return the next day, which I did. Mr. Cooley didn't see me, but Mr. Eudie did. He had written a two-page letter against me, addressed to Mr. Cooley. In this letter he stated he had contacted everyone who had worked with me and had embodied what they said in the letter. When he finished reading it I wasn't much of an employee, although it took them three and a half years to discover this.

I had said that Mr. Wilson, who was head unit clerk and my immediate superior, would testify that he had given me a high evaluation and was shocked when he saw the 86 per cent which Mr. West had given me and stated that he would back me in any fight against it. Mr. Wilson, who is still employed, was called and he denied that he had made such a statement and in his opinion I didn't rate more than 86 per cent. I answered that Mr. Wilson was a member of the CIO and was still working and he didn't dare do anything else because he would lose his job if he did. This made Mr. Eudie angry. I might add that this statement by Mr. Wilson was made in the presence of a witness. This witness is still employed, although not a member of the CIO—and I would hesitate to call her as I do not want to jeopardize her job.

I went into the SRA office looking for a job, but I came out fighting for a principle. I am not a disgruntled employee. I am a trained office worker, past 35 years of age and therefore having some difficulty finding work, but I'd scrub floors before I would return to work for the SRA while it is in the hands of the "fifth column."

I am a Catholic and an American and I like being those things and despise anything that threatens the security I have as such. Fighting the "red" group in the SRA is like fighting an invisible enemy in the dark. We know it's there, but those people organize and arm themselves while we sleep. Truth or principles mean nothing to them. There isn't much I can do alone to fight them because I am not very well armed, but I don't retreat easily and shall do all in my power and sincerely hope you are not giving up the good fight you are making.

Sincerely yours,

Signed: EVA M. KANE.

Eva M. Kane,
3455 Fillmore Street,
San Francisco, California.

Cooley Unconvincing

Mr. Cooley is an experienced social worker. His answers to questions propounded by your committee gave no indication that he had any sympathy for the Communists, but his actions have not been as convincing. During the recent clean-up, some of the Communists in the San Francisco office were eliminated. The case load was considerably reduced. As a result of these dismissals, Communist-inspired demonstrations were carried on outside of the SRA office. Members of the staff, still employed in San Francisco County, joined in these typically Communist demonstrations. The usual Communist songs, mentioned elsewhere in this report, were sung.

Mr. Cooley's answers to questions were, at times, very evasive. He was constantly forced to call upon his lieutenants to help him answer questions such as those relating to his proposed bargaining agreement with the SCMWA. He testified that, at the time of this agreement, he felt the SCMWA was a good union. He said that, in his opinion, it has now changed and has become a mere pressure group.

The committee is not certain whether the Communist infiltration into the San Francisco SRA was encouraged by Mr. Cooley willingly, or simply permitted by him for the purpose of gaining the advantage of its influence with the Olson Administration. Under the threat of legislative investigation, Mr. Cooley did throw some of the Communists out of the San Francisco SRA. If he has a sincere desire to rid his office of them, there are others whom he should discharge. The fact that he has not done this, leaves a doubt in the mind of your committee as to the "good faith" of Mr. Cooley in this connection. Mr. Cooley testified that he had not discussed the answers that were to be given to your committee with any of his lieutenants. The committee has information to the contrary. Your committee is in possession of affidavits, describing a meeting held at Mr. Cooley's house during the San Francisco investigation. The meeting was arranged and attended, according to the affidavits, by a Communist leader of the SRA group. This matter will be the subject of further investigation by your committee at a later date.

The exact extent to which Mr. Cooley's actions have been dictated by political pressure is not yet fully determined by your committee.

Members of the Communist-controlled group working in the San Francisco SRA office assumed their usual defiant attitude, by openly displaying their contempt for your committee, and refusing to answer its questions. When informed of this, Mr. Cooley was unwilling to say whether or not, in his opinion, they should be discharged because of this conduct.

SRA Ratings

Lay-offs and separations by the SRA have been ostensibly based upon the "evaluation" or efficiency rating of the employees. Such ratings are spoken of as "evaluations." They are made by supervising employees. Everyone familiar with present methods knows that they are absolutely worthless, and subject to manipulation at the whim of the evaluator. Your committee found, throughout its investigation, that members of the Communist-controlled group and their friends in the SRA fixed evaluations so that loyal, efficient employees were laid off while the motley crowd of Communists were kept on the payroll. Good faith was completely lacking in most places, and the rankest kind of discrimination indulged in. Even County Directors, in some instances, admitted that their evaluations were, in reality, meaningless.

In some offices, final scores were completely out of relation to the average of the ratings given on the various points, although such points supposedly provided the basis for the final ratings. One of the points upon which workers were evaluated was "client relationships." Your committee found that, in some cases, a low score was given on this point because of complaints filed by the Workers Alliance against social workers not willing to submit to pressure by this Communist-controlled organization. The whole evaluation system now in use is simply a farce. In the counties investigated by your committee, this fine-sounding evaluation system turned out to be a racket, utilized to the fullest extent, by the Communists wherever they had control—utilized to hide the fact that layoffs were arranged to get the anti-Communists out of the SRA.

A group of the most undesirable employees were recently discharged in Alameda County. They filed protests and were subsequently reinstated by order of the so-called SRA "Personnel Standards Board." This Board is comparable to the State Personnel Board except that it operates only in the SRA and serves at the pleasure of the Governor who created it by decree without any authority of law. It purports to give all of the SRA employees the protection of civil service rules, although no examinations have ever been taken by them, and the Legislature has never seen fit to place the SRA under civil service. Of course, the existence of such a Board furnished the administration with a

convenient excuse for its failure to make a clean up on Communism in the SRA. In other words, the Administration has created a Board which it now hides behind by claiming that Board rules prevent it from firing employees on the ground that they are Communists. It is this kind of political buck-passing that has made the operations of the blundering Olson SRA Administration a ludicrous lullaby of lies and laughs. The Administration is still refusing to say publicly that it intends to oust Communists from the State Relief Administration. Wherever forced to oust them, it has avoided the issue by assigning other grounds as a reason for the discharges.

Before the recent split, when the Labor's Non-Partisan League gang was still demanding support of the third term movement, Governor Olson proved plainly that he was afraid to offend them. They were, of course, the first ones to complain to him whenever action against Communists was threatened. Then the switch in foreign policy of the Communists turned them against Roosevelt and caused the Communist-controlled League to change its stand. This apparently left the Governor in a bad political hole.

Olson Given Huge Fund

It is well known that the Governor received a huge campaign contribution from Labor's Non-Partisan League. Therefore, he had to decide whether to go with the League and other Communist groups against Roosevelt, or try to rehabilitate himself somewhat in the Democratic Party, by grabbing Roosevelt's coat tail for one more ride. He chose to support the President. The Lieutenant Governor chose not to. In making his decision, the Governor was forced to get out from under the domination of Labor's Non-Partisan League to some degree. Now, the League and the Communist elements have begun to turn against the Governor in the political field. As a result the Administration has shown signs of increasing firmness in dealing with the SRA Communists, but it still refuses to issue a general order for their discharge.

Where it has made a gesture toward cleaning them out, it never yet followed through.

The failure of the present State Relief Administration to rid the SRA of subversive groups is undoubtedly due, to a large extent, to restraint from the Governor's Office, brought about by the former alliance of the Olson Administration with Communist-controlled organizations. Regardless of political buck-passing the Olson Administration can not escape responsibility for the fact that Communist termites are working throughout this State in the State Relief Administration. They are being permitted to carry on their underhanded campaigns of destruction. They constitute an army of foreign-directed termites supported out of California tax funds.

An administration not willing to face the facts and to make a thorough check on the activities of these subversive groups, can not hope to cope with the problem which they create. When the Olson administration took office, the Communists in the State Relief Administration blossomed out in full glory, boastfully proclaiming their influence with the Administration. From then on, the infiltration process assumed rapid proportions. Today, only because of the action of the Legislature, and changing political winds, the infiltration process has slowed down. Future steps taken by the Legislature must include the complete elimination of subversive influence from the State Relief Administration. The present weak and vacillating attitude of the Olson Administration will have to be completely changed before this task can be undertaken by the Executive branch of our government. The picture would be more heartening if the SRA were the only department in which subversive elements had a foothold. But this is not the case.

McWilliams Hires Communists

When the present Director of Immigration and Housing was appointed, his first official act was the employment of a known Communist as his secretary. His department should be watched carefully by the people of the State of California. The alliance of Director Carey McWilliams with Communists is too well known to warrant detailed discussion here. Mr. McWilliams was one of the delegates on the Communist-inspired "Patterson slate" which recently met such overwhelming defeat. Other known Communist accomplices and sympathizers have been appointed by this Administration to positions in various State departments. All in all, it is impossible for your committee to escape the conclusion that Governor Olson is either naively, or knowingly, guilty of holding open the door to the "Fifth Column" in California. The danger to the State created by the "Fifth Column" remains the same, whether they are knowingly permitted to carry on their work, or whether they are able to fool and threaten the Governor into refusing to take a decisive stand against them.

State University

One of the startling disclosures of your committee's investigation was the fact that a large percentage of the Communists working in the State Relief Administration were graduates of the State-supported University of California. That is not so surprising if one realizes that the Communists planned the capture of SRA departments some time ago. In keeping with their plan, recruiting has been effectively done on the campus of the University of California where many of the SRA social workers were trained. The extent of Communist influence with American youth groups is a matter of growing concern to all persons interested in preservation of American Democracy. The Legislature must soon turn

its attention to this problem. The University of California should not be subjected to contamination by the subversive groups which are giving so much attention to agitation among our young people. While the young people, on the whole, have a tendency to break away from subversive groups as time goes on, too many of them are not doing so today. We can not ignore the fact that persons who have joined the disciplined international army of Communist termites are equally dangerous, whether they be young or old.

The committee respectfully calls attention to the fact that the administration, with its power to place employees in the various State offices, is in a much better position to obtain information from the inside, than is your committee or any other outside organization. In spite of this fact the administration has apparently made but slight attempts to check on the "Fifth Column" in State Government. It has never once, to this day, voluntarily exposed or stopped Communist activities in the State although the administration is well aware of the prevalence of subversive groups, and is in a position to obtain information concerning them. What gestures have been made toward the discharge of persons engaged in subversive activity have all been made since the legislative investigations commenced. What might have happened to State Government in California if the Legislature had not intervened to stop the march of the "Fifth Column," is something not very pleasant to contemplate.

Liberties Threatened

American liberties and freedom were won at the sacrifice of the lives of many of our forefathers. Subversive elements working in the United States today would destroy the liberties and freedom guaranteed by our Constitution. They would place us under the iron heel of dictatorship along with the other millions of human beings now suffering from oppression. To fight against this is the present duty of every American.

We must not permit ourselves to be fooled by the Communist Party into thinking that it is anything else than a part of a lying, scheming, pernicious army of international gangsters, determined to destroy and desecrate human dignity and civilization. The American people have already been fed with so much propaganda, ridiculing and "smearing" those who have endeavored to expose the "Fifth Columns," that it is difficult for anyone to describe the unbelievable extent to which subversive activities have been carried on in this country without being accused by the uninformed of being either an alarmist, or guilty of exaggeration. But real, shocking facts of the situation must be brought home to the people of the United States. Only an aroused and patriotic America can in the last analysis, end the march of the "Fifth Column" through this nation. The fight against the "Fifth Column" must be carried on with firm and unswerving determination.

COMMUNISTS IN FEDERAL PROJECTS AND AGENCIES

THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE reported in 1939 on Communist activities in the Works Progress Administration as follows:

Our committee devoted considerable time to the investigation of certain phases of the Works Progress Administration, such as the Federal Theater Project and the Federal Writers Project.

We heard some of the employees and former employees in the Federal Theater Project in New York. These witnesses testified that Communistic activities had been carried on in the Federal Theater Project for a long time; that Communist meetings have been held on the project during work hours; that some of the employees had participated in these Communist meetings during their work hours; that Communist literature had been distributed on the project from time to time, and that Communist posters had been printed on the official bulletin board; that all of these activities had been carried on in the premises of the Federal Theater Project and during the very time that the employees were paid to work. From the testimony we heard, we are convinced that a rather large number of the employees on the Federal Theater Project are either members of the Communist Party, or are sympathetic with the Communist Party. It is also clear that certain employees felt under compulsion to join the Workers' Alliance in order to retain their jobs.

To illustrate the success of Communist penetration in the Federal Writers Project, we wish to cite one instance. The committee received in evidence a book entitled "People's Front," by Earl Browder, which had been autographed by 103 avowed Communist Party members who were working in a Federal Writers Project, 6 of whom held positions as supervisors on the project. The total number of employees on this Writers Project was about 300. It is therefore astonishing to find that one-third of the total number of writers employed by the Government in this project were admitted Communists. We think that the explanation of the thoroughness with which the Communists have penetrated the Federal Writers Project is that they recognized this project as a splendid vehicle for the dissemination of class hatreds. The evidence is very conclusive that Communist activities were carried on openly on the Federal Writers Project. Even Henry Alsberg admitted on the witness stand that he had had considerable trouble with Communist activities in the Writers Project. He did not deny that a substantial number of the total employees were admitted Communists, and that they had been very active on the project, but Mr. Alsberg stated that he did everything within his power to stop these activities.

When it is considered that much of our evidence with reference to Communist activities in the Works Progress Administration consists of documentary proof, and the testimony of em-

ployees, it must be admitted that the committee received a very accurate picture with reference to the extent of Communist activities in these projects of the Works Progress Administration.

The committee secured galley proofs of the guide books for New Jersey and Montana. The chairman read into the record excerpts from some of these galley proofs to illustrate the subtlety and cleverness which the Communists tried to use to disseminate class-hatred propaganda through the medium of State guides. While the committee does not have jurisdiction to condemn ordinary propaganda which appears in Government publications, it does have jurisdiction to expose and condemn class-hatred propaganda which forms an important part of the general strategy of the Communist Party. A great deal of the material sent from Montana and New Jersey Federal Writers Projects to the Works Progress Administration in Washington, D. C., reveals a consistent and clever plan of using the guidebooks to disseminate class hatred. We refer the readers of this report to some of the excerpts which we placed in the record which show that there was a well-organized plan to portray certain classes in an unfavorable light, and to portray other classes in the most favorable manner possible. Since the foundation of Communism is class hatred, and since their principal strategy is the promotion of class hatred, it became very pertinent to our inquiry to determine the extent the Communists in the Federal Writers Project and Federal Theater Project had succeeded in emphasizing the class-struggle angle in the preparation of State-guide material.

Mr. Henry G. Alsberg, who was very frank with the committee, admitted that some of this material which had been received from the State offices was calculated to promote class hatred and he assured the committee that before the final publication of the State guide books all material of this kind would be deleted, and that the State guide books would present a fair and impartial picture.

The testimony of some of the employees of the Washington office of the Federal Writers Project indicate that certain officials were aiding and abetting the plan to use the State guides as vehicles for class-hatred propaganda. It must be remembered that the officials were very close to the administration of the Federal Writers Project; and that they testified with reference to conversations which they had heard, and produced copies of letters from official files.

THE WORKERS' ALLIANCE

THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE reported on the Workers' Alliance in 1939 as follows:

Second in size and importance, from a Communist standpoint and, therefore, a menace to our country, is the Workers' Alliance of America. Prior to the organizational convention of the Workers' Alliance called by *Herbert Benjamin*, who makes no secret

of his membership in the Communist Party and of his allegiance to the Soviet Union and the Third (Communist) International of Russia; and David Lasser, a Socialist, pro-Communist and pro-Soviet, a number of unemployment movements had been set up in the United States. The two largest of these were the "unemployed leagues" and the "unemployed councils," organized and directed by the above-mentioned individuals. (See p. 479, vol. 1, Committee Hearings.) In connection with the Workers' Alliance, Earl Browder, in his book, *The People's Front*, says:

We Communists were the pioneers in this and in many other fields. The unemployment movement dates from the great Nation-wide demonstrations * * * called by our party, for which we paid the heavy price * * *. It was the Communists who raised the slogan of national unification, fought for it consistently, and finally brought about the merger of all into the Workers' Alliance * * *.

In reporting the success of the merger of unemployed organizations, Herbert Benjamin said in his report to the Third International (p. 478, vol. 1, committee hearings):

On April 7 to 19 (1936) nearly 700 delegates, representing all major unemployed organizations of the United States, met in a joint convention in Washington, D. C., and merged their forces into a single unified organization. The merger represents the successful culmination of a campaign conducted for nearly 4 years by the Communist Party of the United States of America and by the national unemployed councils which were organized and led by the Communists since the beginning of the crisis late in 1929.

In accordance with the previously arrived at agreement, the united organization will be known as the Workers' Alliance of America.

The program of the Workers' Alliance, as adopted by the convention, varies little from the program of the unemployed councils. Due to the fact that the councils were first in the field and were guided by the Communists, who initiated and led the struggles and organizations of the unemployed in the United States, they were able to crystallize a correct and comprehensive program.

The Workers' Alliance is, therefore, bound to play an important role in all the immediate and future struggles of the toiling masses of the United States.

The organizational convention of this Communist movement was held in the auditorium of the United States Department of Labor Building in Washington, D. C. (See p. 487, vol. 1, committee hearings.) The fact that this movement was set up at the invitation of Moscow cannot be denied. The purpose of it is not only to extend the Communist "front" movement in this country but, likewise, to relieve Moscow from the burden of financing the movement. The Workers' Alliance offered a new avenue of receipts in this country. (See p. 384, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The Workers' Alliance endorses Communist-endorsed candidates for public office.

The unemployed in the United States have not yet been touched, have not yet been influenced by our propaganda, although the subsidies paid every year have reached \$100,000 * * *—(p. 384, vol. 1, committee hearings).

On March 28, 1933, Stalin, in his report to the Communist

International (p. 380, vol. 1, committee hearings), said:

When agitators in America organize the idle, they will, no doubt, be able to obtain financial assistance from some American municipalities * * * Polish, French, German, and Czechoslovakian cities have been so induced by Communists to furnish funds to aid their agitation.

At the time martial law was declared in New Mexico in 1933, as a result of riots which had broken out there, the head of the National Guard in that section said (p. 380, vol. 1, committee hearings):

An interesting thing that we have found (you probably have known it for some time, but we learned it only recently) is that the Communist group, through these various organizations, has been successful in organizing its people to receive the major portion of relief donations and help on a national scope.

Herbert Benjamin was among those arrested in New Mexico at that time, when it was discovered that he was the leading force behind the riots. He was also the organizer of the first and second large hunger marches on Washington, D. C. Benjamin is now secretary-treasurer and organizational director of the Workers' Alliance. David Lasser, who attended the twentieth anniversary celebration of the "red" revolution in Moscow in 1937, is its national chairman.

The Workers' Alliance claims a membership of 800,000. This claim is verified by a report made by the National Youth Administration. (See p. 485, vol. 1, committee hearings.) In 1938 the Kings County, N. Y., grand jury charged the Alliance with fostering un-American doctrines and with intimidation of relief officials, charging its members \$1 per month for the program. (See p. 484, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The Alliance is apparently patterned after the "Unemployed Councils of St. Petersburg," Russia, set up in 1906 as a part of the Communist front there. As the councils in Russia staged sit-down strikes, so also did the Alliance stage sit-down strikes in various State legislatures and relief bureaus in our country. (See pp. 488, 489, 490, and 500, vol. 1, committee hearings, for information regarding sit-down strikes in Minnesota, Washington, D. C., New Jersey, and elsewhere by the Alliance.) (See also p. 636, vol. 1, for information on the "Unemployed Councils of St. Petersburg.")

Mr. Benjamin reported the progress of the Alliance in "Imprecor," official organ of the Third International, No. 23, volume 16, page 628. (See p. 478, vol. 1, committee hearings.) Benjamin also reported on the progress of the organization during the 1938 national convention of the Communist Party which was held in New York City.

While attending the organizational conference, the sessions of which were held in the Labor Department Building, delegates paraded in the streets of Washington. They marched to the strains of "The Internationale" and "Solidarity Forever" and

chanted "To Hell with Roosevelt and Garner," both of whom refused to receive their representatives. (See p. 481, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The Workers' Alliance is organized in practically every relief project in the country. This is attested to by the numerous witnesses from relief projects, including Victor Ridder, former New York City administrator of relief projects, as well as by former members of the Communist Party and the Workers' Alliance who appeared before our committee.

For further proof in connection with the close association of the Workers' Alliance and the Communist movement in the United States, see pages 982, 986, 988, 991, 995, 998, and 1000, volume 2, committee hearings.

A witness, who is a former member of the Communist Party and the Workers' Alliance, and connected with the Federal writers' project, testified to the fact that the Workers' Alliance is able to force its members on relief projects in advance of nonmembers. (See p. 1009, vol. 2, committee hearings.) Another former member of the Communist Party, now a member of the American Federation of Labor, charged that while he was in the Communist Party he was assigned to organize the unemployed councils, which later became the Workers' Alliance. (See p. 1043, vol. 2, committee hearings.) He also testified that the Transport Workers' Union is dominated by the same element. (See pp. 1043, 1044, 1051, 1067, 1069, 1070, 1074, 1077, and 1079, vol. 2, committee hearings.)

Victor Ridder testified that the members of the Alliance kept relief projects in constant turmoil through agitation, propaganda, demonstrations, and demands, and charged that it is "affiliated with the Communist Party." (See pp. 1102 and 1104, vol. 2, committee hearings.) He also submitted evidence regarding the regular agitation publications issued by the Workers' Alliance and the Communist Party which are circulated in various relief project centers.

Other witnesses submitted evidence which showed that the local headquarters of the Workers' Alliance were also Communist Party headquarters. As an example, we point to the testimony of Walter Reynolds of the American Legion. (See p. 1339, vol. 2, committee hearings.) Testimony was also submitted to prove that the Communists have used the Workers' Alliance politically. (See pp. 1374, 1385, and 1395, vol. 2, committee hearings.) Much of this evidence was submitted by former Workers' Alliance and Communist Party leaders.

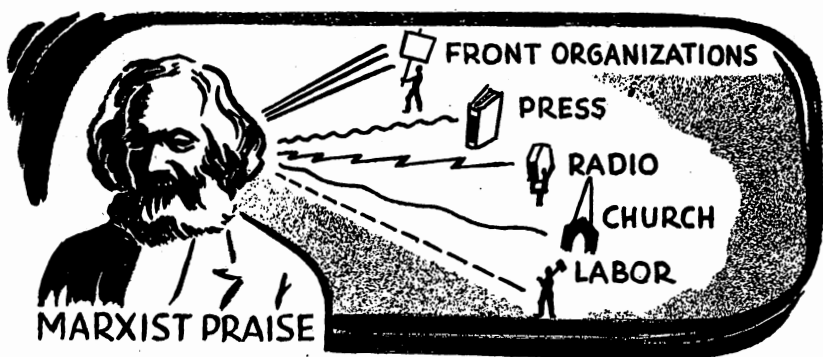
Witness Kittrock, former Communist Party member and an official of the alliance in Minnesota, testified that: "You cannot now be an official of the Workers' Alliance unless you are a Communist Party Member." (See p. 1397, vol. 2, committee hearings.) He stated that when he resigned from the Communist Party attempts were made to expel him from the Alliance, of

which he was a sectional secretary. Failure to accomplish this resulted in the withdrawal of the section's charter. He charged that the "Workers' Alliance is absolutely controlled by the Communist Party." (See p. 1398, vol. 2, committee hearings.)

Another former member of the Communist Party (from Michigan), who exhibited his membership card in the party, testified to the Communist control of the alliance. He claimed to have been an organizer at the time of the merger into the Workers' Alliance. (P. 1488, vol. 2, committee hearings.)

A witness from the Federal Art Project in New York City charged that the "Alliance is controlled by Communists," and that it dominates that project. He further stated that the alliance is lauded by Aubrey Williams, National Assistant Administrator of W. P. A. projects. (See pp. 766, 777, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

Among the successes in its "front" movements, the Communists point to the "Workers' Alliance of America." (See p. 371, vol. 1, committee hearings.)



CHAPTER IX

Communist Activities

FUNCTIONARIES

THE CALIFORNIA COMMITTEE has been exceedingly careful in its selection of witnesses on the subject of Communism. During the two-year period of the committee's investigation, it has refrained from making accusations against anyone appearing before the committee and has been content to let the testimony of the witnesses speak for itself.

The Communist Party, by tactics formulated and cleverly carried into operation by the so-called "Antiseptic Squads," attempts to discredit in every possible manner the testimony of any person who testifies concerning the intrigue and criminal machinations of the party. The mildest criticism of Communism on the part of *anyone*, is immediately hailed as "red-baiting" and the critics are immediately labeled "Social Fascists," "red-baiters," and agents of exploiting capitalism, Hearst and Hitler. The *Antiseptic Squads* of American Communism reserve their most vicious and bitter denunciation for ex-Communists who find the courage publicly to expose Communist Party objectives, activities and tactics. The Communist grapevine and its blatant press immediately proclaim such individuals as "stool pigeons," "informers," "degenerates" and "pathological liars." All faithful Communists and fellow-traveling witnesses are heralded as "progressives" and "liberals" and the personification of veracity. A slight scanning of the pages of the committee's volumes of transcripts of the testimony of Communist Party functionaries reveals amazing lapses of memory on the part of such witnesses as to membership in the Communist Party and of events in connection with Communist Party activity that would be readily and easily remembered by an ordinary truthful witness. There is hardly an instance in the testimony of self-admitted Communist members where they remem-

ber the identification of the person to whom they paid dues. Rare indeed, is the testimony of a Communist member in which he clearly remembers the identity of those in attendance at important Communist meetings or functions. In cases where the person to be identified is a well-known Communist, and admittedly so, the Communist witness has little difficulty in remembering.

The committee wishes to emphasize, in this connection, that the laws and ethics of capitalist society are not, in the least, held to be binding on members of the Communist Party. It likewise should be remembered that the Communist is not burdened with any sense of religion and suffers no compunction of conscience when falsely testifying under oath. To the iron disciplined, class-conscious Communist, "oaths" and "conscience" are superstitious capitalist fictions invented by capitalist exploiters for the purpose of oppressing and dominating the working class. Thus it is, that Communist witnesses will blandly deny ever having heard of the Communist movement, though it may well be (as has happened in several cases) that the committee is in possession of the Communist Party book or a photostat thereof, of the witness who sits before it brazenly prevaricating.

Illustrating the ease with which Communist Party members handle the truth is the case of Lee Gregovich testifying before the committee in San Diego, February 20, 1942 (Volume VIII, pages 2305-2319). Mr. Gregovich stated that he had never been affiliated with the *Young Communist League* or the Communist Party although he admitted knowing Stanley Hancock, Esco Richardson, Dan Taylor, La Verne Lym and Bert Leech as Communists. The committee has in its files a photostatic copy taken from the office of the Secretary of State, bearing the name of Lee Gregovich sponsoring Nathaniel Griffin for the Communist Party nomination to the office of Assembly in the Seventy-eighth Assembly District in San Diego County. Also illustrative of the insidious tactics of these lying agents of the Comintern is the testimony of Lee Gregovich in attempting to smear a member of the Legislature from San Diego County by placing him, in his testimony, in suspected Communist meetings.

Every "iron disciplined" and thoroughly indoctrinated Communist is convinced that he is a soldier in a bitter and unrelenting war. He is thoroughly fired with fanatical hate of capitalism and capitalistic government and he believes that he is one of the heroes in the vanguard of the assault on the enemies of the "workers," one of the generals in the *class war*. Military objectives include industries employing wage labor, educational institutions, churches and all functions of government, municipal, State and National. One of the chief military objectives of the Communist Party is *Democracy—and Democracies*, because its members war against the state in *any* form. They have been taught that *all states* are

merely instruments of capitalism and exploitation, and a Democracy is just another *form* of the state.

Because he believes himself living in a state of war, the Communist has discarded all of the ways of peace. Each Communist in the United States and in California considers himself a spy in a hostile country, waging a desperate warfare with his bare hands, his wits—a spy in the land of the enemy—a secret agent living in constant jeopardy of his life. He considers himself in continual combat, surrounded by ruthless enemies who, if they could, would eliminate him. It is the duty of a soldier to kill his country's enemies, and if a Communist kills the enemies of Communism, he becomes one of the heroes in the vanguard of the proletariat. Among themselves they proudly admit that they lie—that they commit perjury—glorious deeds on the pages of the history of the *class war*. *Do capitalist presidents, premiers and diplomats hesitate to lie and to commit perjury in the furtherance of their country's cause?* Of course not! Then, reasons the Communist, why should a soldier or a spy in the vanguard of the proletariat hesitate to do that which furthers *his* fanatical cause? Any good spy or secret agent caught in the toils of enemy courts or enemy investigating bodies would not be worth his salt if he hesitated to lie thereby to fool the enemy. Every Communist in a capitalist nation must protect the Red Fatherland—must protect his fellow conspirators and comrades; hide their identities, activities and objectives, at all cost to himself. The committee is convinced that they believe their actions and conduct in this connection proper and completely orthodox. This fanatical belief of being a soldier and a spy *in an alien and hostile land* must be understood in evaluating and weighing the sworn testimony of known Communists and fellow travelers.

Archie Brown, Philip Gardner, Bert Leech, Mrs. La Verne (Frances) Lym, Jack Moore, Pettis Perry, William Schneiderman, Dorothy Ray and Dr. Vaughn A. K. Tashjian all admitted joining the Communist Party. To this list should be added the name of B. Joseph Zukas, who, though he denied ever being a member of the Communist Party, was proved by documentary evidence to be a member. In this category, also, should be placed the name of James H. Burford, who undoubtedly lied many times under the questioning of the committee.

Bert Hanman admitted having joined the Communist Party and having later joined the Trotskyites. His testimony is illuminating and informative on this internal fight between the Stalinist group of Communists and the Trotskyite group. Thomas Kirk, Don Morton, John G. Honeycombe and Rena M. Vale were all former members of the Communist Party.

Charles G. Bakesy had done considerable investigating as an

undercover operator among the Communists in California and made a considerable amount of information available to the committee.

Aubrey Blair, J. W. Buzzell, Edward Heim and L. C. Helm are all A. F. of L. officials who have had a long experience fighting Communist infiltration into the *American Federation of Labor*.

J. Frank Burke is the owner and operator of Radio Stations KFVD and KPAS in Los Angeles County, a news-analyst and commentator noted for his American progressiveness, tolerance and liberalism. He testified concerning certain programs released over his radio station KFVD conducted by Ed Robbin of the *People's Daily World*. (Volume I, pp. 267,272.) It has been Mr. Burke's policy to make his radio stations available to everyone, believing thoroughly in the right of free speech and the right of individuals and groups to enjoy channels of public expression. He stated that Ed Robbin had begun to broadcast some time in 1938 and that the broadcasts were partly paid for by a tire company located at Twelfth and Main Streets in Los Angeles. When Hitler and Stalin joined hands in 1939 Burke noticed that Robbin followed along with the current Communist Party "line" and Burke stated that he came to the conclusion that he was not expressing his own opinions but merely echoing things he was ordered to say. It was no longer a matter of free speech. When Robbin defended Russia's invasion of Poland, Mr. Burke ordered him out of his station.

Oliver Carlson testified as an expert on Communist strategy, Communist history, activities and theory, and practical objectives. Mr. Carlson is a writer and a research associate of the University of Chicago in the Department of Political Science. He has traveled extensively in Europe. He translated a book from German into English by Chicherin, Foreign Minister for the Soviet Government. He studied at the University of Berlin and attended the London School of Economics. Mr. Carlson traced the history of the Communist International and explained its methods and ideology in detail to the committee. He outlined disciplinary methods and techniques of the Communist International. He elaborated on the Communist preparations to seize state power in all countries. He emphasized the intolerance of the Communist Party and its *il-liberality* and *non-progressiveness*, contrary to self-proclaimed and advertised virtues. He outlined the similarity between Nazism and Communism. He described the various so-called "Internationals" set up by the Communists for subtle indoctrination purposes, which included even an international philatelic society. He told the committee of the schisms within the Communist Party itself; of the Lovestonites and the Trotskyites. He elaborated on the so-called Communist "party line" and explained the causes and reasons for its changes. He testified to

seeing the marriage bureaus and divorce bureaus maintained by the Soviet Government in Russia. He told the committee that over the door of the marriage bureau was the slogan, taken from the Communist *Manifesto*: "Workers of the World Unite." The slogan over the divorce bureau, also taken from the Communist *Manifesto*, was: "You Have Nothing to Lose but Your Chains."

Many persons were called throughout the State to testify generally of Communist Party activities in California and the committee's transcript of testimony presents a rounded picture of the insidious machinations and plottings of this underground group of conspirators. The committee's hearing briefs were designed in each case to draw out at least a fragment of the truth from each witness and, by planning the entire investigation to cover the State from San Diego to San Francisco, the pieces began to fit, and the jigsaw puzzle thus began to take shape and form. The general, overall scope of Communist activities in California is easily discernible through the mental fencing of many of the witnesses.

Mr. Carroll E. Hunnwell represents one of the missing pieces. He testified before the committee in San Diego. (Volume VIII, pp. 2449-2464.) He stated that he was a member of Post No. 6 of the *American Legion*. He is acquainted with Stanley Hancock, Vernon Wahlenmaier, La Verne Lym, Bert Leech and Bessie Keckler. He attended a number of functions for a drive to raise money for the Communist paper, the *People's Daily World*. He denied ever having affiliated with the Communist Party, but admitted that he had been approached twice, "maybe," with the proposition of joining. He does not think that the Communist Party is un-American. He stated that he felt that "we should have a change in system" and that "the main thing is to get something for the working class." In this connection, the witness testified that this would be "pretty hard to do" with the ballot. He concluded his testimony by suggesting that the need for the Communist Party would disappear if the capitalist forces would give up.

Mr. John A. Jones represents another fragment. He testified that he became a member of the Communist Party in 1935 or 1936 but that he severed connections with it in about 1941. (Volume VIII, pp. 2421-2432.) He knew Stanley Hancock, the Communist Party organizer for San Diego County, Sol and Hermine Hilkowitz, Carroll Hunnwell and Clara Stevenson. He admitted having attended the Lenin Memorial Dinner in January, 1942, held either in the U. S. Grant Hotel or Fraternal Hall in San Diego. One of his reasons for leaving the party was that the work was too strenuous. He has continued to attend meetings of the party since his alleged severing of connections. Although he surrendered his party book he could not remember the identity of the person to whom he gave it.

J. W. Thornton came into the Communist Party through the *Industrial Workers of the World* (I.W.W.). He testified that he joined this organization in 1913. (Volume I, pp. 131-145.) He joined the Socialist Party in 1914 and remained a member until about 1921. In 1919 the I.W.W. sent delegates to a conference of the *Third International* of the Communist Party which was being held in Moscow. The result of the conference brought about the merging of the I.W.W. in the United States with the new Comintern organization, the *Red Trade Union International*. Thornton joined the Communist Party in Portland in 1921 and dropped out of its activities in 1924. In 1930 he again became active in the Communist Party and participated in the formation of *unemployed councils*. He cooperated with Communist Party fractions and groups in various activities, particularly in fund-raising campaigns for the *Tom Mooney Defense Committee*. In 1932 he met Sam Darcy and Elmer Hanoff and participated in the Communist Party meeting in Sacramento on the occasion of a plea to Governor Rolph for the unemployed through the *Co-operative Relief Association*. In 1933 Thornton was expelled from the Communist Party for collaboration with the Socialists.

Gene Hagberg, of Los Angeles, testified concerning both Nazi and Communist activities in Los Angeles County. He told the committee of beach parties in Santa Monica where white girls were used as lures in recruiting Negroes into the Communist Party. He told of the "prostitution squad" of Communist Party girls who acted as lures in this endeavor. He testified as to the method used by the *Young Communist League* in luring Filipinos into the Communist Party by the use of marijuana. He testified as to the activities of the Communists among the Japanese and of the Japanese Communist section known as the *Doho Jin Sha* and of a meeting held by this group May 23, 1941, in Los Angeles at which Ed Robbin, Communist radio commentator for the *People's Daily World*, was reported to have collected over \$1,000. He stated that Ed Robbin had donated \$25 to *Doho*, the Japanese-Communist newspaper in Los Angeles. Mr. Hagberg stated that the *Doho Jin Sha* group worked with the German-American Bund during the collaboration of Stalin and Hitler.

Mr. Thomas Kirk, a former member of the Communist Party, testified before the committee at its Los Angeles hearing, August 1, 1941. (Volume II, pp. 560-589, 590-591.) He told the committee that he was an organizer for the *Friends of the Soviet Union* in 1930, and became interested in the Communist Party through the *American Civil Liberties Union*. He was active in the International Labor Defense. He outlined the activities of the Communist Party in the cotton strike at Pixley in 1933, of the activities of the *Hollywood Anti-Nazi League*, the *League Against War and Fascism* and the *Pen and Hammer Club*. He traced the activities of the Communist Party in the *Relief Workers' Protec-*

tive Union and other Communist front organizations such as the *Unemployed Councils*, the *Workers' Alliance*, *Labor's Non-Partisan League* and others.

COMMUNIST FUNCTIONARIES IN CALIFORNIA

ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT WITNESSES on the subject of Communism with authority to speak was Jack Moore, the Secretary of the Communist Party for Los Angeles County in 1941. The committee subpoenaed Jack Moore at its first hearing in the Assembly Chamber of the State Building in Los Angeles on July 28th of 1941. (Transcript Volume I, pages 3 to 113, inclusive.) He was attended by a stenographer and Leo Gallagher, whom he identified as his attorney.

Jack Moore is a paid functionary of the Communist Party with offices at the Communist Party headquarters, located at 124 W. Sixth Street, in the City of Los Angeles. His wife was formerly Miriam Brooks, *Young Communist League* organizer, and one of the Communists utilized by the party in mobilizing the Communists in the Musicians' Union, Local 47, of Los Angeles. (Mrs. Miriam Moore was subsequently expelled from the Musicians' Union in Los Angeles because of her Communist activities.) Jack Moore has a long Communist record. He sponsored Pettis Perry for the Communist Party nomination for the office of Lieutenant Governor of California in August of 1934 and sponsored Harold J. Ashe for the Communist Party nomination for Secretary of State at the same time. In 1936, he was a member of the *Young Communist League*. He joined the Communist Party in Los Angeles on October 23, 1936, and became a member of the *Relief Workers' Protective Union*, *International Labor Defense* and the *League Against War and Fascism*. He was a member of the board of directors of the Communist Party Workers' School in Los Angeles. In 1938 he sponsored Pettis Perry for the Communist Party nomination to the office of State Board of Equalization and Anita Whitney for the Communist Party nomination to the office of Controller. He was a candidate for the Communist Party nomination for the office of Assembly from the Sixty-fourth District in August of 1940. In this same year, he sponsored Anita Whitney for the Communist Party nomination for the office of United States Senate from California. He registered as a Communist in Los Angeles County June 15, 1940. He attended the Communist Party convention in San Francisco May 12, 1940. On February 19, 1941, he filed as a candidate for the City Council of Los Angeles from the Twelfth District. For some time he headed the Los Angeles branch of the *Young Communist League* and was the organizer of the Harbor Section for the Los

Angeles Communist Party. In 1942, he was again a Communist candidate for the Assembly. For some time handled Communist literature for the Workers' Book Shop located at 224 South Soring Street in San Pedro. He was the secretary of the militant *Fish Cannery Workers' Union* in Long Beach. He has a police record.

The committee found Jack Moore, as the titular head of the Communist Party in the most populous county of the State, an unusually frank witness. His testimony as set forth in the first volume of the committee's transcripts is considered by many persons, not connected with the committee, to be of vital significance. He explained the physical structure and commented in detail on the doctrine and ideology of the Communist Party of the United States of America. He admitted the so-called "fraction" set up in unions and the Communist Party's general infiltration into the California trade union movement by such methods. He admitted the existence of Communist fractions in the *Workers' Alliance*. He admitted that he was familiar with the *Party Organizer* and familiar with plans set forth in this official Communist Party publication for recruiting members into the party and the technique used in penetrating trade unions.

He testified concerning the part played by the Communist Party in unionizing the Ford plant. He told the committee of the indoctrination of children as young as 9 to 16 years of age; how they were taught the principles of world-revolution and class antagonism through the *Young Pioneers*, and thereafter how these children were further indoctrinated through the medium of the *Young Communist League*. He told the committee of his work as a member of the *Young Communist League* and his assistance in the organization of the *Relief Workers' Protective Union* in Los Angeles County. He related his work in organizing the A. F. of L. *Fish Canneries Union* and how he and an entire group of Communists in the Union were finally expelled, the charter of the Union being lifted by the Central Labor Council of Los Angeles. He stated that the Communists had been the moving force in organizing the C.I.O. *United Auto Workers' Union*.

He admitted that Communist front organizations, such as *Labor's Non-Partisan League*, *Federation for Political Unity*, the *Motion Picture Democratic Committee*, the *International Labor Defense* and the *International Workers' Order* took part in political elections. He testified that the Communists in California and in the United States firmly believe in the objectives of the party as enunciated by Lenin and Stalin.

Miles G. Humphrey, a former Communist Party functionary, told the committee under oath in San Francisco (Volume V. pp. 1616-1631) that he knew Aubrey Grossman when Grossman was

very active in the *Young Communist League* and that he also knew him as a member of the Communist Party. Humphrey stated that he joined the Communist Party in Oakland in 1924 and attended several beginners classes in Communism in that city and later in New York City. He testified that he taught classes in Communism in Oakland and that he became a functionary of the party in San Jose in 1924 and that he was a unit organizer for about a year. He made a trip to Russia in 1926, the expenses of which were paid by the Soviet Union. He spent four months in Siberia and four months in Moscow doing industrial work. During his stay in Russia he contacted the Section Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Siberia to discuss conditions in industry. Before going to Russia, Humphrey testified, he contacted an organization in New York called "Kuqbas" which preceded "Intourist" and his trip to the Soviet Union was arranged through this organization. He met a man in connection with "Kuqbas" by the name of Golos whom he later saw in Siberia. He was acquainted with Robert Minor, of the Communist Party of the United States and met him in Russia. He discussed with Minor his transfer from the Communist Party of the United States to the Communist Party of Soviet Russia which was arranged through the Comintern. During this time, Humphrey testified, Minor represented the Communist Party of the United States in Soviet Russia in the Communist International. Humphrey resided in New York City for some years after his return from Russia, during which time he helped organize the *International Labor Defense*, working through Communist Party channels. He was a member of the Bronx section of the Communist Party while in New York City.

Upon returning to Oakland, he became the secretary of the Communist Party for Alameda County and held this position for one year. He met John Leech, Secretary and organizer for the Communist Party in Los Angeles at that time. He knew Rudy Lambert as a party functionary in charge of the Communist Campus Unit at Berkeley. Humphrey stated that the Communist Party, during 1934, derived most of its funds from donations. The Campus Unit at the University of California paid its dues directly to a district or section organizer, rather than risk exposure of membership through following regular procedure. He knew Bert Hanman as a Communist Party member and admitted that he attended the meeting at which Hanman was expelled by the Communist Party Control Commission which then was composed of Elmer Hanoff, Walter Lambert and 10 others, on charges that Hanman had associated himself with the Trotskyites.

After this, Humphrey testified, he became a trade union organizer for the Communist Party, which position he held for some time. He met James Burford at Burford's apartment in

Berkeley and attended the meeting at which Burford joined the party in 1934 or 1935. He testified that James Burford became a member of Unit Number 5 in Berkeley. It was Humphrey, according to his testimony, who took Burford's application for membership in the party.

Among others identified by Humphrey in his testimony were Dr. Samuel Twain, Examining Physician for the *International Workers' Order* in Oakland. Humphrey did not state that Dr. Twain was a member of the Communist Party but stated that he was very close to it. The *International Workers' Order*, testified Mr. Humphrey, was organized by the Communist Party to take over the members of a socialist organization known as the *Workmen's Circle*. He stated that Dr. Twain's brother is the Secretary of the *International Workers' Order* in Oakland. (The committee should report, at this juncture, that Dr. Twain held a commission in the State Guard in 1942.) Humphrey knew Signa Ludlow as a member of the Communist Party in Berkeley and Roy Noftz as a member of the Communist Party in Oakland. He stated that Noftz later became active in the *Workers' Alliance*, the Communist Party having appointed him to a position in that front organization.

The committee called Bert S. Leech to testify at the committee's San Diego hearing. (Volume VIII, pp. 2133-2213.) Leech, being a well known Communist in the State of California, testified quite frankly as to his Communist Party activities, although he stated that he was registered politically as a Democrat. The committee learned that he had worked for the State Relief Administration for approximately a month in San Diego and had secured the position through a Mrs. Wooster. Leech's testimony made the secret nature of the Communist Party very clear. He had no hesitancy in admitting his own Communist Party affiliation, even though he was registered as a Democrat. He told the committee that there are ethical ties with the working class in the United States and the working classes in other countries and that no antagonism exists between the workers of different countries. He stated that he was very familiar with the *Official History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Soviet textbook, and that he had taught it. He stated that it sets forth the ideology of the Communist Party as well as the history of the Soviet Union. He could not remember the exact time when he became a member of the Communist Party, and like most of his comrades, could not recall from whom he ever received a party book. He admitted having been a member of the Communist labor front infiltrating State, county and municipal governments, the *State, County and Municipal Workers of America*, C. I. O. He has missed few Communist Party State conventions. He admitted that he was acquainted with chief Communist Party function-

aries, such as William Schneiderman, Betty Gannet, Pettis Perry, Paul Cline, Jack Moore and others. He likewise admitted being acquainted with Elaine Black of the *International Labor Defense* (who, for a time, was evacuated to the Japanese Santa Anita camp with her Japanese husband) and James Burford. He testified that he had used names other than that of Bert Leech, being known in Communist Party work as Bert Jackson. He told the committee that there was no conflict between Communist Party ideals and orthodox religion. At one point in his testimony, probably because the committee indicated its knowledge of his activities by its questions, he interrupted himself to remark: "I was just trying to place the stool-pigeon in this case." Once he slipped in his testimony and mentioned the official capacity of the Communist Party Control Commission (p. 2176). He stated that the Control Commission kept track of the enemies of the Communist Party, particularly in their movement from one county to another. He concluded his testimony by explaining that Communist Party members do not register as Communists because of their fear of economic reprisals. He explained that actual membership in the Communist Party entails a willingness to accept assignments and to undertake responsibilities but did not elaborate on the nature of the assignments or the responsibilities.

Mrs. La Verne Frances Lym testified that her husband was the chairman of the Communist Party in San Diego County. (Volume VIII, pp. 2218-2256, 2362-2365). She stated that she had joined the Communist Party during the Summer of 1939 and had received a membership book but, again, like all other Communist witnesses, she failed to remember to whom she paid her dues, although she later thought that she might have paid them to Dan Taylor. She attended the Communist Party Workers' School in Los Angeles taught by Eva Shafran. Mrs. Lym stated that she and her husband ran the Communist Party book store in San Diego, which is managed by the *International Book Store Committee* and that her position with the store is merely that of acting manager. She identified a photograph taken in Tijuana on May 18, 1940, of a May Day parade. The Communist Flag with the hammer and sickle is displayed in the parade and Mrs. Lym identified herself and stated that Dan Taylor was carrying the Flag of Soviet Russia.

William Schneiderman, the Secretary of the Communist Party of California, testified at great length on the structure, organization, theory and practice of the Communist Party in California. (Volume V, pp. 1260-1342.) William Schneiderman was born in the Ukraine, Russia, and came to the United States in 1908. He has been affiliated with the Communist Party since 1924 or 1925 and prior to his joining the Party was a member of the *Young Communist League* which was known in those days

as the *Young Workers' League*. The Communist Party of California does not maintain files of documents in reference to Party membership, and has kept no records since 1939. The committee learned from Schneiderman that Party membership books have been discontinued since about January of 1940 and the committee is in possession of authoratative information that this statement is true. The numerical strength of the Party in California is computed, according to Schneiderman, by per capita tax receipts from the counties of the State and it is the duty of the Financial Secretary of the Communist Party of the State to make such computations; to keep such records for a few weeks and then to destroy them. Schneiderman's rough estimate of the membership of the secret Communist Party in California as of December, 1941, was between five and six thousand.

The "fraction" and "cell" technique of the Communist Party, according to Schneidermen, was discontinued in 1937 or 1938. The fractions, he contended, had been frequently "a sort of friction" in many organizations. He intimated that the Communists working in labor unions presently, only participated in open caucuses attended by non-Communist members. The committee is in possession of authoritative information that this statement by Schneiderman is not completely true. Small Communist fractions and cells still meet and plan strategy for open caucuses with non-Communist members. Agendas and proposed activities are worked out by the small fractions or cells and then carried to caucuses where they are made to appear to be the action of a sizable group, the majority of which, in most cases, is non-Communist.

Schneiderman testified that the Communist Party maintains a commercial account in the Bank of America in San Francisco and that it issues monthly statements. No books are kept and the statements are not kept. These records are all destroyed when the financial secretary finishes with them.

The committee learned from William Schneiderman that it was always customary to close Communist Party conventions with the singing of the *Internationale*.

Indicating the International aspect of the Communist Party, Schneiderman explained the use of party membership books and stamps. International Solidarity Stamps, he explained, were used for anti-Fascist organizations, especially in Germany against Hitler.

Pettis Perry has a long and active record as a Communist Party member in Southern California. He was chairman of the Communist Party County Central Committee in Los Angeles County during 1940 and still held this position at the time of his appearance before the committee, February 23, 1942. (Volume IX,

pp. 2640-2657.) Perry, being a Negro, is utilized by the Communist Party in California for the purpose of recruiting Negroes into the party. He has run for public office on many occasions in Los Angeles County. He has sponsored such Communists for office as Samuel W. Jones, Leo Gallagher, Louis Rosner, and others. He has associated with such known Communists as Herman N. Steffens, James C. McLean, Mrs. Forrest G. Thompson, Mrs. Adele R. Young, Walter A. Martin, Jack Moore, Mrs. Miriam Moore, Mrs. Viola M. Maddox, Mrs. Mary Butler, Mrs. Leona Chamberlin, Mrs. Gertrude Betts, Helen Maloff, Edwin J. Nelson, Sam Darcy, Elmer Hanoff, Dorothy Ray and many others.

Perry has done considerable teaching in the Communist Party worker's schools, lecturing on such subjects as Marxism and the War, History of the American Negro People, et cetera. He testified that he knew James McGowan, Alexander Noral and other Communist Party functionaries. He recalled meeting Sol Hilko-witz and Hermine Hilko-witz in San Diego, as well as Bert Leech and Carl Hunnwell of San Diego. He admitted having spent some time at the Hilko-witz ranch in Mission Valley near San Diego. He admitted that the Communist Party had adopted the slogan "All Out Aid to the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the Allies." He stated that there were less than a hundred Negroes affiliated with the Communist Party in Los Angeles County and that, all together, there were between 1,500 and 2,000 members of the party in Los Angeles County.

Dr. Vaughn A. K. Tashjian, known as "Dr. Parker" in the Communist Party, and many times a witness before committees investigating subversive activities, was called before the committee in Los Angeles, February 24, 1942. (Volume IX, pp. 2679-2691.) Dr. Tashjian's unique position as the disciplinary commissar of the Communist Party in Southern California and his rather sinister appearance, makes him always an interesting witness. As the head of the ruthless disciplinary control commission, his testimony might be unusually illuminating were it possible to induce him to talk freely and honestly. He is undoubtedly a thoroughly-indoctrinated Communist Party functionary, well trained in the iron discipline of the revolutionary class-struggle. He is a practicing dentist in the City of Los Angeles and has been a member of the Communist Party, by his own admission, since 1932.

The committee is in possession of authoritative evidence that Dr. Tashjian is actually a member of the Communist International. All Communist International members are introduced to Los Angeles County Communist Party functionaries through Dr. Tashjian and it is known that he maintains contact with the Filipino Committee and the Japanese Committee of the Communist Party and is in touch, at all times, with the OGPU of the Comintern. Rumors within the Communist Party itself are to the effect that

Dr. Tashjian actually heads the OGPU in the Western Hemisphere. Authoritative information in the hands of the committee places Dr. Tashjian in charge of the underground activities of the Communist Party in the State and indicates that he is a trusted contact man with the Comintern.

The present policy of the Communist Party is to deny the present existence of the control commission. This was dutifully done by several Communist Party functionaries testifying before the committee. Dr. Tashjian told the committee that when he was the head of the control commission, it was his duty to "hear both sides" of grievances in the party, to investigate financial irregularities and to exercise disciplinary power; to correct members who were "pursuing an incorrect attitude" and to expel them when their attitudes could not be corrected.

Like all other functionaries of the Communist Party, he could not remember from whom he received his party book and, of course, could not remember to whom he paid dues. His memory almost collapsed entirely when questioned concerning the last meeting of the Communist Party he had attended. He could remember that it was "last Thursday" but could not, for the life of him, remember where the meeting was held or who was present.

When the Communist Party constitutional provisions for the Control Commission were read to him, contradicting his testimony regarding the abolition of the Control Commission, he admitted the present effectiveness and binding power of the provision, squirmed, and finally stated that the Control Commission, the constitution to the contrary notwithstanding, had been abandoned.

Archie Brown is a California Communist functionary of long standing. (Volume VI, pp. 1730-1758.) His Communist Party activities began prior to 1929 or 1930 when he first affiliated with the *Young Communist League*. Although he lived in Oakland, he did not belong to the Berkeley unit of the party. His memory was very faulty as to members of the Communist Party and the *Young Communist League*. He could not remember the approximate number of members of the *Young Communist League* in Berkeley; where he bought his Communist Party dues-stamps or the name of the person from whom he purchased them. Although Brown admitted attending Communist Party meetings about every two weeks, he could not remember where the meetings were held or who attended them. His recollection of *Young Communist League* and Communist Party activities in Oakland were very vague. While he admitted going to 37 Grove Street and 121 Haight Street in San Francisco, he could not determine at which place he bought his dues-stamps. Being pinned down he finally remembered purchasing stamps at William Schneiderman's office but couldn't remember the name of the girl from whom he pur-

chased them. He finally stated that he merely knew her as "Comrade."

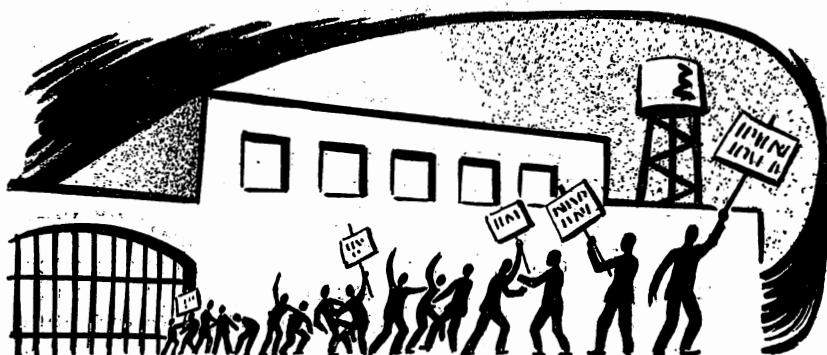
Being an open Communist Party functionary, running from time to time on the Communist ticket for public office and with Communist Party endorsements, Brown had no hesitancy in admitting his present Communist Party affiliation. He admitted having spoken at a campus meeting at Sather Gate of the University of California at Berkeley in either 1932 or 1933. Although he had been a literature agent for the Communist Party at one time his memory failed him in reference to his duties in this position, and he claimed that, although he was the agent for the literature of the party, he did not know very much about the literature itself.

He has been a member of the *International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union*, Local 110, of San Francisco for about six years. Although he attended various conferences held at the Communist Party headquarters at 121 Haight Street in the City of San Francisco, he does not yet know the exact purpose of the conferences. He is acquainted with Jack Moore, Pettis Perry, Anita Whitney, William Schneiderman, James Burford, but suffered lapses of memory in reference to other individuals.

He went to Spain with a man by the name of Yocum from California and enlisted in the *Abraham Lincoln Brigade* at Mar se Mont Blanc, Spain. He referred to John Gordon Honeycombe as a "rat" for not "fighting and dying with his comrades" in Spain. He admitted that he had looked upon the present world conflict, prior to June 22, 1941, as a "British Imperialist War" and had felt that President Roosevelt was a "warmonger" but, at the time of testifying (December 3, 1941) he had revised his entire opinion and ideas on the subject.

Archie Brown was a candidate for supervisor for the City and County of San Francisco in 1941. The Communist Party's West Coast newspaper, the *People's Daily World* of October 4, 1941, lists the sponsors for Brown's candidacy for the office of supervisor. Among these sponsors the committee finds Tim Kelly, C. I. O. *Inland Boatman's Union*; Paul Orr, A. F. of L. *Cook's Union*, Local 44; Owen Kiernan, *Marine Cooks and Stewards*; Andy Harris, A. F. of L. *Culinary Miscellaneous Employees Union*, Local 110; Clair Aderer, C. I. O. *Office and Professional Workers Union*; Homer Mulligan, C. I. O. *American Communications Association*, Local 9; Emile Rabin, A. F. of L. *Cleaners and Dyers*; Walter Stack, *Marine Firemen*; Jack Smith, *Marine Cooks and Stewards*; Walter Lambert, Grace Partridge and Anita Whitney. The *People's Daily World* of October 29, 1941, mentions three additional alleged trade union leaders supporting Archie Brown for supervisor. These supporters are named as Frank

Dunn, president of the *American Can Local, Steel Workers' Organizing Committee*; George Lee, secretary of the same organization, and Max Weitzner, a member of the *Furriers' Union* Executive Board and a delegate to the C. I. O. *Industrial Union Council*. Carmelo Zito, the editor of *Corriere del Popolo*, is also reported as publicly supporting the candidacy of Archie Brown. Henry Schmidt, the former president of the C. I. O. *Longshoremen's Union*, Local 10; Alden Clark, president of the *Industrially Unemployed Workers' Union*, and Wayne Canut, business agent of the A. F. of L. *Culinary Employees Union*, Local 110, are reported in the *People's Daily World* of October 31, 1941, as supporting Brown for supervisor. He received a total vote in the election of 26,456 or 12.5 per cent of the total votes cast.



CHAPTER X

Communist Penetration

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

TRADER UNIONS are particularly susceptible to Communist infiltration. Small fractions are sometimes very successful in large and unwieldy organizations. Because of the keen and fervent revolutionary spirit indoctrinated into the members of the Communist Party, and because most legitimate trade unionists are interested in their jobs and their homes to the exclusion of other considerations, the small Communist unit is enabled to dominate and control many large trade unions in California and in America.

In this connection the committee wishes to observe that legitimate trade unions will never be free of Communist domination and control, or the menace of it, until they amend their constitutions and by-laws in such a manner as will give *every* member of the union an opportunity to pass on important questions that come before their respective organizations. The committee has observed that where the membership is large and unwieldy and the quorum is small in comparison to the membership of the union itself, the Communist Party fraction is easily able to dominate the policies of the organization. While it is not within the province of this committee to recommend constitutional and by-law changes to the trade union movement of California, it, nevertheless, suggests that elections and important proposals should be submitted by secret ballot to each and every member of the union by mail, rather than permit bare quorums in weekly or monthly meetings to determine policies and permit the election of officers by small active groups which come to union headquarters on election day. The American Labor movement might well protect itself from the Communist menace of domination and control by providing that no important policy be adopted or any officer thereof elected except by a majority vote of the *entire membership* and not, as is done in many local unions throughout California at this time,

by those who merely attend meetings or who cast their vote at the union headquarters between designated hours on a designated election day.

The Communist Party conducts schools in the principal cities of the State. These schools are known as *Workers' Schools*, but their Communist Party character is readily recognized by their leaflets and pamphlets setting forth the subjects taught and the names of the instructors, as well as by the advertisements for the schools which appear in the Communist Party press. These schools teach Marxism, the history of Communism, labor tactics, and kindred subjects. The names of prominent educators, as well as the names of individuals high in State political circles, appear as lecturers in the courses offered by these schools from time to time. The committee has collected many of these circulars and pamphlets in which the classes and courses are displayed together with the names of the lecturers and teachers.

Matthew G. Guidera (Volume V, pp. 1429-1447) testified that Dr. Aaron Rosanoff was a lecturer for the Communist Party Workers' School in Los Angeles in 1933. The committee is in possession of photostats of the pamphlets of the Communist Party Workers' School in Los Angeles advertising this fact.

Jack Moore, Southern California Communist functionary, shed considerable light on Communist Party tactics in capturing the labor movement. As an illustration of some of the tactics used the committee quotes from the testimony of Jack Moore, beginning on page 31 of Volume I of the committee's transcript:

Q. "I am going to read into the record a statement from the Party Organizer, March and April, 1937, page 21, and ask you if these things discussed in this paragraph would comprise a part of your duties:

'As our first step, we communicated with every Country and Section and proposed the immediate establishment of recruiting committees, suggested that special discussions be held in the Units, Branches and Fractions on recruiting, on adoption of a plan of work, and a plan for retaining new members.'

"Does that generally constitute a part of your activities?"

A. (Moore) "Yes, I think that is a pretty fair statement of it."

Q. "I would also like to read another article, page 33, entitled 'From Secret to Open Work,' by Vera Sanders, and I quote:

'We decided to build up secret union groups of the workers, functioning independently of one another, and, of course, without the knowledge of the company. We selected a number of workers as initial contacts. The basis for this selection was their strategic positions in the plant, their personal qualifications for leadership, and their influence with the

men. Three such men were picked in the beginning, comrades in the unit discussed the matter of union organization with these men, and arranged for the union organizer to visit them.

'These men, together with the party's comrades in the shop, set to work lining up for the union's picked individuals. Meetings of the union groups were held in private homes of the workers once a week when needed, and once every two weeks when found more desirable. The comrades in the units attended the various group meetings to assure the leadership of the party.

'At the union group meeting which resulted, the comrades took leadership in discussing the necessity of building the union, and after the union organizer had given his report, the comrades would go into the details of whom to recruit to the union groups and how to recruit them. General discussion was also initiated by the comrades on the labor movement as a whole, and we began to have regular discussion periods at each of the union group meetings, actively involving the workers with such questions as the C. I. O., the American Labor Party, Industrial Unionism, et cetera. It was constantly pointed out that ours was an industrial type of union. We had to overcome the result of an A. F. of L. sell-out some years ago, and point out that we believed and practiced trade union democracy.'

Q. "Did you engage in such activities as are generally set forth in this excerpt, Mr. Moore, in your fraction?"

A. (Moore) "In my experience in the fish canneries in San Pedro, I and one other member of the Young Communists' League were instrumental in organizing some 1,500 workers into a Fish Cannery Workers' Union. We conducted a number of successful strikes and the consequence was that within a period of one year, the pay of the fish cannery workers was increased about \$250,000."

In 1934 a considerable sum of money was sent from the then Soviet Commissar for heavy industries to a Communist in Hollywood. This sum was to be used for the purpose of creating an entering wedge into the motion picture industry. No immediate effort was made at that time to recruit movie stars into the party, and the entire attention of the Hollywood Comrades was concentrated on capturing key trade unions in the industry. This was the then mandated procedure laid down by the Comintern and later set forth in the textbooks of the Communist Party. Strong Communist fractions were planted and maintained in nearly every Hollywood trade union that had jurisdiction over anything in the motion picture studios. The Communist Party working in Hollywood wanted control over everything that moved on wheels, sound trucks, camera platforms, transportation of equipment and personnel to and from location, and even the traydollys in the cafeterias. They soon moved Communist fractions into the unions

having jurisdiction over carpenters, painters, musicians, grips, and electricians. To control these trade unions was to control the motion picture studios.

Next in importance to the Hollywood trade unions working in the motion picture industry, were the writers, script men and other professionals having to do with the actual story writing and production of motion picture plays. Representatives of your committee visited the motion picture studios in Hollywood, conferred with studio managers; with the heads of most of the important Hollywood trade unions. Many of the leaders of these organizations were keenly aware of the infiltration into their locals and in many cases felt themselves powerless to stop it. The committee found most of these labor leaders loyal Americans. J. W. Buzzell, secretary of the Los Angeles Labor Council, Lew Blix, business representative for Local 495 of the *International Brotherhood of Teamsters*, Aubrey Blair, an organizer for the *American Federation of Labor*, associated with the Teamsters' Union and formerly a secretary of the *Screen Actors' Guild* in Hollywood and many other A. F. of L. labor leaders were extremely helpful to the committee in this phase of its investigation.

Representatives of the committee viewed and analyzed motion pictures which had been allegedly treated with Communist propaganda. Many individuals who were once highly paid technicians of unquestioned ability in the motion picture industry, were interviewed. The committee learned that the Communist dominated unions and organizations had a system of effective "black-lists" for members who had openly opposed Communism or the Communist cliques, in the various unions. We learned that many of these highly skilled individuals were unable to secure employment because of this "black-list."

In this connection the committee reports that the Communist Party, through both its control of certain trade unions and its systematic method of "smearing" individuals who oppose them and who attempt to expose them, have in the past, and are maintaining at the present, the most effective "black-listing" in the history of the State. Opposition to Communism and to its comrades carries a persuasive economic penalty in certain quarters in California, and particularly in some phases of the motion picture industry.

Many fellow travelers working in close harmony with Communist Party fractions in labor unions when called before the committee blandly denied being members of the Communist Party, or of knowing anything, whatever, about Communism and posed as "trade union Progressives." Among this group were such witnesses as Samuel Albert, Mischa Altman, Lee Gregovich, James Burford, Phillip M. Connelly, Oscar Fuss, Jack Greenberg (not to be confused with *Jack Carl Greenburg*), Frederick Langton, Herbert K. Sorrell and B. Joseph Zukas. Although these witnesses suffered from sudden lapses of memory and indicated little knowledge of the subject-matter of Communism, they were well ac-

quainted with organizations such as *Labor's Non-Partisan League*, *Musicians' Democratic Committee*, *Motion Picture Democratic Committee*, *The People's Daily World* and other Communist Party front organizations and party literature, and in many cases had a close working relationship with known Communists and fellow travelers such as Don Healy, John Howard Lawson, Paul Cline, James Burford, William Schneiderman, Pettis Perry, Dorothy Ray, Herb Sorrell, Jack Moore, Bert Leech, Elaine Black, Oscar Fuss, Aubrey Gossman, Leo Gallagher, La Rue McCormick, and many others.

The committee has gathered voluminous evidence proving that the Communist Party of California and in the United States is now taking every advantage of the war and our concentration in winning it, to infiltrate, not only labor unions, but also the strategic positions in Government. The committee reports that the Communists are making great strides in this endeavor. In their own secret councils they are frankly preparing for the time when the armed forces of our country will be demobilized and economic and social readjustments will be presenting a fertile field for furthering the revolutionary cause of the Comintern. The Communist Party is making great headway in many of California's trade unions. The top leadership in the *Congress for Industrial Organization* in California is practically in the hands of the Communist Party. Testimony under oath before the committee unequivocally places Phillip M. Connelly, the State President of the C. I. O., in the Communist Party. Connelly, when he appeared before the committee in December of 1942, denied that he had ever joined the Communist Party, in spite of the sworn affidavit of Rena M. Vale and the sworn testimony of others. It is rather significant that this same Phillip M. Connelly, less than 30 days later, was attending a Communist Party rally at the Philharmonic Auditorium in the City of Los Angeles, listening to a speech by America's Number One Communist, Earl Browder.

In the latter part of the Third Period of Communist strategy in the United States the Communists turned their attention to the lush field for financial contributions to party causes and the powerful medium for the moulding of public opinion which existed in Hollywood. The effectiveness of Communist technique in such matters here manifested itself. The story is told in full in the committee's transcripts and in the correspondence that passed between Roy Hudson, a high Communist Party functionary in New York City and Jeff Kibre who led the invasion into the Hollywood unions. The committee is in possession of photostatic copies of this correspondence.

Early in 1937 the pattern of Communist intrigue began to be discernible (had there been anyone around who was familiar with the pattern) in many trade unions connected with Hollywood's motion picture industry. Communist fractions in key unions such as the *International Alliance of Theatrical and Stage Employees* (IATSE), *Studio Carpenters*, *Musicians' Union*, *Studio Team-*

sters, *Studio Painters* and others began to function in earnest and in the approved Communist method indicated by the testimony of Jack Moore. Fractions and cells, disciplined and agendized with resolutions, motions and steering-committees in secret caucuses expanded into meetings including carefully selected non-Communist union members and proceeded to offer their prepared agendas, resolutions and motions, all of which were promptly and unanimously adopted by the unsuspecting non-Communists present. In many cases the Communist members pushed non-Communist members forward in such meetings so that the deluded trade-unionist actually believed that he had cleverly originated many of the motions and resolutions which, as a matter of fact, were carefully worked out months before by the Communist Labor Commission itself. The members of Communist fractions in trade-unions made their selection of the non-Communist members invited to the union's "*progressive*" caucuses generally on the basis of such individual's personal grievance against some officer of the organization, fancied or real. Through flattery and comradely back-slapping, praise and admiration, the non-Communist "*progressive*" was induced to lead the general onslaught on his own labor-union. This pernicious technique has created "fellow-travelers" of a unique character. Many an ordinary decent loyal American trade-unionist, outraged at the racketeering tactics of some labor leader, fired with a resolve to "clean up his own union," flattered and egotized by the admiring urges of Comintern comrades, whom he looked upon as good trade-unionists, has found himself suddenly referred to as a "commie" and an agitator. Not knowing anything about Communism and having never met a self-admitted Communist, the uninformed, but otherwise loyal trade-unionist finds himself dismayed and confused. The Communist fraction in the enlarged caucuses make great capital out of such a situation. When the appellation is properly applied to actual Communist Party members of the group all the non-Communist members are quickly convinced of their staunch Americanism when it is pointed out that "good old dumb John who always voted the Republican ticket" was also called a "Communist."

Enlarged caucuses, Communist steered and organized, began to function in Hollywood in 1937. Closed Communist fraction meetings always preceded the meetings of the larger groups. Each Communist member of the fraction was assigned 20 or more non-Communist members of the trade-union and were held strictly accountable for the conduct and attitude of the people assigned to them. The matters to be discussed in the enlarged and mixed caucuses were carefully outlined ahead of time in closed fraction meetings and the action to be taken by the expanded group meticulously planned. Thus, the "*progressive*" caucuses, as they were ultimately called, appeared to make decisions in a Democratic manner and the non-Communist members rarely suspected that their decisions had been planned, in some cases, months ahead for them. The average rank-and-file member of a labor organiza-

tion has little experience in public speaking or in parliamentary procedure and his "meeting" activities are usually confined to voting in the approved manner of his union's by-laws. The Communists, on the other hand, have usually been trained in the Communist Party's Workers' Schools, and have considerable knowledge of parliamentary procedure and can talk extemporaneously for hours.

The decisions thus "democratically" reached in the "progressive" caucuses are then carried to the floor of union meetings. A non-Communist stooge has usually been selected at the "progressive" caucus to present the planned resolutions and motions. The Communist steering committee sees to it that the stooge is supported by proper seconds and the comrades themselves arise to speak if anything appears to be going badly. Many trade-unions require comparatively small quorums and, where the membership of the organization is large, meetings are poorly attended. Generally the membership of the "progressive" group is an overwhelming majority in any such meeting and the decisions of the "progressive caucus" which had been planned for them by the Communist fraction, becomes the official policy or action of the union itself.

Several such enlarged caucuses, Communist dominated and controlled, came into being in Hollywood in 1937. The first of importance was the "I. A. Progressives" made up of members of the *International Alliance of Theatrical and Stage Employees* (IATSE), an *American Federation of Labor* affiliate. Another was the so-called "progressive" group in the Los Angeles "*Musicians' Union*, Local 47, of the *American Federation of Musicians*. This group, after the union organization increased its quorum from 75 to 300, organized itself into the *Musician's Democratic Committee*, and affiliated with the Hollywood Communist front organization *The Motion Picture Democratic Committee*. The "I. A. Progressives," failing in capturing the Hollywood locals of the IATSE, ultimately became the nucleus of the *United Studio Technicians Guild* (USTG), financed by Harry Bridges. This organization, completely dominated and controlled by the Communist Party, petitioned the National Labor Relations Board for an election to determine the collective bargaining agency for the motion picture industry. Had the Communists been successful in this election they would have controlled Hollywood.

Among those examined in reference to the C. I. O. Communist-dominated *United Studio Technicians Guild*, the "I. A. Progressives" and the IATSE were Aubrey Blair, Lew C. G. Blix, George E. Bodle, Edward Heim, L. C. Helm, Herbert K. Sorrell and A. H. Webber.

Lew C. G. Blix, business representative for Local 495 of the *International Brotherhood of Teamsters* in the City of Los Angeles, told the committee of his acquaintance with Jeff Kibre during the time that Blix was secretary-treasurer of Local 37 of the

International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees in Hollywood. Blix identified Jeff Kibre's handwriting and signature on various documents which had been introduced in the record in connection with the Communist plot to capture the Hollywood unions. He gave the committee the history of the so-called "*I. A. Progressives*," headed by Kibre in 1937. He also testified to having seen a photostat of Jeff Kibre's application to join the Communist Party under the name of "Barry Wood." In this connection, it should be stated, that the committee read into its transcript the minutes of the Third Annual Convention of the Communist Party of Los Angeles, which was held April 29, 30, and May 1 of 1938. The minutes of this convention revealed that "Barry Wood" was elected to the county executive committee of the Communist Party. An affidavit by Ezra Chase, former Communist Party member, was also read into the committee's record, in which Chase identified Jeff Kibre as a member of the Communist Party.

Aubrey Blair, organizer for the *American Federation of Labor*, testified before the committee, detailing the attempt on the part of the Communist Party to capture the motion picture industry. Photostatic copies of letters of Jeff Kibre were introduced in connection with the testimony of Blair, showing the background of an organization known as the *Conference of Motion Picture Arts and Crafts* and generally referred to as COMPAC. Blair also corroborated the testimony of Blix in further detailing the Communist plot to capture the IATSE. He told the committee of the Communist Party fraction work in the "*I. A. Progressives*" and the creation of the *United Studio Technicians Guild* (USTG).

Edward Heim, a member of Local 728, of the IATSE and formerly a member of Local 37 of the IATSE, testified concerning the *United Studio Technicians Guild* (Volume II, 514-520). Heim had left the IATSE and joined the *United Studio Technicians Guild* and for a time acted as the office manager of that group. He saw bundles of the *People's Daily World*, the Communist Party periodical on the West Coast, in the office of the *United Studio Technicians Guild* which were used for free distribution. He told of conferences in the office of the organization between Jeff Kibre, Sam Goldblatt, Herb Sorrell and others and stated that he knew Sam Goldblatt to be a member of the Communist Party.

L. C. Helm, business representative of the *Studio Utility Employees*, Local 742 (IATSE), also testified regarding the "*I. A. Progressives*" and the activities of the *United Studio Technicians Guild*. (Volume II, pp. 506-514.) He stated that this infiltration of Hollywood motion picture unions began with the *Studio Unemployment Conference* in 1938 to which the IATSE and the *Studio Painters* affiliated. Jeff Kibre spearheaded this organization and Herbert Biberman and Frank Tuttle attended several of the Conference meetings. Helm testified that the *Conference of Motion Picture Arts and Crafts* (COMPAC) grew out of the *Studio Unemployment Conference* and that Jeff Kibre continued as its

guiding spirit, although Herbert Sorrell was influential in it. He stated that COMPAC later became the *United Studio Technicians Guild* under C. I. O. charter. Helm withdrew because of the Communist influence in COMPAC.

Similar situations were existing in other Hollywood unions. Organizing had been going on in the recording industry and in radio. Many of the early attempts at organization were undoubtedly legitimate and as the Communist element more and more forged to the front for their own particular purposes, many sincere American labor men were carried along. A strike finally developed at Columbia, conducted by the *United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America*, C. I. O. (UERMWA). The witnesses examined by your committee in reference to this organization were Carl Brant, James H. Burford, Gene Hagberg and A. H. Webber.

Carl Brant, organizer for the *United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America*, C. I. O. (UERMWA), admitted having been a member of the Communist Party for "about two or three years." Brant admitted being familiar with a play *Formation Left* by Jeff Kibre and Mildred Ashe and another left-wing play *Waiting for Lefty* by Clifford Odets and *Peace on Earth* by Albert Maltz. Although Carl Brandt was listed in circulars advertising a Communist Party Workers' School as an instructor, he denied that he had ever served in such capacity.

The committee knew that Brant was in fact a member of the Communist Party and that he was an educational director in one of Los Angeles County's Communist units. He did a great deal of organizing work in the *Workers' Alliance* and in so-called Communist Cultural Projects. He was a delegate to the *California Federation of Government Employees' Convention* in 1937 in company with such well-known Communists as Fred Franchi, Leona McGentry and Rena Vale.

A. H. Webber related to the committee his difficulties with Local 1421 of the *United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America*. (Volume II, pp. 357-387.) Webber had been employed for five years at the Columbia Recording Studio in Los Angeles and had been dismissed about seven weeks before testifying, July 30, 1941. He stated that he had assisted in organizing the union in the Columbia Recording Studio and had applied for an A. F. of L. charter which was refused by Harold Smith, of the IATSE. He stated that a C. I. O. charter was accepted and that the union became known as Local 1421 of the UERMWA. In his capacity as a member of the shop committee, Webber always insisted on efficient workmen but the Communists endeavored to run in their members regardless of ability. Because of his protest against this tactic, charges were preferred against him and he was finally expelled from the union and ousted from his position in the Columbia Recording Studio. He has since been

branded as "anti-union" and a "red-baiter" and has not been permitted to obtain another position where the C. I. O. influence is strong.

James H. Burford was subpoenaed. There is no doubt that this witness deliberately lied on many occasions under examination by the members of the committee and its interrogator. The committee unanimously passed a resolution referring the matter to the district attorney of Los Angeles County recommending that Burford be charged and tried for perjury. In this connection, it must be said, that this was the only recommendation made during the existence of the committee in which a prosecution was not instituted.

Burford has been a consistent worker in Communist infiltration activities for many years. As the secretary of the Young Democratic fraction, which was composed of allegedly Young Democratic leaders who were secret members of the Communist Party, Burford materially assisted in the disruption and destruction of the organization of the *Young Democrats of California*. Running the gamut of the usual occupational shifts and changes, Burford was, at the time of testifying, affiliated with the *United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America*, C. I. O. He admitted knowing and associating with notorious Communists and Communist fellow travelers in California, such as Velda Johnston, James Toback, Paul Johnson, Paul Cline, Jack Moore, Rose Segure, Aubrey Gossman, William J. Plunkert, and William Elconin.

Burford testified (Volume II, pp. 316-344, July 30, 1941) that he had studied the *Communist Manifesto* in 1931 in San Diego State College. He stated that he was opposed to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.) because they took "scabs" through a picket line of the C. I. O. *United Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union* (UMMSWU). He admitted that he had supported the Communist candidate, Celeste Strack, running for Congress in the Thirteenth Congressional District against the incumbent, Congressman Kramer, in 1940.

Don Morton, who joined the Communist Party in 1936 in Berkeley, identified pictures of James Burford, and stated that he knew Burford as a Communist Party member during his affiliation with the party. (Volume VI, pp. 1783-1794.) Morton further testified that he attended closed Communist Party meetings in Burford's home and that these meetings were gatherings of Unit Number 5, generally referred to as the "Campus Unit."

Coordinating the general plan of the Communist Party for the capture of Hollywood unions, the Communist fraction of Local 47, Los Angeles *Musicians' Union* extended its closed fraction meetings to selected non-Communist members of the association in the Fall of 1937. These enlarged and mixed meetings soon became known as "progressive caucuses" and the individuals as "47 Progressives." The committee and its representatives

have carefully examined the minutes of the steering committees of this group. The minutes of the board of directors of Local 47 for January 9, 1940, contains several hundred pages of the compiled activities of this group, together with photostatic copies of the minutes of the Communist dominated expanded caucuses. It is significant that, although the laws of the *Musicians' Union* in Los Angeles provide for the publication of the minutes of the board of directors in the official organ of the association, *The Overture*, the minutes of the board for January 9, 1940, have never been published.

The coordination of the over-all plan of the Communist Party for its Hollywood offensive by the Communists within Local 47 of the *Musicians' Union* of Los Angeles is clearly discernible in the resolutions, motions and activities outlined in the official pages of the minutes of the board of directors for January 9, 1940. Affiliation with many front organizations was carried to the general meetings of the association, such as *Labor's Non-Partisan League*, unemployed councils, etc. Ambulances for Spain and participation in many Communist activities are clearly revealed. The election of Miriam Brooks or Moore, the wife of Jack Moore, Los Angeles County Communist functionary, after but a few months membership, as a delegate to the State Federation of Labor's convention in Oakland in 1939 is one of the amazing achievements of the Communist element within this trade union association. (The membership of the Los Angeles *Musicians' Union* is between seven and eight thousand.) The trials and expulsion of Communist members such as Miriam Moore and Saul Posner are included in the minutes of the board above referred to, and the order of dissolution of the Communist front, *The Musicians' Democratic Committee*, is set forth, indicating the attempts of a beleaguered group of officers fighting for the American maintenance of the union.

Julius Furman of Local 47 of the *Musicians' Union* testified July 29, 1941, regarding his previously sworn testimony contained in the minutes of the board of directors of that association above mentioned. (Volume I, pp. 199-216.) Among those identified by Furman as working secretly with Communist Party members for the control and domination of Local 47 of the *American Federation of Musicians* were: Mischa Altman, Sam Albert, Haakon Bergh, Gerald Caylor, Lina Di Fiore, Louis Kauffman, Stephen Mougin, Herbert Offner, Wayne Ronka and Paul Robyn, all of whom were listed on photostatic copies of the minutes of the *Musicians' Union's* board of directors of January 9, 1940. Furman named Mischa Altman as the leader of the Communist faction in the association and gave an account of a pro-Communist meeting held at the home of George Bassman, a member of the union.

Floyd Mathews, also a member of the *Musicians' Union*, testified as to Communist intrigue and plotting in the association. (Volume I, pp. 123-131.) He stated that one Eddie Gruen and

Mischa Altman, both members of the union, invited him to attend a Communist Party school and that other members of Local 47, including Emerson Haraden, Eddie Gruen and Bernice Frazier, attended the Communist Party School. Mathews testified that Gruen and Altman told him that they were members of the Communist Party. Altman appeared to be the "big fish" of the Marxist school. Mathews stated that Altman had told him that the Communist Party desired to place members of the party in the police department and in the Army.

The *Musicians' Union* of Los Angeles may be definitely said to be under the control and domination of the Communist Party and is presently being used to carry out certain parts of the Communist Party program.

The committee called and examined many witnesses in reference to Communist activities in the agrarian districts of the State. This field is an important one in Communist strategy. It has not been overlooked in the past by Communist agitators and will not be neglected in the future, although large industrial centers are the chief and everpresent targets. The *Simon J. Lubin Society* and UCAPAWA are the Communist fronts for California agrarian penetration. The testimony of Dorothy Ray, now Mrs. Don Healy, is typical of the activities of Communist Party functionaries in this field. Miss Ray, by her own admission, has been very active in Communist Party agitation in the agricultural districts of California. She testified before the committee December 2, 1941, in San Francisco. (Volume V, pp. 1639-1641, 1795-1806, and Volume VI, pp. 1818-1864.) She admitted knowing many Communists and Communist fellow travelers, such as James Burford, Archie Brown, Lillian Monroe, Ted Rasmussen, Stanley Hancock and others. She testified that she was born in Denver, Colorado, in 1914 and that her maiden name was Rosenblum.

The agricultural red fronts must first be examined. The *Simon J. Lubin Society* was organized in the Fall of 1936. It took its name from the late Simon J. Lubin who formerly headed the California Division of Immigration and Housing. He was admittedly a member of the I. W. W.

The organization was the work of Unit 104 of the Professional Section of the Communist Party. This unit had been doing research work for the agricultural activities of the party and Helen Horn (Hosmer) and Dr. Soule, members of Unit 104, conceived the idea of forming a club or society that would include non-party members. They persuaded the Lubin family to allow them to name the organization after Simon J. Lubin. The Lubins did not know the real purpose behind the organization or that it was controlled by the Communist Party. (Dies Reports, Volume 3, pp. 1997-8.)

After Unit 104 had organized the society, the leader of the professional section of the Communist Party widened its scope in 1936. With the aid of Donald Henderson, National President

of the *United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America* (UCAPAWA), who was visiting in San Francisco at the time, the future activities of the society were worked out. It became the channel through which the Communist Party conducts its fight against the farming industry.

Aubrey Grossman represented the society in a legal action against the Salinas Lettuce Growers.

The society appeared with the *American League Against War and Fascism* as a joint sponsor for a meeting held in San Francisco on May 7, 1937, to discuss the cannery workers' strike in the San Joaquin area.

For a short time in 1937 the society occupied joint offices with the *Conference for Repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism Act*.

On July 9, 10, 11 and 12, 1937, a National convention of agricultural organizations was held in Denver, Colorado, presided over by Donald Henderson. Henderson had formerly been on the faculty of Columbia University but had been removed due to radical and Communist activities. UCAPAWA (*United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America*) came out of this convention and affiliated with the C. I. O. with Donald Henderson as its National president. Pat Callahan and Dorothy Ray, both known Communists, became president and vice president, respectively, of the organization in California.

Under Communist direction UCAPAWA gradually made itself known in agricultural districts of California. Labor agitation and disturbances were gradually accelerated.

Lauretta Adams, section organizer of the Communist Party in Kern County, together with Clyde Champion, Communist candidate for public offices, were organizers for UCAPAWA, as well as for the *Workers' Alliance* and the Communist Party.

In February of 1940 a Field Workers' School, sponsored by UCAPAWA, was held at Chino, California for the purpose of training organizers. Revels Cayton, Negro Communist secretary of the San Francisco local of the *Maritime Federation of the Pacific*, Amy Schechter, formerly a student of the Lenin School in Moscow in 1939 and a writer for *New Masses*, Communist magazine, and Carey McWilliams, Chief of the California Division of Immigration and Housing, were the instructors at the Field Workers' School.

Miss Ray's Communist activities carried her into many agricultural unions. She stated that she had worked with independent and A. F. of L. unions which preceded the *United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America*, C. I. O., (UCAPAWA), *Compazinos*, a Mexican workers' organization and the *Cannery and Agricultural Workers' Union*. She was the international representative of UCAPAWA until 1938 or 1939.

Miss Ray described her difficulties in Imperial Valley and admitted having served six months in the Imperial County jail as

the result of the lettuce strike in 1933-1934. Although she had been an active Communist continuously for over 10 years, she stated that she had never registered as a voter in the Communist Party. She stated that she dropped out of the Communist Party and the *Young Communist League* work because she had become practically exhausted from her 10 years' strenuous labors. She stated that she had never subscribed to the *Western Worker* or the *People's Daily World* but that she read the *Monthly Communist* faithfully.

She identified a picture of herself taken on the fire escape of the Communist Party headquarters in Oakland in Franklin Street in which she held two placards, one carrying the slogan "Join the Communist Party" and the other "Stop Police Brutality."

The committee found Miss Ray an exceedingly clever witness. She frankly stated that she would not indulge in "Communist-baiting" and spoke from time to time of "We Internationalists." (P. 1842.) She asserted that the Soviet Union had abolished the exploitation of man by man and had set up a classless society. She believed that it was in the interest of the United States to defend the Soviet Union. She stated that she did not believe the testimony of the "stool pigeons who appear before these committees," and believes them to be pathological liars. In speaking of the dictatorship exercised in Russia by Stalin, she stated that "there is a distinction between good dictatorship and bad dictatorship." She told the committee that she thought the committee desired her to "red-bait" but that she would protect the others in the Communist Party with her. She did so meticulously.

In October of 1938 Miss Ray was sent to Bakersfield by the International of UCAPAWA to handle the cotton strike in progress there at that time. She spoke in Arvin, Palmo, Shafter, Button Willow and other places. She was county organizer of *Labors' Non-Partisan League* in Los Angeles County in 1939, though, paradoxically, she stated that she was never a member of the league. As a further paradox, she testified, that she attended the Third Annual Convention of *Labors' Non-Partisan League* held June 22, 1940, as an executive board member. She spoke to the membership of Local 78, of the Orange Pickers Local, in Orange County in July of 1940. She was in Orange County on the vegetable strike in 1938 for UCAPAWA. She admitted having participated in citrus strikes in Orange County in August, 1938, for UCAPAWA.

Miss Ray is a Deputy Labor Commissioner in San Francisco under H. C. Carrasco. The head of this department is George C. Kidwell, an Olson appointee. The committee learned that Miss Ray had secured this position through a civil service examination. A quotation of hers from the oral examination held for the position of Deputy Labor Commissioner, February 10, 1940, by the State Personnel Board was read to Miss Ray, as follows: "Particularly in those years, 1934, Imperial Valley was well known

for lawlessness. I'm not ashamed of having served a jail sentence. I didn't violate any law that I would recognize as a law." Miss Ray examined this statement and said that she did not recall testifying before the Personnel Board in such a manner. She concluded her testimony by stating that her husband, Don Healy, was now "organizing for a union."

It is quite evident, even from the foregoing brief outline of typical examples, that the *Congress of Industrial Organization* is much more susceptible to Communist Party penetration and control than is the *American Federation of Labor*. Several reasons may be advanced to account for this fact. First, the *American Federation of Labor*, led for many years by loyal American working-men fully convinced of the greatness of American Democracy and its institutions, successfully withstood the early shocks of the Communist assault. Experienced in labor matters, the *American Federation of Labor's* leadership has gone forward steadily along legal and Democratic lines. Its broad objectives are in accord with Constitutional Government and the traditions of the United States. While it seeks better working conditions and a higher standard of living it is vitally concerned with the preservation of the Government and the American system which has, in fact, established the best working conditions and the highest standard of living in the history of the world. The *Congress for Industrial Organization*, on the other hand, created by John L. Lewis in the midst of the Nation's greatest economic depression, is young and inexperienced. Lewis, while lambasting Communism and its attempts to capture labor prior to 1935, did not hesitate to use Communist agitators and the Communist Party in organizing his rival organization after his split with the *American Federation of Labor*. The growth of the C. I. O. was an unhealthy one in its first few years of existence and largely was a paper organization. Few of its recruits actually paid dues or assessments. Being loosely-knit in the beginning, it was an easy matter for the Communists to control many of its locals and councils.

The committee would not want anyone to believe that the rank-and-file members of the *Congress for Industrial Organization* are Communists or sympathetic to Communism. It is well known that the great majority of the members of the C. I. O. in California deeply resent the Communist domination of the organization and that they would like to correct the situation. This is a much more difficult task than would be imagined at first glance. The C. I. O. has many bargaining contracts and the members are, in many cases, economically silenced. Many illustrations might be given here of attempted "house cleanings" in which the daring leaders of such a movement were rewarded by expulsion from the union and their jobs. The cases of Hugh Ben Inzer and A. H. Webber are set forth in detail in the committee's transcripts of testimony and touched upon in this report.

In spite of the firm stand taken by *American Federation of Labor* leaders in the past, the committee believes that the Com-

munist Party is making considerable progress in its penetration of certain A. F. of L. federations, its labor councils and its local unions. Certain staunch old-time leaders still block the battered drawbridges of their trade union citadels but the Trojan Horse is awaiting the moment when the heavy guns of disguised Communist batteries blast them aside.

COMMUNIST PENETRATION OF LABOR UNIONS

THE SPECIAL CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE, in its 1939 report to Congress, pages 46 to 65, sets forth its findings on Communist penetration of labor unions. The following is from the Committee's 1939 Report:

In 1924 a statement of the United Mine Workers of America was printed as Senate Document No. 14 of the Sixty-eighth Congress. Because the predictions set forth in this historic document have come true in so many instances, as revealed by the evidence received by our committee, we desire to set forth excerpts from that document. Among other things, the United Mine Workers in their statement said:

The United Mine Workers of America with this article begins an "expose" of the Communist revolutionary movement in America, as promoted and fostered by the Communist International at Moscow, and dealing with it as it involves the welfare of the miners' union, and other similar labor organizations, and the interests of the American people as a whole.

The purpose and object of the United Mine Workers of America in bringing to the attention of the American people the far-reaching and intensive activities of the Communist organization in this country is two-fold. The United Mine Workers of America wants the public to know what this thing is. It wants the public to know something about the fight which the miners' union is waging to stamp it out. First, it desires to reveal and make known the sinister and destructive groups and elements attempting to "bore from within" its own ranks and membership and to seize possession of the organization, and through such seizure to later gain possession of all legitimate trade unions; second, to inform the American people of the scope and purport of the hostile and inimical movement being carried on within their midst. * * *

The major points in this revolutionary program of the Communists as aimed against the United Mine Workers of America and other legitimate trade unions and the people of the United States and Canada are:

1. Overthrow and destruction of the Federal, State, and Provincial governments, with the elimination of existing constitutional forms and foundations.
2. Establishment of a Soviet dictatorship, absolute in its exercise of power, owing allegiance to and conceding the authority only of the Communist or Third International at Moscow as a "governmental" substitute.
3. Destruction of all social, economic, and political institutions as they exist at this time.
4. Seizure of all labor unions through a process of boring from within them, and utilizing them as a strategic instrument in fulfillment of their revolutionary designs upon organized and constitutional government.
5. Invasion of the United Mine Workers of America, with the ouster

of its present officials and leaders and the substitution of a leadership of Communists, that it may be used as an instrumentality for seizing the other labor unions of America, and for eventually taking possession of the country.

6. A well-organized movement is being promoted within the 4 railroad brotherhoods and 16 railroad trade unions to amalgamate all railroad workers into one departmentalized industrial union controlled by a single leader of Communist principles and affiliation and owing allegiance to the Communist organization.

7. Seizure of the American Federation of Labor, with the ouster of its officials, and through such seizure gaining control of all its affiliated units and trade-unions.

8. Conversion of all craft trade-unions into single units of workers within an industry known as "industrial unions," with coordination under a super-Soviet union owing allegiance to, and accepting the mandates of, the Communist International and its subsidiary, the Red Trade Union International, at Moscow.

Now quoting further from the report:

Immediately before the start of the miner's strike on April 1, 1922, the sum of \$1,110,000 was sent into the United States, by way of Canada, from Moscow for the purpose of enabling the Communist agents to participate in the strike. Behind this move was the scheme to overthrow the leadership of the union and then convert the strike into an "armed insurrection" against the Government of the United States. * * * Three times in three years the Bolshevik leaders at Moscow have attempted armed insurrection and revolution in the United States. * * * In each of these strikes the Communist agents, working under instruction which originated at Moscow, have sought to turn them into revolutionary uprisings that would accomplish the overthrow of government in America and establish in its place a proletarian dictatorship that recognized and accepted only the mandates of the Communist International. * * * They have been particularly active in trying to "bore from within" the United Mine Workers of America for the reasons that it is the largest single labor organization in the country, includes a larger number of races and nationalities among its members, and is the nearest approach, in their opinion, to one big union, which is their ideal conception of a labor union, and their objective for all labor unions. * * * In this attempt these Communists have met with the determined opposition of President Lewis and other strong leaders of the miners' union, who are determined that the union shall not be converted into a Bolshevik institution. * * * In these unions they have recognized an opportunity to get in close contact with the labor masses, establish relations and connections with them, and imbue them with hatred and hostility toward the existing order of things. * * * Officials of the miners' union had known for a long while that the time was approaching when the strength and cohesion of their organization would be solely tried. * * * Late in 1920 the Communist coterie at Moscow decided to launch a new movement in America to capture the trade-unions. Their effort through their political branches to bring about an uprising in conjunction with the steel strike in 1919 and the "outlaw" switchmen's strike in 1920 had resulted in failure. Samuel Gompers, with stinging denunciation, had driven back the wave of Communism in the unions. In only one industry, the so-called needle trades, had the Communist movement met with any degree of success, but these organizations were isolated from the rest of the labor movement. It was therefore manifest that victory in America could not be achieved solely through the mediumship of the existing Communist political units. A readjustment was necessary and it was made. A separate organization, fashioned as a national labor movement, intended to work within the unions as a part of them—employing the process of "boring from within"—was put into the field. Samuel Gompers, they hoped, would be overwhelmed by it, for it was apparent that with his unyielding opposition the American Federation of Labor could never be seized or controlled by them as long as he remained in it.

With these objects in view, Zinoviev, Lozovsky, and Lenin proceeded during the next 12 months to organize the Trade Union Educational League. This project was put under the control of and made amenable, as far as its work was concerned, to the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America, and it remains so today. William Z. Foster was selected to lead this movement. In the spring of 1921 he went to Russia, and the understanding was that he went there to get his instructions for the organization of the Trade Union Educational League, gather facts about the Communist work in Soviet Russia, the functioning of Communist ideas and theories, and learn how the officials of the Communist International wanted these ideas and theories applied in America through the Trade Union Educational League.

On pages 156 and 157 of the record of the hearings of our committee will be found the Communist instructions as set forth in Senate Document No. 14. We suggest that the entire Senate Document No. 14 be read because it reveals the definite beginning of the Communist policy of "boring from within" the labor unions. It describes the plan of the Communists and their activities at that time to seize control of strategic positions within labor unions in mass-production industries.

In the 1926 convention of the American Federation of Labor, Delegate John L. Lewis made a very strong statement, which is taken from the minutes of the convention verbatim. It reads:

I question and seriously doubt that the average trade-unionist is particularly concerned with the manner in which the people of Russia govern themselves and direct their own destiny. We are fundamentally concerned, however, when that interest which now exerts a dictatorship over 130,000,000 people in Russia systematically and persistently attempts to impose their philosophy and impose their theories of government and impose their own particular machinery and their own specific ideas upon the workers of all the other countries of the civilized world. And there is the precise hub of this entire situation. When it comes to pass, as it has come to pass and as it now exists, that the people of Russia are being taxed and their moneys are taken from them to finance and pay for expensive propaganda in America for the precise purpose of controlling the basic trade-union movement, then it is indeed time for the trade-unionists of this country to awaken to the necessity of the protection of their own affairs and the maintenance of the institutions which they erected throughout the land. This is not the first experience of the United Mine Workers with Communist activity. For years past our union has been subject to their deceitful attacks, to the intrigues and to their conspiracy. Many of you will remember that 3 or 4 years ago the United Mine Workers of America published a résumé of Communist activities in America.

Thus we have seen what the United Mine Workers and John L. Lewis had to say with reference to the policy and practice of the Communist in "boring from within" the trade-union movement. Let us now see what the Communists had to say.

On November 16, 1935, Jack Stachel sent the following directions or instructions to the districts—not to the members but to the district organizers of the Communist Party:

1. The fifty-fifth convention marked the beginning of the decline of the extreme right wing of the executive council of the A. F. of L. The

forced resignation of Woll from the Civic Federation, to the 11,000 votes cast for the industrial form of organization, and the final vote for a labor party showed that the militancy of the rank and file is cracking through the hard crust of upper officialdom precisely in the decisive sections of organized labor, and is aggravating the contradiction in which the top bureaucrats are involved. Although the bureaucrats are fighting among themselves for power upon the control of the executive council, their struggles, at times verging on savagery, are in response to the tremendous pressure being brought to bear upon them by the rank and file, led by an increasingly more conscious and more efficient rank-and-file leadership which in turn is forcing to the fore the most advanced progressive forces (local officials).

This condition alone is responsible for the militant character and progressive moods of the convention. The fifty-fifth convention was different from any other convention of the A. F. of L. since 1917, in that its struggles were based on principles—supplied by the rank and file—and that for the first time in the history of the A. F. of L. its delegates assembled in convention got down to bedrock issues—the organization of the unorganized.

Although Green succeeded in having an amendment voted to the constitution—an amendment so weakened that it cannot have any effect on any Communist or militant not devoid of a modicum of common sense—even this amendment—entirely for face-saving purposes—must be acted upon by the local and State councils, a majority of whom in the basic industries have gone on record against any such amendment.

The amendment adopted by the convention made it impossible for any member of the Communist Party to be a delegate to a convention of the American Federation of Labor representing a Federal labor union, a central labor union, or a State federation of labor.

The old, conservative leadership of the A. F. of L. is tottering. Although re-elected for another year, its power to sabotage the leftward swing of organized labor has been paralyzed. Henceforth organized labor is definitely on the road toward bitter and gigantic class battles—becoming consciously aware of its increasing revolutionary role.

This set of circumstances opens new, far-reaching perspectives for the party, particularly on the question of united front. The party and the districts must immediately set about to exploit this unprecedented favorable situation (opportunity) by winning over to the party program and tactics (trade-union field) all of the best elements in the A. F. of L., including State officials.

The districts must set themselves the task of forging working united fronts with all progressive officials—and those officials who for whatever reason show leftward and (or) progressive tendencies—regardless of their past record—on the following main issues:

1. Labor Party.
2. Industrial form of organization.

At the same time, the struggle to win over the rank and file—united front from below—must become the main task of the fractions.

The districts, sections, and units must take special care to integrate all their campaigns for united fronts from below and above into their present local and national control tasks: The struggle against fascism and war; hands off Ethiopia; defend the Soviet Union; the fight for a labor party; united labor tickets; the struggle to organize the unorganized; 100 percent union towns; and the organization of the relief workers—"a local for every Works Progress Administration project."

The ORG-DEPT deems it imperative that detailed reports on the manner in which the above directives are being carried out should be sent in weekly to the center.

The resolution adopted at the central committee of the Communist Party meeting, January 15 to 18, 1935, in New York City, and which will be found on pages 180 to 186 of the record of our hearings, will corroborate the instructions issued by Jack Stachel as to the manner in which Communists should infiltrate trade-unions and seize control of strategic positions.

In the Daily Worker, January 13, 1937, will be found an article written by William Z. Foster, which is as follows:

ROLE OF THE C. I. O.

The C. I. O. led so progressively by John L. Lewis, is doing a historically important thing in carrying on its vigorous campaign to organize the armies of exploited workers in the mass-production industries. As we have seen, this campaign has within it possibilities for a fundamental strengthening and reorganization of the whole American labor movement.

The C. I. O. has become the actual leader of the trade-union movement. The executive council of the A. F. of L. has shown itself opposed to this vital organization work and, because of its narrow craft union and personal interests, has refused for many years past to do the organizing that the C. I. O. is now undertaking. Had it so desired, the A. F. of L. could have easily organized the steel workers during the war, or during the Coolidge period of prosperity, or during the strike upheavals under the N. R. A. in 1933-34. But the A. F. of L. wanted nothing to do with the organization of the steel workers. And worse yet, now that the C. I. O. unions which are awake to the basic importance of this task to themselves, and all other workers, are proceeding to accomplish the organizing work that the executive council has so long neglected or prevented, the executive council actually suspends them, one-third of the whole labor movement, from the A. F. of L., and thus traitorously splits labor's forces in the face of the enemy. Never, even in the shady history of the A. F. of L., has misleadership sunk to lower levels. The A. F. of L. executive council has surrendered the actual leadership of the trade-unions into the hands of the C. I. O.

The Communist Party heartily supports the C. I. O. organizing campaigns in steel, automobile, rubber, glass, textile, etc., and it mobilizes all its forces to assist in this work. It extends this aid for the same reason that it supports every forward movement of the workers wherever it may originate or what form it may take, whether it be a strike, an organization campaign, the carrying on of independent working class political activity, or whatnot. The Communist Party has no interests apart from those of the working class, and every victory of the workers is a victory for the Communist Party.

William Weinstone, who is a member of the central committee of the Communist Party, wrote a book known as *The Great Sit-Down Strike*. Mr. Weinstone was the district organizer of district No. 7, Communist Party headquarters, Detroit. He was born in Russia; joined the Socialist Party in this country in 1915; one of the first members of the executive committee of the Communist Party. When the central committee was created he became one of the leaders.

In connection with his report on the automobile organizing campaign and the automobile strike, we quote from pages 36, 38, and 45:

In the first place must be mentioned the work of the Communist members of the union as well as the work of the Communist Party itself.

What were the activities of the Communists? The Communists and the Communist Party gave the most loyal backing and support to the

strike, to the aims, policies, and activities of the union and the C. I. O. The Communists worked ardently and earnestly in helping to build up the union and tried in every way possible to properly prepare the strike so that it would rest upon a strong foundation. In the strike itself the Communists sought to imbue the strikers and the workers generally with the greatest discipline, organization, and perseverance. There is no doubt that where the Communists were active and took an outstanding part, particularly at the most decisive points of the struggle, there the strike was strongest, and this made for the success of the whole battle.

The existence of groups of Communists within the shops was undoubtedly of great help because thereby a corps of experienced people were in the shops to help in the solution of the new problems connected with the sit-down. The shop form of organization, the shop groups (units), has more than justified itself. Where the party organization paid attention to these units, there the efforts of many years of work were fully rewarded.

In conclusion, the strike of the automobile workers reveals the new forces that are at work within the country, forces which are driving toward an extension and strengthening of the labor movement and which are welding also the unity of the working class and of all progressive-minded people, a process which is giving rise to the growth of a real people's movement—a real people's united front—a movement which will embrace also the most aggressive revolutionary-minded section of the working class—the Communists and the Communist Party.

To illustrate how the Communists seize strategic positions in certain unions affiliated with the C. I. O., and what part the Communists played in the activities and policies of these unions, we will quote from the testimony of Zygmund Dobrzynski.

Mr. Dobrzynski has lived in Detroit all of his life. He is 26 years of age and a graduate of Eastern High School of Detroit. He is a member of Local Union 205, which is the fiber local in the United Automobile Workers of America. His official capacity is national director of the organizing committee of the United Automobile Workers of America Ford drive. It is his function to supervise the organization of the workers in the Ford plant. There are approximately 4,000 members in his local. It is a key local insofar as it manufactures the interior body trimmings for all the automobiles of all the major companies: Chrysler, General Motors, and Ford. To show from the testimony of Mr. Dobrzynski how important his local is we quote the following questions and answers:

The Chairman. In other words, what would happen to the industry if this local went on a strike, let us say?

Mr. Dobrzynski. Well, the industry would be eventually forced to shut down. * * *

The Chairman. Would that be confined to the Detroit area?

Mr. Dobrzynski. No; it would paralyze practically the national organization of the three major independent companies I mentioned. * * *

The Chairman. In other words, in order to understand you correctly, your local 205 is so constituted that it is in a position to paralyze the whole industry?

Mr. Dobrzynski. That is right.

To show that Mr. Dobrzynski is well qualified to testify, I quote from his testimony as follows:

The Chairman. Do you work inside the plant now?

Mr. Dobrzynski. I do not work inside the plant now. I am a full-time organizer of the U. A. W. at the present time.

The Chairman. Has your work brought you in contact with the entire labor movement insofar as the U. A. W. is concerned?

Mr. Dobrzynski. Yes; pretty much so.

The Chairman. You have had occasion to contact the various officers and directors and organizers throughout that entire area; is that true?

Mr. Dobrzynski. That is correct.

The Chairman. In the course of your activities as organizer and even before then, from the very beginning, we will say 1936, have you had occasion to observe the activities of Communists within the labor unions?

Mr. Dobrzynski. Yes; very much so.

The Chairman. Would you say it has been considerable experience that you have had?

Mr. Dobrzynski. Yes; it has been a considerable experience; considerable trouble.

Mr. Dobrzynski testified as follows:

Mr. Dobrzynski. Well I met Weinstone (William Weinstone) in the spring of 1937; May 1937. He was the State secretary of the Communist Party. Since then he has been transferred, I understand, to New York City. He sent an emissary around, a man by the name of Miller, I could not tell you his full name, who represented himself as the sectional organizer of that particular section, the north Detroit section of the Communist Party. This individual, of course, hung around the headquarters of the local union and often offered his assistance in turning out literature and peddling literature, and so forth. We used him to peddle literature. We never knew who he was at that time. The organization was growing so fast, we took anybody's assistance. We never knew who he was. But later he identified himself to me as a sectional organizer of the north Detroit section of the Communist Party and said—I was president of the local at that particular time—and said that William Weinstone wanted to speak to me.

The Chairman. You first consulted the leadership of your union?

Mr. Dobrzynski. Yes.

The Chairman. What did you decide on—what did you and they decide on?

Mr. Dobrzynski. They suggested that I go and talk to him, find out what he had to say; because at that time the leadership was inexperienced in methods of counteracting the activities of the Communist Party in the union and they thought it would be wise if I talked to Weinstone for my own benefit and for my own local union, insofar as information was concerned, and for the benefit of the union as a whole. * * * I really had two conferences with him, one following the other, 2 days in a row. One was about 2 hours in duration. * * * Well, he mentioned the fact that it was a key local in the automotive industry, and it was a very strategic one for any organization to control. * * * He said they could use it as a sort of reserve to paralyze or shut down the automotive industries if the other defenses they would build up would fail. He was speaking of his organization controlling it, naturally—the Communist Party. * * * The local union elections were coming up and he was interested in getting certain of his people as members of the Communist Party or sympathizers—I would not swear they are members; some are sympathizers and some merely work with the Communist Party in the union movement, for personal gain. But he wanted me to place certain people on the local executive board, one as a vice president and two—that is, one as a treasurer and one as a financial secretary. The funds seemed to be of interest to him. * * * He also mentioned the fact that the steward, the position of steward in the

shop—the steward is the man who takes care of grievances, negotiates the grievances with the head of the department, from the side of the management, rather—and he was interested in getting a number of men placed as stewards in these departments. At that time I, due to the rapid growth of the organization—I appointed stewards until the time came when the organization became consolidated sufficiently where the membership itself could elect them. That is the reason he was interested in influencing me to place certain men as stewards, “men who were close to the Communist Party.”

The Chairman. Now if they had succeeded in placing Communists or Communist sympathizers in the positions of treasurer, secretary, and stewards, what would those positions have meant from the standpoint of the control of the union?

Mr. Dobrzynski. Well, they would have had control over the address and every name of the membership, or the entire membership of the local union. That is one thing. Secondly, they would have control of the finances and would naturally be able to influence the spending of the funds. Thirdly, the vice president could be used to counteract me if I ever became antagonistic to their methods in the union. * * * Well, having that number of men on the executive board, they would probably have been in a position to direct the policy of the union. * * * He (William Weinstone) told me I was a smart young fellow, and would go a long ways in this thing if I would follow the proper line.

The Chairman. Did he tell you about their success in other unions?

Mr. Dobrzynski. Oh, yes; he enumerated quite a number of their own members—he was trying to impress me with the strength of this organization—he enumerated quite a number of people who were working closely with the Communist Party at that time. * * * According to his statement, which I think was exaggerated, they (Communists) practically controlled the union, but I think that they do not. He was trying to give that impression. He mentioned so many on the board or among the leading officers of the international union who were working with them at that particular time.

The Chairman. Did he say anything with reference to their ability to tie up the automobile industry, the glass industry, the rubber industry, or any other industries?

Mr. Dobrzynski. He did state that they carried on quite a bit of organizational work in the rubber and glass unions, and he did emphasize the fact that the automotive industry was the center where the Communist Party had concentrated most of its forces, its most capable people, and a large amount of its funds. He pointed out the political significance which the automobile industry has to the Soviet Union, so far as pressure against the Government is concerned. He (Weinstone) stated the fact that the automobile industry has a tremendous influence on the glass, rubber, steel, and many other industries, but primarily the glass, rubber, and steel, which are heavy industries, and that the Communist Party by controlling the unions, by having people such as me * * * working throughout the trades, they knew they could wield tremendous pressure against the Government insofar as securing concessions for the Soviet Union was concerned.

The Chairman. You say he told you about the tactics and strategy they used: will you tell us something about that?

Mr. Dobrzynski. He outlined to me, first, that they had meetings of people in the unions who were their members, and they would have meetings outside of the union of the Communist Party Trade Union Unit. At that time they called them fractions. I do not know what they call them today. They will discuss among themselves the methods to be used in gaining control and advocating whatever the leadership opposed them with, and then by cooperating with a small group, by preparing motions ahead of time, having discussions ahead of time, and then by dividing up in various sections of the hall, they would give the impression that the particular policy which they were trying to have the meeting adopt was generally supported throughout the membership. Since most of them are

fairly capable speakers, due to experience, they were able to make the local unions put across motions that the membership did not agree to but did not know how to combat.

The Chairman. Do you know of your own knowledge that that method was carried out?

Mr. Dobrzynski. In my local union?

The Chairman. Yes.

Mr. Dobrzynski. Yes, sir. Some members are identified as carrying out Communist Party plans, or people from those organizations would come to us. We were a very Democratic organization, and would let almost any organization speak to us. They would make their appeals, and it was very apparent that they were prearranged. I mean that by offering motions after the speech would denote that it was all prearranged ahead of time, and that it worked with machine-like precision.

Speaking of contributions made by unions to Communist organization, Mr. Dobrzynski had the following to say:

Mr. Dobrzynski. They (Communists) have a number of dummy organizations where they do draw a lot of innocents on some popular question. It might be against war; it might be against starving children in Spain, or some other cause which appears worthy, and would be worthy if it was carried out to that particular end. Nevertheless, they do draw in a lot of people: and by their superior knowledge of the organizational structure and maneuvers, parliamentary procedure, and all those things, they are able to control the national offices of those particular organizations. * * * And in these organizations, in speaking to Weinstone and the sectional organizer of the Communist Party, Miller, that I mentioned before, they brought out the information that these organizations contributed to the Communist Party in the following manner: One would donate to the Daily Worker fund—they have funds once in a while for the Daily Worker—or some other particular party fund, and in this way the treasury of the Communist Party would be enriched. Also on the staff of these various organizations, on the pay roll of these organizations, they place their people, and their people draw the wages, and naturally contribute a certain portion of those wages to the Communist Party. * * * The usual procedure is—of course now the locals are tightening up a little on it—but the usual procedure would be that anybody from an outside organization who wants to take the floor, they give him the opportunity, and as soon as he makes an appeal for Spanish children, and what not, then some fellow who has been associated with the Communist Party, or has been falling into line, bobs up on the floor and immediately makes a motion to accept—to make a contribution of so many dollars—and somebody else seconds it immediately. Then that is usually followed by a very emotional speech by somebody else who is affiliated with the group, and the thing is usually carried.

Mr. Mosier. In other words, your local union, when it contributed its money, was really contributing money to aid and further the cause of the Communist Party in America?

Mr. Dobrzynski. That is the way it would be.

The Chairman. You say that in these organizations that they set up or control, most of the people in the organizations are innocent?

Mr. Dobrzynski. That is my opinion, because I do happen to know many people who belong to these organizations, the women especially.

The Chairman. What part have the Communists played in those unauthorized strikes? Have they played a prominent part?

Mr. Dobrzynski. Well, no doubt; and I know this: In fact, I was threatened with an unauthorized strike in my plant; because of the fact that I attacked the Communist Party. I do know that the Communist Party elements have deliberately gone out in many instances. * * *

The Chairman. Well, if the Communists have control of some departments, can they bring on a general strike by their actions?

Mr. Dobrzynski. It is possible, and I believe it has been done in some cases. * * *

The Chairman. Now, what is the difference between the objectives of legitimate trade unionists * * * what you are trying to do and what the Communists are seeking to do by their labor activities?

Mr. Dobrzynski. Generally speaking, the objective of legitimate trade unionists in a legitimate trade union is to better the condition of the working men and women in the plant by means of an understanding with the employer, if at all possible. * * * On the other hand, the aims of the Communist Party toward the union are not so much to gain economic benefits for the employees as to use it as a political weapon. * * *

Mr. Mosier. Most of the members of the United Automobile Workers are in Michigan, are they not?

Mr. Dobrzynski. Yes, sir; about 70 percent of them.

Mr. Mosier. And approximately how large a membership is there in the United Automobile Workers?

Mr. Dobrzynski. Well it is difficult to tell. It runs somewhere between 300,000 and 400,000.

Mr. Mosier. And you have been closely associated in that work, and not only you, but others in the work have had a great deal of trouble with the Communists?

Mr. Dobrzynski. That is true. I would like to state this: That in the beginning of our organization many people who are not Communists fell into the mistake of giving the Communist Party elements full leeway. That is, they welcomed any cooperation. * * * Therefore, the Communist Party, which had only a small number of people comparatively, worked together in unison, and they did manage to secure control of certain sections of the organization. * * *

Mr. Dobrzynski further testified as follows:

Mr. Dobrzynski. I would like to state, in order to avoid confusion as to the intention of my testimony, that I was subpoenaed and asked to testify and answer whatever questions were asked me and give whatever information I had to dispose of; and I would also like to state that my intentions are not to harm the unions. In other words, by the essence or the weight of my own testimony, I do not intend it as antiunion propaganda, but as a means of benefiting the union, of clarifying and assisting to eliminate the forces which threaten to destroy it.

The Chairman. Would you say, from your own knowledge and experience, that the Communists in the United States are under the control of the Third International?

Mr. Dobrzynski. That is true.

Mr. Dobrzynski further testified as follows:

During the first organizational days, when the U. A. W. was first formed, and the men were beginning to recognize that unionism was the thing they needed, they came in by the hundreds; the automobile industry was made up of men, primarily, who had never been in any union before, and who were completely inexperienced, not knowing even how to make a motion on the floor. Now they are much more experienced than they were before. They are learning. These members of the Communist Party knew how to speak; some of them had extensive soap-box experience, and experience in other organizations, and they took advantage of this fact. It is very simple for a man who understands public speaking and the parliamentary rules to control a meeting of uninitiated people. It is very simple. I have found that out myself, that it is very simple.

The Chairman. Did not the Communist Party have a workers' school in Detroit, where they trained people?

Mr. Dobrzynski. I know they did, because some of these Communists have been going around, boasting of the fact, that they were trained. Although I do not know how much of a school they had in Detroit, I do know many of them have been sent to New York City to study.

We have quoted at length from the testimony of Mr. Dobrzynski because of the important position he holds in the U. A. W. A. as an outstanding labor leader. His testimony merely corroborates the testimony of numerous other witnesses both in and out of the unions.

We also desire to quote from the testimony of Felix J. McCartney. Mr. McCartney works in the Plymouth plant and testified that there were approximately 12,000 people employed in this plant. He testified that he was a member of the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, and that his local is Plymouth Local 51.

The Chairman. How long have you been a member of that union?

Mr. McCartney. I first joined that union in December 1935, and I paid one of its dues. Then I did not pay any dues again until January 1937. I was reinstated in the union in January 1937.

The Chairman. Are you now a member in good standing?

Mr. McCartney. Yes, sir; I am a member in good standing.

The Chairman. Did you ever hold any office in the union?

Mr. McCartney. I was chairman of the negotiating committee, commonly known as the shop committee of the plant, in the Plymouth local union.

The Chairman. Were you acquainted with large numbers of the laboring people in the Plymouth factory?

Mr. McCartney. As a matter of fact, I am just about as well acquainted with the laboring class of people in the plant as anybody who works in there.

The Chairman. Why is that?

Mr. McCartney. Simply because as chairman of the negotiating committee, I go around to all the departments, and all the people who had grievances would bring them to the chairman of the negotiating committee.

The Chairman. You stated a few moments ago that the Plymouth unit or the Plymouth factory was a hotbed of Communism. What did you mean by that?

Mr. McCartney. By that I mean that the strategic positions in the local union are held by members of the Communist Party.

The Chairman. About how many locals are operating in the Plymouth factory?

Mr. McCartney. There is only one local. That local is No. 51, and it is cut up into districts, of which there are 24 districts in the local union. Over those districts are people known as district chief committeemen, and under them, of course, are the stewards.

The Chairman. Approximately, how many members are there in that local? Can you give some rough estimate of the number?

Mr. McCartney. I would judge that there are between three and four hundred people now Communists in this local union, but only about 100 really take an active part.

The Chairman. You are referring to the Communists. How many members does the union have altogether?

Mr. McCartney. Out of the 12,000 people?

The Chairman. Yes.

Mr. McCartney. I would say there are close to 10,000 people who are paid up in dues and are in good standing in the local union.

The Chairman. And you say that of the 300 Communist members, about 100 are active. Is that right?

Mr. McCartney. About 100 are active as out and aboveboard in everything. They are leaders and work for the movement at all times.

The Chairman. Do the other 200 Communists cooperate with them in the movement?

Mr. McCartney. Only in respect of attending meetings of the most important kind, or to vote on vital questions.

The Chairman. What strategic positions do the Communists hold within the union?

Mr. McCartney. At the present time, in my estimation, the highest position in the local union is held by a man by the name of Mike Duletsky. He is financial secretary of the Plymouth Local Union, and he has access to the records. As a matter of fact, he looks after the funds and finances, looks after all the records, and gives the members the literature that comes in and goes out of that office.

The Chairman. It is a strategic position from the standpoint of his ability to propagandize and influence the membership.

Mr. McCartney. That is right. It is one of the reasons I had in mind, that the files and the records of the local union office, have been used for that purpose. They have picked out the most militant people in the plant to whom to send the Communist literature. As a matter of fact, I have received Communist literature through the mail.

The Chairman. Is Mike Duletsky a Communist?

Mr. McCartney. He certainly is.

The Chairman. How do you know that?

Mr. McCartney. He admits it. As a matter of fact, he not only admits it, but I know as a fact that he attends the Communist Party meetings and takes a most prominent part in them, I cannot find out what position he holds in the Plymouth unit of the Communist Party.

Mr. McCartney. Walter Christie at that time was a guide officer of the local union, and a member of the executive board.

The Chairman. Of what union?

Mr. McCartney. Of the executive board of this local union.

The Chairman. Is he a Communist?

Mr. McCartney. Yes, sir; he is a Communist. It so happened that just prior to this meeting it is a fact that Paul Benyo, through Walter Christie, and the president of the local at that time, who was William Frankowski, had joined the Communist Party. That is how Paul Benyo joined the Communist Party. As a matter of fact, I have this evidence of his Communist Party due-book, and the information relative to his joining.

The Chairman. I was asking you about Mr. Raymond Bascom, as to who he is.

Mr. McCartney. Raymond Bascom: The first time I saw this Raymond Bascom, he was introduced to the executive board by Mike Duletsky as a very intelligent man and as an educator of several of the local unions, and he made the suggestion to the executive board very strongly—in which he held quite a bit of weight—that we secure the services of this Mr. Bascom as educational director of the local union. This was accepted by the local executive board, and he voted \$20 a week as salary. Mr. Bascom did not work in the Plymouth plant, and he stated to me later that he had never worked in an automobile factory. In the course of some of the educational classes that he conducted in the union hall he had charts on the wall where he pointed out how superior the form of government was over in Russia over the capitalistic form of government.

The Chairman. Now, passing from Mr. Bascom to Mr. Crump, did you know Mr. Crump?

Mr. McCartney. Yes; I do.

The Chairman. Can you tell us something about Mr. Crump?

Mr. McCartney. I would just like to say this much further on this Ray Bascom, relative to his membership in the Communist Party. He was, when this information came to me—that has just been of late—chairman of the Plymouth unit of the Communist Party.

The Chairman. Now let us pass from Mr. Bascom to this Mr. Crump.

Mr. McCartney. Barney Crump. * * * Barney is his first name. * * * He is known as the unit organizer for the Communist Party. The position he holds in the union is an executive board member of the Plymouth local, and he is also a member of the negotiating committee and a district committeeman on the second shift. * * * He carries quite a bit of weight with the workers.

This witness testified with reference to other Communists who held key positions in his local. He gave their names and positions in the local. We do not have time to quote his testimony with respect to these various Communists who occupy strategic positions in this local. But to those who want specific facts as to the penetration of the labor movement by Communists we recommend the reading of this man's testimony. However, we do want to quote further from his testimony:

The Chairman. Do they (Communists) want to improve working conditions?

Mr. McCartney. That is not their aim, they do not want satisfaction; they want dissatisfaction, because if we were to improve their working conditions, they would be lost in the wind. * * *

The Chairman. What you are primarily interested in is an improvement in working conditions?

Mr. McCartney. Improved working conditions and a fair share of the profits which the people whom we work for make.

The Chairman. If you can accomplish that through peaceful means would you rather do that than through a strike?

Mr. McCartney. I would much rather do it through peaceful means.

The Chairman. Whereas the Communists' objective is to seize upon dissatisfaction and complaints as an excuse for promoting Communism and bring about revolution; is not that a fact?

Mr. McCartney. That is right; that is their objective.

The Chairman. Do you think they (Communists) are in control of that union?

Mr. McCartney. Oh, they are, without doubt. They could put a motion on the floor right now to vote the finances to bring Browder or Foster up to talk, and it would pass.

The Chairman. You mean that this local there with 10,000 members is under the control of those Communists.

Mr. Cartney. Yes, I do, Mr. Dies, for this reason. The good people that have attended these meetings have become so discouraged by the action of these Communists in prolonging any discussion about any action that would be of any benefit to the workers—that is, a motion or a resolution would be put on the floor looking to the benefit of the workers, and these people would get up and talk against it so long, and prolong the meeting, these people would get so discouraged, the good people, that they would leave the meeting. At one time we had three to four thousand people, when the union was first recognized by the corporation—we had

around three or four thousand people attending all our meetings. * * *

The Chairman. What is the average number now who attend the meetings?

Mr. McCartney. Right at present, I judge there are close to 250 to 300 people. It jumps anywhere from 100 to 300 people now.

The Chairman. Out of 10,000?

Mr. McCartney. Out of 10,000.

The Chairman. What is true with reference to the other locals, so far as Communist control is concerned?

Mr. McCartney. It works the same in the other locals as it has in ours. In other words, we take, for instance, the Murray Body local. I could not say positively, but this fellow will admit that he is a Communist, this fellow Lloyd Jones, who is the president of that local. Of course, on the other hand, we will take the Packard local, those fellows just went right to the front and beat the living hell out of these boys and they shoved them right out of these positions.

The Chairman. Of what local is Lloyd Jones president?

Mr. McCartney. Murray Body No. 2.

The Chairman. Have they a large membership?

Mr. McCartney. Yes; they have quite a large membership.

The Chairman. Would you say that that local is under the control of the Communists?

Mr. McCartney. Yes; positively. There was one meeting where the boys went to the meeting and were carrying clubs. They carried clubs about that long (illustrating).

As illustrative of the difficulty which the committee experienced in getting witnesses to testify with regard to the facts, we quote from Mr. McCartney's testimony, as follows:

The Chairman. The report that reached the Chair was that you did not want to appear.

Mr. McCartney. That is true.

The Chairman. Can you explain why you did not want to appear before the committee and testify?

Mr. McCartney. Yes, sir; I could.

The Chairman. Do you want to explain it?

Mr. McCartney. Yes, sir; there are several reasons why I did not wish to appear before the committee here. One reason is that certain pamphlets were passed out to the employees of the automobile plant at which I work. Those pamphlets inflamed the minds of the working people at the plant against this committee. There is one pamphlet I have here which I would like to produce at this time as evidence. The heading of the pamphlet was, "Who is the Dies Committee, and who are the people who testify before the Dies Committee." * * * I cannot state that all the pamphlets were distributed by Communist people, or people who belonged to the Communist Party but some of the people who distributed those pamphlets were Communists. * * * Personally, I am strong supporter of Gov. Frank Murphy, the present Governor, and it appeared to the working class of people in the plants that when the Dies Committee brought into light the aspect of the Detroit and Flint situation, it embarrassed politically the union's campaign for Governor Murphy's reelection.

Another witness who testified is Richard Eagar. He works for the Ternstedt manufacturing division of General Motors. This division manufactures automobile hardware and employs between 10,000 and 12,000 people. Mr. Eagar is a die-cast operator. He testified that he was a member of Local 174 of the United Auto-

mobile Workers, which is affiliated with the C. I. O.; that there are about 32,000 members of that local. He testified that he was plant chairman of the Ternstedt and chairman of the top or bargaining committee of Ternstedt; that the union collected as dues \$1 a month from each member and that 37½ cents of the dollar goes to the international union and the balance stays in the local treasury.

Mr. Mosier. As to all the other men in the plant, do they appreciate the fact that these Communists are trying to elect Communists?

Mr. Eagar. It is not generally known in the plant, because if any man from the plant tries to run for office, unless he has the support of the Communist Party, there is not much chance of his getting elected.

Mr. Mosier. There is not much chance?

Mr. Eagar. No.

Mr. Mosier. Are they so strong that they can block the election of a man in the plant?

Mr. Eagar. The average man working in the plant has not any organization at the back of him, and they (Communists) have got key men throughout the plant, and their men then campaign for a certain slate throughout the entire plant; therefore, a man who has not got any organization to back him up has not got much chance of getting elected.

Mr. Mosier. What influence do they exercise? I think you told the committee, or, at least, I gathered from what you said that they (Communists) have the dominating control of your plant.

Mr. Eagar. Yes, sir.

Mr. Mosier. They elect the officers.

Mr. Eagar. Yes, sir. Some of them are local officers.

Mr. Mosier. Do those men admit that they are members of the Communist Party, or do you just think they are? How do you really know they are?

Mr. Eagar. While I was plant chairman of Ternstedt, I was called into several Communist unit meetings on questions of policy that the Communist unit would like to see put through in Ternstedt.

Mr. Mosier. You were called into unit meetings?

Mr. Eagar. Yes, sir.

Mr. Mosier. On questions of policy that the Communist group wanted adopted?

Mr. Eagar. Yes, sir.

Mr. Mosier. And there you saw certain people present.

Mr. Eagar. Yes, sir.

Mr. Mosier. Purportedly representing the Communist Party

Mr. Eagar. Yes, sir.

Mr. Mosier. You say that your unit has 10,000 members.

Mr. Eagar. Yes, sir.

Mr. Mosier. When you have a meeting of your unit how many of those members will attend, as a general rule?

Mr. Eagar. When we first started the organization there would probably be 1,000 people attending the meetings, but after a while the plant meetings fell down until we have had at the last few plant meetings probably not more than 150 people.

Mr. Mosier. So that this small Communist group would come into a meeting of 150 members and accomplish some objectives that they could not accomplish if you had three or four thousand present. Is that true?

Mr. Eagar. That is correct.

Mr. Mosier. Will you tell the committee just for the purposes of the record what you do? Describe a meeting that you have had of your local where the Communists tried to have some kind of motion or resolution adopted. How do they do it?

Mr. Eagar. It is generally done in this manner: They first contact whoever is the plant chairman and, after they make the motion, he is supposed to recognize only those people who will speak in favor of the motion. Secondly, they will have one of their group to move the previous question. That shuts off debate. They will wrangle over the question before they call the previous question. They will talk a long time and the people will get tired of listening, so that when the previous question comes up they are anxious to get the question off the floor. They put it over in that way. They usually accomplish their purposes in the vote, while nobody in the opposition has an opportunity to speak.

Mr. Mosier. Do you know whether or not those tactics that are employed in passing resolutions are planned before hand, or before the meeting is held?

Mr. Eagar. Yes, sir; it is planned.

Mr. Mosier. Do you know why more of the men in this industrial plant do not attend any of these meetings? Are there any reasons you know for their staying away?

Mr. Eagar. Most of them that speak to me on that particular subject say this, that "When we go to a plant meeting, we want to discuss the affairs of our plant, and we are not interested in what is going on in Spain, China, Russia, Germany, or anywhere else." They say, "When we go to meetings, we always have suffered from a whole lot of talk on questions that we are not interested in." That is the reason they stay away.

Mr. Mosier. The discussion of those questions comes from this group of Communists within your unit.

Mr. Eagar. Yes, sir.

Mr. Mosier. You came before this committee in response to a subpoena issued by the committee, did you not?

Mr. Eagar. Yes, sir.

Mr. Mosier. You are not a so-called labor spy?

Mr. Eagar. No, sir.

Mr. Mosier. You are not appearing here for any capitalist or employer in any capacity, to say anything about these people to the committee.

Mr. Eagar. No, sir.

Mr. Mosier. You are still on the committee for your plant, and are a delegate to the joint council?

Mr. Eagar. Yes, sir.

Mr. Mosier. From your experience in this unit of your plant, and from your experience as an official of the unit, what would you say as to whether or not the policies of that unit in your plant are controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. Eagar. Well, the policies in our local and in our plants are controlled by the Communist Party.

Mr. Mosier. It is your observation is it not, that Communists do not care about numbers, or large numbers, but what they want are the strategic positions in the organizations?

Mr. Eagar. Yes, sir.

Mr. Mosier. Is that what they tried to do in your organization?

Mr. Eagar. That is what it seems to be.

Mr. Mosier. I think that, perhaps, you have mentioned the political affiliations of some of the officials of your local plant. Could you give that to us? Could you give us the political affiliations of the officers of your local union?

Mr. Eagar. I can give it for quite a few of them.

Mr. Mosier. For the purposes of the record, go right ahead and tell us. For instance, there is Reuther, the president.

Mr. Eagar. He is a Socialist or a radical Socialist or revolutionary Socialist.

Mr. Mosier. Which one of the Reuthers is president?

Mr. Eagar. Walter Reuther is president.

Mr. Mosier. And Victor Reuther?

Mr. Eagar. He is organizer of the local.

Mr. Mosier. With what party is he affiliated?

Mr. Eagar. He was also discharged from the international union, and rehired by our local.

Mr. Mosier. Does he belong to the Socialist Party or the Communist Party?

Mr. Eagar. To the Socialist Party.

Mr. Mosier. How about George Edwards?

Mr. Eagar. He belongs to the Socialist Party. He is organizer in our local.

Mr. Mosier. How about Chuck Walters?

Mr. Eagar. He is an organizer, and belongs to the Socialist Party.

Mr. Mosier. What is Bill McKie?

Mr. Eagar. He is an organizer, and a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. Mosier. What about Hartley?

Mr. Eagar. Hartley is a welfare director, and is a Communist Party member.

Mr. Mosier. What about Martha Strong?

Mr. Eagar. She is an executive-board member, and is in the Communist Party.

This witness named other officials in his local who were members of the Communist Party.

We have quoted from the testimony of these witnesses to illustrate how the Communists have permeated certain labor unions affiliated with the C. I. O. This testimony is typical of the testimony of numerous other witnesses to the same effect.

This committee heard testimony from Mr. Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers of America. Mr. Martin was caustic in his criticism of other witnesses who appeared before this committee, but it is important to observe that his own testimony, nevertheless, corroborated in every important detail the testimony of the other witnesses whom he criticized. The committee confronted Mr. Martin with the stenographic reports of two speeches he had recently made and asked him if certain statements contained in those speeches were correct.

Important excerpts from Mr. Homer Martin's testimony follow:

The Chairman. Would it be correct to say that (reading Martin's speeches): "There are those who have been in positions of leadership in our organization, first through the idea of personal gain or with other interests, who have sought to make that organization something else than that. And I am not trying to raise a 'red scare.' I am not 'red baiting' when I say that the Communist Party has put forth every possible effort,

that they could put forth, to capture the entire labor movement of this country.

Is that correct?

Mr. Martin. Yet, sir; that is correct.

The Chairman (reading). "I am not raising a 'red scare' about it. I am telling you what I know from experience to be the facts. I am not asking anybody to take the torch, so to speak, on just hearsay, I know whereof I speak.

"The United Automobile Workers of America is the strongest single new organization in the C. I. O. The other organizations are not so strong, although there are some of them that are fairly strong. The capture of the United Automobile Workers of America was the first goal, and the most important goal, of the Communist Party. I have letters in my office sent out by the Communist Party to our membership, the names and addresses of which they had gotten by manipulating themselves into office, telling them that very thing. The United Automobile Workers of America is one of the strongest and most important organizations of labor, and the first goal of the Communist Party, and of a good Communist, is to take control of the U. A. W. A."

Is that correct?

Mr. Martin. That is correct.

The Chairman. Would it be correct to say as follows (reading from reports of Martin's speech): "In order to further their plan and their hopes of gaining control, they have worked in various ways. One, or course, is to get the local Communist leaders elected to positions of influence—presidents of unions."

Is that correct?

Mr. Martin. That is correct.

The Chairman. Would this be correct (reading): "The other day at the demonstration, and if you had been down, if you just happened to stroll along the park outside of the Griswold Building, you would have seen what I saw, where more than half of the congregation out there were known Communist leaders. One Mr. Stone was out there, the president of one of our local unions, a known Communist Party leader, who made this assertion: 'I am in the U. A. W. A., but the Communist Party comes first.'"

Is that correct?

Mr. Martin. That is correct.

The Chairman. Would this be correct? (Reading from Martin's speeches): "They seek, of course, to get their people in positions of leadership. One of the principal offices they tried to get was the financial secretaryship; that seems to be the first goal, to get a hold of the financial secretaryship because he has something to do with the money."

Is that correct?

Mr. Martin. I think that is correct.

* * * * *

The Chairman. Would this statement be correct? (Reading): "Then, of course, they (the Communists) manipulate to get their people elected by several maneuvers. One thing, of course, is to misrepresent the facts. They are absolutely unscrupulous. They lie with all the facility in the world. They have no morals concerning their activities, when it comes to accomplishing their end, namely, to take over the local union or the international union."

Is that correct?

Mr. Martin. That is correct.

* * * * *

The Chairman. Would this be correct (reading from Martin's speeches)? "Every issue that the Communist Party has raised, with not one single exception, they have not been honest in it. They have raised false

issues; both into the local unions and in the International union, to bring discredit upon all those who refuse to bow to their dictating along with them."

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. Martin. That is correct.

* * * * *

The Chairman. Is this correct: (reading from speeches.) "Let me give you an illustration. Six months ago Richard T. Frankenstein was a hated red-baiter of the worst type, who was not to be gotten at any expense. Suddenly, over night, Mr. Frankenstein becomes a little more 'Kosher,' and we find the Daily Worker beginning to print his picture and beginning to write little articles, at first, about him, and beginning to talk about what a wonderful, and finally, what a really great labor leader he was.

"That change in attitude came immediately after a conference in Atlantic City at the C. I. O. convention, where for the first time I knew that Frankenstein had met Gebert and Hathaway of the Communist Party. For days he was with them there. He ate with them, stayed with them, conversed with them, met with them, and all the rest. Immediately thereafter all the heat began to be taken off of Mr. Frankenstein and all the heat was directed at me."

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. Martin. Relative to the attitude and activities of the Communist Party, that is correct.

* * * * *

The Chairman. In order to clear that up, let me say again, as the members of this committee have said time and time again, that the evidence is very clear that the overwhelming majority of the men in the C. I. O. and other organizations are loyal American citizens. There has never been any intimation that the Communist Party has any large percentage of membership there.

The testimony before this committee, with which I think you will agree, is to the effect that the Communists by reason of having a tightly organized minority are able to seize the strategic positions in the unions and in that way make their influence felt. I think you will agree that that is a correct statement of the situation.

Mr. Martin. That is correct.

The Chairman. And I might say this, Mr. Martin, and I think you will agree with me, that no greater service could be rendered by any labor leader than to assume a courageous and definite opposition to the Communist elements, and to eject them from positions of influence. Is not that true?

Mr. Martin. As I said previously, the Communists have no more place in the labor movement than do the Nazis or the Fascists. They believe in dictatorships, all of which is inimical to the interests of Democracy, in which I am a believer.

* * * * *

The Chairman. As a matter of fact, is it correct or not to say that all three of those—the Nazis, the Fascists, and the Communists—represent totalitarian governments, where the rights of the minority are ruthlessly suppressed?

Mr. Martin. That is correct.

* * * * *

The Chairman. Has it not been your experience that those who oppose the Communists are branded by the Communists as Nazis or Fascists, and that those who oppose the Nazis or the Fascists are branded as Communists?

Mr. Martin. That is right.

Mr. Starnes. Is it not their invariable strategy to so brand everyone who is opposed to them?

Mr. Martin. That is right.

The Chairman. Is this a correct statement (reading from Martin's speeches): "I was invited by Mr. Gebert, who came to my office, and I remember a certain biblical illustration that reminds me of this: 'I was taken up on the mountain, and I was shown the promised land.' Mr. Gebert informed me that if I would just come down to Mr. Weinstone's office, or meet him, Mr. Foster, Browder, and others, and deal with them on the number of organizers to be appointed, the number of local unions that would be turned over, and I was to go out and see that they were given over to the Communist Party, that I, indeed, could be the greatest labor leader in America, even greater than John L. Lewis, greater than anybody."

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. Martin. That was his exact statement.

The Chairman. And your refusal to do that brought on you the antagonism and the hatred of the Communist elements.

Mr. Martin. Yes; I told them where he could go.

The Chairman. You also say here (reading from Martin's speeches): "All I had to do to become great was to come down and make the deal. Well, I don't need to tell you that I told Mr. Gebert, who was right across the table from us, that Hades was hot, but it wouldn't be half as hot as my office if he didn't get out and get out quick."

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. Martin. That is correct.

What is of outstanding importance to the United States at this time is the evidence presented, as well as the testimony offered, of the place occupied by national trade-union movements in the carrying out of Communist purposes. Evidence and testimony both indicated that Communist leaders felt competent to win over a sufficient number of intellectuals and intellectual groups to give them some standing. The winning over of such groups and their leaders gives a certain atmosphere of respectability. The evidence in the committee's possession makes it definite that the principal purpose of Communist leaders in every country has been to secure a controlling position within national trade-union movements. Historically this is the main effort Communism has made in every country, for Communist leaders have believed, and not without good reason, that Communism could make no effective progress in any land unless the organized labor movement was brought under subservience and the theory of the class struggle so impressed upon them that the doctrine of revolution as a justified means to an end could be successfully preached and applied.

The structure of Communist policy and activity in the United States has been similar to the structure of their activities in every other industrial country, the only difference being some variations in design and in adaption to the reactions from labor.

A summary of the testimony and evidence divided itself into three principal fields, the philosophy and revolutionary purpose of the Communist International, the application of that policy and purpose in the United States, and the extent to which these have been carried into effect, particularly within the American labor movement.

The revolutionary purpose of Communism, the emphasis placed upon the necessity of introducing the illegal methods with-

in a trade-union movement indicates the sinister menace of Communism to national-trade union movements. It serves to give an insight into the part which Communism hopes to play within the trade-union movement.

The committee's hearings indicate many instances where what occurred within labor organizations was the result of the illegal section of the Communist Party's activities in the United States. To load this report with the mass of documentary evidence presented to the committee as to the purpose, the program, and the tactics of the Communist Party within the United States would make too lengthy a document. The committee's purpose is to summarize Communist activities in this country and in this portion of its report the extent to which these are intended to influence our national trade-union movement and divert it from a constructive to a revolutionary purpose.

In January 1935 the central committee of the Communist Party in the United States, adopted a lengthy and detailed resolution covering the immediate tasks of Communist Party units and members. From this we quote briefly:

The influx of hundreds of thousands of new workers from basic industries and mass production plants into the American Federation of Labor unions, and the growing radicalization of the main mass of its membership makes the American Federation of Labor unions more militant and mass unions in character, opening up new and greater possibilities of revolutionary mass work within them.

In view of this the main task of the party in the sphere of trade-union work should be the work in the American Federation of Labor unions so as to energetically and tirelessly mobilize the masses of their members and the trade unions as a whole for the defense of the everyday interests of the workers, the leadership of strikes, carrying out the policy of the class struggle in the trade unions.

Further on the resolution read:

The party fractions must win the revolutionary unions for a struggle for trade-union unity by methods which correspond to the concrete conditions in each industry. The existing revolutionary trade unions and their locals join the American Federation of Labor or its unions wherever there exists parallel mass American Federation of Labor trade unions, or the "red" trade unions can join the American Federation of Labor directly.

Testimony offered by responsible trade-union officials indicated that the methods recommended in the resolution were not new in purpose though slightly different in form.

In the beginnings of Communism in the United States, Communist leaders controlled in their activities by the central committee of the Communist International, sought to secure a controlling place within the American trade-union movement through a process of infiltration, and the organizing of so-called Communist cells within the local and national trade unions who composed the American Federation of Labor.

Governed by instructions from the same high authority in Moscow the Communist Party in the United States organized a Trade Union Unity League, the league's purpose being, to occupy sufficient ground within the trade-union movement to establish a controlling position. It was during the period of Trade Union

Unity League activities that the American trade-union movement came into more direct contact with Communist purpose and tactics. The progress made by the league after a number of years was so unsatisfactory to Moscow that the American section received instructions some few years ago to scrap the league. This was done and as a league it passed out of existence. In place of the Trade Union Unity League the Communist Party put into effect its policy of 1935 which enabled it to secure a strong foothold in the Committee for Industrial Organization.

The testimony of many witnesses indicated that during the strikes in 1936 leading Communists were directing strike efforts in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and other States. That fomenting lawlessness was a part of their program is evidenced by the arrest and conviction of Communists for illegal activities in connection with strikes.

Of the many impressions made on our committee by the evidence and testimony offered by witnesses, none was deeper than the fact that a foreign government had been actively engaged from the beginning in an effort to change the structure, the principles, and the policies of the American trade-union movement.

These Russian agents and their sympathizers in our country did not stop at propaganda but organized deliberately, and after careful planning, to secure so controlling a leadership in the American trade-union movement that the membership would be compelled to carry out Moscow methods to accomplish Moscow objectives.

Both evidence and testimony presented indicated that Communist efforts had made but little progress in securing any control in the American labor movement previous to 1936. The American Federation of Labor and the railway brotherhoods were actively opposed to Communism as such, as well as to Communism within their ranks.

According to the evidence the emergence of the Committee for Industrial Organization presented an opportunity which had been denied by both the American Federation of Labor and the Railway Brotherhoods. From official Communist documents and records presented to your committee it is evident that no sooner had the Committee for Industrial Organization been formed than it received the official endorsement of the Communist Party in America.

From that period the Communist Party made rapid strides in securing many directive and controlling positions within the C. I. O. Communists records presented to our committee indicate that members of the central committee of the Communist Party were assigned to activities within the trade-union movement.

Jack Stachel was given general supervision of trade union activities. B. K. Gebert was assigned to special work in organizing steel workers and later on in directing strikes. William Weinstein was in charge of the Communist interests in the automobile workers' unions in Michigan. These men received their income

from the Communist Party while directing the large number of members of the Communist Party on the pay roll of the Committee for Industrial Organization as organizers. It was additional evidence of the method by which the Red International, operating from Moscow, endeavored to shape the policies and direct the activities of the American trade-union movement.

The members of the Communist Party as salaried organizers of the Committee for Industrial Organization reported to the officers of that body and worked apparently under their direction while at the same time they reported continuously and worked under the instructions of those members of the central committee of the Communist Party who were assigned as their directing supervisors.

This condition explains many of the developments in connection with unauthorized strikes in 1937 which were perplexing to the uninitiated at that time.

Before the Committee for Industrial Organization had launched its campaign to organize the workers in the steel industry, the Communist Party had anticipated the effort and had entered the field. William Z. Foster, head of the Communist Party in our country, prepared a detailed outline of organizing methods in the steel industry, a copy of which was presented to our committee. This was followed almost immediately by instructions from the Communist Party to the Young Communist League to be governed by these organizing instructions and to give their active cooperation. The Communist effort to organize steel workers was under way and the literature was being distributed among steel workers before the Committee for Industrial Organization began its organizing effort. Communist documents and records presented to the committee indicate that the Communist leaders assumed great credit for the organizing of steel, automobile and other industries and the direction of the strikes which followed.

William Weinstone, direct organizer of the Communist Party in Michigan, in his pamphlet, *The Great Sit-Down Strike*, carefully avoided any reference to the illegal activities of Communists in connection with the automobile strike. Although his expressions were carefully guarded so that nothing but apparently legal activities would be mentioned, what he wrote when taken in conjunction with a mass of documentary evidence in our committee's possession indicates the part which Communists played. From Weinstone's report we quote briefly:

In this strike and the union there were also radical-minded workers and among this group, in the first place must be mentioned the work of the Communist members of the union as well as the work of the Communist Party itself. * * * The Communists worked ardently and earnestly in helping to build up the union and tried in every way possible to prepare the strike so that it would rest upon a strong foundation. In the strike itself, the Communists sought to imbue the strikers and the workers generally with the greatest discipline, organization, and perseverance. There is no doubt that where the Communists were active and took their outstanding part, particularly at the most decisive points of the struggle, there the strike was strongest, and this made for the success of the whole battle. * * * The existence of groups of Communists within the shops was un-

doubtedly of great help, because thereby a corps of experienced people were in the shops to help in the solution of the new problems connected with the sit-down. * * * In conclusion, the strike of the automobile workers reveals the new forces that are at work within the country, forces which are driving toward an extension and strengthening of the labor movement and which are welding also the unity of the working class and of all progressive-minded people, a process which is giving rise to the growth of a real people's movement—a real people's united front—a movement which will impress also the most aggressive revolutionary-minded section of the working class, the Communists and the Communist Party.

Lawlessness and Violence

We have heretofore stated that much of the lawlessness and violence in the industrial world was instigated and engineered by Communists as a part of their revolutionary program.

The sit-down strike was largely imported from abroad and was put into effect in this country for the purpose of paralyzing industry and producing a revolution. One of the most notable examples was the Lansing "holiday," when a Communist-inspired mob of 5 to 10 thousand assembled in front of the State capitol of Michigan in protest to the arrest of 6 persons who had been ordered arrested for the violation of an injunction. This mob barricaded practically all the streets leading to the capitol. They organized flying squadrons, armed with clubs, who entered places of business and compelled the owners to close their doors.

The State College was about 3 miles from the capitol. Because some of the mob attempted to close the places of business near the State College, the students threw them in the river. When this news reached the mob at Lansing, approximately 2,000 of them were ordered to march on the State College and not to come back until they brought part of the college with them. In obedience to these instructions, the mob started toward the State College. The State police occupied barracks near the campus of the State College. The testimony of the lieutenant of the State police shows that the State police were fully informed with regard to what was happening at Lansing and they knew that some 2,000 of the mob were marching on the State College.

About 3,000 of the students who were apprised of the approach of the mob assembled for the purpose of resisting them. Fortunately, no serious clash occurred between the two opposing forces. That such a thing could occur under the eyes of the State police is almost unbelievable. It illustrates, however, how successful the Communists were in instigating lawlessness, and in bringing about mass defiance of constituted authorities.

It is believed that a courageous stand on the part of all public officials involved would have prevented these disgraceful occurrences, and would have avoided the loss of millions of dollars to both labor and capital, which resulted from the stoppage of work and the inability of thousands of employees to work. It would be hard to estimate the total loss sustained by the Nation as a result of the numerous acts of violence and lawlessness that occurred during this period. Most of it can be attributed to the activities

of the Communists in instigating and conducting unauthorized strikes and sit-down strikes.

Law and order are so essential to the very life of the Republic that it presents a fundamental issue. This committee feels that it should condemn this lawlessness and violence in unmistakable language. Similar occurrences must not occur in the future if we hope to preserve the American Republic. There is no compromise with this fundamental issue. It is the duty of every law-abiding citizen and public official to condemn it in clear and understandable language.

More serious than the monetary loss was the severe shock sustained by our whole structure of government. This committee feels that it would be derelict in its duty to the people of this country if it did not denounce this lawlessness as distinctly and clearly un-American.

The Congressional Committee, in its 1939 Report, commented as follows on Communist penetration of churches, schools, et cetera (pp. 65-66):

This committee has established, on the basis of the Communist Party's own literature, that Communists are actively boring from within churches, schools, youth organization, and every other organization and institution into which they can find entrance. It is in this field particularly that the committee has only scratched the surface of un-American and subversive activities. The committee has nevertheless established the fact of this type of Communist penetration.

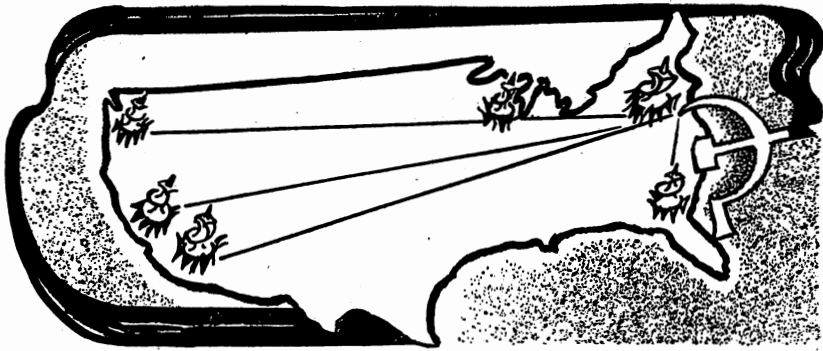
In his book, *What Is Communism?* Earl Browder wrote:

It is significant that the Communist Party, more than any other labor group, has been able to achieve successful united fronts with church groups on the most important issues of the day. This is not due to any compromise with religion as such, on our part. In fact, by going among the religious masses, we are for the first time able to bring our antireligious ideas to them.

At the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, in 1935, a resolution was adopted which declared it to be—

The duty of Young Communist League members to join all mass organizations of the toiling youth (trade union, cultural, sports organizations) formed by bourgeois, Democratic, reformists, and Fascist parties, as well as religious organizations; to wage a systematic struggle in these organizations to gain influence over the broad masses of youth.

Witnesses who appeared before the committee testified concerning the extensive activities of Communism in our schools and colleges. In some cases, they publish their own Communist journals for students; in other cases, they succeed in placing Communists in key positions on the regular school publications. In a later section of this report, the activities of the American Student Union, a Communist united front organization, will be discussed.



CHAPTER XI

Communist Technique

PENETRATION AND INFILTRATION

WE HAVE DETAILED at some length the operation and organization of Communist Party fractions in labor organizations and the clever technique used in expanding closed Communist fraction-caucuses into larger meetings to which carefully selected non-Communist Party union members are invited. Such mixed meetings, carefully planned and controlled, are usually called "Progressive Trade Unionist" meetings. The non-Communist members, of course, are entirely unaware of the fact that the decisions made by them in these "Progressive" meetings were planned beforehand and apparently "Democratically" executed in the so-called "Progressive" meetings. This same technique is used in the creation of "front" organizations, or "transmission belts," as they are referred to by the Communists themselves. In order to thoroughly understand this technique, we outline the approved method of the Communist Party in setting up a typical "transmission belt" or front organization.

1. The Comintern strategists chart certain targets in capitalist economy and orders are issued for their destruction.
2. The strategy committees of the Communist Party scattered throughout the world, acting on orders from the Comintern, search about for a popular prejudice, a real or fancied abuse of the broadest possible magnitude. Having once settled on a popular prejudice or abuse behind which their real purposes may be screened, Communist Party members everywhere are instructed to form appropriate organizations. The popular prejudice, fear or economic condition readily presents a variety of organizations purportedly designed to "remedy" the particular situation. It may be fear of a world war, rise of dictators, an economic depression with attendant distress and unemployment or it may be a rising cost-of-living.

3. Closed Communist fractions all over the country discuss the orders from the executive committee. The National executive committee has usually set up a National organization, so that little is left to local comrades, other than forming a chapter of the National organization in order to give the entire movement the appearance of spontaneous demand on the part of all the people. Resolutions, motions, proclamations and activities are all ready-made for the comrades in the closed Communist caucuses. Fellow-travelers, innocents, ambitious labor leaders and politicians are contacted as petition-signers to call mass meetings for the consideration of the formation of the movement. Known Communist Party members meticulously refrain from affixing their signatures as sponsoring the new movement.

4. A call for the first meeting is issued, signed by many fellow-travelers, innocents and political-climbers.

5. The meeting is called to order at the specified hour and place, usually by some well known person whose Americanism has never been questioned, and who probably is, in fact, unconscious that he is being used by a subversive group. He has been sold a bill of goods on the movement.

6. Each member of the Communist Party caucus charged with the responsibility of launching the organization, has been assigned a list of non-Communist individuals whom he has invited to the meeting. The Communist Party members distribute themselves throughout the meeting-hall and prompt non-Communist members with whom they have struck up a friendship to make right motions and offer prepared resolutions at the proper time. The most prominent non-Communist person present is usually selected beforehand as the one who will be the chairman of the organization. The selection of the secretary, however, is a very different matter. Only a trusted and disciplined Communist may have this position. A Communist Party member is *always* selected.

Thus, a new "transmission belt front organization" is launched. The non-Communist members feel that they have contributed something toward the general welfare of the community and the people by their participation in the new organization. They are out to fight Fascism; they are on record against war and they are determined to preserve Democracy. Perhaps they have taken an active step toward combating Naziism and Hitler. It may be that they feel they have taken an important step in drawing the divergent branches of labor into one great organization for the betterment of *all* labor. Whatever the non-Communist may believe and feel when he leaves such a meeting, the result is always much the same. He makes financial contributions from time to time to the organization and receives its bulletins, periodicals and newspapers and more or less forgets about the whole thing. He is too busy making a living to attend many of the subsequent meetings. The officers and the board of directors take care of the details.

The board of directors is soon completely in the hands of the Communist Party and the agitation is then carried on from that point for the purposes of the Comintern.

With the invasion of Hollywood by the Communist Party came the inevitable myriad front organizations, utterly controlled and dominated by the Communist Party, but, in most cases, drawing into their membership lists pseudo liberals, parlor pinks, innocents and a great many people who just simply did not know any better. We have elsewhere related the history of the *Hollywood Anti-Nazi League* and its ubiquitous V. J. Jerome. In addition, there were the *Pen and Hammer Club*, the *Hollywood League for Democratic Action*, the *Hollywood League for Women Shoppers*, the *John Reed Club*, the *Hollywood Theatre Alliance*, the *Hollywood Mooney Defense Committee*, the *American Writers' Congress*, *Hollywood Unit of the League Against War and Fascism*, *Spanish Relief Committee*, the *League for Peace and Democracy* and many, many others. Pulling the strings and setting the policy of all of these organizations were Communist individuals well known to the committee as members of the Trojan Horse Cavalry. These organizations, and many others, are listed and analyzed in detail in the files of the committee, together with personnel, leaders and activities.

Hollywood is a veritable mecca for the Communist cultural clique. Your committee has gathered voluminous information on this phase of Communist infiltration.

"Our party members are to be found in the widest variety of mass organizations," declared Earl Browder. "In the trade unions of the A. F. of L., C. I. O. * * * the *National Negro Congress*; in the farm, cultural, fraternal, religious, professional and other organizations, and those of National groups." (*The Democratic Front*, a report by Earl Browder to the Tenth National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States of America on May 28, 1938, page 69.)

The testimony and record of activities of Reuben W. Borough, left no doubt in the minds of the members of the committee as to his close Communist fellow-traveling proclivities. He may be termed an ardent "Anti-Red-Baiter." He has been active in most Communist front organizations in California. In 1937 he was vice chairman for the Southern District of the *California Committee for Political Unity*. In 1938, he sponsored a \$60,000 drive for the *People's Daily World*, Communist Party publication in California. In 1939, he was a sponsor of the *Second Annual California Model Legislature* to be held in Sacramento. This Model Legislature was a Communist-inspired youth movement. He appeared, in 1939, on the list of subscribers to the *People's Daily World*. In 1940, he was a sponsor of the *Conference for Democratic Action* which was held in Fresno. This organization is reported as one to replace the former Communist dominated

and controlled *American League for Peace and Democracy*. He is presently commissioner of public works, appointed by Mayor Fletcher Bowron in the City of Los Angeles.

Borough admits having been a member of the Socialist Party and having carried a "red card" in Chicago. He admits being a member of the *American Civil Liberties Union*, and other Communist dominated front organizations. He stated that he did not know and *did not care* whether certain individuals were Communists or not and he denied that the Communist Party had any purpose in the overthrowing of the Government of the United States. He admitted knowing many prominent Communists in Los Angeles and stated that they were not a danger to our Democracy and more or less looked upon Communism and the "labor movement" as synonymous. He knew William Schneiderman, State Secretary of the Communist Party, and admitted attending a testimonial dinner for the Communist attorney, Leo Gallagher, in 1941. He told the committee that he had the "highest respect" for the *State, County and Municipal Workers of America, C. I. O.*, a Communist controlled C. I. O. union for infiltration into governmental positions.

When questioned as to a so-called "emergency conference to halt the blackout of civil liberties in California" held Saturday, April 5, 1941, at the Embassy Auditorium in Los Angeles, Borough at first denied that he had acted as substitute chairman in place of Carey McWilliams, who had been previously advertised as the chairman for that meeting. (The so-called "Blackout of Civil Liberties" was a protest meeting against Assembly Bill 271 then pending in the Assembly, introduced by Assemblyman Lee T. Bashore, Assemblyman James H. Phillips, and Assemblyman Jack B. Tenney, subsequently enacted into the law and under which Robert Noble and Ellis O. Jones and others were convicted in Sacramento.) Returning to the witness stand later, Borough admitted having acted as substitute chairman for Carey McWilliams at the time and place above stated. He admitted knowing Jack Moore, secretary of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County, Louis Goldblatt, of the C. I. O., Carey McWilliams, James Burford and Ramon Welch of the *Spanish Speaking Congress*.

ACLU
The *American Civil Liberties Union* may be definitely classed as a Communist front or "transmission belt" organization. At least 90 per cent of its efforts are expended on behalf of Communists who come into conflict with the law. While it professes to stand for free speech, a free press and free assembly, it is quite obvious that its main function is to protect Communists in their activities of force and violence in their program to overthrow the government.

Ellis O. Jones admitted being a member of the executive board of the *American Civil Liberties Union*. (Volume III, pp. 744-760.) He stated that he became a director of this organization in either 1933 or 1934. He did not know, at the time of testi-

fying (Volume X, pp. 2489-2528), whether or not he still was a member of the *Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee*, although he admitted having been a member at one time. He believes that the civil liberties of Schneiderman and Darcy have been violated. He testified that he had never met with the committee but that he had seen several pieces of publicity of the *American Civil Liberties Union* containing his name. He stated that he had never received a communication from William Schneiderman in reference to removing him from the *Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee*. He could not recall an occasion on which the *American Civil Liberties Union* interested itself in the civil liberties of members of the *German-American Bund* or the organization itself.

The *Communist International* magazine for January of 1934 at page 78, declares: "Our most successful application of the United Front has been in the anti-war and anti-Fascism movement. We led a highly successful U. S. Congress Against War. * * * which brought together 2,616 delegates from all over the country.

* * * The Congress from the beginning was led by our party quite openly. * * * The Congress set up a permanent organization on 'federative basis called the *American League Against War and Fascism*.'" Naturally, the anti-war aspect of the organization has been its greatest bait to peace-loving Americans. It has permitted the representatives of the organization to penetrate churches and fraternal groups and thus to align them with the Communist Party. The usual technique of Communist caucuses expanded into front organizations, constituting the transmission belt for Communist Party indoctrination is used in this organization as in all others.

In November of 1937, the *American League Against War and Fascism* suddenly was changed to the *American League for Peace and Democracy*. It is significant that the *Canadian League Against War and Fascism* almost simultaneously became the *Canadian League for Peace and Democracy*. Out of the Comintern in 1932 came the Amsterdam World Congress. The *World Committee Against War* came out of the Amsterdam World Congress. In 1933 the *World Committee Against War* gave birth to the *American Committee for the Struggle Against War*. In September of 1933, the *American Committee for the Struggle Against War* created a *National Organizing Committee for the First United States Congress Against War*. In October of 1933, the *American League Against War and Fascism* blossomed out of the *First United States Congress Against War*.

The *American Peace Crusade* was organized during the Stalin-Hitler collaboration, in June of 1940. The Los Angeles meeting was called by the Los Angeles C. I. O. *Industrial Union Council*, the *California Youth Legislature* and the *Hollywood Peace Forum* and was supported by *Labors Non-Partisan League*. (*People's Daily World*, June 6, 1940.) The sponsors of this organization included the *National Legal Conference*, *Workers Alliance*, *Labors Non-Partisan League*, *California Youth Legislature*, Joseph Curran of the *National Maritime Union*, Theodore Dreiser, Jack

McMichael of the *American Youth Congress*, Louis Goldblatt, Secretary of the California State C. I. O. *Industrial Union Council*, Herbert Biberman, and numerous other organizations and individuals. (*People's Daily World*, July 5, 1940.) A Nation-wide conference of the *American Peace Crusade* was held in Chicago on August 31, to September 1, 1940. At this time a new organization was created which became known as the *American Peace Mobilization*. It was then announced that the *American Peace Mobilization* would take the place of the defunct *American League for Peace and Democracy*.

The *International Workers' Order* is an important Communist front organization. Philip Gardner, the executive secretary of the *Los Angeles Council* of this transmission belt, testified before the committee February 24, 1942. (Volume IX, pages 2774-2790.) Garner admitted that he was a member of the Communist Party and that he had been connected with the *International Workers Order* since 1932. He admitted knowing Max Bedacht, National secretary of the *International Workers' Order* and one time editor of the *Monthly Communist* magazine. Gardner stated that there are 30 lodges of the *International Workers' Order* in the southern California district and that most of the lodges meet in public halls and hold benefits from time to time for the *People's Daily World*, the official Communist Party organ on the West Coast. He stated that the *International Workers' Order* is headed by a general executive board and that Herbert Benjamin is a member of this board. The requirements laid down for eligibility to become a member of the *International Workers' Order*, Gardner told the committee, were principally that the applicant be sympathetic to labor; that anti-labor individuals, "scabs," "strike-breakers" or "Fascists" were not eligible. Membership in a labor union, however, Gardner stated, was not necessary. The "International" designation of the *Workers' Order*, Gardner testified, had no relationship to other countries and only referred to races. He stated that the *International Workers' Order* had about 3,500 members in southern California. He admitted, under examination, that he had joined the Communist Party in Seattle in 1937 but had not belonged to the *Young Communist League*. He admitted having received a Communist Party book but stated that he had not received his 1939 book and, like all Communist Party functionaries and *front men*, he could not remember the person from whom he received his book. The committee reports that there is no doubt whatsoever of the Communist domination and control of the *International Workers' Order*.

Undercover information in possession of the committee indicates that Philip Gardner is the president or chairman of the Los Angeles County branch of the Communist Party.

George E. Bodle may be classed as one of California's so-called labor attorneys. (Volume IX, pp. 2799-2808.) He is a graduate of Stanford University Law School and was admitted to the California Bar in 1934. His wife is Alice Ingraham. Bodle

was not certain whether or not his wife had taught in the Workers' School in Los Angeles, although he did not believe that she had. Bodle had been associated with Henry Melnikow in the *Pacific Labor Bureau*, San Francisco, from 1937 until November of 1939. He met Melnikow through a San Francisco attorney by the name of Robert Littler. The purported work of the *Pacific Labor Bureau* was the gathering of economic and statistical information for trade unions and representing them in negotiations. Bodle is acquainted with Jeff Kibre and met him while he was associated with the *Pacific Labor Bureau*. He also is acquainted with Norval Crutcher, Sam Goldblatt, Carey McWilliams and he was associated with Charles Katz in a trial in 1938. He has known Leo Gallagher since about 1938.

Bodle, at the time of testifying, stated that he was the attorney for the *Union Guild Council* which had been formed from independent Hollywood unions in 1940 or 1941. His work, in this connection, was not for the council as such but as the legal representative for certain of the Guilds which form the council. He is also the attorney for the *Screen Office Employees Guild*, now a local of the *Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America*. Local 644 is also a Local of this Brotherhood. Bodle stated that he had known Herbert Sorrell, business agent for Local 644, for two years. He was familiar with the *Screen Readers Guild*, *Screen Publicists Guild* and the *Screen Writers' Guild*. He admitted knowing Don Gordon, Ella Winter, Guy Endore, Herbert Biberman and Viola Brothers Shore. He admitted knowing Kenneth McGowan of the *Screen Directors' Guild*. He met Frank Tuttle in 1938 when the *Unemployment Conference of Craft Unions* was being set up in Hollywood. In the *Screen Actors Guild* he knew Gale Sondergaard. He admitted knowing Dave Hilperman and Charlottee Darling in the *Screen Cartoonists Guild*. He concluded his testimony by stating that he had never noticed or observed any Communistic influence in any of the unions he represented.

Indicative of collaboration with the Communist Party and the faithful fellow-traveling of certain alleged labor leaders, is Herbert K. Sorrell, who testified in Los Angeles July 31, 1941. (Volume II, pp. 452-474.) He testified that he was the business representative of the *Motion Picture Painters*, Local 644, of the *American Federation of Labor*. The committee is in possession of a photostatic copy of Sorrell's application to join the Communist Party in which he used the name *Stewart*. Sorrell denied that he had ever used such name, although under close examination, he admitted that his mother's maiden name was Daisy Frances Stewart. He denied that he was a member of the Communist Party and stated that he knew nothing of the Communist Party Convention held in Los Angeles in April-May, 1938. He freely admitted that he followed the Communist Party Line when he thought it was "all right," although he stated that Paul Cline and Jack Moore

came to him at a time when he was trying to raise the per capita tax of his union and told him that he was "going against the Communist Party Line." (p. 471.)

The activities of Sorrell over a period of years is well known to the committee. He has served as A. F. of L. "window dressing" for most of Southern California Communist front organizations, such as *California Conference for Democratic Action*, *Labor's Non-Partisan League*, *Motion Picture Democratic Committee* and the *American Peace Mobilization*. He has been a consistent subscriber to the *People's Daily World*. His name is carried on the letterhead of the *Harry Bridges' Defense Committee*. In 1940 he was the State President of *Labors' Non-Partisan League*. The letterhead of the *Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee* contained his name in January of 1940. In July of 1940 he appeared as an officer in the *American Peace Crusade*. On November 2, 1942, he headed a committee of alleged Democrats endorsing and supporting Mrs. La Rue McCormick, Communist Party candidate for State Senator from the Thirty-eighth Senatorial District. There is no doubt in the minds of the members of the committee of the close association and fellow-traveler status in the Communist Party of Herbert K. Sorrell.

On February 19, 1946, as a partial Report, the California Committee submitted to the Legislature a letter addressed to Assemblyman C. Don Field, Chairman of the Interim Committee on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, together with a report on the activities of Herbert K. Sorrell. The letter and Sorrell report follow:

Hon. C. Don Field, Chairman,

Interim Committee on Governmental Efficiency and Economy,
State Capitol, Sacramento, California

DEAR ASSEMBLYMAN FIELD: The members of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California have followed the work of your committee in its recent investigation and public hearings of the break down of law and order in the County of Los Angeles in connection with the recent jurisdictional strike conducted by Herbert K. Sorrell against the American Federation of Labor locals in particular and the Hollywood motion picture industry in general.

The members of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities wish to congratulate you and your members on the courage shown by you, and each of you, during the investigation above referred to.

Those of us who have, in the past, investigated the activities of the Communist Party fully realize the difficulties attendant upon such an investigation. You and your committee may measure the effectiveness and success of your work by the tirade of invective and "smear" directed at you by the traitorous individuals and groups who have pledged their efforts to the destruction of legitimate American labor and our American liberties.

The Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities conducted several days of public hearings in Los Angeles early in January touching on individuals and groups who had been subjects of your inquiry. Among these were Herbert K. Sorrell and the People's Educational Center. Both Herbert K. Sorrell and the People's Educational Center had been investigated by the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities and the findings of the committee concerning Mr. Sorrell and the People's Educational Center were reported to the Legislature in its 1943 and 1945 Reports.

At page 162 of the committee's 1943 Report, Rena Vale, former member of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County, explaining methods of Communist penetration into American Federation of Labor unions, stated the following in a sworn affidavit:

"... we sent directives to Don R. Healy, Secretary of Labor's Non-Partisan League of Los Angeles County, which, in turn, influenced a large bloc of votes in the C. I. O.; and through Lou Baron and the facilities of the Los Angeles County Trade Union Commission of the Communist Party, we designated the best possible means for Communist Party members within the A. F. of L. to present Communist Party program within their unions; Herb Sorrell, Business Agent for the Studio Painters' Union, was regarded as the only Communist Party comrade in an A. F. of L. Union in Los Angeles who could put over the entire 'Party line' in his union.

"... the Unemployed Conference of Studio⁹ Unions which later became known as the 'COMPAC' was referred to by our said commission as an organization which could be 'counted on' to put over Communist Party program; said Herb Sorrell, as well as the aforementioned Frank Tuttle were active in that organization."

At page 167, Miss Vale states:

"... at the Los Angeles County Convention of the Communist Party, held at 121 W. Eighteenth Street, Los Angeles, I encountered a number of comrades who have been mentioned previously; I recall that Herb Sorrell was doorman at the session I attended, and accepted my credentials; ..."

The committee found the following (1943 Report—p. 95):

"Indicative of collaboration with the Communist Party and the faithful fellow-traveling of certain alleged labor leaders, is Herbert K. Sorrell, who testified in Los Angeles, July 31, 1941. ... The committee is in possession of a photostatic copy of Sorrell's application to join the Communist Party in which he used the name *Stewart*. Sorrell denied that had ever used such name, although under close examination, he admitted that his mother's maiden name was Daisy Frances Stewart. ... He freely admitted that he followed the Communist Party Line when he thought it was 'all right,' although he stated that Paul Cline and Jack Moore came to him at a time when he was trying to raise the per capita tax of his union and told him that he was 'going against the Communist Party Line.' (Paul Cline and Jack Moore are admitted Communist Party functionaries in California.)

"The activities of Sorrell over a period of years is well known to the committee. He has served as A. F. of L. 'window dressing' for most of Southern California Communist front organizations, such as California Conference for Democratic Action, Labors' Non-Partisan League, Motion Picture Democratic Committee and the American Peace Mobilization. He has been a consistent subscriber to the People's Daily World. His name is carried on the letterhead of the Harry Bridges' Defense Committee. In 1940 he was the State President of Labors' Non-Partisan League. The letterhead of the Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee contained his name in January of 1940. In July of 1940 he appeared as an officer in the American Peace Crusade. On November 2, 1942, he headed a committee of alleged Democrats endorsing and supporting Mrs. La Rue McCormick, Communist Party candidate for State Senate from the Thirty-eighth Senatorial District. There is no doubt in the minds of the members of the committee of the close association and fellow-traveler status in the Communist Party of Herbert K. Sorrell."

The committee report for 1945 found that Herbert K. Sorrell was one of the endorsers for a "call" for a "Conference on behalf of the People's Daily World" for Wednesday, August 4, 1943, at 8 p.m., at the First Unitarian Church, located at the corner of Eighth Street and Vermont Avenue in the City of Los Angeles.

The People's Daily World, as everyone now knows, is the official organ of the Communist Party in California. The purpose of the conference was to raise funds for the continued publication of this Red Fascist journal. It may be of interest to your committee to learn that John Howard Lawson, former associate editor of the official organ of the Communist Party of the United States,

the Daily Worker, Assemblyman Lester McMillan of the Sixty-first Assembly District, Leo Gallagher, a registered Communist and Communist candidate for public office and law partner of Charles Katz, Assemblyman Augustus Hawkins of the Sixty-second Assembly District, Carey McWilliams, Pettis Perry, former Secretary of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County, Assemblyman William Rosenthal of the Fortieth Assembly District and Max Silver, admitted Communist functionary, were among the endorsers of the "call" for the "conference" on behalf of California's Communist propaganda sheet.

At page 142 of the committee's 1945 Report, the committee stated the following:

"Herbert Sorrell is an officer in the Studio Painters' Union, A. F. of L. He has persistently followed the Communist Party line. He subscribed to the Communist Party publication, the People's Daily World. Leaflets distributed in July of 1940 listed Sorrell as an officer in the American Peace Crusade, Communist organization. He also appeared as an endorser for Mrs. La Rue McCormick, Communist Party candidate for State Senator, in a paid political advertisement in the Los Angeles Times, November 2, 1942."

We are attaching hereto a detailed record of the Communist activities of Herbert K. Sorrell as established by documentary evidence in the files of the committee. Your attention is particularly invited to this record.

Herbert K. Sorrell was subpoenaed by the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities for its January public hearing. Mr. Sorrell failed to appear.

Mr. Clark Sellers, internationally known examiner of questioned documents, testified before the committee in Los Angeles on January 4, 1946. His testimony is set forth in the committee's transcript, Volume XXV, beginning at page 467. Because of its importance to the work of your committee, I am attaching hereto a copy of Mr. Seller's testimony.

Mr. John L. Harris, also an outstanding expert on questioned documents, testified before the committee on January 4, 1946. Mr. Harris' testimony is also attached hereto.

The secret Communist Party affiliation of Herbert K. Sorrell is therefore established beyond a shadow of a reasonable doubt and his activities explained in light of current Communist Party purposes and objectives. There is no doubt in the minds of the members of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities that Herbert K. Sorrell is a member of the Communist Party and presently an important stooge and tool of Communist Party design for the destruction of American Federation of Labor unions in Hollywood and the establishment of Communist influence and domination in the motion picture industry.

The Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities stated its findings on the "PEOPLE'S EDUCATIONAL CENTER" at pp. 136-138 of the 1945 Report. The committee stated that the Communist character of the "People's Educational Center" was clearly revealed by the personnel of the Provisional Committee. Among these were Philip M. Connelly who joined the Communist Party in June or July of 1938 and who was attached to Unit 140 of the Communist Professional Section of the Newspaper Guild (see 1943 and 1945 Reports), Frank C. Davis, former assistant Professor at the University of California at Los Angeles (espoused the cause of Communist Sam Darcy in telegrams sent to San Francisco's District Attorney, Matthew Brady in 1939-1940 and 1941), John Howard Lawson, (outstanding Communist Marxist and former Associate Editor of the official organ of the Communist Party of the United States, the Daily Worker), Mrs. Ruth S. Ryan, Los Angeles teacher registered as a Communist in Los Angeles in 1940, Eva Shafran, former Communist Party organizer for Los Angeles County and the moving spirit of the Communist Party's Workers' School in Los Angeles County where she taught advance classes on Marxism-Leninism, and Albee Slade, former organizer and publicity man for the C. I. O. and recently employed by Attorney General Robert W. Kenney in organizing California's new red front, Mobilization for Democracy.

The Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities found that

Carl Winter, formerly Secretary of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County, was a lecturer at the People's Educational Center.

The committee definitely found that the People's Educational Center "... is inspired and controlled by the Communists; that it is, in fact, a Communist organization for the dissemination of Marxism,—part of the 'elaborate school system' of Communism mentioned by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation." (1945 Report, p. 138.)

The Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities subpoenaed Dorothy Healy, who testified before the committee on Wednesday, January 2, 1946. Mrs. Dorothy Healy is presently the Secretary of the Communist Party of Los Angeles. She was a Young Communist League organizer under the name of Dorothy Ray. She was formerly the wife of Louis Schneiderman, brother of William Schneiderman, present secretary of the Communist Party of the State of California. She is presently the wife of Don Healy, former Chairman of the Los Angeles Branch of Labors' Non-Partisan League and formerly registered as a member of the Communist Party in the County of Los Angeles. She taught at the Tom Mooney Labor School (now the California Labor School) in San Francisco. She is currently a member of the Board of Directors of the People's Educational Center.

The People's Educational Center is part and parcel of present Communist Party technique and is designed to indoctrinate innocents with Marxism. It is interesting to note in this connection that Attorney Aubrey Grossman (who heretofore has steadfastly denied any affiliation with the Communist Party) recently announced his affiliation with the Communist Party of California. Our committee is now in possession of a letter written on the stationery of the Communist Party of San Francisco and signed by Aubrey Grossman as "Educational Director" urging Communist members of veterans organizations to recruit returning veterans into the California Labor School at San Francisco, successor to the Tom Mooney Labor School in that city. The California Labor School has recently qualified for funds under the G. I. Bill of Rights.

Through the shrewd maneuverings of John Howard Lawson the prestige of the University of California at Los Angeles has been used to further Communist Party objectives through educational channels. The University was used for a "Writers' Congress" in 1943 and the People's Educational Center has utilized the University in its propaganda campaign.

It should be noted that the activities of Herbert K. Sorrell and his Hollywood unions are merely a continuation of Communist strategy for the destruction of American Federation of Labor unions in the motion picture industry. The threat was effectively blocked several years ago when the Communist inspired and dominated United Studio Technicians Guild went down to defeat in an election before the National Labor Relations Board. The activities of the Communists in that futile attempt to capture Hollywood and its labor organizations are detailed in reports by Jeff Kibre, Communist functionary in labor matters to his Commissar-in-Chief, Roy Hudson in New York. Your committee will undoubtedly realize that this second attempt on the part of Communist Sorrell will not be the last attempt in this direction.

It is felt that the work of your committee in investigating the break down of law and order in the recent bloody Hollywood strike will be clarified by an understanding of the Communist inspiration and direction behind the scene.

If the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities can be of any assistance to you and your Committee in your courageous and patriotic work, we are at your service.

Very sincerely yours,

JACK B. TENNEY
Chairman, Joint Fact-Finding Committee on
Un-American Activities in California

F. L. GORDON
HUGH M. BURNS
NELSON S. DILWORTH
RANDAL F. DICKEY
FRED H. KRAFT
HAROLD F. SAWALLISCH
JACK THOMPSON

RECORD OF HERBERT K. SORRELL

President of Conference of Studio Unions and Strike Leader in
Hollywood Strike, called March 12, 1945

Communist Activities from 1938 up to Present Time

The following compilation is made from subject's participation in known Communist "front" organizations, and his association with known Communists, and support of the activities of such known Communists.

* * * * *

Motion Picture Democratic Committee

Brands Roosevelt a "War-Monger"

This organization was a proven Communist-controlled "front." It was set up in the Spring of 1938 and went out of existence about one year after the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact on August 23, 1939.

During the lifetime of the organization it followed the Communist Party line faithfully, and when the Communist Party of the United States changed over from the "United Front," or anti-isolation, to the "imperialist war" position, to an anti-Roosevelt position and opposition to aid to England, the *Motion Picture Democracy Committee* did likewise.

The official literature of this organization will show that right up to the time of the Stalin-Hitler pact, it supported Franklin D. Roosevelt and advocated his running for a third term. It will also show that right after the announcement of the Stalin-Hitler pact, when the Communist Party line changed to isolation, it opposed Franklin D. Roosevelt and his foreign policy of aiding the allies.

Two members of the Executive Board, Melvyn Douglas and Phillip Dunne, resigned because of the Communist control of the organization.

Mr. Douglas and Mr. Dunne introduced the following proposals to the Executive Board of the Motion Picture Democratic Committee shortly after Soviet Russia invaded Finland in December, 1939, at which time Russia and Germany were in virtual alliance:

1. "The MPDC reaffirms its support of the Roosevelt foreign policy."
2. "It commends the President for his condemnation of Russian aggression and his request that the Finnish war debt payments be reserved for Finnish use."
3. "The MPDC is in fundamental disagreement with the Communist Party and other organizations and individuals who supported the President until the Russian aggression, and have since turned on the administration with attacks."
4. "The MPDC can in no way collaborate with such organizations."

These proposals, put as a resolution, were defeated by the Executive Board by a vote of 19 to 0. (Reported in the *Communist Peoples World*, March 12, 1940.)

Mr. Douglas and Mr. Dunne then resigned from the organization because of its Communist character.

HERBERT K. SORRELL was a member of this Executive Board (Official Stationery), and continued actively to support the new position of the organization which was in strict conformance with the Communist Party line as will be shown hereinafter under the heading of "Patterson Slate," a venture which the Motion Picture Democratic Committee supported.

Other members of the Executive Board of the Motion Picture Democratic Committee at that time were:

Harold Buchman
Al Caya
John Cromwell
Norval Crutcher
John Green

Edward Mussa
Irving Pichel
Gloria Stuart
Frank Tuttle

One of the last acts of this MPDC, and one which showed its Communist character, was a meeting held at the Olympic Auditorium in Los Angeles on April 6, 1940, at which this organization was represented. The title of the meeting was, according to the MPDC bulletin dated March 26, 1940: "America Declares Peace."

This meeting constituted a violent attack on Franklin D. Roosevelt and the "war mongers" and was called by the Hollywood Peace Council, afterward to become the American Peace Mobilization, an organization denounced by the Attorney General of the United States as one of the most dangerous Communist organizations ever to be launched in this country.

Persons who were speakers, or present on the platform, were:

Ellis E. Patterson
Reuben Borough
Herbert Biberman

Phillip M. Connelly
Dalton Trumbo
Frank Tuttle

* * * * *

Hollywood Democratic Committee

(Follows Communist Party Line)

The Motion Picture Democratic Committee went out of existence during the latter period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, when the Communist Party in the United States was isolationist and anti-war.

When the Communist Party line changed from isolation to pro-war because of the attack on Soviet Russia by Hitler, the Motion Picture Democratic Committee was revived under a slightly different name. This time it was called the Hollywood Democratic Committee. This committee, like its predecessor the MPDC, followed the Communist Party line. But this time it was not so apparent, because the line now called for all-out support of the war, because of the need for assistance by Soviet Russia.

We now find a very "patriotic" organization, hailing Franklin D. Roosevelt as the great Commander-in-Chief instead of a war-monger and trickster leading the Country into an unpopular war and betraying the Country into the net of Wall Street, as the Motion Picture Democratic Committee had claimed when Stalin and Hitler were allies.

Herbert K. Sorrell now emerges as a member of the executive board of this organization also, whose program is just the reverse of its predecessor where he was also a member of the executive board.

However, the Hollywood Democratic Committee has also now gone out of existence. On May 24, 1945, there was advance notice that the Communist Party line in the United States would again undergo a change. This notice was in the form of a letter from a leading French Communist, Jacques Duclos. This letter was published everywhere in the official Communist press, and it constituted a criticism of the past "line" and demanded a change back to the program of Marx and Lenin which had been abandoned during the war.

On June 6, 1945, the Hollywood Democratic Committee became the Hollywood Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.

The names of those persons of the recently dissolved Hollywood Democratic Committee are:

John Cromwell
Norval Crutcher
John Green
Irving Pichel
Gloria Stewart

Frank Tuttle
E. Y. Harburg
Edward Dmytryk
Ira Gershwin
Rev. Clayton Russell

All the above are members of the Executive Board of the Hollywood Democratic Committee. (Official literature of organization.)

* * * * *

Labor's Non-Partisan League

This Communist-controlled organization came into existence before the war started. Up until the Stalin-Hitler pact, it supported President Roosevelt

and the New Deal, supported the United Front against Hitler and was for "collective security" against Nazism.

But when the Stalin-Hitler pact was made and the Communist Party changed from anti-Hitlerism to isolation, Labor's Non-Partisan League changed also, opposed our entry into the war, opposed aid to England and adopted the slogan "The Yanks Are Not Coming."

Herbert K. Sorrell was State President of the organization during this latter period, opposed the third term for President Roosevelt and denounced him as leading us into war. (PW, May 2, 1940.)

"In 1938, Superintendent Kersey said, he requested an opinion of County Counsel J. H. O'Connor on the right of California Labor's Non-Partisan League to use school facilities as a meeting place under the so-called California Civic Center Law . . . O'Connor ruled at that time that the California Labor's Non-Partisan League was "affiliated with the Communist Party."—Los Angeles Examiner, September 7, 1944.

* * * * *

Patterson Slate

Democrats Opposed to Franklin D. Roosevelt for Third
Term Preferred Communist Line

In the California primary election held on May 7, 1940, there was placed before the voters a slate of delegates to the National Democratic Convention, at which Franklin D. Roosevelt was nominated for the third term. This slate of delegates was called the "Patterson Slate," and was headed by Ellis E. Patterson, then Congressman from the Sixteenth Congressional District.

This slate of delegates was opposed to the third term for Mr. Roosevelt, opposed to aid to England and was strictly isolationist. It followed the Communist Party line, was in sympathy with the aims of that party, as the records of the great majority of the delegates will show. The principal plank in the platform was:

"No Men—No Arms—No Loans to Foreign Powers. Stop Intrigue Leading Us Into War. (Remember 1916)"

"He Kept Us Out of War"??? (In 1940—We Must Keep Ourselves Out of War.)"

Herbert K. Sorrell was one of the candidates on this delegation.

Other candidates for membership on this Communist Party line delegation were:

Carey McWilliams
Phillip M. Connelly

Reuben Borough
(Chairman of the Ticket)
Frank Scully
—Official Campaign Literature

* * * * *

Workers' Alliance

This organization was listed by the Attorney General of the United States as a completely Communist-controlled organization of the unemployed.

Herbert K. Sorrell was one of the speakers at a mass demonstration of this organization before the Hollywood District SRA headquarters, 245 South Western Avenue on March 7, 1940.

At this demonstration the first Hollywood local of the Workers Alliance was set up.

Mr. Sorrell spoke as representative of the Motion Picture Democratic Committee, mentioned heretofore.

Other speakers at this demonstration were:

La Rue McCormick, member of the Communist Party State Central Committee.

Emil Freed, Fifteenth Congressional District Branch of the Communist Party.

Joe Wilson, employee of the Communist Peoples World.
 Dorothy Ray, a Communist, representing Labor's Non-Partisan League, mentioned heretofore.
 Frank Scully, screen writer.

—Peoples World, March 8, 1940

* * * * *

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties

(Southern California Branch)

The Attorney General of the United States has pronounced this organization to be a Communist "front."

On September 27-28, 1941, a meeting of this organization was held in San Francisco, California.

Herbert K. Sorrell, in the official announcement of the meeting, appears as one of the sponsors of the organization. This organization has followed every twist and turn in the Communist Party line for years and is still in operation.

Others whose names appear on the announcement are:

Carey McWilliams, National Vice Chairman	E. Y. (Yip) Harburg
Abraham Isserman, National Vice Chairman	Fred Rinaldo
Charlotta A. Bass	Clare Warne
Phillip M. Connelly	

—Official Literature of Organization

* * * * *

Yanks Are Not Coming Committee

To Induce Students to "Peace Strike"

A demonstration under the auspices of the above "Committee" in cooperation with the American Student Union, a Communist-controlled group, was held at the University of California at Los Angeles, on April 18, 1940. The purpose of the meeting was to induce the students at the college to stage a "peace strike" (this was during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact).

Herbert K. Sorrell was listed as one of the speakers.

The other speakers were:

Carey McWilliams
 Dr. E. P. Ryland, American Civil Liberties Union.

—Peoples World, April 19, 1940

* * * * *

Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee

William Schneiderman and Samuel Darcy were two top officials of the Communist Party of the United States. In 1940 both men were up for deportation by the immigration authorities of the United States Government. A committee to defeat their deportation was set up.

Herbert K. Sorrell was a member of this committee.

Known Communists on the committee were:

Leo Gallagher, chairman of the committee and member of the law firm of Katz, Gallagher and Margolis.

Anita Whitney, State Chairman of the Communist Party of California.

Celeste Strack, Executive Secretary of the committee.

Theodore Dreiser, now deceased, member of the Communist Party.

Other members of this committee were: Carey McWilliams,

Ben Margolis, Ernest Dawson.

In a letter written by the Secretary of the committee dated April 22, 1940, the following paragraph appears:

"The Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee which includes such California Labor leaders as Henry F. McGrath, Roy Donnelly and Herb Sorrell and such prominent individuals as Carey McWilliams and Theodore Dreiser, is engaged in rallying public opinion to demand that the federal authorities drop these two cases immediately."

—Official letterhead of the Committee. (Photostat)

* * * * *

Earl Browder

At the Sixteenth General Assembly of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, held at Columbus, Ohio, September 23, 1941, one hundred (100) officers and delegates signed a petition demanding the immediate release of Earl Browder, head of the Communist Party of the United States, from the Atlanta penitentiary where he was serving a term for a felony. The demand was forwarded to President Roosevelt.

Herbert K. Sorrell, who was a delegate from his Hollywood Local 644, signed the petition.

—Peoples World, Sept. 24, 1941

* * * * *

United Spanish Aid Committee

This Communist front organization was operating under the above title in July, 1941.

It is now known as the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee with a branch in Hollywood.

The purpose of the Committee was to furnish aid to the Communists who took part in the Spanish Civil War in 1936-38.

Herbert K. Sorrell was one of the sponsors of the West Coast branch of the organization.

Others listed as sponsors of the United States Spanish Aid Committee were:

Prof. Frank C. Davis, U.C.L.A.	Irving Pichel
Ellis E. Patterson (Congressman)	Dr. F. L. Pottenger
Judge Stanley Moffat	Herman Shumlin
Carey McWilliams	Frank Tuttle
John Garfield	John Wexley
Dorothy Parker	

—From Official Letterhead of Organization

* * * * *

Leo Gallagher Testimonial

"To Defend the Rights of the Communist Party"

A testimonial banquet in honor of Leo Gallagher, a Communist of the law firm of Katz, Gallagher and Margolis, was given at the Wilshire Bowl in Los Angeles on June 2, 1941.

Gallagher has long been known for his defense of Communists and their cause, and this testimony was given in recognition of his services in this respect. This affair was given on June 2, 1941, when Soviet Russia had not yet been attacked by Hitler; the Communist Party line was still opposed to entry into the war and to any help to the Allies in their fight against Hitler.

Quoting the Peoples World on June 4, 1941:

"Reminding of the forces trying to inject the United States into the tragic struggle of the imperialist war, Gallagher said: 'In these days it is necessary for all of us to take our place and recognize our responsibility to defend and protect the civil liberties of all wherever they may be attacked. * * * At the present time the windmills of hysteria are directed

mainly against the Communist Party and it is our duty then * * * regardless of our political opinions * * * defend the rights of the Communist Party."

Herbert K. Sorrell was one of the sponsors of this testimonial.

Others who sponsored this Communist testimonial are:

Augustus Hawkins (Assemblyman)	Clare Warne
Judge Stanley Moffat	Phillip M. Connelly
Carey McWilliams	Reuben Borough
Ernest Dawson	Charles Katz
A. Maymudes	

—Los Angeles Times, May 25, 1941

Charles Katz, of the law firm of Gatz, Gallagher and Margolis, was toast-master of the evening.

The following persons gave testimonials to Gallagher:

Anita Whitney, State Chairman of the Communist Party.
 Reuben Borough
 Phillip M. Connelly
 Judge Stanley Moffatt
 Theodore Dreiser, member of the Communist Party.
 Sam Ornitz, screen writer.
 Herbert Biberman, Hollywood director.

—Peoples World, June 4, 1941

* * * * *

Harry Bridges Defense

To Defeat Deportation

In September of 1942, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, an organization branded by the Attorney General of the United States as a Communist-controlled "front," launched a campaign to defeat the deportation of Harry Bridges on the grounds that he was an alien Communist.

This organization issued an "open letter" addressed to the President of the United States protesting the deportation proceedings and demanding that they be dropped.

Herbert K. Sorrell was one of the signers of this letter.

Others who signed this letter were:

Dr. Frank C. Davis, U.C.L.A.	Abraham Isserman
Carey McWilliams	Dalton Trumbo
Ernest Dawson	Earl Robinson

—Official list of signers.

* * * * *

La Rue McCormick, Communist

Candidate for State Senator

In the November, 1942 election, La Rue McCormick, a known Communist, and an officer of the Communist Party and the Communist Political Association, was a candidate for the office of State Senator from the 38th Senatorial District.

To support the campaign of the Communist, La Rue McCormick, a committee was set up. It was called "Democrats for McCormick."

Herbert K. Sorrell was the chairman of this committee.

—Display advertising in Los Angeles Daily News, Nov. 2, 1942

Others listed as supporting this Communist for office were:

John Howard Lawson, screen writer
 Dalton Trumbo, screen writer
 Rev. Clayton Russell
 Charlotta Bass
 Al S. Waxman

—Daily News, Nov. 2, 1942

Others listed in the People's World, Communist publication, of October 31, 1942, as supporters of the McCormick campaign, were:

Ellis E. Patterson, Congressman, Sixteenth District
 Paul Jarrico, screen writer
 Viola Brothers Shore, screen writer
 John Bright, screen writer
 Lester Cole, screen writer
 Leo Gallagher (Katz, Gallagher & Margolis)
 Richard Collins, screen writer
 Jay Gorney, Hollywood song writer
 Henry Myers, Hollywood song writer
 A. Maymudes

—Peoples World, October 31, 1942

American Youth for Democracy

(Formerly the Young Communist League)

On October 17, 1943, the Young Communists League held its National Convention in New York City. At this convention the name was changed from Young Communist League to American Youth For Democracy. This was done for tactical reasons, and was so stated.

—New York Times, October 18, 1943

On December 1, 1944, this American Youth For Democracy of the Los Angeles area, held a meeting and a celebration of the first anniversary of the change of name at the Roosevelt Hotel in Hollywood.

Herbert K. Sorrell was one of the sponsors of this gathering.

Others who sponsored this organization were:

Ellis E. Patterson, Congressman, Sixteenth District	George Bradley
Ned R. Healy, Congressman	Dr. Ernest Caldecott
Dalton Trumbo	Judge Stanley Moffatt
Dr. Frank C. Davis	John Howard Lawson
Dr. Franklin Fearing	Ernest Dawson
Augustus C. Hawkins, Assemblyman	Peter M. Kahn
Rev. Clayton D. Russell	Ring Lardner, Jr.
Edward Dmytryk	Albert Maltz
Mrs. John Garfield	A. Maymudes
Thomas Mann	Samuel Ornitz
Earl Robinson	Al S. Waxman
Frank Scully	Alvin Wilder
Reuben Borough	Charlotta A. Bass
Phillip M. Connelly	

—Peoples World, December 1, 1944

The People's World of December 5, 1944, adds the following to this meeting:

Albert Dekker, Assemblyman from Hollywood District acted as master of ceremonies.

Ellis E. Patterson and Ned R. Healy, Congressmen from the Sixteenth and Thirteenth Districts, respectively, were honored guests.

Reuben Borough welcomed the guests and "spoke of the pride of the sponsoring committee in the growth of the AYD in its first year."

Speakers were:

Albert Slade, CIO Council
 Willis J. Hill, Carpenters Local 634
 Rex Ingram, Negro actor
 Barney Ross, former lightweight champion
 Rev. Raymond Henderson, Pastor, Second Baptist Church (colored)
 Dalton Trumbo, screen writer

* * * * *

People's World Press Conference

The People's World is the Communist publication in the Pacific West

Coast and is published in San Francisco at 590 Folsom Street.

On August 4, 1943, a "press conference" was held for the benefit of this publication at the First Unitarian Church, 2936 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles, California (Rev. Ernest Caldecott, pastor).

The Peoples World lays down the Communist Party line and is the political guide for all Communists on the West Coast.

Herbert K. Sorrell was one of the sponsors of this conference.

Not only was Sorrell a sponsor in this case, but he has consistently upheld this publication over a period of years as a subscriber and by public statement.

In the Peoples World dated July 24, 1944, the following statement appeared:

"The Daily Peoples World leads the daily newspaper field in understanding the contribution of industry and labor in Hollywood to America's war effort."

"That's the statement of two prominent Hollywood leaders—Screen Writer John Howard Lawson and Herbert Sorrell, President of the Conference of Studio Unions."

"Both Sorrell and Lawson are supporting the current \$75,000 Victory Expansion Drive of the Daily Peoples World."

Others sponsoring this "conference" mentioned above were:

Augustus C. Hawkins, Assemblyman
John Howard Lawson, screen writer
Leo Gallagher (Katz, Gallagher & Margolis)
Rev. Clayton Russell
Carey McWilliams
Charlotta Bass
Ernest Dawson
Lester McMillan, Assemblyman
William Rosenthal, Assemblyman
Al Waxman
Theodore Dreiser
R. Lal Singh

* * * * *

Third Annual Convention Los Angeles County Communist Party

April 29, 30 and May 1, 1938.

Held at 121 W. 18th Street, Los Angeles, California.

Herbert K. Sorrell has denied that he was ever a member of the Communist Party.

A photostatic copy of the minutes of the above Communist convention shows the following names written on the back page:

William Schneiderman, Secretary of Communist Party, District 13.

Don Healy

Herb Sorrell

Hugh Wilkins

Urchel Daniels

When shown this document at a hearing of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee of the State of California on August 31, 1941, Mr. Sorrell denied, under oath, that he had been a delegate to this Communist Convention.

He stated that he had given someone permission, he couldn't remember whom, to put his name on some committee and that he thought this might account for his name being on this copy of the minutes of this Communist Convention.

Sorrell stated that he had never attended any Communist Party convention, "not knowingly . . . I might have, and not known what it was . . ."

The above Fact-Finding Committee has in its possession a sworn affidavit made by a former Communist Party functionary and a delegate to this Communist convention in which the following appears:

"I recall that Herb Sorrell was doorman at the session I attended, and

accepted my credentials; that the membership of the Communist Party was estimated at around 3000 at that time; that plans were discussed for developing a more efficient political pressure machine, on which subject Paul Cline spoke."

He admitted he had conferred with Jack Moore and Paul Cline, officers of the Communist Party, in the offices of his union, Local 644, Painters.

—Report of Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, 1943, p. 167.

Helen Wheeler was elected a delegate from Local 91 of the *State County and Municipal Workers of America* (SCMWA) to the advisory committee of the *California Youth Legislature* in 1937. (Volume VI, pp. 1875-1882.) At that time, Miss Wheeler was a case aide in the State Relief Administration in Oakland. She was acquainted with James Burford and knew that he presided over the sessions of the *California Youth Legislature*. Miss Wheeler has held three positions in the *California Youth Legislature*, State Financial Director, Legislative Chairman and finally the Northern California Chairman. When testifying she was still holding the position of Northern California Chairman. She told the committee that the purpose of the *California Youth Legislature* was to bring together all types of youth for the discussion of mutual problems. She admitted that the *American Students Union* was a participating organization in the *California Youth Legislature*. She admitted knowing Herbert Biberman, Phillip Connelly, Louis Goldblatt, Carey McWilliams, Hubert Phillips and Wyndham Mortimer. She denied ever having been affiliated with the Communist Party but admitted that she knew that the *Young Communist League* was represented in the *California Youth Legislature* and that there were some 12 delegates from the *Young Communist League* at the 1940 Convention of the *Youth Legislature* held in Los Angeles.

The *People's Daily World* of August 30, 1941, carried a story to the effect that Helen Wheeler was one of the sponsors for a State-wide conference on civil rights to be held in San Francisco, September 27, 1941, for the purpose of protesting the "Tenney Committee and the Tenney Bill Outlawing the Communist Party." In the issue of August 10, 1940, the *People's Daily World* stated that William Plunkert had shifted Miss Wheeler from the *California Youth Legislature* to the *Peace Mobilization*, California Unit, for special work.

The *American Peace Mobilization* was a Communist front organization created shortly after the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact. About this time the *Anti-Nazi League of Hollywood* and other anti-Fascist front organizations of the Communist Party went out of business and Peace Congresses throughout the country generally, and the *American Peace Mobilization* in California particularly, came into being practically over night. Among the witnesses called to testify in reference to the *American Peace Mobilization* were Reuben W. Borough, Frederick Langton, Bert Leech, Jack Moore, William Schneiderman and Helen Wheeler.

Mrs. Edward Suchman testified in Los Angeles July 29, 1941.

(Volume I, pp. 222-232.) Mrs. Suchman stated that Reuben Borough had been elected the first president of the *American Federation for Political Unity*, a Communist front organization, and that the Communists in this group masqueraded as "progressives." She stated that Don Healy, of *Labors' Non-Partisan League*, and Rube Borough were the controlling elements in this front organization. Mrs. Suchman flatly named the *American Peace Mobilization* as another Communist front, completely following the Communist Party Line in the Spring of 1941. She stated that Professor Norman Byrne, of Los Angeles City College, was active in this group. She concluded her testimony concerning Reuben Borough by stating that she had told him that he had been taken over "boots and britches" by the Communists.

Strange as it may seem, the committee discovered that Ellis O. Jones, co-editor of the *Friends of Progress*, was also a member of the *American Civil Liberties Union* together with William Schneiderman and A. L. Wirin, Los Angeles attorney.

Louise R. Bransten of San Francisco was subpoenaed before the committee. She testified that she was a secretary of the *Civil Rights Council for Northern California*. Prior to the calling of Louise R. Bransten before the committee in San Francisco a pamphlet had been distributed throughout the State by various mediums, and particularly with copies of the Communist Party's Pacific Coast organ, *The People's World*. The title of this pamphlet was *Your Rights Before the Tenney Committee*. Louise R. Bransten admitted having written part of this pamphlet with the assistance of members of the *Civil Rights Council*, members of the *Lawyers' Guild* and George Olshausen. The pamphlet was printed with donations collected from members of the *Civil Rights Council* and similar front organizations. Miss Bransten stated that the purpose of the pamphlet was to protect the unions, intimating that the committee was concerned with breaking up trade unionism in California. The testimony of Louise R. Bransten left no doubt in the minds of the members of the committee as to her Communist Party relationship and of the Communist domination of the so-called *Civil Rights Council for Northern California*.

Miss Brensten testified that the *Civil Rights Council for Northern California* was a branch of the *National Federation for Constitutional Liberties* with headquarters in Washington, D. C. She stated that the purpose of the National organization branches was to protest against and to bring pressure against the curtailment of civil liberties and violation of the Bill of Rights. She stated that the organization, in defending violations of civil liberties and the Bill of Rights, selected those cases which it considered the most important.

She further testified that the organization was founded in 1936 and was called, at that time, the *Academic and Civil Rights Council of California*. It was started by Edward Gallagher and a group of people in San Francisco to combat vigilantism such as existed, she alleged, on the San Francisco waterfront in 1934.

The *Academic and Civil Rights Council of California* died out in 1937, and in 1938 Gallagher and others attempted to revive it. In 1939 or early in 1940 initial meetings were held to create the present organization, *Civil Rights Council of Northern California*, and Gallagher was elected chairman and Miss Bransten, secretary. Its first activities were directed toward combating the passage of a bill in the Legislature outlawing the Communist Party. It was in behalf of this activity that Miss Bransten first appeared in Sacramento before the committees of the Legislature deliberating on the outlawing of the Communist Party.

Miss Bransten's maiden name was Rosenberg and under this name she went to Russia in 1933.

William Schneiderman, secretary of the Communist Party of California, testified (Volume V, pp. 1260-1342) that he did not believe that the *American Civil Liberties Union* should rush to the defense of "enemies."

The *Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee* was created early in 1940 for the defense of William Schneiderman, California State Secretary of the Communist Party, and Sam Darcy, the former district organizer of the Communist Party in California.

Schneiderman became a naturalized citizen at the age of 21. At the time of his naturalization, he was a member of the Communist Party and concealed this fact in his application and examination. Subsequently his citizenship was revoked and he has appealed the case to the Supreme Court of the United States. Senator Robert W. Kenny acted as his counsel in California and Wendell Willkie volunteered his legal services for Schneiderman before the Supreme Court of the United States.

Sam Darcy was a candidate for Governor of California on the Communist ticket in 1934. At that time he swore that Sam Darcy was his true name and that his place of birth was New York. Subsequently Darcy was named a delegate to the Comintern Congress in Moscow and when he applied for a passport, he made an affidavit to the effect that he had been born in the Ukraine, Russia. His true name was Samuel Dardeck. He was ultimately indicted for perjury by a San Francisco grand jury and was sought throughout the United States for several years. In 1938 he was an organizer for the Communist Party in the State of Minnesota and was later located in Pennsylvania as the district organizer for the Communist Party in that area. Extradition proceedings were instituted and he was returned to California for trial. His case is also on appeal.

Among the sponsors of the *Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee* are George Anderson and Leo Gallagher, attorneys for the Communist Party, Carey McWilliams, A. L. Wirin and other attorneys of similar reputation.

The committee launched a drive for funds and sought to sell "Civil Liberty Bonds" in denominations of \$1, \$5, \$10, and \$25.

The *National Student League*, the *Farmer Labor Party*, *American Youth Congress*, *Anti-War Committee*, *Anti-R.O.T.C. Committee*, *International Labor Defense* and the *National Lawyers' Guild* are all Communist front organizations. Many witnesses were examined concerning these organizations, their officers and members, their ostensible purposes and hidden objectives. Nearly every witness connected even remotely with any of these organizations was closely questioned and committee representatives secured much documentary material, pamphlets and circulars issued by these, and similar organizations.

The *National Lawyers' Guild* came into being early in 1937 and was reportedly a lawyers' group in opposition to the *American Bar Association*. Many Communist attorneys in California and in the United States assisted in the formation of this group and the *American Civil Liberties Union* is also represented. Carol Weiss King, a former stockholder in the *Daily Worker*, the official Communist publication for the East Coast, Leo Gallagher, who has represented the Communist Party of California as well as many Communist defendants, Charles J. Katz, sponsor of the *Harry Bridges Defense Committee* and the *Hollywood Anti-Nazi League*, Loren Miller, Negro Communist and former staff editor of *New Masses*, a magazine published by the Communist Party, Aubrey Grossman and others are California members of the *National Lawyers' Guild*.

On June 5, 1940, A. A. Berle, Jr. Assistant Secretary of State, resigned from the *National Lawyers' Guild*, charging that the leadership of the organization is not prepared "to take any stand which conflicts with the Communist Party Line." Many other attorneys have resigned from the *National Lawyers' Guild* because of its Communist domination and control. The Attorney General of California, Robert W. Kenny, is serving his second term as the president of the *National Lawyers' Guild*.

Among those subpoenaed and carefully examined on these organizations, their origin, activities, expressed objectives and hidden motives, was Aubrey Grossman of the San Francisco law firm of Gladstein, Grossman, Margolis and Sawyer. (Volume VII, pp. 2039-2043.) Grossman testified that he had been graduated from the law school of the University of California in 1935 and from the University of California, Los Angeles, in the Winter of 1932. He stated he was admitted to the practice of law in May, 1936. He denied that he had ever affiliated with the *Young Communist League* or the Communist Party or that he had attended a Communist Party State convention at its headquarters in San Francisco or at any other place. He admitted knowing Miles Humphrey, James Burford and Leo Gallagher.

On May 3, 1941, Aubrey Grossman signed a petition addressed to President Roosevelt and to the members of Congress urging them to exercise their influence and authority in defense of the constitutional rights of the Communist Party. Aubrey Grossman

is a member of the *National Lawyers' Guild*, a Communist front organization. He is one of Harry Bridges' attorneys. He has been known by the aliases of Aubrey Whitney Grossman and Aubrey Gross.

Grossman's record is a long and interesting one. In 1934 he attended an anti-R.O.T.C. meeting at the University. He appeared as the speaker at protest meetings held at Sather Gate at the University in Berkeley. He was active in the so-called students Strike at the University, a strike which was sponsored and promoted by the Communist Party working at that time through the Communist *National Student League*. On July 3, 1935, he participated in a meeting at Sather Gate called to induce the students to proceed to San Francisco to take part in the "Bloody Thursday" parade. John Delaney Shoemaker, a well known Communist, was also a speaker at this meeting. The parade was held July 5, 1935. In 1936, Grossman was active in the *Farm Labor Party*, sponsored, if not actually organized, by the Communist Party of the United States and actively supported by all Communist publications, including the *Daily Worker* and the *Western Worker*. He was actively associated with most of the meetings sponsored by the *National Student League*, *Student Rights Association*, *Social Problems Club*, *American Youth Congress*, *Anti-War Committee*, and the *Anti-R.O.T.C. Committee Youth Section*, all of which organizations are well known Communist fronts. When Grossman applied for admission to the State Bar of California, the American Legion filed an official protest. The *Western Worker*, Communist West Coast publication (predecessor of the *People's Daily World*), of July 6, 1936, announced Grossman as a member of the *International Labor Defense*, a typical Communist front. He was one of the defense committees for Earl King later convicted in Alameda County in connection with the ship murder of Chief Engineer George Alberts. The minutes of the Communist Party convention held in San Francisco May 14-15, 1937, report that Grossman was elected a member of the State committee of the Communist Party and that he pledged himself to recruit 10 new members into the party.

Both Miles G. Humphrey (Vol. V, pp. 1616-1631) and Don Morton (Vol. VI, pp. 1783-1794), former members of the Communist Party, testified that Aubrey Grossman was a member of the Communist Party.

The Communist character of the *American Youth Congress* is well established by the following authoritative quotations:

"Comrades of Young Communist League of the U. S., headed by Comrade Green, went to the American Youth Congress and achieved a 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. The Communists alone have been able to foster the radicalization of the youth in the Bourgeoisie organization." (Otto Kuusinen, president of Red

Government of Finland, in address to Seventh World Congress of the Comintern at Moscow.)

"Before 3,000 delegates and visitors to the Second American Youth Congress, Clarence Hathaway, Editor of the *Daily Worker* and representative of the Communist Party, declared that the Communist Party stands behind the Congress, will do everything in its power to build its support and hailed the progress toward unity achieved by the Y.C.L. and young Socialist leagues." (*Daily Worker*, July 8, 1935.)

COMMUNIST CONSUMER ORGANIZATIONS

The *People's Front* was inaugurated by the Communist International (Comintern) in 1934 and was later ratified in 1935 by the Seventh World Congress which was held in Moscow. The *People's Front* was a technique designed to secure mass participation from the so-called middle classes. As part and parcel of the *People's Front* movement came organizations designated as *Consumer Leagues*, *Consumer Councils*, *Consumer Guilds*, et cetera.

The first of these consumer organizations, Communist inspired and therefore Communist dominated and controlled, was the so-called *League of Women Shoppers*. While the *League of Women Shoppers* was concerned with the consumer movement, its chief purpose was to create mass feminine support in labor disputes. The former editor of the *New Pioneer*, an official publication of the Communist Party for children, Miss Helen Kay, was the first secretary of the *League of Women Shoppers*. She was assigned to the *League of Women Shoppers* in Hollywood.

Among those identified with the Communist Party's *Consumers' Unions and Leagues* are Arthur Kallet, Colston Warne, Susan Jenkins, Walter Trumbull, Robert Brady, Jerome Davis, A. J. Isserman, Kathryn McNerney, Adelaide Schulkind, Goodwin Watson and A. Phillip Randolph. Harry Bridges was among the sponsors of the West Coast section of the *Consumers' Union* when it was organized in 1938.

The consumer movement undoubtedly had its roots in legitimate dissatisfaction, and developed during the last decade from the rather vague interest of a few scattered women's groups. During the years of its early growth, the movement was primarily a medium of information for the consumer. Nearly all of the original bona fide organizations, long interested in consumer problems, continued in their sincere effort to march toward goals originally set. With the establishment of Communist *People's Fronts* the consumer movement presented an ideal set-up for Stalin's agents. It was therefore an easy matter for these conniving propaganda experts to carry the authority, the prestige and the sanction of the respectable, legitimate and thoroughly American consumer movement over to Communist design and purpose, thus making Communist design and purpose respectable and acceptable. The sudden growth and increase of "consumer organiza-

tions" gave the entire consumer problem the impetus of a "movement." While the Communist Party Consumer Fronts are ostensibly for the purpose of serving the interest of the consumer, they are, like all kindred fronts, designed to further the Communist Party in its attack upon the Government and the present economy. Under the cloak of a legitimate consumer movement the Communist Party consumer front organizations are attempting to discredit and smear American business. The legitimate consumer movement in the United States is a set-up for the Trojan Horse Cavalrymen.

The Communist Party loudly proclaims its interest in collective bargaining in order to expand its influence and to control trade unions. In the United States the Communist Party hypocritically professes an interest in peace and in Democracy for the purpose of bringing members of the middle class under the influence of the Comintern. By use of these same tactics, the Communist Party expresses concern for the consumer for the purpose of tearing down the institutions of capitalist society and establishing in their places the dictatorship of the Proletariat. All front organizations, as has been amply demonstrated by evidence before the committee, and heretofore detailed in length in this report, are composed of Communist and non-Communist members. In most cases the majority of the members of a front organization are not members of the Communist Party nor are they even Communist sympathizers. We have heretofore detailed the technique used in guiding and dominating the front organizations by Communist Party fractions. The same technique is used in all front organizations. The non-Communist members are drawn into such groups by the *professed* aims of the organization and then directed by the Communist nucleus creating and guiding the organization into Communist Party activity and purposes. The front organizations are referred to by the Communists themselves as "transmission belts" and this term thoroughly describes the purposes behind such organizations. Consumer groups particularly attract women of the great middle class who are interested in the cost and quality of the things they buy. Hence it is, particularly in these groups, that the majority of the members are not members of the Communist Party or even Communist sympathizers. They are attracted to the movement by *professed aims*.

One of the now proved standard tactics of the Communist Party in "transmission belt" front organizations is to place one of their most trusted members in the office of the secretary of the organization. The committee has learned that whenever the secretary of an organization is a member of the Communist Party, or sympathetic to it, then the organization readily falls into the category of "transmission belt." All such secretaries are, of course, under the discipline of the Communist Party.

The committee finds that the *League of Women Shoppers* in California is a Communist front organization. It has been associated in many meetings and demonstrations with such well known Communist "transmission belts" as the *American League for Peace*

and Democracy, the American Friends of the Chinese People, and the Progressive Women's Council. Among the directors and sponsors of the League of Women Shoppers have been such well known Communist Party members and fellow-travelers as Clarine Michelson, Louis Thompson, Leane Zugsmigh and Tess Slesinger.

Prior to 1935 the Communist Party did not believe that the protest of consumers against various abuses of the capitalist system was a true revolutionary force, but, on the contrary, that it was merely a middle-class movement of a wholly *reformist* character. Arthur Kallet stated the matter very clearly: "Cooperation does provide a splendid escape from participation in the day-to-day struggles against the capitalist system; it permits a great many people to express their resentment by 'playing store.' But the emphasis is not on 'tomorrow a new society' but 'tomorrow maybe we'll be able to begin paying dividends.' As Consumer-Cooperatives are generally run they are a business, not a revolution."

The *Consumers' Union* was set up by Susan Jenkins, Arthur Kallet and Walter Trumbull. Miss Jenkins was formerly an employee of the *Daily Worker*, Communist publication. Walter Trumbull was court-martialed and sentenced to a term of 26 years as a Communist attempting to bore from within the United States Army, in 1925. He served three years of this term. From the beginning, Arthur Kallet has been the director of *Consumers' Union*. Other individuals connected with the *Consumers' Union* are Leroy Bowman, Winifred Chappell, Malcolm Cowley, Robert Dunn, Kate Crane Gartz, Elizabeth Gilman, Quincy Howe, Matthew Josephson, Horace M. Kallen, Rose Schneiderman, Anna Louise Strong, Osmond Fraenkel, John C. Packard, Louis Weinstock, Michael Quill and Ben Gold.

The *Consumers' Union* has used numerous publications of the Communist Party as a media for advertising its reports and has always worked through its other "transmission belt" organizations. The *International Workers' Order's* official publication has carried articles by some members of the *Consumers' Union*.

The *Consumers' National Federation* is an apparently harmless group, but it acts as a clearing house for the Communist interests in the consumer movement. It is a paper organization created by the Communist Party and used for the purpose of spreading propaganda in schools and through women's clubs. It was first known as the *Emergency Council* and was established as the *Consumers' National Federation*, 1937. No less a person than Earl Browder has named the *Consumers' National Federation* as one of the Communist Party's important "transmission belts." Miss Susan Jenkins is listed as a member of the executive committee of the *Consumers' National Federation*. The *Consumers' Emergency Council* no longer exists, having been taken over by the *Consumers' National Federation*, which emerged from it. Among the organizations sponsoring the early conferences of the *Consumers' National Federation* were the *Consumers' Union*,

American Youth Congress, League of Women Shoppers, Progressive Women's Council and the Workers' Alliance, all well known Communist Party "transmission belts." Miss Susan Jenkins is also the chairman for the *Milk Consumers' Protective Committee* and Meyer Parodneck is vice chairman of this committee. Rose Nelson, an avowed member of the Communist Party, was one of the organizers of the *Consumers' Protective Committee*. Susan Jenkins and Meyer Parodneck are among the most active leaders of the *Consumer-Farmer Milk Cooperatives*. Among the directors of this organization are seven representatives of the *Consumers' National Federation*. Meyer Parodneck is president of this cooperative. James P. Reid, *International Workers' Order*, Max Bedacht, general secretary of the *International Workers' Order*, and Michael Quill, were among the sponsors of the *Consumer-Farmer Milk Cooperative*. The *City Action Committee Against the High Cost of Living* is another "Communist front" "transmission belt" in Los Angeles.

The American Communist has as his ultimate aim in the consumer movement the sabotage and destruction of advertising in America. He believes that through the destruction of advertising the party will be able to undermine and destroy the capitalist system of free-enterprise. Anti-advertising agitation is an important part of the frontal attack of the Communist on free-enterprise. This influence has been more and more reflected in Government circles as well as in large sections of the population which are wholly unconscious of any influence of Communist propaganda.

An investigation made by the Advertising Club of Los Angeles in collaboration with the Pacific Advertising Association in reference to certain "consumer books" revealed an amazing spread of Communist propaganda in this field, either wittingly or unwittingly. As a result of this investigation an effort was made to call the attention of the librarians' and teachers' organizations to the fact of Communist propaganda in this field. These works include such books as *One Hundred Million Guinea Pigs*, *Skin Deep*, *Counterfeit*, *Eat, Drink, and be Wary*, *Guinea Pigs No More*, etc. The Advertising Club of Los Angeles points out that business has certainly done many things subject to criticism and that no one is more aware of that than legitimate business interests. Better Business Bureaus have been created by legitimate business for the purpose of fighting fraudulent and misleading advertising and all legitimate business stands for truth in advertising, and has succeeded in placing statutes on the books of some 27 States in order to protect the consumer against fraudulent and illegitimate advertising. Of these books the Advertising Club of Los Angeles states:

"The temptation to exaggerate one's own point of view and to mislead is a human frailty, however, and is not limited to members of the advertising profession. Quack doctors disgrace the medical profession. The Bar Association has to take action against shyster lawyers. Nevertheless, the action of

certain individual members is not a justification for an attack on the medical profession or the legal fraternity. Nor is there any validity in an attack on all business because of the derelictions of the few.

"The guinea pig books have in themselves committed the same sin of which they accuse advertisers—they have misled the people, magnified small fragments of truth until they were all out of proportion to the true picture, deliberately misleading readers by statements which imply that things *did* happen, although only stating that something *might* have happened—making it very difficult, if not impossible, for advertisers to attain proper redress."

The Advertisers Club of Los Angeles points out that it is an almost impossible task to expose the many exaggerations and untruths that abound in these books. *One Hundred Million Guinea Pigs*, by Kallet-Schlink is typical of this type of propaganda and is undoubtedly the most widely read of all. The American Medical Association states: "The misconception of the authors relative to antiseptics are obvious to any medically-experienced reader." Not only the material contained in these books demands questioning but the motives which lie behind their authorship must also be scrutinized. Fulton Oursler says: "What is important to me is the real cause behind all this attack on advertising. To put it very plainly, I believe it is only a camouflage for the real objective—which is control of the means of production and distribution in the United States. When I think of advertising in relation to this whole picture, I see it as only one battlefield in an enveloping movement. It is an important battlefield because the elimination of advertising would result in the collapse of our entire system of competition, and would end the existence of the unsubsidized press in America." The Advertising Club of Los Angeles further points out that J. B. Matthews, who wrote the book *Partners in Plunder*, is a confessed Communist, and that Arthur Kallet, author of *Counterfeit* and co-author of *One Hundred Million Guinea Pigs*, is also the executive director of *Consumers' Union* and has been labeled by Dies as a "professional Communist."

Communist Party Consumers' Council

EARLY IN 1942 the committee became aware of the public manifestation of Communist work in the creation of Consumers' Councils and Leagues. Investigators of the committee had gathered considerable evidence indicating that this particular move of the Communist Party was under way. As an illustration of this plan of the Communist Party, we herewith quote from the *Communist*, a monthly publication of the Communist Party setting forth current *Lines* and *Policy* and the tactical steps to be taken for the practical application of same. We quote:

"While it is true that spontaneous movements against the high cost of living are developing here and there, under the initiative of women's

organizations, the immediate problem before our party is to launch a powerful campaign that will mobilize the toiling people of the city and countryside—a campaign that must be developed on a local and State scale, at the same time that forces are set in motion nationally.

"The main issues and demands in the campaign must be made clear, and the broadest action developed around them. These are, principally:

"1. That the purchasing power of the masses be increased through adequate wages and hours legislation by the Federal Government.

"2. That Federal and State administrations investigate the sharks controlling the most essential articles of consumption; that a legislative investigation be ordered of the meat packers, of the bread and milk trusts; that there be Federal regulations of high prices of food stuffs.

"3. That the municipalities be pressed to establish municipal milk stations, buying milk directly from the farmers and selling it to the consumer.

"Such a campaign against the high cost of living in every city should be brought to the workers in the shops, in the trade unions, to the people in all neighborhood communities. Such a campaign should unite for common action workers and various middle class elements. It should stimulate activity in rural areas.

"This places a great responsibility upon all party organizations—in particular, the branches, shop and industrial units. A drive against the high cost of living, to be effective, requires the mobilization of the party membership for concrete activity. The lower party organizations therefore become a major instrument for party leadership in the campaign.

"What can our branches and units actually do? How can our comrades participate?

"1. Call mass meetings in the neighborhood, special meetings of housewives, to rally the people generally.

"2. Contact community organizations for the purpose of calling community conferences or in other ways setting up community consumers' committees to lead the fight against the high cost of living. This issue affects every one so vitally that it can become a most effective instrument for united action.

"3. Issue leaflets, special appeals to the population.

"4. The street branches can issue neighborhood papers and bulletins. The shop and industrial units should take up this problem in their shop papers.

"5. Mobilize mass organizations for independent as well as collective activity.

"6. Spread the Daily Worker and Sunday Worker, and other party papers. Follow their lead in organizing activity for they will guide the campaign through editorials, through articles that will examine the effect of the increase of prices upon the standard of living of the masses, that will expose the vicious aims of the reactionary forces and the increasing profits of the trusts.

"How can the campaign be developed? What methods shall be followed?

"It is essential that the city, State and Federal officials be impressed strongly and boldly with the demands of the people that immediate action be taken against the rise in living costs, and to raise the purchasing power of the masses. The trusts that sap the very life out of the people by steadily increasing prices must be made to understand that the people will resist their unrestrained profiteering.

"All of these proposals can be carried through; none of them are too difficult to realize. It is up to our party to take the lead! It is up to our party members to be in the forefront of this campaign. It is up to our branches and units to take up this issue immediately with energy and concrete activities.

"The campaign against the high cost of living gives us the opportunity to bring the party to the forefront. The masses will see again and again that our party has the welfare of the masses at heart. It will give us an opportunity to connect the campaign against the high cost of living with other vital issues. It will help to develop the political consciousness of the people. In this way we will win new supporters, and will have greater opportunities to increase the membership of our party."

Pursuant to the instructions above quoted, certain Los Angeles Communists, working through an organization that had been instrumental in electing Judge Fletcher Bowron mayor of the City of Los Angeles, were enabled to bring sufficient influence on the mayor so that he permitted his name to be used as "window dressing" for the creation of a "Consumers' Council" in connection with the Los Angeles Council of Defense. The committee was aware, of course, that the mayor was acting in incontrovertible good faith and that he probably had no knowledge whatsoever of the fact that his office, name, and position as Director of Civilian Defense, were being used by the Communist Party for its own nefarious purposes. When the committee's investigators learned that John M. Weatherwax was connected with this movement, the situation received attention. The files of the committee revealed that said Weatherwax was long an active member in the Communist Party. Possibly no other investigation so clearly revealed, by the incontrovertible evidence produced, the subtle tactics of the Communist Party in organizing a mass group over which they would be able to assume complete dominance and direction.

Communist Party fractions had been prepared for the launching of the movement. The calling of the first meeting under the auspices of the mayor of the City of Los Angeles, coupled with what was made to appear "Civilian Defense," was the signal to the comrades to carry coordinated support for the movement into trade unions and other mass organizations. Communist fraction meetings were immediately expanded into these organizations under the screen of war needs, and the creation of consumers' divisions of this and that "defense committee" were to be given the character of spontaneous "common people" upsurge. Typical of the technique used is a notice appearing in the *Overture*, the official publication of Local 47 of the *Musicians' Union* of Los Angeles, under date of March 19, 1942, entitled "Consumer Problems":

"Today, when war has been brought closer to the home of every American than ever before in history, and when we are faced with the task of defending America against the Axis aggression and all it implies, everything that impedes our defense effort, everything that threatens the health and morale of our people—and thereby threatens production—must be pushed aside.

"Everything we have been talking about must be put into action faster and better, keeping in mind that the living standards of the American people must be protected in order that we may all do our job to the best of our ability. Hitler slogans of '*Guns Instead of Butter*' cannot be subscribed to by the American people—our slogan will be '*Butter for the Sake of Guns!*'

"How to buy, how and what to use, how to conserve, how to deal with monopolists who, greedily seeking greater and greater profit, would

use the war as an excuse to escape their share of the war burden, by endangering our American standard of living—all these things we must know, in order to help ourselves and our country to achieve victory.

"Mayor Bowron, as Director of Civilian Defense, in Los Angeles, called a conference which was held on February 15th. Delegates from women's groups, educational organizations, and Labor Unions (in the majority) attended. 'These people should not be told what to do,' Mayor Bowron said. 'They should do it themselves.'

"As a large and important Union, Local 47 will follow Mayor Bowron's advice—we will do it ourselves.

"The *Consumer Council* of the *Union Defense Committee*, will hold a meeting in the near future to discuss these matters, which are vital to the defense of our country. Members and their families are urged to attend, and to put good intentions into action.

LINA DE FIORE,
Chairman,
Consumers Division,
Union Defense Committee'

The committee's files showed that John M. Weatherwax served as a member of the Communist State Central Committee in 1936, having been appointed to that office by Lloyd L. Harris, Communist Party nominee to the office of Representative in Congress from the Sixth District, Alameda County. He had signed the petition of Lloyd L. Harris for this office on August 25, 1936. On October 30, 1936, Weatherwax was a special speaker in Berkeley at a Communist Party rally, and the *Western Worker* of October 14, 1937, reported that John M. Weatherwax was the Membership Director for the Alameda County Committee of the Communist Party. The records of the committee reveal that he was a subscriber to the *People's Daily World* in 1938. He registered as a Communist in Alameda County in 1936. So it was, that the committee had no doubt of Weatherwax's affiliation with the Communist Party. He testified that he had registered as a Communist in the City of Oakland in 1934 or 1936 but claimed that his registry was merely a "protest."

He testified that the *Consumers' Council* is a local organization and admitted that he was a member of it. He named Thomas L. Pitts, of the A. F. of L. *Teamsters' Union*, as chairman pro tempore of the organization and Ernest Chamberlain (an employee of Clifford Clinton) as secretary. The office of the *Consumers' Council*, Weatherwax stated, was located in the 800 block on Union Street in the *Teamsters' Hall* in the City of Los Angeles and that another office was located at 618 South Olive Street (Clifton's Cafeteria) also in the City of Los Angeles. He stated that the membership records of the *Consumers' Council* were kept at the latter address. He indicated that he had considerable contact with the *Motion Picture Cooperative Buyers' Guild* and that he was a member of this organization. It had been established for about two years and was a buyers' pool-cooperative. He stated that two delegates from the *Motion Picture Cooperative Buyers' Guild* were sent to the *Consumers' Council*. These delegates were Rita Weir and Haskell Gleichman, the latter individual being the husband of Viola Brothers Shore. He admitted knowing George

Hellgren, the husband of Nora Hellgren, and a member of the *Motion Picture Cooperative Buyers' Guild*. He admitted being acquainted with the publication known as *Buy Ways* and as being familiar with a plan for a cooperative nursery school for the children of working mothers.

The case of John M. Weatherwax (Volume X, pp. 3072-3088; 3098-3115) was an interesting one. He testified that he was a writer and had lived in Los Angeles for some four or five years. He had come to Los Angeles from Oakland and had lived in Aberdeen, Washington, previous to that time. He stated that he was the brother of Clara Weatherwax (Strang), who won a prize from the *John Day Company* and *The New Masses* in 1937 for a novel, *Marching, Marching*. He knew John Broman, Miles G. Humphrey, William Schneiderman, Elmer Hanoff, Samuel Darcy, Jack Moore, Elaine Black, Oleta O'Connor, Lucille Ball, Tassia Freed, Leo Bigelman, Anita Whitney, Rudy Lambert, Earl Browder, Clarence Hathaway, James Toback, John Leech, Nora Hellgren, George Hellgren, Haakon Chevalier, Paul Radin, Ella Winter, Donald Ogden Stewart, Albert Rhys Williams, Emil Freed, Aubrey Grossman, A. L. Wirin, Titiana Tuttle, Frank Tuttle, Oscar Fuss, Philip M. Connelly, Alexander Noral and Roy Noftz.

He claimed that he had never joined the official Communist Party. He admitted having been to Communist Party headquarters at 121 Haight Street, in the City of San Francisco, and that he subscribed to the *People's Daily World*. He read the magazine, *The Communist*, and was familiar with the Communist textbook *Official History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. He was acquainted with the works of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and others. He gave his particular interpretation of the difference between the Trotskyist and the "orthodox" Communist. He stated that he considered the Trotskyists a group who occupied themselves in fighting the leadership of the Soviet Union. He denied any knowledge of the Communist Party's attempts to get control of labor unions and the motion picture industry, adding that it was outside his "sphere of knowledge."

He told the committee that he had attended some of the classes of the *League of American Writers* but did not know whether he was a member or not.

Mayor Fletcher Bowron appeared before the committee March 26, 1942. (Volume X, pp. 3088-3097.) He told the committee that he had met John Weatherwax several times and had first made his acquaintance about six weeks prior to giving his testimony. Weatherwax came to the office of the mayor in connection with the work of the Council of Defense. The mayor stated that Weatherwax was particularly concerned with consumer interests. The mayor later received a petition signed by 12 or 15 persons complaining that the consumer interest work in the Council of Defense was not sufficiently broad. The mayor later

talked to a delegation of the persons who signed the petition and stated that Weatherwax took the most prominent part in the discussion. Unfortunately the mayor was unable to locate the petition above referred to. He was later induced to call a meeting at the Polytechnic High School for February 15, 1942. John Weatherwax presided over this meeting. The mayor estimated the number of people in attendance at the meeting at about 200. The mayor appeared at the meeting and made a statement which he described as being "largely in the nature of a disclaimer" because the entire movement had taken on an aspect that had not been anticipated by him. He explained this statement by pointing out that the demand that was being made was to force the Council of Defense to include representation from consumers' organizations and that the persons making the demand claimed they were doing so for the "rank and file of the people." The mayor stated that he detected at the meeting in the Polytechnic High School a tendency of certain persons or groups to dominate the consumer work. The mayor personally called the meeting to order, made his statement and outlined a plan to permit the general public's participation, but not as a meeting of the Council of Defense. He then turned the meeting over to Weatherwax and left the school. He has had no connection with this particular group since that time. He did not know of Weatherwax's connection with the Communist Party at the time of calling the meeting but later heard about it through newspaper reports. He recalled that Weatherwax had claimed to represent a group known as Consumers' United. The mayor denied the statement which had appeared in the *People's Daily World* of February 17th, which had stated that the City Council of Defense was the organization calling the meeting in the Polytechnic High School and stated emphatically that the City Council of Defense had no part in calling the meeting.

Thomas L. Pitts, who was the chairman pro tempore of the *Consumer Council* resigned that position as soon as he learned of the Communist affiliation of John M. Weatherwax. Ernest R. Chamberlain, the secretary of the group, did everything possible to keep the organization together. He issued a large four-page double-column pamphlet under the title, *He Who Gets Gyped*, which purported to be "An Answer and a Challenge to the Assembly Fact-finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California of which Assemblyman Jack Tenney is chairman." On the bottom of the front page appeared the following, in large bold-face type: "Are You Interested? Read and Decide Whether — Assemblyman Jack Tenney, the Consumer's Council or the Better Business Bureau is Promoting 'Better Business' For You, The Consumer." Mr. Chamberlain then went on to point out his astonishment that the committee should even indicate the Communist background of the *Consumers' Council*. He uses the time-worn tactic of stating "you might remember that thousands of Californians have been branded as 'Communists' or 'Communist sympa-

thizers' in the past decade." To cinch the argument, he then points out that the chairman of the committee has also been referred to in the past as "a Communist." Chamberlain traces the origin of the *Consumers' Council*, which outline, as a matter of fact, fitted in perfectly with the steps laid down in the *Communist Monthly*, heretofore quoted. The use of Mayor Fletcher Bowron, as "window dressing," together with the names of perfectly honest and loyal citizens, tricked by Trojan Horse tactics, rounded out the picture. Chamberlain manifested his ignorance of Communist Party tactics, or his disregard of them, in his pamphlet. The preparations taken for the meeting the mayor was induced to call at the Polytechnic High School was typical in every respect of the formation of other "transmission belts" of the Communist Party. There is no doubt in the minds of the members of the committee that the majority of people drawn to this meeting and to activities of this character, are sincere and loyal American citizens, little realizing that the entire project has been planned for many years and that the particular organization was the result of Communist caucuses expanded to trap non-Communist members and innocents with the important question of consumer interest. Thereafter, Mr. Chamberlain launched upon an attack of the *Better Business Bureau* of Los Angeles and Mr. Robert Bauer. In his pamphlet attacking the committee, Mr. Chamberlain hid behind the prestige of Mayor Fletcher Bowron wherever and whenever it was convenient or possible.

Ernest R. Chamberlain has been connected with the Clifford Clinton organization and the CIVIC Committee of Los Angeles for some time. It is the considered opinion of the committee that Mr. Chamberlain, in his attack on the committee, was sincere and that he honestly believed that the committee's investigation of the *Consumer Council* was a reactionary attack on a group of loyal citizens who merely desired to be of service to the buying public. Chamberlain represents a large cross-section of American men and women who are readily used as "fronts" for Communist Party machinations. A citizen, such as Mr. Chamberlain, deploring certain obvious activities on the part of fraudulent advertisers is honestly desirous of remedying the situation. Such a person actually falls into the Communist Party's contemptuous category of "reformer." A "reformer" is one who desires to remedy and cure existing ills. To the Communist, such a person is an obstacle to the revolution, but as Stalin pointed out in Volume I of *Leninism*: "The revolutionary will accept a *reform* in order to use it as a means wherewith to link legal work with *illegal* work, in order to use it as a screen behind which his *illegal activities* for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the Bourgeoisie may be intensified." A crusading reformist like Mr. Chamberlain affords an effective *screen* for Communist Party illegal activities. Mr. Chamberlain desires to protect the buying public and to remedy abuses he has observed, or has imagined

he has observed. The Communist Party desires to destroy our entire competitive system and to smash the press as important military objectives on the road to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

State Government

Characteristic of the Communist Party policy of infiltrating those media through which access can be gained to a group of antisocial or embittered and distressed people, such as the unemployed, those on relief, manual laborers, racial minorities and even the inmates of penal institutions, the committee has found much evidence of such infiltration into the Department of Labor, the Department of Welfare, the Department of Institutions, the Immigration and Housing Commission and into one, at least, of the State penal institutions.

In the Department of Labor, the committee found Dorothy Ray, a lifelong member of the Communist Party who had her Communist training in the *Young Communist League*. Dorothy Ray testified that she had been married to Lou Schneiderman, the brother of William Schneiderman, and that she had later married Don Healy, whose record as a Communist and agitator in California is well known. Dorothy Ray (or Mrs. Healy) is employed as a Deputy State Labor Commissioner in the City of San Francisco. She joined the *Young Communist League* the instant she attained the age of admission. She admitted having a police record, having been arrested as an agitator in Imperial County and having served a term in jail there. She had been employed, for a time, by the *Works Progress Administration* in Los Angeles, where she associated with known members of the Communist Party. Miss Ray's former brother-in-law, William Schneiderman, secretary of the Communist Party in California, is now facing revocation of citizenship because of his Communist affiliation. The current husband of Miss Ray, as above stated, is Don Healy, who registered as a Communist for a time and who was the guiding light and power of Los Angeles County's *Labor's Non-Partisan League*.

The committee learned that Mrs. Frances Moore Plunkert was also employed in the same department with Dorothy Ray in San Francisco, under the name of Frances Moore. She is the wife of William Plunkert, former Assistant Relief Administrator for California's State Relief Administration (There is no doubt of the Communist affiliation and activities of Mr. William Plunkert.) She testified that she was a Research Technician on Economics and Statistics on Labor, Division of the State Labor Commission under H. C. Carrasco and that she was employed under the name of Frances Moore. (Volume VI, pp. 1870-1875.) She testified that she had met Dorothy Ray when she came to work for the division and that Albert A. Shanks was working in the law enforcement section of the same office together with Irving Shore and Robert Muir. She testified that she had met Samuel Kalish,

who was employed in the Los Angeles office. She denied ever having been affiliated with the *Young Communist League* or the Communist Party.

The maneuvering and machinations of the Communists in California's State Relief Administration is a black page in the social history of the State and it is liberally smeared with red. A report has been made on the activities of the Communists in the State Relief Administration and in the Communist controlled and dominated Workers' Alliance by an Assembly Committee of 1940 under the chairmanship of Assemblyman Samuel W. Yorty. The present committee subpoenaed certain people who had been connected with the State Relief Administration during 1940 and caught up the loose ends of the former investigation. Among those called was Branislaus Joseph Zukas, who had denied his Communist affiliations when the Yorty Committee questioned him in Visalia in 1940. The Communist affiliation of Zukas was established by documentary evidence.

Branislaus Joseph Zukas and some 23 others were convicted of contempt of the committee in Visalia and Stockton. Governor Olson, before going out of office in 1942, pardoned all of these individuals, even though they had been convicted of a misdemeanor.

Mr. Clinton T. Duffy, Warden of San Quentin Penitentiary, was present in the Advisory Pardon Board meeting when pardons for Zukas, and the other defendants convicted of contempt of the Yorty Committee, were recommended by the vote of the board. (Volume VI, pp. 1806-1818.) This occurred on or about June 30, 1941, and Mr. Duffy stated that he voted in favor of the pardons. (It must be remembered that Zukas and the others had been convicted of a misdemeanor.) Duffy stated that the reason he voted for the pardon of these defendants was that "they were county jail cases and had served a portion of their time in jail." He did not, however, recall recommending a full pardon for Zukas on October 30, 1941.

The committee made a long and thorough investigation of the activities of B. Joseph Zukas. He was an exceedingly impudent and hostile witness. (Volume I, pp. 145-164.) He came to California from Jamaica, New York, having been employed in that city in some capacity. Soon after arriving in California in December of 1937, he organized the *State, County and Municipal Workers of America, C. I. O.*, at the Los Angeles General Hospital. In November of 1938 he became affiliated with the State Relief Administration in Stockton and was sent to Tulare in December of 1939 where he was instrumental in organizing Local 204 for SCMWA in the State Relief Administration in Tulare County. He became the secretary of Local 204.

In March of 1940, Zukas was subpoenaed at Visalia before an Assembly Committee investigating un-American activities in the State Relief Administration. He refused to bring certain docu-

ments of the SCMWA Communist front organization and was finally convicted of contempt of the Assembly Committee. He was defended in this case by A. L. Wirin, of the law firm of Gallagher, Wirin and Johnson. Selma Michael assisted Wirin in the contempt trial. The decision of the Visalia court was appealed to the District Court of Appeals and the decision was upheld. Zukas resigned from the State Relief Administration and applied for a position as junior custodian at McNeil Island. He did not secure this position. He then went to Tacoma and from there to New York City where he remained for a brief time.

A photostatic copy of a letter received from Zukas' cousin, Franke Detke, addressing Zukas as "Dear Tovarich" (which means "Comrade" in Russian) was introduced into the record after Zukas had denied ever having received such a letter. (Volume I, pp. 151-152.)

From September, 1940, to May, 1941, Zukas worked for the Brooks Walker family in Piedmont. In May of 1941, he received a civil service position as junior interviewer with the State Department of Employment at \$130 per month in the Business and Professional Department of that State agency in the City of San Francisco. He later resigned from this position to become the organizer for Local 246 of the *State, County and Municipal Workers of America* in Los Angeles.

Frederick Langton was called before the committee October 14, 1941. (Volume I, pp. 277-284.) He testified that he was an addressograph operator in the Accounting Division of the Department of Public Works in the City of Los Angeles. He admitted being a member of *Labors' Non-Partisan League* since 1938 or 1939 and stated that he was a member of Local 246, of the *State, County and Municipal Workers of America*, a C. I. O. Communist front labor organization. He admitted being present when Herbert Biberman spoke for the *American Peace Mobilization* on the Los Angeles City Hall steps, Decoration Day in 1941. He admitted subscribing to the Communist Party paper, the *People's Daily World*, but denied being affiliated with the *Young Communist League* or the Communist Party.

Miss Pearl Ossman, employed as a typist-clerk in the State Department of Employment and a member of Local 246 of the *State, County and Municipal Workers of America*, C. I. O. (SCMWA) typified the hostile Communist fellow-traveling witness. (Volume I, pp. 272-277.) Although she admitted attending *People's World Forums* conducted by Ed Robbin, Communist radio-commentator for the *People's Daily World*, attending Communist Party Workers' Schools in 1939, subscribing to the *People's Daily World* and that she was a member of *Labors' Non-Partisan League*, she emphatically denied that she was a member of either the *Young Communist League* or of the Communist Party and stated that she had no acquaintance whatsoever with Communists.

State Schools, Colleges and Universities

In its study and investigation of Communism in our State public school system, its colleges and universities, the committee has enjoyed the fullest cooperation of university administration and is especially indebted to Mr. James Corley, comptroller, and Captain Walter Lee, in charge of campus police at the University of California at Berkeley. Most of this investigation has been conducted quietly, as indeed, has been the major part of the committee's investigation in the Communist field since June of 1941. Many witnesses were interrogated and a great volume of documentary evidence has been examined. As a result of this investigation, the committee is convinced that Communism is not being taught in the universities, nor in any of our public schools throughout California. The committee, however, is convinced, that although Communism is not taught in our public school system, its colleges or universities, there are a considerable number of instructors and faculty members who are either active members of the Communist Party or whose activities place them in the category of "fellow traveler." We have heretofore explained the distinction, if any, between a Communist Party member and a fellow traveler. A "fellow traveler" may be more dangerous in an educational institution than an out-and-out Communist Party member. The committee found that there is a Communist book store operating within a block of Sather Gate at the University of California at Berkeley. We also found that there exists at the University of California in Berkeley what is known as the *Campus Branch* of the *Young Communist League*. A number of typical Communist front organizations are also active in and around the University. The committee found a similar condition existing at Stanford University and at the University of California at Los Angeles and at some of the smaller colleges scattered throughout the State. The situation, in the opinion of the committee, is one that can be best handled by the Legislature rather than directly by the University itself.

William Schneiderman admitted that the *Campus Branch* of the Communist Party was located in Berkeley. He likewise stated that he had met Haakon Chevalier and his wife at a banquet held in the Whitcomb Hotel, in San Francisco, for Theodore Dreiser, by the *Civil Liberties Union*. (Vol. V, 1260-1342.)

The committee has gathered considerable evidence and information in connection with the Communist infiltration into the student groups at the University of California at Berkeley. A meeting of students at Sather Gate at the University was called early in July of 1935 to stimulate interest in a San Francisco parade to be held in commemoration of "Bloody Thursday," July 5th, of that year. This meeting was called under the auspices of the American Student Union, a Communist youth organization.

John Delaney Shoemaker, a member of the *International Longshoremen's Union* and a Communist Party member, was one of the speakers.

X The Communist infiltration into the University of California at Berkeley probably began late in 1930. The first Communist group was organized in January, 1931, and was called the Social Problems Club. It held its first meeting in Stiles Hall, Y. M. C. A. Whatever its actual origin, it was soon taken over by the Young Communist League; and such speakers as Louis Goldblatt, Communist secretary of the San Francisco C. I. O. Council, James Branche, Canadian Communist, since deported, Sam Darcy, now facing the cancellation of his citizenship and deportation because of his Communist affiliation, and many other comrades, were invited to speak. In the Spring of 1932, the Social Problems Club became a chapter of the National Student League and this organization, in due course, became the American Student Union. Aubrey Grossman was active in this group through its history. In 1936 the American Student Union sponsored a meeting at Sather Gate at the university at which James W. Ford, Communist candidate for Vice President, was the main speaker. This meeting prominently displayed the slogan "Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism" and also displayed the Soviet flag bearing the hammer and sickle.

|| Mr. Miles G. Humphrey (Volume V, pp. 1616-1631) testified before the committee that in 1934 he accompanied Rudy Lambert, whom Humphrey knew as a Communist Party functionary in charge of the Campus Unit at Berkeley, to the home of Professor Haakon Chevalier where a Communist Party meeting was being held. Humphrey stated that Chevalier was the Unit Organizer and the secretary of the University unit which was composed of professors and teachers at the University of California. Mr. Humphrey testified that Aubrey Grossman was then very active in the Young Communist League and that he was also a member of the Communist Party. Mr. Humphrey testified that Mr. Grossman, then a student of law at the University, held unit meetings of the Communist Party in the law library on the campus and that they used the law department mimeographing machine to get out leaflets for Communist Party propaganda.

/// Don Morton, a former member of the Communist Party, testified that Aubrey Grossman was a member of a Communist committee for the defense of King, Conner and Ramsey, Alameda ship murder defendants, which grew out of Communist Unit 5, known as the "Campus Unit" in the late Summer of 1936. (Volume VI, pp. 1783-1794.) Morton told the committee that Grossman contacted the faculty members of the University of California for legal assistance and collected funds for the defense of the defendants in this case. Morton also testified that he assisted in fighting the American Legion's attempt to block Aubrey Gross-

man's admission to the California State Bar and that, in conjunction with the Communist Party, he helped carry on an intensive propaganda campaign in Grossman's behalf, contacting members of the faculty at the University of California, prominent attorneys, Congressmen and Senators.

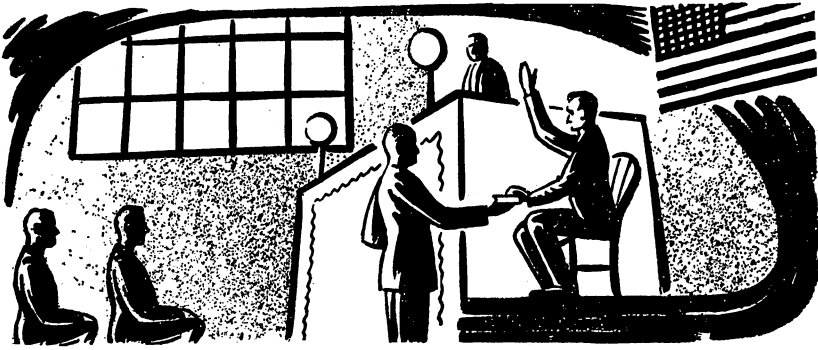
There can be little doubt in the mind of any person familiar at all with any of the facts that the *American Student Union* is a Communist Party front organization for the indoctrination of American students in colleges and universities in the United States. The *American Federation of Teachers* is likewise a Communist front organization for the teachers of America. The *Communist* for May of 1937 states: "The American Student Union and American Federation of Teachers, as well as other teacher and student groups, must be led to undertake joint activities. The American Student Union should advance slogans and undertake struggles in the interest of teachers and the American Federation of Teachers, in the interest of students * * * the task of the Communist Party must be first and foremost to arouse the teachers to class consciousness and to organize them into the American Federation of Teachers, which is the main current of the American labor movement."

The Communist for February, 1937, pp. 144-145 states: "The one year's existence of the American Student Union has fully justified its founding. During that year it led a student's peace strike of half a million students. It played an important part in mobilizing students' support for the American Youth Act, and in winning the continuation and extension of the National Youth Administration. It has begun serious work to organize high school students."

Dr. Max Radin is a professor of law at the University of California at Berkeley. In 1935, Dr. Radin was a sponsor of the *American League Against War and Fascism*. In January of 1936 he spoke on the same platform with Lorine Norman in San Francisco. In November of the same year he attended the *Western Writers' Congress* in the City of San Francisco. He was a member of the advisory committee of the *San Francisco Theatre Union* in 1939 and sponsored the *San Francisco League of Women Shoppers*.

Dr. Max Radin testified before the committee December 3, 1941, in San Francisco. (Volume VI, pp. 1768-1783.) The professor stated that he was born in Kempten, Poland, and that he came to the United States in 1884 and has derivative citizenship as his father was naturalized in 1889. He has been teaching at the University of California since 1919. He was aware of some *Young Communist League* activity at the University but the only man connected with the Communist Party that he had ever known was Kenneth May. His recollection of *Young Communist League* work was "very inaccurate." *Young Communist League* meetings

were frequently announced by posters to be held at Sather Gate. The professor told the committee that he did not know what a "front organization" was but did recall the *Social Problems Club* in which Communists and non-Communists gathered to study the problems of society. There are a number of *Young Communist League* members at the University as students and he stated that this fact was not at all concealed. The professor concluded by denying that he had ever been a member of the Communist Party and claimed that he had no sympathy with the Communist Party.



CHAPTER XII

Exposé of Communism

SWORN STATEMENTS OF FORMER COMMUNISTS

Affidavit of John G. Honeycombe

BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN CALIFORNIA

STATE OF CALIFORNIA }
County of Los Angeles } ss.

John G. Honeycombe being first duly sworn on oath does say: That he is a citizen of the United States of America and a resident of the City of Los Angeles, County of Los Angeles, State of California. He joined the Los Angeles section of the California Division of the Communist Party of the United States, an affiliated branch of the Communist International, known as the Third International of Communist Parties of the World whose headquarters, presidium, executive committee and general secretary maintain headquarters in Moscow, Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. He was accepted as a member of the Communist Party of the United States on or about June, 1934, and received his party membership book therein commencing as of that date. That following his acceptance as a member he was assigned to the Worker's School, located at the Cultural Center, No. 224 S. Spring Street, Los Angeles, California in a building which housed the headquarters of the Los Angeles section of the Communist Party of California, southern division. That affiant attended the classes held in Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism, and agitation and propaganda and revolutionary tactics; that the purposes of the schooling therein were as follows: Training and adaptation in applying the Marxian theories of economics to the relationships

of the existing capitalistic economy of the United States for the purpose of exposing and contradicting the theories existing under the exploitative objectives of the system of economy prevailing in the United States; training for the purposes of advocating the theory of the Socialistic economy of abundance as practiced in the U. S. S. R., that is the theory of equality of production, distribution, consumption, according to the ability of each in methods of production and to each according to their needs; training in the science of agitation among labor unions and members of organized labor by demands for a greater share in the profits of production in the form of wages and wage increases; by demands for better working conditions; by demands for the control of the hiring and firing of employees under the sole jurisdiction of the labor unions; by the exposure of collaborationist union leaders who fail to go along with the above demands upon the employers; by compelling the employer in self-protection to call out law enforcement agencies, the police, militia, in order to point out the use of such police powers by the employers against the workers, thereby creating and fomenting bitterness and disrespect for both employers and law enforcement; by training the members of the Communist Party in the art of subtle penetration into the unions and the taking of an active part in the initiative policies of unions in employers' affairs with respect to employer competitors; by carrying out the directives of the Communist Party line with relation to unionism and their political direction and affiliations; by pointing out to the members of the unions that in the Soviet Union (the U. S. S. R.) that the unions own and control the machines of production, regulate its production, and distribute that production on an equitable basis among the producers, that is the workers and operators of the machines of production; by pointing out the role of the agents of industry here in the United States, that is, the elected representatives of American big business, the Members of the Congress of the United States, the House of Representatives and the Senate, as being the mouthpieces of the exploiting capitalists, industrialists, landlords of the owning classes; by pointing out the usages of the militia against the workers by the employers under the orders and directions of State Governors, who under the State regime operate in the interests of the employers and owners of the machines of production and the large landowning combinations known as the Associated Farmers, an association of absentee landlords; by directing the workers and members of unions to form defense squads to protect their interests against the arrayed forces of the State and Nation who are created to protect the system of exploitation maintained by the employers to protect the ownership of private property, the capitalistic economy of the profit system, and preserve the continuation thereof; by training the members in the tactics of the revolution as exemplified by Lenin in his successful overthrow of the Kerensky Regime of Russia during the year 1919 after the desolation of the Russian forces as a result of World War I; by requiring a thorough study of the writings of John Reed's book

under the title of "*Ten Days That Shook the World*"; by quoting excerpts of John Strachey's book, "*The Coming Struggle for Power*"; by discussing and analyzing R. Palm Dutt's book, "*Fascism and Social Revolution*"; by reviewing the current struggles of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union against the capitalistic world; by pointing out the role that the Communist Party of the United States and all Communist parties must follow in order to secure the safety and security of the Soviet Union, *the Fatherland of Socialism* and Communism, in that through the preservation of the Soviet Union we could look forward with greater confidence in the eventual liberation from and overthrow of our own capitalist classes and landlords, the bosses and their agents; by bringing before the American workers and the people generally the rapid strides made by the people of the U. S. S. R. under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin and the vanguard of the working classes, the Communist Party, in order to condition the minds of the American working class and the people for the eventual overthrow of the existing order of society and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat under the direction of and control of the Communist Party of the United States. By our training we were prepared to enter under instructions from the Communist Party every occupation where we could carry on our task of agitation and propaganda to further the revolutionary development of the American working classes and the organized unions; by joining all occupational associations, organizations, unions, which represented the various occupations in which we fitted by either training or experience; that on or about July, 1934, I became actively attached to the organization set up by the Communist Party of the United States known as the "*Friends of the Soviet Union*," an organization organized for the purpose of agitating the American people living under a capitalistic economy by pointing out the merits and social well-being of the people who lived under the economy of socialism under the dictatorship of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as against the impoverishment of millions of the American people living under and through the ruling class capitalistic depression, who resorted to their capitalistic Messiah Franklin D. Roosevelt, the demagogue, who was to lead them out of the economic jungle of capitalism during the year of 1934; that the Friends of the Soviet Union, a mass organization created by the Communist Party of the United States for the purpose of obtaining recognition of the Soviet Union by the Roosevelt Administration, realizing fully the impossibility of accomplishing this under the open and avowed leadership of the Communist Party of the United States, who at that time were eyed with a great deal of suspicion by the American people; that on or about October, 1934, under the directives of the Communist Party fraction which formed the Executive Committee of the F. S. U. we received instructions from the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party through a member of the National committee of the F. S. U. to arrange for the publication of the Anti-Hearst Examiner, with which to reply to and combat the

editorials of the Los Angeles Examiner in which they continued their attacks on the Soviet Union; that at or about this time we organized a picket line before the office of the Los Angeles Examiner with the aid and direction of the Los Angeles Section of the Communist Party in order to intimidate and boycott the issues of the Los Angeles Examiner which agitated for public expression in disapproval of any form of recognition of the Soviet Union by the American Government; that your affiant together with the representative of the National Executive Committee of the Friends of the Soviet Union, one *Theodore Bayer*, by name, and *Dr. James C. Coleman*, district organizer and others whom I can not at this time recall, arranged and ordered printed 300,000 copies of the Anti-Hearst Examiner for distribution to the following organizations and societies: Utopian Society; End Poverty in California organization headed by Upton Sinclair; Humanist Society of Friends; Unitarian Church society; all labor organizations and old age pension groups; that the organizer and director of the F. S. U., Los Angeles branch, *Dr. James C. Coleman*, was at that time a member of the Los Angeles Section of the Communist Party; that *Theodore Bayer*, member of the National Committee of the F. S. U., was at that time a member of the Communist Party of the United States; that on or about June, July and August, 1934, your affiant and others of the F. S. U. and members of the Communist Party assisted in the raising of money through organized meetings to support the strike of Longshoremen at San Pedro and San Francisco as well as the Seaman's Tanker strike of that period; that on or about 10 days after the settlement of said strike, your affiant joined the Sailors Union of the Pacific, a branch of the International Seaman's Union of the American Federation of Labor; that on or about October 14, 1934, affiant sailed for the Orient on the S. S. *President Coolidge*, completing two round trips to Manila, P. I., and return via Japan and Shanghai, China; that on the first trip your affiant visited the Russian Embassy at Shanghai, on or about November 7, 1934, located at Broadway and Wangpoo Road opposite the Astor Hotel; that after presenting my credentials I was entertained cordially by the staff and treated in a comradely and revolutionary manner, by an exchange of views concerning events in our respective countries and their revolutionary problems; that during the period consumed on two voyages to the Orient commencing on October 14, 1934, and ending January 15, 1935, your affiant carried on both agitation and propaganda activities among both the union and other crew members, licensed and unlicensed personnel; that on or about December, 1936, affiant turned in his Communist Party membership book to the Unit Organizer of Unit A-I Los Angeles Sub-section of the Communist Party of the District of California; that on or about August 1, 1937, affiant volunteered his services to the recruiting agent of the Communist Party, Los Angeles Section, for service with the American Section of the International Brigades for the Republic of Spain; that the offer of service was accepted; that the recruiting organization was the Communist controlled and

directed committee known as the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; that he arrived in Spain on or about September 15, 1937, at Albacete, Spain, he among many others, volunteers of many nationalities, were addressed as follows: "Comrades, you are here as the vanguard of your revolutionary working class brothers and comrades, of the unions, and the oppressed of all races. Your first duty here is to defeat Fascism; to smash the forces of the landlords and their agents, the Church of Rome and their puppet Franco. Comrades, your second duty is to prepare yourselves here under revolutionary and civil war conditions, for the coming struggle back home against our own oppressors, our own landlords and the capitalist classes of America. You will be the cadres of the revolution in America when the time is ripe for the assault of the oppressed against the exploiters of the working classes. We must win here in Spain, as eventually we must win in the revolution to come back home in America." * * * (end quote); that on or about November 7, 1937, at Albarez, Spain, following action of the Lincoln-Washington Battalion at Fuentes de Ebro and during a reorganization period we received orders from the Brigade Commissar, Dave Doran, instructing all party members to carry out the directives of the Communist Party of Spain, under the Leadership of Jose Diaz, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, as recommended by the Political Bureau of the War Commissariat of Moscow, from the offices of the General Secretary of the Comintern, the Third Communist International, Georgi Dimitroff; that orders of the day concerning these wishes of the Comintern were carried out to the letter by command; that they automatically provided for the transfer of membership from the Communist Party of the United States to the Communist Party of Spain, compelling attendance to directives and obedience thereof; that the political commissariat, of which group, your affiant was elected to the political post of Political Commissar of the Battalion Staff; that your affiant was instructed in meetings to relay to the members of the battalion through their company commissars, all directives and instructions of the Spanish Communist Party with respect to the direction and aims of the civil war and the carrying out of the Comintern Party line in our propaganda and agitation in our communications with organizations, friends and relatives at home in America; that the following named men composed the International Control Committee; all representatives of the Comintern; Andre Marty, representing the Republic of France and the French section of the Communist Party of France; Jose Diaz, representing the Spanish section of the Communist Party of Spain; Gen. Rubilao, representing the U. S. S. R. and the contingent of instructors of the Red Army of the Soviet Union; Robert Minor, representing the Communist Party of the United States; Gen. Gomez, Chief of the Russian Secret Police, commonly known as the OGPU, with headquarters at Albacete, Spain; that on or about February 27, 1938, Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, appeared before the members of the Fifteenth International

Brigade, in the vicinity of Moro Station, following our relief from action at Teruel, Spain, and addressed the men as follows: "That they were free to leave Spain if they were no longer able to fight or were physically incapacitated and therefor were of no use to the cause of the people of Spain. He further stated that no further repatriations would be permitted until the end of the war and the victory had been won for the Spanish people's cause, which he likened to our own cause which we would face in America. He explained the lack of fighting equipment to the failure of the State Department of the United States and the Foreign Office of both Britain and France for the continuation of the Non-Intervention Committee and for the prevention of the lifting of the Embargo on arms to the Republic of Spain; he stated that many thousands of Americans were donating both their time and money to assist us in our struggle to win victory for the Spanish people. That the Communist Party of the United States and throughout the world were directing every effort to the end that the cause of the working classes of Spain might be victorious. He explained that only the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Communist Party and Joseph Stalin had come to the aid of the Spanish working classes. That victory for the working class of Spain would be the signal for revolt of the working classes throughout the world to overthrow their oppressors and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. That we of America must set an example of revolutionary discipline and courage for the workers of Spain, as well as for our own working class at home in America. That the day would surely come when we would be the cadres of the revolutions, the leading vanguard of the working class in their struggle to overthrow the capitalists and capitalistic system and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. That we must emulate our heroic leaders of the revolution, Lenin, and Stalin * * *" (end quote). That on or about March 13, 1938, at Barcelona, Spain, affiant visited the offices of the Ministry of War and was informed by the aide-de-campe to the minister, that under no circumstances could he or would he authorize any repatriations of the American members of the International Brigades without the consent of the International Control Committee named previously herein;

Affiant further herein states that the Communist Party of the United States is a branch of the Communist Third International, is accredited and delegated and affiliated to and with the Comintern, subscribes to, conforms to and obeys the decisions of the Communist Third International, as do all affiliated Communist Parties throughout the world. That membership in the Comintern (Communist Third International), is predicated on subscription to and conformity with Comintern directives.

(SEAL)

JOHN G. HONEYCOMBE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this thirtieth day of September, 1942.

EARL BLODGETT,

Notary Public in and for the County of
Los Angeles, State of California.

Protests and Denials

THE 1943 REPORT of the committee contained an affidavit of Rena M. Vale. Miss Vale was formerly a member of the *Communist Party*, and her affidavit is a narration of her experiences as a *Communist Party* member. On pages 141 and 142 of the committee's 1943 report Miss Vale names John Sargent as a member of the *Communist Party*. On pages 143 and 144 of the same report, Miss Vale refers to a Dr. Samuel Marcus whom she designates as a "*Communist Party* 'psychiatrist'." Mr. John Sargent and Dr. Samuel Marcus filed affidavits with the committee, categorically denying each and every allegation made by Miss Vale in her affidavit. Both gentlemen specifically deny connection, affiliation or sympathy with the *Communist Party*, its activities or its objectives.

The committee is happy to have the opportunity in this report to record the vigorous and emphatic denials of both Mr. John Sargent and Dr. Samuel Marcus. The sworn affidavits of both gentlemen have been made part of the official records of the committee and are attached to the original affidavit of Miss Rena M. Vale.

—Introduction, pp. 6-7, California Committee's 1945 Report.

Affidavit of Rena M. Vale

BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN CALIFORNIA—AR 277

AFFIDAVIT

STATE OF CALIFORNIA }
County of Los Angeles } ss.

Rena M. Vale being first duly sworn deposes and says:

That my full name is Rena Marie Vale; that I presently reside at 1247½ Huntley Drive, Los Angeles, California; that I was born in Arizona in the year 1898; that I graduated from the Northern Arizona Normal School in Flagstaff, Arizona, in the year 1918; that I taught school in Arizona two years; that I have lived almost continuously in California since 1920 and in Los Angeles since 1924; that since 1924 I have followed the writing profession, doing "free-lance" work for various newspapers and journals as well as reporting, short story writing, motion picture scenario writing, radio writing and publicity writing; that in 1928 I won a prize of \$5,000 in a scenario writing contest staged by Paramount Studios and Photoplay Magazine; that in 1929 I was director of publicity for Pickwick Airways, and for several years following, I engaged in aviation writing; that my present occupation is that of writer;

That since 1913 I have followed very closely the developments of labor, Socialist and Communist organizations;

That since 1924 I have read the literature of the Communist

Party, that is the *Masses*, the *New Masses*, the *Communist* magazine, the *Communist International* magazine, together with the *International Press Correspondence* INPRECOR, and many brochures, pamphlets, speeches and books published both in the United States and in the Soviet Union; that I discussed the policies and purposes of the Communist Party from time to time with persons who identified themselves to me as Communist Party members;

That although familiar with the so-called Communist International and Communist Party "line," I was in disagreement with it from 1924 until 1935; that the reason for my attitude toward the Communist Party "line" was that I disagreed with the idea of violent revolution in any country and in particular in the United States; that I disagreed with the idea of offending the majority of the people of United States by attempting to impose upon them a form of government and a culture which was totally foreign to the political and cultural trends of United States; that, in other words, I believe that whatever changes and improvements were to be made in the United States political, economic and cultural affairs, should spring from the needs of the people in this country and should be made according to the Democratic traditions of United States;

That when I read the speech of Georgi Dimitroff given to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in August, 1935, and the discussions of it in the various Communist Party publications I have heretofore mentioned, I formed the opinion, which I now know to have been erroneous, that the Communist International intended to permit each and every country to work out its own salvation by Democratic processes and that the Communist International would assist, encourage and lead in such processes of Democratic reform as sprang up in every country; that, in other words, the Communist International had abandoned the old policies of Lenin and Trotsky of creating world revolution, and had decided to cooperate with, instead of oppose, the Democratic organizations and governments of the world;

That because of this misconception of the Communist International intentions, due to the Oriental subtleties used by said Georgi Dimitroff, I felt I was willing to work with the Communist Party;

That at that time, I was working in Universal Studios in the capacity of secretary to various writers; that I discussed my changed attitude toward the Communist Party with such writers as Samuel Ornitz, Aben Kandel and Boris Ingster, with whom I had contact in my work; Samuel Ornitz identified himself to me as a Communist Party member and discussed at considerable length the intentions of the Communist Party in Hollywood and especially in relation to the motion picture industry;

That in the latter part of 1935 I was working on the motion picture "*Show Boat*," and in that work met the Negro singer,

Paul Robeson and his wife Essie Robeson; that said Paul Robeson identified himself to me as a Communist Party member and urged me to affiliate with the Communist Party;

That in the early spring of 1936 I made contact through Hugh Mac Beth, Negro attorney, with Dr. Fabian Garcia, a former attache to the Cuban Embassy in Washington, D. C., and that said Dr. Garcia identified himself to me as a Communist Party member and stated he was working within the United States toward the end of overthrowing the government of Cuba, which he labeled "Fascist"; that I worked with said Dr. Garcia in the Cuban Committee, and attended several meetings of that group where I heard the fact mentioned that the Communist Party guided the policies of said Cuban Committee;

That in these meetings of said Cuban Committee, I met with such persons as Clifford Odets, the playwright who had become the darling of the Communist Party for writing the play, "*Waiting for Lefty*," used by said party as a propaganda medium; Lionel Stander, who had recently come to Hollywood from the New York stage; Rose Dreher and her husband, Dave Dreher, who was employed in the Sound Department of R. K. O. Studios; and Herbert Biberman, who called himself a motion picture director; that in these aforementioned meetings I heard all these people discuss the matter in which the Cuban Committee could serve the general interests of the Communist Party in Southern California;

That in the summer of 1936 I was unemployed and Etta Durning, member of the Utopian Society and of the Women's Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism, referred me to a Mrs. Nora Helgren, whom Mrs. Durning said could help me obtain employment;

League of Women Shoppers

THAT I CALLED ON MRS. HELGREN at her home in a bungalow court, at 1757 1/2 North Ivar, Hollywood, and after several discussions, Mrs. Helgren informed me that she was a Communist Party functionary, and that she had been given the job by the Communist Party in New York of organizing in Southern California the League of Women Shoppers, which Mrs. Helgren informed me was under the complete control of the Communist Party. Mrs. Helgren urged me to join the Communist Party and stated that providing I did so she would put me in charge of the Los Angeles offices of said League of Women Shoppers; in the meantime, while I was considering the matter of affiliation with the Communist Party, Mrs. Helgren gave me some preliminary organization work to do for the League of Women Shoppers. She gave me a list of names and instructed me to contact these persons, saying I had been sent by her; she informed me that these persons were sympathetic to the Communist Party and thought I could obtain from them donations to begin the work in

Los Angeles of the League of Women Shoppers. The names she gave me were:

Gale Sondergaard, screen actress and wife of Herbert Biberman;

Tess Slesinger Davis, screen writer and wife of motion picture producer, Frank Davis;

Katherine Kilbourne (later an official in State Relief Administration);

That I made contact with Tess Slesinger Davis over the telephone, but did not call on her; however, I discussed the purpose of the League of Women Shoppers and she expressed herself as sympathetic;

That I called on Mrs. Katherine Kilbourne in her home on Los Feliz Boulevard and discussed the purpose of the League of Women Shoppers with her, and she said she would think over the matter of making a donation;

That about that time—the fall of 1936—I met a woman at the home of Mrs. Helgren whose name was Mrs. Nan Tolins, wife of I. Bibb Tolins, and who was also known as Nan Golden, who informed me that she was a Communist Party member of long standing and that she was going to take the position as paid secretary in the office of the League of Women Shoppers in Los Angeles; therefore, I turned over my literature and my contacts to Mrs. Tolins, who, as she stated, became the secretary in the Los Angeles office of the League of Women Shoppers;

That by that time I had extended my efforts as a Communist fellow traveler, and was working in an office in the American Bank Building on the same floor as the offices of Gallagher and Johnson on the Committee to Prevent the Disbarment of Leo Gallagher; that this committee was made up of attorneys who were endeavoring to prevent the disbarment of Leo Gallagher by the California State Bar; that on this committee were: J. Allen Frankel, Spencer Austrian, Saul Klein, Grover Johnson;

That J. Allen Frankel and Spencer Austrian informed me they were Communist Party members and Grover Johnson stated he was not a member of the Communist Party but that he followed all suggestions by the Communist Party;

That it was through this said Committee to Prevent the Disbarment of Leo Gallagher that I came in contact with the International Labor Defense, 127 South Broadway, Los Angeles; Rose Chernin was in charge of the office of the International Labor Defense; Miss Chernin informed me that the International Labor Defense, for which Leo Gallagher was attorney, was a branch of the Communist Party, and that all persons who worked in confidential capacities in or for that organization must be members of the Communist Party and under its discipline;

That through Julia Walsh, a typist in Leo Gallagher's office, and who made frequent trips to the office of the International

Labor Defense, I made application to join the Communist Party; that I saw my application card pass into the hands of Rudy Lambert, a Communist Party functionary whom I met in the International Labor Defense office; Mr. Lambert informed me that my application would be checked by the Communist Party and that I would be notified if I was accepted;

That after several weeks, and after the hearing of Leo Gallagher before the State Bar Board, I had not heard from my application for membership in the Communist Party; and assumed that I had been rejected because of my previous opposition to that party, particularly in the unemployed cooperative organization where I had frequently taken the floor and denounced those I thought to be Communists;

That I again contacted Mrs. Nora Helgren and informed her of the opinion that my past opposition to the Communist Party had caused my rejection for membership; she urged me to sign another application card and assured me it would go through; that I did so and saw Mrs. Helgren hand that card to Nan Tolins to be sent through regular channels;

That Mrs. Helgren then made another effort to get employment for me through Communist Party channels; that she introduced me to Albert Keene, whom she informed me had been an official in the office of Intourist, Soviet travel bureau, in Los Angeles, and that he was establishing an office in the Consolidated Building, Los Angeles, where he would book travel for the Soviet Union;

That on a number of occasions I discussed the relationship of the Communist Party members in Los Angeles with the Soviet Union with Albert Keene, Mrs. Helgren and her husband, George Helgren, their opinion being that Communist Party members in Los Angeles, as elsewhere, must look to the Soviet Union as their "fatherland";

That on several occasions I called on Albert Keene in his office in the Consolidated Building, but that I never obtained employment in his office: I have since heard that Albert Keene's differences with officials of the Intourist Bureau resulted in his expulsion from the Communist Party and from all contact with the Communist Party;

That I was in quite desperate financial straits and confided my plight to a social worker, Faiga Fram, whom I had known for some time; Miss Fram informed me that she was a member of the Communist Party, and stated that if I joined the Communist Party she would arrange through other Communist Party members working in the State Emergency Relief Association for that organization to certify me for relief; I informed Miss Fram that I had applied for membership in the Communist Party, and she instructed me to call Eve Solatoy, a supervisor on the State Emergency Relief Administration, and to use her name; I did this and was certified almost immediately. I later discovered that the social worker whom Miss Solatoy sent to investigate my case,

Eva Lubell, was a member of the Communist Party; that is, I encountered her in a closed meeting of the Professional Section of the Communist Party sometime in 1937;

That on or about November 7, 1936, I attended a celebration of the founding of the Soviet Union, and there encountered Faiga Fram again, as well as Rose Chernin, Rudy Lambert, and a number of other persons whose names I have forgotten; after the meeting, I went with Miss Fram and several other persons to Ernest Dawson's book store, and found Ernest Dawson in the process of making out reports to Booknaga, the Soviet publishing concern, which he stated he represented in Los Angeles; we discussed Communist Party affairs informally for a time, and I was given to understand that I had been "accepted" by the Communist Party social set;

WPA Historical Records Survey

That on or about the twenty-third of December, 1936, R. Fredericks Sparks, Supervisor of the WPA Historical Records Survey, a subdivision of the Federal Writers Project, in Los Angeles, requisitioned me from the State Emergency Relief Administration, and put me on the WPA pay roll as his secretary;

That immediately after January 1, 1937, when project workers returned from a vacation (through which I had worked in Mr. Sparks' office), Velda Johnston, one of the workers on the Historical Records Survey, approached me and asked me if I belonged to the Communist Party. She used the term "church," and after some difficulty I understood her to mean the Communist Party, and I explained that I had made application twice. Here I wish to explain that the method used by Miss Johnston in sounding me out on the matter of the Communist Party is general usage in the Communist Party; because of the pervading air of conspiracy and secrecy within the Communist Party no member would think of being direct in his approach to another person; certain esoteric Communist Party terms are used, as for instance, "the church," to mean the Communist Party, or a term like "directive," meaning an order, or "org," meaning "organization"; thus a Communist Party member can ascertain another person's affiliation or sympathy without exposing himself as a member of the Communist Party;

That Miss Johnston informed me that the Communist Party had a special interest in the WPA Historical Record Survey, and that Communist Party members in control of that program requested that those in key positions be members of the Communist Party, and that in order to retain my position as secretary to the supervisor of the project, I would have to get my membership in the Communist Party straightened out;

That I therefore contacted the aforementioned Nan Tolins, whom I knew had taken charge of my second application for membership in the Communist Party, and requested that she as-

sist me; Mrs. Tolins invited me to attend a meeting of her Communist Party unit and there make application; I attended a meeting of a Communist Party unit of the Hollywood Section; about 10 persons were present, but the only person other than Mrs. Tolins whose name I remember is that of Dr. M. H. Braden, a Hollywood chiropractor;

That at the meeting I signed the third application for membership into the Communist Party, and used the name Irene Wood as a party name;

That the strain of unemployment and uncertainty had caused my health to begin to fail, and I mentioned this matter to Mrs. Helgren, whom I continued to contact; Mrs. Helgren advised me to consult Dr. Leo Bigelman, which I did, and in the course of the examination, Dr. Bigelman discussed the matter of the Communist Party with me, and when I told him I had joined it, he revealed himself to me as a Communist Party member; later I saw Dr. Bigelman at general membership meetings of the Communist Party;

That within a few days after my third application to join the Communist Party was made, I received a notice to attend a meeting on North Ogden Drive, Hollywood; although it was a typed, unsigned note, merely requesting my presence at the address at 8 o'clock in the evening on a given day, I knew it was the long-awaited notice to attend Communist Party new members classes;

That on arrival at this address I found several others present; an elderly man informed us that we were the guests of the screen actress, Lucile Ball, and showed us various pictures, books and other objects to establish that fact, and stated she was glad to loan her home for a Communist Party new members class;

That the instructor introduced himself as Sidney Martin, but I later knew him by the name of Sidney Davidson, which he stated was his true name;

That there were about seven or eight other members of this class, but the only names I recall are those of Herb Harris, an actor, whom I encountered from time to time within the Communist Party, and who took part in the play "*The Blackguard*," which ran for several years in Los Angeles around 1938 and 1939; and Libby Jacobson, who, in 1939, was active in consumer cooperatives in Los Angeles;

That in this new members class, which continued for eight weeks, meeting weekly, we were taught the fundamentals of Stalinist-Leninism-Marxism, that is, Lenin had "interpreted" Marx to suit the conditions of Russia between the years 1900 and 1917, and Stalin had "interpreted" Lenin to suit the political and diplomatic needs of the Soviet Union after the expulsion of Trotsky from the Communist International Executive Committee (called E. C. C. I.—Executive Committee, Communist International) in about 1927; therefore, what we actually learned in the new members class was Stalinism, but we were told it was Marxism; we

were given a heavy course of reading on the history of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, of Lenin's works as well as a study manual dealing with a simplified course in economics, which explained wars as the outgrowth of imperialism, and "Fascism" as the last stage of imperialism;

That I began to have misgivings about the genuineness of Georgi Dimitroff's "Popular Front" speech as I listened to these patently false teachings—everything was oversimplified and slightly warped—but I felt I should give the Communist Party apparatus time to adjust to the new policy;

That during the time I was attending these new members classes, I was accepted on the Historical Records Survey and Federal Writers Projects (which were housed together at 751 South Figueroa Street) as a Communist Party member, and met in fraction meetings with these other Communist Party members to plan Communist Party control of both projects; other members of this Communist Party fraction were:

Walter McElroy, who later became supervisor of the WPA Federal Writers Project in San Francisco;

Robert Herrick, on the Historical Records Survey;

Velda Johnston, mentioned previously;

Paul Johnson, assistant supervisor on the Federal Writers Project, later (prior to McElroy) supervisor of the Federal Writers Project in San Francisco;

Tillie Lerner, who came to the Federal Writers Project soon afterward, and whose employment on that project was regarded as a Communist Party "victory";

American Writers' Union

That the first business of this Communist Party fraction on the Federal Writers and Historical Records Survey Projects, to which I belonged, was to attempt to resuscitate the dying American Writers Union, a Communist Party-controlled organization on a Nation-wide basis, but which was not accomplishing the purposes for which the Communist Party had set up the local chapter of it in Los Angeles; it was supposed to attract non-Communist writers, free-lance fiction writers as well as motion picture writers; but beside the Communist Party leadership in the Los Angeles chapter, there were only a few apathetic stragglers; I was urged to join this union and take part in its activities; this also meant meeting with the Communist Party fraction thereof; we met two or three times in the home of William B. Holther and George Bertholon, on North Toluca Street in Los Angeles, and that fraction consisted of the aforementioned persons belonging to the Communist Party on the Federal Writers and Historical Records Survey, and William B. Holther, who stated he was a member of the Young Communist League; he since broke away from that organization and has given testimony against it;

That other persons who took part in affairs of this aforementioned American Writers Union were Carey McWilliams, who gave an impassioned speech at one of the meetings held in the Unitarian Church, corner of Eighth and Vermont, Los Angeles, and which was generously sprinkled with words and phrases that were pleasing to Communist ears, but which did not serve the purpose of reviving the moribund organization; Beryl La Cava, chairman of the Women's Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism, who spoke at one of the meetings, and Edna Silverton, who accompanied Mrs. La Cava, and who, in turn, made a plea to this weak-kneed organization to help her establish a "progressive" book store in Hollywood. She later opened the Twentieth Century Book Store on Western Avenue near Melrose and handled only Communist Party and Communist approved literature;

That on one occasion the Communist Party fraction of the American Writers Union met jointly with the Communist Party fraction of the American Artists Union, and at which meeting, held in a small room in the Unitarian Church, Los Angeles, we laid down the program of joint action between Communist Party members on various WPA cultural projects toward forming a union which would encompass all these cultural projects; besides the aforementioned Communist Party fraction of the American Writers Union, there were, representing the American Artists Union, likewise Communist controlled:

Grace Clement, employed on the WPA Federal Art Project;

Fred Franchi, who had been employed on the Federal Art Project and whose only claim to "art" was his membership in the Communist Party;

Hugh Mason, a worker on the WPA Federal Theatre Project, who spoke in the name of the moribund Contemporary Theatre, likewise a Communist-controlled organization;

Edward Biberman, brother of Herbert Biberman, an artist and leader in the American Artists Union;

Walter Herrick, employed on the Federal Art Project;

That some time in February, 1937, Walter McElroy called together members of the Communist Party on the Federal Writers Project and Historical Records Survey for a week-end meeting in his home, 120 North Douglas Street, Los Angeles, for the purpose of meeting with Percival (Pete) Fry, a Communist Party member from San Francisco;

That those who attended that meeting besides Fry and McElroy, were myself, Paul Johnson and Robert Herrick, aforementioned. Mr. Fry stated that the State Executive Committee of the Communist Party had worked out a program for the unionization of white collar WPA projects, said program to be initiated by the Communist Party, and that he, Mr. Fry, was sent to Los Angeles by Frank Spector, Communist Party functionary on the said

State Executive Committee, to meet with various Communist Party fractions and individuals to get this union project under way; he stated that the Communist Party officials had decided that the American Writers Union was to be discarded as a possible union for the Communist Party to use to control the Federal Writers Projects; likewise, the American Artists Union and the Contemporary Theatre were to be discarded as respective rallying points for the Federal Art and Federal Theatre Projects; that we Communist Party members must set up on the aforementioned, and all other cultural and professional projects in Los Angeles, the American Federation of Government Employees, and that when organized, the California chapters would apply for a National charter in this, an American Federation of Labor, organization; that even if the charter wasn't granted by the National headquarters, we would have a Communist-controlled organization which had derived sufficient benefit from the respectable name of the American Federation of Labor to give it an organizational impetus, and that gradually we Communists would lead this organization through various stages into the Workers Alliance, but that it was decided by the Communist Party officials that the Workers Alliance, whose Communist control was well known, did not have sufficient prestige among professional and white collar workers to gain membership at that time; in other words, he laid down a program of deception by which the Communist Party hoped to gain control of non-Communist members on the WPA professional projects in California; that plan was followed as laid down at that time by Fry, but by the time the WPA workers had been led through the necessary organizational changes, they had dwindled to Communist Party members and sympathizers;

American Federation of Government Employees

That several Communist Party fraction meetings were held to lay plans to start the American Federation of Government Employees in Los Angeles; I recall one that was held in the home of Betty Arden, a worker on the WPA Federal Theatre Project and one of the guiding lights in the Contemporary Theatre in Los Angeles; present at the meeting were, besides myself and Betty Arden:

Eli Jacobson, a member of the County Committee of the Communist Party in Los Angeles;

Fred Franchi, aforementioned;

Al Lane (Lewis), then organizer of the Professional Section of the Communist Party in Los Angeles, and several others whose names I do not know;

That at that meeting we laid plans for the graceful demise of the American Writers Union, the American Artists Union and the Contemporary Theatre; we were to announce to the project

workers who had been faithful to these organizations that they were "just as important as ever" and that they would continue, but that the American Federation of Government Employees would fill a "long-felt need"; then we Communists were to withdraw from active work in the aforementioned doomed organization, and we knew that the non-Communists could not continue their existence;

That I thus learned, before my graduation from the new members class, that Communist Party leadership in American organizations depended solely upon deception; had it not been for the job control which I discovered the Communist Party exercised over the WPA projects, I would have dropped out of the Communist Party at that point;

Communist Unit 131 Professional Section

THAT UPON MY GRADUATION from the new members class, I was assigned to Unit 131, Professional Section, which was newly organized; it was comprised of Communist Party members on the Federal Writers, Federal Art and Historical Records Survey, and was split off from Unit 130 (to which it again went); since it was necessary for a unit in the Communist Party to consist of six or more persons, this unit could not begin to function until I was ready for unit work, that is, until graduation from new members class; at that point the Communist Party book is issued;

That members of Unit 131 were as follows:

Walter McElroy, organizer;

Robert Herrick, educational literature director;

Myself, membership director and dues secretary;

Velda Johnston aforementioned;

Walter Herrick, aforementioned;

Chandler Weston, a photographer on the Federal Art Project, who graduated from another new members class about that time;

That the three first mentioned comprised the "Buro" of this unit; we had special duties and special contacts within other divisions of the Communist Party; for instance, Walter McElroy was a delegate to the Section Committee (Professional Section), and I was, by virtue of the fact that I collected dues in the unit, a member of the Dues Secretaries Commission of the Professional Section, which body met about once a month to devise methods of raising money within the Communist Party;

That in accordance with Communist Party rules of procedure, each unit or branch, when organized, had to make a pledge to the party promising certain accomplishments, and it must also designate a "concentration point," or field of operation—this for the purpose of preventing conflict of Communist Party units in any given field; Unit 130, the parent unit, was pledged to concentrate on organization and cultural guidance in the WPA white collar

projects in Los Angeles; Unit 131, our new unit, took this same pledge for the Federal Writers, Federal Art and Educational Projects, leaving the Federal Theatre and Federal Music Projects to Unit 130;

That, in keeping with the unit pledge to guide the policies of the WPA projects in which the members thereof worked, the unit decided that R. Frederick Sparks must be removed from the Historical Records Survey in order that he might be replaced by a Communist Party member; in order to accomplish this purpose Velda Johnston communicated with Communist Party contacts in San Francisco, urging that Communist Party leadership in the Historical Records Survey send someone to Los Angeles; there-upon Sven Skaar, Field Supervisor of the Historical Records Survey in California, arrived in Los Angeles; Velda Johnston introduced him to me as a Communist Party member; Mr. Skaar informed me that the Historical Records Survey was in a position to perform a very vital work for the Communist Party; that workers on that project, in line with the requirements of the project, catalogued Federal, State, county, city, church and labor union records, and that much highly valuable information could thus be obtained for the Communist Party; in addition, workers, if they were Communist Party members, could obtain vital information on the functions of various cities and other branches of government, pending the time the Communist Party took over the reins of government in United States; also those workers had contact with various officials, some of whom might be won over to the Communist Party; he stated that Mr. Sparks was not sympathetic to the Communist Party and must be removed; he instructed me to keep careful note of all Mr. Sparks' activities and also to make extra carbons of all letters he wrote and to forward these reports to him in San Francisco; This I did, and before long Mr. Sparks was called to San Francisco and discharged by Thelma Ziemer, State Director of the Historical Records Survey, who later revealed to me that she was a Communist Party member;

That Sparks was replaced by James Toback, a Communist Party member who had been on the Historical Records Survey in San Diego, and whose transfer I handled within the Communist Party, making him a member of Unit 131; this was in the Spring of 1937;

That shortly thereafter, Mr. Toback employed Seema Matlin, a Communist Party member of long standing, and put her in charge of Historical Records Survey work in Huntington Library, much to the evidenced displeasure of the officials of that library;

That about that time, in the Spring of 1937, Unit 131 was increased by the graduation from new members class of Bee Burke (mother of Katherine Burke, a motion picture actress), who worked on the Federal Art Project; Fred Franchi also came into our Unit 131, in order to work more closely with other members of the Communist Party fraction of the American Federation of Government Employees;

That during this time my Communist Party assignments by no means ended with (1) Unit Buro work; (2) membership in the Communist Party fraction of the American Federation of Government Employees; (3) member of the Professional Section Dues Secretaries Commission; and (4) member of the Communist Party fraction of the combined Federal Writers Project and Historical Records Survey; I was requested also to assist the (5) Communist Party fraction in the League of Women Shoppers;

That in regard to that latter assignment, I met in closed Communist Party fraction meetings with—

Nan Tolins (Nan Golden), executive secretary;
Davida Corey Franchi (Mrs. Fred Franchi);
Libby Jacobson, mentioned in new members class; and
Elf Scharlan, an attorney;

That it developed that the League of Women Shoppers had taken in a number of liberal and labor-minded women in the community who understood the organization was for the benefit of Los Angeles, and who wished to have a say in the affairs of the organization; from a Communist Party standpoint these women presented a serious problem, because the organization was designed, organized and operated exclusively for the benefit of the Communist Party; these aforementioned fraction meetings were called for the purpose of devising means to meet this problem without isolating the enthusiastic women who did not understand the true purpose of the organization;

That Elf Scharlan stood alone in this fraction against Davida Corey Franchi and Nan Tolins, with Libby Jacobson and myself following the lead of the Franchi and Tolins women; Elf Scharlan was "put straight" on the true purpose of the organization and instructed not to permit any Democratic expression within the organization, even if it caused membership to drop away;

That I was shocked at this high-handed and autocratic rulership of an organization which I understood came within the scope of the so-called Popular Front which the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International had instituted by accepting the speech of Georgi Dimitroff in August, 1935; I realized that to deceive and to dictate to the public was no proper means of bringing about world betterment; but I was too puzzled and frightened to protest; I suddenly found myself in the midst of exactly the opposite from what I had desired and expected when I joined the Communist Party, but I did not know how to turn back;

That I cautiously discussed some of my misgivings with my comrade Walter McElroy, and he assured me that things would straighten themselves out as soon as older comrades within the party understood the true meaning of the Popular Front; and he explained away the actions of others by saying they were "undeveloped";

Dues Secretaries Commission

THAT IN THE DUES SECRETARIES COMMISSION of the Professional Section there were the dues secretaries of all the Professional Section, comprising two units of school teachers, one of newspaper workers, one of doctors, one of lawyers, two of social workers, one of pharmacy workers, one unit of architects and engineers, one of WPA Theatre Project (and Music Project) workers, one so-called "hash" unit comprised of a "hash" of professions, our Unit 131 comprised of WPA Federal Writers and Federal Art Projects workers; that this commission met once a month, never with full membership present, in the home of Ann Howe, Dues Secretary of the Professional Section to whom we turned over our moneys, at 3224 Beverly Boulevard, a house which had been rented by the Communist Party for the moribund Contemporary Theatre; Jay Moss, a Negro Communist Party member in the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, also lived at that address;

That, besides persons whose names I did not know, Ann Howe, and myself, this commission comprised:

Martin Irons, (husband of Urcel Daniel of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild), Dues Secretary for, I believe, a social workers unit;

Sid Burke, Dues Secretary for the Newspaper Guild Unit;

Luba Fox, Dues Secretary for the Federal Theatre Project Unit;

Marcia ———, a Negro school teacher, for one of the teachers' units;

Marge Comey (she had another name also which I do not know);

That aforementioned Martin Irons generally drove me home from the meeting, and on one occasion told me he was leaving the Dues Secretaries Commission to take a job organizing the CIO in Douglas Aircraft, and then outlined to me the Communist Party program in relation to aircraft plants, pointing out that they occupied a strategic position in war industry and that in order to gain control of the country the Communist Party must control such bottlenecks of war industry; that his success in that field is unknown to me, because the next I heard of Martin Irons, he occupied an important position in the California State Department of Motor Vehicles;

That on one occasion my comrade and coworker Seema Matlin invited me to sit in on a Communist Party fraction meeting of the Women's Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism, which about that time was changing its name on Communist Party order to the American League for Peace and Democracy; that this order was the main topic of discussion at the aforementioned meeting, and likewise the subject of coordinating so-called "mass organization" work of the Communist

Party was discussed; present at this meeting, besides several whose names I do not know, were:

Seema Matlin, one-time paid secretary in the office of the American League Against War and Fascism;

Beryl La Cava, chairman of the women's committee of said organization;

Rose Dreher, mentioned previously in relation to the Cuban Committee, and with whom Seema Matlin was at that time living; and

Davida Corey Franchi, who was known to the general membership of the American League Against War and Fascism as "Davida Corey," while she used "Davida Franchi" for her work in the League of Women Shoppers, thereby, as she explained to me, avoiding the likelihood of detection as a Communist Party member (though I must say this line of reasoning did not convince me);

Communist Party Fraction

THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY effort to organize the American Federation of Government Employees was proceeding apace with all the other aforementioned work during the spring of 1937; the Communist Party fraction of this organization which acted as a "steering committee," met weekly at my home, 1323 W. Fourth Street, Los Angeles, and was made up of Communist Party members and Young Communist League members of the various cultural and professional WPA projects in Los Angeles; the work of this fraction consisted not only in organizing and controlling said union for the WPA projects, but in coordinating this work with the Communist Party's work in the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, in the local chapter of the American Federation of Teachers, with the CIO Federation of Architects, Engineers and Technicians, and even with the CIO Industrial Union Council in Los Angeles; also we had to consider the eventuality of merging with the Workers Alliance, and coordinate our work with that organization, which was completely under Communist Party control; also consideration was given to Communist Party work in such mass organizations as the National Negro Congress, the aforementioned American League for Peace and Democracy and its Siamese-twin organization in Hollywood the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League;

That while it is impossible to describe the vast network of interlocking Communist Party fractions, commissions, committees and special committees which harmonized and coordinated the extensive undertakings of the Communist Party and so directed the work that the energy of one person could be as effective as the energy of one hundred or more uncoordinated individuals, this aforementioned example of one small and relatively insignificant Communist Party fraction might serve to illustrate the extensive and intricately balanced machinery of the secret Communist Party in United States;

That while this aforementioned fraction fluctuated, those in regular attendance were, as I recall them:

Carl Brant, organizer of a dying organization on the WPA Federal Theatre which must be replaced by the aforementioned American Federation of Government Employees; (This is the same Carl Brant who is at this writing a representative of the CIO United Radio, Electrical and Machine Workers of America on the War Manpower Commission in Oakland);

Mary Virginia Farmer, supervisor of the Southwest Unit of the WPA Federal Theatre Project, a personal friend from Vassar College days of Hallie Flanagan, National Director of the Federal Theatre Project;

Ben Goodman, a singer on the WPA Federal Music Project;
Fred Franchi, then employed on a WPA Educational Project;
Walter McElroy;

Robert Herrick;

Walter Herrick; brother of Robert;

Martha Herrick; sister of Robert and Walter;

Another Herrick sister, twin—both these girls were on the WPA Music Project;

Betty Arden, who left early in 1937 for the Northwest;

Donald Murray, member of the Southwest Unit, Federal Theatre;

Dorothy Rodin, sister of Emil Freed, organizer of the Hollywood Section, Communist Party; an actress on Federal Theatre;

Leona McGenty, a teacher on the Federal Theatre Project;

Howland Chamberlain, an actor on the Federal Theatre Project (he has since become the manager of the Communist Party's Progressive Book Store on W. Sixth Street, Los Angeles);

James Toback, aforementioned;

Seema Matlin, aforementioned;

Velda Johnston, aforementioned;

That among those who were invited to sit in for one or more conferences in order to coordinate special work in other branches of Communist Party endeavor, were:

Samuel Kalish, teacher, then trying to hold together a dying Teachers' Union, in opposition to the American Federation of Teachers, into which I understand he later went—and who at present writing is an examiner in the California Labor Commission in Los Angeles;

Eli Jacobson, leader of some underground cultural work in Hollywood, active in the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, and par-amour of Beryl La Cava, former wife of the motion picture director, Gregory La Cava;

Sid Burke, of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild and a member of the staff of the publication for the *Hollywood Anti-Nazi League*, N. O. W.;

That the plan for establishment of a Communist controlled union to lead WPA cultural and professional project workers into the Workers Alliance by a series of deceptive processes was successful; the Communist Party fraction aforementioned established the American Federation of Government Employees on the WPA cultural and professional projects in Los Angeles; Fred Franchi was president; Walter McElroy was secretary, I was treasurer, and several non-Communists were drawn in for other, less important union positions;

Communist Control of Unions

THAT BEFORE CONTINUING with the progress of this union development I wish to cite an instance typical of the manner in which the Communist Party retains control of unions; Florence Artman, a member of the publicity staff of the Federal Theatre Project, took an active part in the organization of this union, but she opposed the election of Fred Franchi as president. Inasmuch as he was the Communist Party choice it was necessary for every Communist to put forth all effort to elect him and to elevate him in prestige with the project workers, therefore Florence Artman's opposition was given serious consideration by the Communist Party fraction, aforementioned; it was the fraction decision, and therefore binding upon every Communist Party member in that union, to utilize a process of discrediting her in the eyes of all project coworkers and the community at large; the Communists announced, by decision of said fraction, that they would "isolate, expose and expel" Florence Artman, as an "enemy of the working class"; with Leona McGenty and Fred Franchi as the mental geniuses in this program, a plan of malicious gossip was devised; we Communists were to tell everyone who would listen that Florence Artman was "mentally and emotionally unstable," that she was a sexual pervert and that she was "in the pay of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association." As planned, our gossip brought her near the point of nervous collapse; other Communist forces caused her dismissal from her position on the project, and with each outbreak of hers against what she felt to be injustice, we derided her for "hysteria"; until at last, few project workers would listen to her stories against Fred Franchi; and as an offshoot of that campaign, a friend and coworker of Florence Artman at that time, Louise Young, committed suicide;

That this fiendish calculation to destroy the reputation, the mind and the ability of a person to make a living revolted me and preyed upon my mind, and I remonstrated privately with Leona McGenty for instigating, sanctioning and even compelling other Communist Party members to indulge in that inhuman practice; Mrs. McGenty merely laughed at me and stated, "We must destroy our enemies by whatever method we can; we must regard a lie as a tactical maneuver." She went on to state that, according to official teachings of the Communist Party, that Communist work was to be conducted as a war, and that "all was fair" in war;

That our union, the American Federation of Government Employees, was denied a charter by the International headquarters of that organization, which was an old American Federation of Labor union for government workers, on the grounds that WPA workers were not eligible for membership in that union; that this was foreseen was evident from the mention by Percival Fry when he brought our Communist Party fraction word to start organizing this union; he had made it clear the Communist Party had chosen this particular union *because* it was a foregone conclusion they would not accept WPA workers, therefore, the membership would be satisfied to accept "the next best thing," which would be a step nearer the Workers' Alliance; we put up a sham battle in order to impress our membership, then recommended as a "next best thing" that we call ourselves the California Federation of Government Employees; the next step was to apply for a C. I. O. charter, which Communist Party contacts through Fred Franchi and Al Lane (Lewis) informed us was not coming through, on Communist Party orders to and through C. I. O. channels; when the C. I. O. turned down a charter, we led our membership, still unsuspecting of our trickery, into a State-wide organization of WPA white collar workers, and the name was changed to conform to the name used in San Francisco, to The Cultural and Professional Projects Association; this name change took place in the June, 1937, convention in San Francisco which I attended; at the next State-wide convention, held in 1938, this group became the white collar section of the Workers' Alliance, officially, but as stated before the membership had dwindled by that time;

San Francisco Cultural and Professional Fraction

THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY FRACTION of the San Francisco Cultural and Professional Projects Association, to the best of my recollection, with whom I met in that city at the time of the aforementioned convention, were:

Percival (Pete) Fry, elected president of the State-wide organization; from Federal Writers Project;

Dorothy Sawvelle, who had been Secretary of the San Francisco American Federation of Government Employees, and who had been dismissed from the Federal Writers Project;

Herbert Nugent, Federal Writers Project;

Lawrence Estavan, Federal Writers Project;

Helen Cross, Federal Theatre Project;

Ada Clement, from Oakland;

Dr. Henry Scholtz, Historical Records Survey, San Francisco;

Walter Matlin, brother of Seema Matlin, and worker in a State Relief Administration project;

That this is less than half the number of Communist Party

members with whom I met at that time, but I do not recall the other names;

That also, on the occasion of that trip to San Francisco, I met in Communist Party fraction meetings with members on the San Francisco Historical Records Survey, who were:

Thelma Ziemer, State Director;
Sven Skaar, State Field Supervisor;
Dr. Henry Scholtz, aforementioned;

Norah Follman, Secretary of the Project in San Francisco; and two or three others whose names I have forgotten;

That on that occasion I called on Paul Johnson who had been transferred from Los Angeles to the San Francisco Federal Writers Project in a supervisory capacity; he introduced me to another Federal Writers Project supervisor, Robert Muir, informing me in the introduction that Muir was "a comrade"; I discussed Communist Party affairs with Muir at that time, and later he called on me in Los Angeles (sometime in the Spring of 1938) and informed me that he had been sent to Los Angeles as an official of the National Labor Relations Board; I read in the newspapers that Muir handled the balloting of the United Studio Technicians' Guild (C. I. O.) against the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees (A. F. L.) for collective bargaining rights in the motion picture studios in 1939;

That while I was in San Francisco at that time, namely, in June, 1937, I contacted persons with whom I had had correspondence in the New Theatre League on Green Street in San Francisco, and in discussing theatre matters with the secretary, Frances Burge, discovered it was a Communist Party project; I made my membership known, and was invited to sit in on the Communist Party unit meeting of this group; there were about 10 members of that unit, all active in the production, "*Bury the Dead*," an anti-war play by Irwin Shaw; and I learned from the business of the unit that the play was selected because it expressed the current Communist Party line; when the curtain rose, I encountered Robert Muir in the audience, and again spoke with him; Helen Cross, aforementioned, was a member of this theatre group and director of the play, "*Bury the Dead*," although she was an employee on the Federal Theatre Project at that time;

That, returning to the affairs of the Historical Records Survey and Federal Writers Project in Los Angeles in the Spring and Summer of 1937, James Burford was employed on the Federal Writers Project early in the spring of 1937 and met with our Communist Party fraction of the combined Federal Writers Project and Historical Records Survey, of which I had been elected secretary; said James Burford, by reason of his employment on the Federal Writers Project, was eligible for membership in our Unit 131 for Communist Party members of that project, but he neglected to attend unit meetings; however, he purchased Communist Party dues stamps from me, as dues secretary of the unit;

That an event which stands out in my mind was the furtive planning in which our Communist Party fraction of the Federal Writers Project and Historical Records Survey engaged in order for said James Burford to get a leave of absence from the Federal Writers Project in order to attend the May 1, 1937 National Convention of the Young Communist League in New York; we arranged alibis so that he could pretend to be "ill," and when he returned around the middle of May, we Communists jokingly urged him to "look as pale as possible";

Removing Non-Communists

THAT THE LOS ANGELES DIRECTOR of the Federal Writers Project, Hugh Harlan, was not sympathetic in any way with the Communist Party, and one of the main orders of business of our aforementioned fraction was to effect his removal from that project;

That every possible complaint was launched against him with Henry G. Alsberg, National Director of the Federal Writers Project and whom, we were informed through Communist Party channels, was friendly to Communists;

That eventually said Henry G. Alsberg sent one of his national field representatives, Claire Laning, to Los Angeles to investigate conditions on the Federal Writers Project, and that our Communist Party fraction, composed of Walter McElroy, Robert Herrick, Tillie Lerner and myself, called on said Claire Laning, as "representatives of the union," and after a certain amount of parrying, found him sympathetic to Communists; we then proceeded to fill his ears with grievances against said Hugh Harlan, most of which were about his "reactionary" attitude;

That our efforts were successful was proven when Harlan was dismissed from the Los Angeles Federal Writers Project by the National office in the latter part of 1937, and he was replaced by a regime friendly to the Communist Party (of which there will be more later);

That some time in the early Spring of 1937, Dr. Paul Radin, of University of California and one of the State sponsors for the Historical Records Survey, dropped in at the Los Angeles office; Sven Skaar was present, and introduced me to Dr. Radin as "a comrade"; Dr. Radin launched into a long discussion of the possibilities of the Historical Records Survey for doing useful work for the Communist Party, of which he readily admitted himself to be a member;

That Dr. Paul Radin stated he was planning to leave very soon for China and other points in the Orient ostensibly to do anthropology research, but that he was going to attend to certain matters (which he did not elaborate on) for the Communist Party; at that time he made the statement there should be an Historical Records Survey Project in Manila, operated, of course, by Com-

munist Party members, in order to provide certain facilities for coordinating Communist Party work in the Orient with that in the United States;

That several months later and without any reference to Dr. Radin's remarks, Thelma Ziemer, State Director of the Historical Records Survey, on one of her trips to Los Angeles, informed me she planned to establish branches of the California Historical Records Survey in both Honolulu and Manila, and that she was counting on me for the Manila project; this plan did not bear fruit; to which fact I probably owe my life;

"Loyalist" Spain

THAT IN THE SUMMER of 1937 the Communist Party was carrying on an extensive campaign to assist the Loyalist government of Spain in its war against Francisco Franco; all Communist Party members were required not only to read a vast amount of literature giving the Communist Party version of this war, but to take part in the campaign of raising money, recruiting volunteers to go to Spain to fight, and to proselyte the public about the cause of Loyalist Spain; in my capacity as Dues Secretary of Unit 131, I was instructed to make certain collections from the unit members for this cause, which moneys I turned over to Ann Howe, Professional Section Dues Secretary;

That there was general recognition within the Communist Party that the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and the Medical and Technical Aid to Spain were Communist Party organizations; in fact, I received a letter from Beulah Kashins (Kay), a secretary in the National headquarters in New York for the Medical and Technical Aid to Spain in which she mentioned her Communist Party membership and the fact that the organization was under Communist Party direction; I had known Beulah Kashins (Kay) at Universal Studios, prior to the time either one of us had joined the Communist Party;

That in keeping with that program to aid the Loyalists in Spain, I interceded on behalf of Alpheus Prowell, a Negro Communist Party member who belonged to Unit 130, Federal Theatre Project Unit of the Professional Section with Communist Party officials in the Los Angeles County headquarters requesting that they speed up the transfer of said Alpheus Prowell from the Communist Party of United States of America to the Communist Party of Spain so that he might join the International Brigade in Spain; said Alpheus Prowell left some time in the Summer of 1937, and has since returned to California; it is my understanding he fought in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the American section of the International Brigades of Spain;

Negro Commission of the Communist Party

THAT I WAS "CO-OPTED" (a Communist Party term meaning drafted) for duty in the Negro Commission of the Communist Party in Los Angeles some time in the Summer of 1937, and

attended one meeting of said Negro Commission, held in the home of Al Bryan (Ryan), a county functionary of the Communist Party and teacher in the Workers School;

That those present at that meeting besides Al Ryan and his wife, Maureen Ryan, were:

Leona McGenty, previously mentioned;

Olga Kreuger, an actress on the Federal Theatre Project and member of Unit 130, Professional Section;

Jay Moss, Negro, who spoke in behalf of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, and two or three others whose names I have forgotten;

That the purpose of this Negro Commission was to coordinate agitation among the Negroes and for the Negroes within various mass organizations controlled by or influenced by the Communist Party; as an illustration: Jay Moss would take decisions of this Commission to the Communist Party fraction of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, resolutions and proposals would be drafted by that fraction and introduced at regular meetings of that organization; then, when passed—as all Communist-controlled organizations always pass the fraction resolution—these resolutions would be given publicity in the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League publication, *N. O. W.*, and in turn picked up as “vital news” by other Communist-controlled publications to attempt to delude the public into believing that this resolution was a spontaneous matter with the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, and so on, all the way through the organizations which the Communists influenced, until after a few weeks the proposals drafted by our Negro Commission, which of course must hew to the current Communist Party line on Negro work, would fan out to look like they were the wishes of many thousands of people; such is the power of Communist Party coordination;

Communist Party Trade Union School

THAT I ATTENDED a Communist Party Trade Union week-end school in the Summer of 1937, which combined the work of unions within the Professional Section to which I belonged, and the Harbor Section; unions of the Professional Section represented were: Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, with Jay Moss and Sid Burke as representatives; the Social Workers' Guild, which at that time was transforming itself into the State, County and Municipal Workers of America, C. I. O., represented by two young women whose names I have forgotten; the Teachers' Union, referred to previously as in a dying condition, represented by Marge Comey; the California Federation of Government Employees, represented by Fred Franchi and myself; from the Harbor Section the International Longshoremen's Association was represented by a man whose name I do not remember, and the American Communications Association was represented by another man whose name I do not recall; the Harbor Section of the Commun-

ist Party was represented by Jack Moore, Organizer; the Trade Union Commission of the Los Angeles County Communist Party, the official body set up to coordinate all trade union fraction work, was represented by John Sargent, business agent for the A. F. L. Culinary Workers and Bartenders' Union; and Communist Party officials who conducted these coordinated classes were Al Bryan (Ryan), County Educational Director for the Communist Party and Al Lane (Lewis), organizer for the Professional Section;

The purpose of the aforementioned week-end school was to instruct the white collar unions, through the Communist leaders thereof, in the ways and means of conducting labor struggles along true Communist lines, as exemplified by the strikes conducted on the Pacific Coast by the Maritime Federation of the Pacific; the strikes of 1934 and of 1936 conducted by that organization and its component unions were regarded officially by the Communist Party leadership as perfect samples of "class struggle" activities, and there were no punches pulled as to the revolutionary goal of strikers of that sort; they were designed to lead to revolution, and revolution along Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist lines, with the Communist Party in the "vanguard"; our white collar unions were important to the unions in production and transportation bottlenecks in that said white collar unions could allay the fears of the populace by propaganda, assist in organizing sympathy strikes, and paralyze resistance against Communist-led general strikes;

That in these classes at said week-end Trade Union School no mention was made of the rosy promises of "collaboration" with non-Communist labor and liberal organizations, as given by Georgi Dimitroff in his speech to the Seventh World Congress; and it was therefore not difficult for me to ascertain that these promises which I had mistaken for sincere desire were naught but camouflage to conceal the Communist International intentions to create world revolution;

Meaning of "Popular Front"

THAT IT TROUBLED ME SORELY that I had so completely deceived myself about the Communist Party; I was chagrined and baffled, and cautiously discussed the Popular Front policies with various Communist leaders such as John Sargent, Fred Franchi, Walter McElroy, Al Lane (Lewis), Leona McGenty and others, and gained from them the information that the Popular Front tactic was "a means to an end," and along the lines of revolutionary strategy laid down by Lenin, and the ethics of such deception were summed up in Lenin's words that "the end justifies the means";

That I then understood that the abandonment by the Communist International in the Seventh World Congress of 1935 of the old policy of "world revolution" by violence, "rum, riot and rebellion," as voiced by Communist orators in United States, was

merely suppressed in propaganda and oratory in order to deceive, and that it existed in a much more deadly form in the secret teachings of the Communist Party;

That this shame and disillusionment caused me to lose interest in Communist endeavors, and I began looking for a way to get untangled from the Communist network; and that from that point on, my Communist Party work was half-hearted, as I vacillated between a desire to "make the best of a bad bargain" and to find a means of escape;

That at this point I wish to describe the method by which an innocent person is trapped within the Communist Party; in the first place when he joins, he is instructed to "burn his bridges behind him"; he must cease relationship with former friends and even family unless they are sympathetic or susceptible to Communist teachings; he is given a course of training which is designed to cause him to discard all his beliefs in morals and ethics; he is taught to regard persons only from the standpoint of their usefulness to the Communist Party; that there is no wrong except a wrong to the Communist Party, be it deception, robbery or even murder; that the Democratic form of government, as it exists in United States, was but an expression of capitalist exploitation and therefore must be abolished with capitalism; that religion was but an opiate of the people; that there was no truth except that voiced by Joseph Stalin and the Communist International;

That I had disregarded these teachings in the New Members Class because I regarded them as silly hangovers from the "Third Period," or that period of Communist history which preceded the Popular Front, and felt they would be abandoned when the Popular Front theories seeped through the world Communist apparatus; but I found they were basic and that they must be revered as orthodox teachings, and to doubt them would be to reveal heresy;

That it was the prevailing fanaticism, the religious fervor and unreasoning devotion of my comrades that alarmed me as much as the diabolical network of espionage which is woven around a Communist Party member; I knew that to break from the Communist Party would bring down upon one's head the most fiendish sort of punishment that could be devised by these fanatics—and in which they dared to indulge;

That a Communist Party member is pledged to carry out all orders of the party in a military manner; that he is given occupation for all his leisure hours, meetings almost daily, and thousands of other tasks, that he is in constant, even hourly touch with his squad leader, and therefore has no opportunity to slip away and think things out; that wherever possible, persons who are losing faith in the Communist Party are forced to live with faithful members, or a member of their family or close circle is assigned to spy on the suspect's every movement, to report all persons he contacts, and especially to note all his reading matter and the manner in which he spent any scraps of leisure time;

That there is also the matter of involvement in illegal activities; the Communist Party member is constantly reminded, by word and deed, that he is engaged in illegal work and that if he doesn't want to go through with his bargain he can be turned over to authorities. Undoubtedly many members are assigned to illegal tasks, but those who are engaged in routine work which is entirely legal from any standpoint, are made to believe they are engaged in "dangerous underground work," and therefore kept in fear of betraying Communist Party secrets; and also Communist Party members are constantly hammered with the idea that all agents and agencies of government, from police officers to the Supreme Court, are "enemies," and are to be treated as such; the Communist Party member is impressed with the idea that agencies of government are to be held in contempt; that he need have no respect for an oath or a law; that no law is sacred but that of the Communist International;

That, therefore, few Communist Party members have the ingenuity or the courage to break out of the trap;

Communist Party Membership Commission

THAT AT THE POINT where I was becoming aware of these things, my comrades devised schemes to involve me in new work; in the first place I was invited by the Professional Section Membership Director, Jane Howe (no relation to Ann Howe), to attend the Membership Commission meetings, which were held in the quarters of Ethel Holmstock in the Pacific Art Institute Building, now torn down, on the corner of Vermont and Wilshire; this commission was composed of, besides Jane Howe and Ethel Holmstock, the following:

Dr. Samuel Marcus, Communist Party "psychiatrist," who is at present a member of the Los Angeles County Board of Alienists and a superior court psychiatrist;

Dr. Leo Bigelman, aforementioned;

Joseph Aidlin and his wife,

Mary Aidlin;

Donald Murray, from Unit 130, and

Norman Byrne from a teachers' unit; this is the same Norman Byrne who became so active in the American Peace Mobilization in Los Angeles; he is an instructor at Los Angeles City College;

Others whose names I do not recall;

That in the meetings of said Membership Commission, we discussed the psychology to use on new members in the Communist Party, whom and how to recruit members from the so-called "bourgeoisie," or general society which had not been indoctrinated by Marxism, Socialism or Communism; in fact, the Membership Commission composed an essay which was incorporated into a pamphlet and sold throughout the Communist Party in California entitled "Whom and How to Recruit," most of which dealt with

the methods of deceiving ordinary Americans into thinking "Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism," and how to hold them in the party once they began to lose their illusions—though of course such frank terms were not used in the discussion;

That after several discussions with Dr. Samuel Marcus about the psychology of Stalinism-Leninism-Marxism I came to a much fuller understanding of the profound depths of intrigue, conspiracy and treachery to which the Communist International descended in its struggle for world power, and I owe a great deal to Dr. Marcus for giving me a basic understanding of this apparatus, which understanding I am using, and intend to continue to use, to expose this sinister and inhuman political machine; that needless to say, however, Dr. Marcus gave me this instruction apparently in the hope I would wax enthusiastic over this thorough and scientifically exact method of conquest;

Workers' Alliance Fraction

THAT AT THIS PERIOD of which I speak, around July, 1937, our Unit 131 lost its organizer, Walter McElroy, when he was transferred to San Francisco by the WPA and Unit 131 then merged with Unit 130, thus bringing together in one unit the entire fraction of the California Federation of Government Employees; and that said fraction had established contact with the fraction of the Workers' Alliance in order to better coordinate Communist Party work within the unions on WPA, and that at various times I met in fraction meetings with such Workers' Alliance leaders as:

Alexander Noral, State President of the Workers' Alliance;

Pat Calahan, Los Angeles Organizer of that organization who soon left it to take up work in the C. I. O. United Cannery Agricultural, Packing & Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA);

John Clifton, who had emerged from jail for some Communist Party work and therefore had to be "taken care of" by the Communist Party (which discussion I sat in on);

Al Heltness, who turned over the reins of organizational work to Oscar Fuss, whom I heard referred to as a member of the Communist Party, but with whom I did not meet;

That the aforementioned Unit 130 was composed of the following persons, some of whom were transferred and some of whom came in at a later date:

Leona McGenty, Organizer;

Donald Murray, Membership Director;

Carl Brant, Educational Director;

Dorothy Rodin, sister of Emil Freed, Organizer of the Hollywood Section; Dues Secretary;

Theodore Pezman, Press Director (*People's Daily World.*);

Howland Chamberlain, Literature Director;

That this was the Buro of said unit at the time of merger, but the composition of which changed shortly thereafter;

Sharley Simpson, an actress on the Federal Theatre Project;

Hugh Mason, who was soon transferred to the Hollywood Section to work with Jeff Kibre in the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, Local 37;

Alfred Grant, Negro; now a screen actor;

Beatrice Newport, actress on the Federal Theatre Project;

Darby Jones, Negro dancer, then on Federal Theatre Project, now in motion pictures;

Evelyn Jones, wife of Darby Jones, who claimed to be a maid in the home of Marion Davies;

Barney Brown, actor on the Federal Theatre Project;

Earl Faullin, actor on the Federal Theatre Project;

Pearl Greenbaum, actress on the Federal Theatre Project, who used the name Katherine Allen;

Loren Gage (Loren Finch Gage, also Loren Gage Eigemann), actor, who, I have been told recently, is now a commissioned officer in the United States Army;

Bee Burke, aforementioned;

Fred Franchi, aforementioned;

Roth Reynolds, Federal Art Project;

Seema Matlin, aforementioned;

James Toback, aforementioned;

Velda Johnston, aforementioned;

Mary Virginia Farmer, aforementioned;

William Gordon, Negro, singer, Federal Theatre Project;

Kenneth Patterson, actor, who was later featured in the Hollywood Theatre Alliance production, *"Meet the People"*;

Walter Worden, actor, who, in 1941, was employed at Douglas Aircraft in Santa Monica;

Betty Falawn, common-law wife of Earl Faullin;

Olga Kreuger, aforementioned;

Walter Herrick, aforementioned;

Charles Maddox, Federal Art Project;

Luba Fox, dancer;

Bella Lewwitski, dancer;

Nathan Kirkpatrick, dancer, who, I have been told, is an officer in the United States Air Corps in Hawaii;

Ben Goodman, aforementioned; frequently his wife, Betty Elwell, who did office work in Communist Party headquarters, sat in Unit meetings;

That not long after this merger the dancers formed a separate unit with other Communist Party dancers in Los Angeles County, some of whom were said to compose the Horton Dance Group, among whom were Letitia Innes, wife of Sid Burke, whom I met as a Communist comrade; also Jacobina Caro, wife of Sid Martin (Davidson), belonged to the Communist Party fraction on the Federal Theatre Project but joined the Dancers' Unit instead of 130;

That with respect to said Jacobina Caro, the Communist Party fraction on the WPA cultural projects, aforementioned, conspired to get said Jacobina Caro on WPA by faking qualifications; she was instructed to use the address of Ann Howe, aforementioned, 3224 Beverly Blvd., to pretend to be destitute and thus to pass through State Relief Administration for WPA;

Communist Party Membership Drives

THAT AT THAT TIME, Summer of 1937, Paul Cline had taken office as Secretary of the Communist Party in Los Angeles County, and in keeping with the Popular Front tactics, endeavored to widen the scope of Communist Party activity in Los Angeles County; recruiting drives were organized, new members were taken into the party who would not have been considered qualified a few months previous; general membership meetings were held, and activity was extended in every manner;

That I had several meetings with the wife of Paul Cline, whose name I believe was Clara Stevens (now, 1942, said to be the common-law wife of Dr. V. A. K. Tashjian); and that said Clara Stevens outlined to me and others present, among whom I recall Leona McGenty, plans for a women's commission within the Communist Party to coordinate work of such organizations as the League of Women Shoppers, the fractions of the women's auxiliaries in various trade unions, the Women's Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy and in general to attempt to reach the housewives of Los Angeles with Communist influence;

That Al Lane (Lewis) was sent East by the Communist Party and his place as organizer of the Professional Section was taken by Robert Cole (Cohn), a former social worker, and whom I have been reliably informed had been a functionary in the Communist Party in Alameda County;

Collective Playwriting

THAT MARY VIRGINIA FARMER reported to said Unit 130 that the National fraction of the Federal Theatre Project, of which she was a member, had decided that in order to advance Communist Party cultural endeavors, the Federal Theatre Project in each locality over the Nation would set up a unit to deal with history, as interpreted by the Communist Party, of that particular locality; Miss Farmer informed us that the National Director of the Federal Theatres, Hallie Flanagan, was a Communist Party member and was in agreement with that Communist Party decision; be that as it may, the Communist Party fraction of the Federal Theatre Project in Los Angeles organized the Southwest Unit of the Federal Theatres composed entirely of Communist Party members and sympathizers, with the exception of the secretary thereof, who, I have since learned, was keeping a very

careful record of Communist activities in the Southwest Unit at that time; correspondence with National officials of the Federal Theatre Project, which I saw, indicated that Hallie Flanagan was in complete agreement with the idea of the Southwest Unit of the Federal Theatre; later, in the late Fall of 1937, Miss Flanagan together with Mrs. Ellen Woodward, National Director of Women's and Professional Work in the WPA, called on the Southwest Unit and voiced perfect satisfaction with its work, despite the fact said unit was not only writing Communist propaganda into the play it was preparing, but also rehearsing and conducting schools of the theatre along the accepted Communist Party lines, that is, the Stanislavsky method, which originated in Moscow;

That in August, 1937, said Mary Virginia Farmer requested me to join the Southwest Unit in order to assist in the writing of a play about migratory workers which was to give dramatic expression to the current Communist Party line on the floods of "Okies" who were overrunning California;

That, in accordance to Communist Party decision, upon which I acted, I requested transfer from the Historical Records Survey to the Federal Theatre Project of the WPA, and overcame protests of Thelma Ziemer, aforementioned, who had plans of sending me to Manila for the Communist Party;

That from August 25, 1937, to July, 1938, I was involved in writing Communist Party propaganda into play form, and the result, "Sun Rises in the West," which was produced by the Federal Theatres at the Mayan Theatre and later at the Greek Theatre, was by no means worth the effort;

That the birth and upbringing of the Southwest Unit of the Federal Theatres was a tremendous Communist Party ceremony in that it was the first of its kind in United States, namely a government theatre in the hands of the Communist Party; Robert Cole, Paul Cline and other Communist Party functionaries envisioned a vast network of such theatres, like there was in Russia: Mary Virginia Farmer, Donald Murray, Theodore Pezman, Carl Brant, Kenneth Patterson, Howland Chamberlain, Loren Gage, (Eisenmann); Leona McGenty and others envisioned themselves becoming famous theatre personalities decorated with the American Communist Party equivalent of the Order of Lenin;

That in fact everyone was so dazzled by the possibilities of this great future Communist Party state theatre, that they couldn't get down to the humdrum task of writing and producing a play; the greatest part of the time was taken up in "discussing theory," which was a neat way of saying "collective pipe dreaming"; after the first bubbling enthusiasm subsided, the Communist Party fraction of the said Southwest Unit of the Federal Theatre, and which was the ruling force in that government project, were:

Mary Virginia Farmer, Director;
Donald Murray, Assistant Director, and writer;
Theodore Pezman, writer and Publicity Director ;

Myself, writer;
 Barney Brown, actor;
 Earl Faullin, actor;
 Howland Chamberlain, actor;
 Betty Falawn, actress;
 Walter Worden, actor;
 Carl Brant, actor;
 Dorothy Rodin, actress;

Lillian Sidery, actress, a fellow traveler who didn't join the Communist Party until around 1938;

Beatrice Newport, actress, who came into the Communist Party in the latter part of 1937;

Sharley Simpson, who found herself counted out of parts in the play, "*Sun Rises in the West*";

Kenneth Patterson, and

Loren Gage (Eisenmann) met with the fraction, but were unable to retain their WPA status because WPA authorities discovered they were not in financial need;

That in the throes of playwriting, John Howard Lawson, and a Professor Lewis met with our fraction to assist in the problems of converting Communist propaganda into play form; that these so-called experts in the dramatic field offered no concrete suggestions in so far as I could see; they merely ranted about our responsibilities as Communist Party members;

That the fraction secretary of the Southwest Unit, Theodore Pezman, was instructed by Robert Cole (Cohn) to communicate with the fraction secretary of the Simon J. Lubin Society in San Francisco to obtain research material which that organization had turned over to John Steinbeck for his book (then unnamed) "*Grapes of Wrath*," and which material Steinbeck had returned; it was tacitly understood that the Simon J. Lubin Society was completely under the domination of the Communist Party; when this aforementioned material arrived, I examined it carefully and found notes in handwriting signed by John Steinbeck which appeared to be field notes on migratory workers;

That the writing team consisted of Theodore Pezman, Donald A. Murray and myself, although Mary Virginia Farmer quibbled over every line; then the entire Communist Party fraction had to arrive at a decision by discussion and vote; then the said fraction had to present its decision before a meeting of the Southwest Unit in order to convince the few non-Communists therein; and the entire process was complicated by the fact the actors had to choose their own parts and "improvise" them, according to the best Stanislavsky methods; and that somewhere in the process I became so disgusted I failed to record the silly antics of my comrades;

That a screen actor, J. Edward Bromberg, who was called "Joe," appeared at rehearsal hall several times to "assist," and who met as a Communist Party member with our aforesaid frac-

tion; from conversation I learned that said J. Edward Bromberg had been associated with Mary Virginia Farmer in the New York theatre, and he frankly stated he regarded the Stanislavsky method, for writing a play, as stupid;

That from time to time Mary Virginia Farmer had me telephone Viola Brothers Shore to arrange Communist Party fraction meetings, and that I discussed with both Miss Shore and Miss Farmer other members of that fraction as Tatiana Tuttle and her husband, Frank Tuttle, the motion picture director; that Mary Virginia Farmer reported to our Southwest Unit fraction that she belonged to the Hollywood Cultural Commission, of which the aforesaid persons were members, and that she was "coordinating" the work of the Federal Theatres with that of the motion picture colony;

That Margaret Clark, then a member of the Los Angeles Board of Education, since appointed head of the Women's Division of the Industrial Welfare Commission of California by Governor Olson, called several times to see Mary Virginia Farmer and expressed an interest in the work of the said Southwest Unit and otherwise indicated her sympathy for Communist Party work; Miss Farmer referred to her as a Communist fellow traveler;

That during the time I was involved in writing the play, "*Sun Rises in the West*," my other Communist Party work was somewhat reduced, in that the Communist Party officially recognized the composition of that play as Communist Party work; however, I remained active in the California Federation of Government Employees which had been transformed into the Cultural and Professional Projects Association (some times called Clerical and Professional Projects Association);

That also those of us who were recognized by the Communist Party as writers were requested to join the Western Writers Congress of which Harry Carlisle was the head in San Francisco, and which organization soon evolved into the League of American Writers;

That the League of American Writers sent out form letters sometime in 1937 requesting "members" (I had never joined the organization, but had filed an application with the Western Writers Congress) to give a summary of why they believed in the cause of Loyalist Spain; I failed to reply, in the press of my play-writing duties; later, I was presented with a booklet, "*Writers Take Sides*" through Unit 130 of the Communist Party, which met at the Twentieth Century Book Store (founded by Edna Silversen) on Melrose near Western Avenue, which booklet was included in unit literature;

That much to my surprise, I discovered my name listed among a hundred or more writers as having written a favorable letter to the League of American Writers on the matter of Loyalist Spain; I was informed by Jane Wallace (Wilson), then organizer of the Professional Section, that all Communist Party writers'

names had been submitted to the League of American Writers by the Communist Party, and that my name would have been included as replying "favorably" even though I had written any other sort of letter; I noted that among the other names in that list were those of

Carey McWilliams; Harold J. Salemson; Samuel Ornitz; Paula Walling—all of whom I had met within the Communist Party as Communist Party members;

That, while on the subject of Loyalist Spain, I am reminded of an incident that took place sometime in December, 1937; I was browsing around in the Twentieth Century Book Store aforementioned, waiting for the meeting of Unit 130 to be called to order, when I encountered William Colfax ("Bill") Miller, whom I had known for several years and who had been connected with the Film and Photo League in Hollywood and who had revealed his membership in the Communist Party to me; said Miller and I discussed Communist Party affairs a few moments, then he told me he was leaving soon for Spain, but cautioned me not to repeat that information even to other Communist Party comrades, saying he was going on a very "special" mission for the Communist Party; I later heard through Hank Bazazowsky, who returned from Spain disillusioned, that this same W. Colfax Miller was attached to the G. P. U., or Communist International special police, in Spain; in 1940 I read in the New York *New Leader* that W. Colfax Miller was sought by Mexican authorities for complicity in machine-gunning the home of Leon Trotsky, prior to Trotsky's murder;

That here I might add that within the outer realms of the Communist Party such as I belong to, there was no discussion on the use of assassination as a Communist Party tactic, but I noted that persons assassinated by what appeared to be the G. P. U., such as Sedov Bronsten, son of Leon Trotsky, who met his death mysteriously in a Paris hospital, were piteously excoriated by the Communist Party press, and thus their death made to appear a "blessing"; likewise, such convicted killers as Earl King, Ernest G. Ramsay and Frank Conner, who had been convicted of complicity in the murder of George Alberts, were referred to, both in the Communist Party press and in meetings, as "labor martyrs";

Disillusionment

THAT BY AROUND MARCH 1, 1938, I was so disillusioned, disgusted and weary of Communist Party bickering, especially over the play, "*Sun Rises in the West*," that I was near physical collapse; that I arranged with the Buro of Unit 130, namely Leona McGenty, Howland Chamberlain, Theodore Pezman and Donald A. Murray that I would continue my work as a Communist Party duty on the play, "*Sun Rises in the West*," but that I must be relieved of full time work on said play;

That I arranged, through Communist Party contacts, to trans-

fer from the Federal Theatre Project to the Federal Writers Project, which was at that time headed by Leon Dorais, who had replaced Hugh Harlan; Robert Brownell, a Communist Party fellow traveler whom I had known since 1935 and who had formerly contributed to the publication "*Pacific Weekly*" published in Carmel by Ella Winter and W. K. Bassett, was Dorais' assistant; said Brownell informed me that he would be glad to have a Communist Party member to assist him in getting out the History Essay for the Los Angeles "Guide," which was the purpose of the Los Angeles Federal Writers' Project; I transferred to the Federal Writers' Project and took up my duties as editorial assistant to said Robert Brownell, and devoted my after-work time to the play, "*Sun Rises in the West*";

That this transfer involved me in a new line of Communist Party work; at a meeting held at the home of Mary Virginia Farmer, 1350 Montana Street, and attended by Leona McGenty, Jacobina Caro, Howland Chamberlain and myself, plans were laid to form another Cultural Commission to better coordinate the work of the aforementioned Hollywood Cultural Commission and other Communist Party cultural work in Los Angeles County; at this meeting Leona McGenty requested me, in the name of the Professional Section Executive Committee to which she belonged, to prepare a full report of personnel on the Federal Writers' Project, that is, those who were friendly to the Communist Party, those who might be won over and any who were outspokenly unfriendly; also she requested me to make a report of union activities on that project, since there were no members there who belonged to either the Workers' Alliance or the Clerical (or Cultural) and Professional Projects Association, and to make a recommendation as to what course the Communist Party should follow to unionize the Federal Writers' Project—of course said union to be controlled by the Communist Party;

That by that time the "defection" virus had taken hold of me and I was looking forward to the day when I could escape from the Communist Party toils, and in that state of mind, which might be termed "semi-Communist," I made a very un-Communist type of report and recommendation; I reported that the Workers' Alliance was in complete disfavor with workers on the Federal Writers Project because of its Communist taint, and that no one on that project was in the least interested in the Cultural and Professional Projects Association, which was indeed the truth; that the majority of workers on that project because of their writing backgrounds wanted to consider themselves a part of the writing world and that they favored the American Newspaper Guild (Los Angeles Newspaper Guild), but that the unit of that organization was small on the project because members were restricted to professional newspaper workers; I recommended that the Communist Party control over the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, which I knew to be a fact, permit the workers of the Federal Writers Project to join that organization, despite constitu-

tional restrictions, and in that way the Communist Party could control the workers on the Federal Writers Project;

That much to my surprise, my recommendation was accepted by the Professional Section Committee; Charles H. Garrigues, known as "Brick" Garrigues, whom I had known for a number of years, and who was at that time executive secretary of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, arranged to meet me; he informed me that he was a member of the Communist Party Professional Section Committee, and that he had persuaded the said section committee executive board to accept my recommendation; that I was authorized by said section committee to inform the Chairman of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild Unit on the Federal Writers Project, a fellow traveler, Hubert Kotterman, that constitutional restrictions were to be waived and that all project workers were to be accepted into the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild;

That I duly informed said Kotterman of this decision by the Communist Party with respect to the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, and informed him whence it came, and he agreed to take all comers into the project unit of the Guild;

That Guild organization boomed for a time on the Federal Writers Project, and the unit grew from about six members to over 30 within two or three weeks;

That the only other Communist Party member on the Federal Writers Project at that time besides myself was Velda Johnston, aforementioned; that soon Dolph Winebrenner joined the project for a short time before he became the editor of "*Light*," Young Democrat publication financed by J. Frank Burke; that Philander Street requested to join the Communist Party and I signed him up; thus we had a Communist Party fraction on the Federal Writers Project (the requirement is that three Communist Party members must be present on a job or in an organization to form a "fraction"); that because of Velda Johnston's indolent nature and Philander Street's lack of development within the Communist Party, I was in charge of said fraction, and I was rapidly growing anti-Communist; therefore, our fraction decisions emerged as strange hybrids;

That likewise my advice to Robert Brownell, who had stated to me he wished to follow Communist Party suggestions and who relied on me to make those suggestions, was of a nature not in keeping with Communist Party program; I advised him to hire persons whom I knew to be enemies of the Communist Party, namely one Theodor Robinson, who had been excluded from the Federal Theatre Project by the Communist fraction thereof because of so-called "Trotskyist" leanings; (I later learned this was merely a Communist Party slander on him; he was not a Trotskyist); nevertheless, Kenneth Patchen and Harvey Breit were members of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, and I assisted them not only to get onto the project but also into the

Newspaper Guild Unit on the project (which act, if discovered, would have been grounds for expulsion from the Communist Party);

That my "sins" of sabotaging the Communist Party from within soon caught up with me (but my expulsion did not follow until some time later); I assisted Ward Moore and Joseph Rabinowitch to obtain employment on the Federal Writers Project; Ward Moore was an outspoken Trotskyist, sold pamphlets and books by Leon Trotsky on the project and sneered partisanship criticism at the "Stalinists," as he called those of us who were members of the Stalinist faction of the Communist Party; said Joseph Rabinowitch was the son-in-law of Rabbi Mayer Winkler who had consistently fought the Communist Party in Hollywood, and who had been assisted frequently by said Joseph Rabinowitch; it happened that Harold J. Salemsen, member of the Communist Party fraction of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild (with whom I later met in fraction meetings), discovered that said Joseph Rabinowitch was not only on the Federal Writers Project but was making application to join the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild; he sounded the warning within the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild fraction, and the resultant Communist Party decisions in relation to the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild can best be described as a "free-for-all";

Los Angeles Newspaper Guild

That application of 26 Federal Writers Project workers for membership in the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, two of which turned out to be those of Communist Party members, namely, John Sherman and Allan Woodward, were summarily turned down by the Los Angeles Executive Board without so much as an excuse; that these applicants were even more eligible under the Guild Constitution than the 25 or 30 project workers who were previously accepted under my recommendation; this threw the Federal Writers Project into an uproar;

That two Communist Party "faithfuls" were assigned to work on the Federal Writers Project, namely Rose Boyd (Busch) (Visschner), former secretary to Earl Browder and one of the charter members of the Communist Party of United States, who had been business manager for the C. I. O. *Industrial Unionist*, publication of the Los Angeles C. I. O. Council, and Hyman Elliot Wax, member of the C. I. O. International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in Los Angeles (1942, he is now a paid organizer in that union); these two aforesaid members of the Communist Party began a strict supervision of my activities and gave me orders from higher Communist Party bodies; I was whipped back into line, temporarily;

That also aforementioned John Sherman, who I discovered was a Communist Party member when Donald A. Murray of the Federal Theatre Project communicated with me and asked me

to assist him in facilitating Sherman's transfer to the Los Angeles Communist Party from the New York branch of the party; Allan Woodward, Negro, and Jay Moss, Negro, who had been employed on the Federal Writers Project, as well as said Velda Johnston and Dolph Winebrenner all assisted in keeping me from committing further un-Communist acts; later, John Henry Reese joined the project and became friendly with the Communist fraction thereon, but did not reveal himself to be a Communist Party member until several months later when he identified himself to me as a member of the disciplinary group of the Communist Party associated with Dr. V. A. K. Tashjian; thus I was surrounded and spied upon;

That after my transfer to the Federal Writers Project from the Federal Theatre Project, I was also transferred from Unit 130 to Unit 140 of the Professional Section; said Unit 140 being made up of Communist Party members of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, as follows:

Herbert Klein, Organizer, (he called himself a screen writer, claimed to have worked at Paramount Studios, and in 1941 was listed as Los Angeles correspondent for PM of New York);

Morris Smolan, Membership Director; (he was, the last I knew of him, 1941, Circulation Manager for the *People's Daily World* in San Francisco);

Charles Judson, Assistant Membership Director; he was then and still is (1942) an editor on the *Los Angeles Daily News*; he lived at 717 Maltman Avenue, Los Angeles, and several unit meetings were held in his home while I was in the unit;

Marvin Carter, Dues Secretary; he was then on the *Los Angeles Daily News*, then went to the "Ham and Eggs" publication in Hollywood, then back to the *Daily News*;

George Shaeffer, Press Director; he is now, as then, with the *People's Daily World* in Los Angeles;

Tom Cullen, Literature Agent; at that time he was working on the C. I. O. *Industrial Unionist*; later he became Secretary of the American Peace Mobilization in Los Angeles, and is now (1942) employed on the *People's Daily World*;

Charles H. ("Brick") Garrigues, Political Campaign Director; this is the same Charles H. Garrigues who was at that time Executive Secretary of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild; he was formerly in charge of publicity in San Francisco for the King-Ramsay-Conner Defense Committee;

Urcel Daniel, Fraction Secretary, for the fraction of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, which was composed of the membership of Unit 140 with a few exceptions;

The foregoing comprised the Buro of Unit 140, and the following, besides myself, were members:

Marion Shire, former employee of the *Los Angeles Examiner*;

Rose Boyd (Busch-Visschner), aforementioned;
Lou Seligson, *People's Daily World* employee;
Ed Robbin, Los Angeles Editor of the *People's Daily World*;
Lou Amster, member of the so-called "Free-Lance Unit" of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild;

Sid Burke, former editorial staff member of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League publication, *N. O. W.*;

Minna Klein, wife of Herb Klein who was Professional Section Membership Director;

Dolph Winebrenner, aforementioned editor of "*Light*," Young Democratic Club publication which followed the Communist Party line as religiously as does the *People's World*; he was, for a time, editor of *The Voice of the Federation*, publication of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, which publication merged with the *Pilot*, of the National Maritime Union (C. I. O.);

Shugi Fugii, Japanese, Editor of *Doho*, Japanese language so-called "labor" publication; last heard of at Santa Anita Japanese internment center;

Two other Japanese whose names I do not know;

Karl Schlichter, former employee on the *Hollywood Citizen-News*;

William E. Oliver, Dramatic Editor of the *Los Angeles Herald-Express*;

And belonging to the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild Communist Party fraction, but not to said Unit 140, were:

Harold J. Salemonson, correspondent in Hollywood for *Paris-Soir*, in Paris;

Elliot Wax, aforementioned;

Jay Moss, aforementioned; Moss was said to be on leave of absence from the unit at that time;

Lillian Jones, Negro, worker on the Federal Writers' Project;

That during the time I was attached to Unit 140 the principal business of that unit and of the Communist Party fraction of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild was to conduct the strike of said Guild against the *Hollywood Citizen-News* along Communist Party lines; to elect Communist Party delegates to the International Convention of the American Newspaper Guild in Toronto, Canada, and to establish proper Communist Party connections for them with Communist National leaders of said Guild;

That during the aforementioned strike against the *Hollywood Citizen-News*, two new members were signed up for the Communist Party, their application cards presented by Morrie Smolan, membership director, to Unit 140, and they were voted into said unit as of the time their training in the Communist Party would be completed; they were:

Roger Johnson, formerly employed on the *Hollywood Citizen-News*, later on State Relief Administration, staff member, and at

present an appointee on the Los Angeles City Housing Commission; and

Philip M. (Slim) Connelly, then President of the Los Angeles Chapter of the Newspaper Guild, now President of the California C. I. O.;

That members of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild who were referred to as Communist sympathizers and on whom the Communist Party fraction placed its confidences, were:

Tom O'Connor, now of *PM* in New York;

Mel Scott, who also became a State Relief Administration staff member;

Andy Barrigan of the *Los Angeles Daily News*;

H. R. (Hubert) Kotterman, Chairman of the Guild Unit on the Los Angeles Federal Writers' Project; and

John Cohee of the *Los Angeles Daily News*;

James Francis Crow, Dramatic Editor of the *Hollywood Citizen-News*, and who later criticized the Communists severely; however, during his period of favor with the Communists he became President of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild;

That, in short, I discovered that the Communist Party exercised complete control over the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, and only those high in Communist Party favor or Communist Party members could hold office in it;

That Morgan Hull, International Representative of the American Newspaper Guild, who left Los Angeles to take that position in either 1935 or 1936, had informed me, when I was a fellow traveler, that he was a member of the Communist Party, and that after the Guild victory in the *Hollywood Citizen-News* strike, I again encountered Morgan Hull, and he congratulated me on joining the Communist Party and discussed Communist Party affairs with me;

That because the Communist Party had branded aforementioned Theodor Robinson as a "Trotskyite" that the Communist Party fraction of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild determined to oust him from Guild membership, no matter what the cost to the union; he had joined at a time when the Communist Party fraction was in the heat of the *Hollywood Citizen-News* strike; my comrade, Rose Boyd (Busch-Visschner), stated to me that said Robinson was not to be allowed to function in the union and said in anger "Go and see Dr. Parker and ask him how far Robinson is to be allowed to go in the Guild!";

That this clearly revealed to me that the Communist Party was operating the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild instead of its membership;

That I did consult said Dr. Parker (Dr. V. A. K. Tashjian) on several occasions, but each time I was either sent or called into his office; he was then chairman of the Los Angeles County Con-

trol Commission of the Communist Party; that said Dr. Tashjian stated to me in reference to Robinson's membership in the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, "It is better for 85 workers (the number then on the Los Angeles Federal Writers' Project) to be without union representation than to allow ONE Trotskyite to remain in the union.";

That I learned that this attitude toward the so-called "Trotskyites"—mostly a bugaboo term used by the Communists to designate those who intelligently oppose Communist Party domination of unions or mass organizations—was caused by the pervading sense of guilt from which all Communists individually and collectively suffer; they are constantly in fear of being exposed for what they are, and anyone who calls them by their right names is designated a "Trotskyite" and fought with blind, fanatical fury;

That as a result of this domination by the Communist Party of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, and because of my rift with the Communist Party, 11 members of the Guild Unit on the Federal Writers Project, including myself, were expelled from the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, and our expulsion was upheld by each successively higher body of the American Newspaper Guild, including the last court of appeal, the International Convention; and that all along the line, during our trial in Los Angeles, during our appeals, and throughout the entire affair, the dominance of the Communist Party of that organization became more and more evident; that the attitude of the members of the American Newspaper Guild who were likewise Communist Party members was well expressed by Charles H. ("Brick") Garrigues when he was discussing with me my differences of opinion with the Communist leadership of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild; he stated, "It is not the Guild that's important; it's the Communist Party.";

That long before my rift with the Communist Party widened into an open break, Communist Party members around me, as I have stated before, sought to counsel me, intimidate me, wheedle me, bribe me and lure me back into the fold; when one method failed, they would try another; that during the early Summer of 1938, a Communist Party member sought and obtained employment on the Federal Writers' Project, whose presence there I have never been able to satisfactorily explain; he was Eugene Schachner, former *Daily Worker* correspondent in Spain, who, according to his accounts, shuttled around over the world on Communist Party orders; he was a repulsive, over-bearing, prize-fighter type, and immediately started to become friendly with me; he invited me to go out with him socially, and I accepted once, then in the company of Velda Johnston and Dolph Winebrenner; as soon as the opportunity arose, he began to bully me about my association with aforementioned Theodor Robinson, the so-called "Trotskyite"; he implied darkly that I would be in for a terrible time, friendless, jobless, hounded from place to place, ridiculed and persecuted, if I persisted in my opposition to the wishes of

the Communist Party; my answer was to throw a glass of water in his face and tell him to "do his damndest"; shortly thereafter, he departed from the Federal Writers' Project, saying he was returning to Spain; I next heard of him in Mexico City early in 1942;

That among the Communist Party fraction decisions made in meetings I attended which I recall at this time was one to "skip" a payment of \$100 to "Comrade Carey McWilliam" for legal services, because, as a Communist Party member, McWilliams would be willing to let the fraction use this money to send delegates to the Toronto convention of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild; another was a decision to bring the aforementioned Communist Party member, Sam Kalish, into the Guild to teach non-Communist Guildsmen parliamentary law; this was done, and I attended some of the Guild meetings at which Kalish held forth;

That I attended a meeting of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild held at the Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel in September, 1938, and had an opportunity to observe the manner in which the Communist Party fraction of that organization ruled it completely; the matter of an appeal to the Executive Board on the acceptance of the aforementioned 26 project workers into the Guild was one order of business, and in accordance with the Communist Party fraction decision, of which I had been officially apprised, the Executive Board ruling, which ruling was presented by the Chairman, James Francis Crow, was to the effect that the project workers were not eligible for Guild membership in accordance with the Constitution; at that same meeting the matter of acceptance of the managing editor of the Hollywood Reporter came before the meeting; according to the Constitution of the American Newspaper Guild, of which I possessed a copy, a clause specifically stated that no person in position to hire and fire workers would be eligible for membership; however, the Communist Party fraction has discussed the usefulness of this particular person, Jack Cartwright, to the Communist Party at meetings I had attended, in view of the fact he was either a fellow traveler or Communist Party member and in view of the fact that he was to be used by the Communist Party to organize the Screen Publicists Guild in Hollywood, which organization was planned to be launched as an offshoot of the American Newspaper Guild; at the aforementioned meeting, the Executive Board ruling in relation to Jack Cartwright's membership was that he was eligible in spite of the Constitution "because he was sympathetic to labor"; and the membership, apathetic and dazed by the tactics of the Communist Party fraction, duly voted to reject 26 workers on the grounds of ineligibility and to accept one man who hired and fired workers "because he was sympathetic to labor"; in exactly that manner the Communist Party mocks the basic principles of labor unionism;

Communist Party Political Commission

That during the Spring of 1938 while I was in the throes of severing my connections with the Communist Party, all manner of inducements were held out to me in order to entice me to remain within it; Charles H. ("Brick") Garrigues, whom I had known for a number of years, took special interest in my case and sought to iron out my grievances and to keep me in the Communist Party; he knew of my interest in local politics, and, as a member of the Professional Section Committee, "co-opted" me for work on the Professional Section Political Commission of which he was chairman; it might be explained here that the word "co-opted" is derived from a Russian word meaning to draft, or to command, and has become accepted in the Communist Party of United States; I discovered that all important positions are filled in the Communist Party by "co-option" rather than by election;

That membership in said Professional Section Political Commission was (beside myself):

Charles H. ("Brick") Garrigues, Chairman;

Miriam Holtz, Secretary (she later became one of the correspondence secretaries for Governor Culbert L. Olson in Sacramento, and I have seen her signature on letters for the Governor);

Norman Byrne, aforementioned professor of anthropology at Los Angeles City College and American Peace Mobilization leader in 1940 and 1941;

Naomi Childress, common-law wife of said C. H. Garrigues;

Dr. Simon Marcus, brother of aforementioned Dr. Samuel Marcus; his present business address is 314 North Fairfax, Los Angeles;

Dolph Winebrenner, aforementioned editor of "*Light*," Young Democrat publication;

Jane Wallace (Wilson), then organizer of the Professional Section;

That the purpose of said commission was to educate the membership of the Professional Section to carry on work in the various "bourgeois" political institutions of California without being detected as Communists; for instance, those Communists sent into the Young Democrats and into the Democratic Party proper, could not afford to risk detection by using Communist vocabulary in speech, the use of such a term as "functionary" for "official," for instance, might expose them; therefore this Commission prepared educational papers to be used as a manual within the Professional Section; also Garrigues, Byrne and myself arranged to appear before each unit of the Professional Section, each one taking several units, and to conduct this "educational" on methods of camouflage, as it were;

That, for instance, I recall that Garrigues conducted the

sample educational first for said Professional Section Political Commission, then again in Unit 140; I obtained a list of names of Unit organizers from Jane Wallace (Wilson) and from Jane Howe, then understudy organizer of the Professional Section, and made arrangements to attend the unit meeting to give the educational; the units I attended were the "Hash" Unit, of which Grace Brown was organizer (she was at that time the common-law wife of Sven Skaar, who had left the Historical Records Survey); the Architects and Engineers Unit, of which members of the CIO Federation of Architects, Engineers and Technicians, who were Communist Party members, belonged; besides several whose names I do not recall, I remember the following persons as members of that Unit:

Jules Kievits, later a Regional Director for the State Relief Administration;

Paul Williams, Negro architect;

Dr. Lao Selfrid, then an instructor in chemistry on WPA said to have gone to Mexico; Dr. Selfrid informed me that he was from Austria originally and that he had spent much time in Mexico working in oil refineries;

Paul Pinsky, now CIO State Research Director;

That I also attended the meetings of the two social workers' units, but in view of the fact the Communist Party policy is to conceal, rather than to reveal names, I did not learn the names of those persons; NEVER are comrades within the Communist Party introduced to each other with last names; occasionally party names are used even for first names; only when the comrades are apt to meet in the non-Communist world, which was the case with those mentioned above, are true names used; I might interject that this air of stifling secrecy lends to the Communist Party the atmosphere of dark, devious, underground illegality; it appeals to the infantile romantics whose egos are bolstered by lawbreaking, but I found that most persons of American background and training were disgusted with it;

That in addition, I contacted Carey McWilliams, whose name was given me by Jane Howe as organizer of the Lawyers' Unit (and to which, I was told, Communist Party members of the National Lawyers' Guild belong); and, after I explained the nature of my business, he informed me that their unit meeting would be held on a certain night in the home of J. Allen Frankel on South Orange Drive, Los Angeles; however, I was unable to attend, and called Leo Gallagher asking him to give the "political educational," which he agreed to do; it is almost needless to say that this is the same Carey McWilliams who is now California Immigration and Housing Director and a leader in the National Lawyers' Guild;

That another order of business before said Professional Section Political Commission was to endeavor to correct the organization status of Oliver Thornton and his common-law wife, Elenore

Bogigian within the Communist Party; it appeared that Paul Cline, Los Angeles County Organizer of the Communist Party at that time, was consulting Oliver Thornton on political matters, and that other functionaries of the party did not feel Thornton was sufficiently disciplined as a Communist to merit such trust; our commission therefore obtained his Communist Party Book (in what manner I do not know, as it was brought to the meeting by Garrigues) and, upon inspecting it, noted he was behind in dues; the Commission therefore decided I was to present this book to Paul Cline and urge Cline to speak to Thornton about getting his dues paid up, and other technical organizational matters; that this would serve as a double rebuke, impressing upon Cline the matter of his own laxness as a Communist, and of getting Thornton back into the Communist Party disciplinary range; it is my recollection that I sidestepped this assignment, however; I do not recall discussing the matter with Cline;

That at a period a few weeks later than the organization of aforesaid Professional Section Political Commission, the Los Angeles County Political Commission was set up by the Communist Party; Emma Cutler was the first chairman of this commission, but she soon left Los Angeles for the San Joaquin Valley, and this chairmanship was turned over to Al Lane (Lewis); both the foregoing were "co-opted" by the Los Angeles County Executive Board of the Communist Party; I was designated as the representative of said County Commission for the Professional Section Political Commission;

That other members of said Los Angeles County Political Commission, which met in the home of Al Lane (Lewis) at 3989 Denker Avenue, Los Angeles, were (beside Lane and myself):

Jane Wallace (Wilson), Professional Section Organizer (here I might say that she admitted to me she was the sister of John Broman (Wilson), columnist on the *People's Daily World*);

James Burford, then employed by the Los Angeles Community Chest and active in the Young Democrats, Inc.;

Joseph Ayeroff, likewise active in the Young Democrats, Inc.;

Dr. Lao Selfrid, aforementioned;

Lou Baron, representative of the Trade Union Commission;

Al Bryan (Ryan), County Educational Director for the Communist Party;

Barney Brown, representative of the County Cultural Commission of the Communist Party;

Allan Mathews, active in the Democratic Party;

Jules Kievits, aforementioned, also active in the Democratic Party;

Emil Freed, organizer of the Hollywood Section of the Communist Party;

Philip Dunne, screen writer and representative of the Motion Picture Democratic Committee, sat in one meeting, and

Robert Tasker, screen writer, partner and brother-in-law of John Bright, attended another meeting as the representative of the Motion Picture Democratic Committee;

• That this aforesaid commission assumed responsibility for the Communist Party participation in the recall of Mayor Frank L. Shaw and the election of a "Popular Front" candidate to replace him;

That this commission also assumed the responsibility for the much greater task of electing a "Popular Front" slate to State offices, and endorsed Culbert L. Olson for Governor, Ellis E. Patterson for Lieutenant Governor and various other candidates for lesser offices;

That said commission assumed responsibility for the conduct of the campaigns of such persons, designated as Communist Party members, as: LaRue McCormick, then Secretary of the International Labor Defense in Los Angeles, which office she still holds;

Rose Segure, who was running for an Assembly seat; later she became a high official in the State Relief Administration;

• Ellis E. Patterson, designated as a "comrade," but whose campaign this commission endeavored to make appear as non-Communist (in fact, one order was transmitted from this commission through Communist Party channels as follows: "Tell the comrades to stay out of Comrade Patterson's campaign headquarters, as it may expose him if we congregate there."——);

Emil Freed, member of the commission who was running for office on the Communist Party ticket;

That said commission decided on Communist Party "plants" to be installed in the campaign headquarters of various Democrats; I recall in particular the decision to send Larry Buchanan, whom I had met as a Communist Party member on several occasions, into the office of Frank Scully in order to insure Communist Party domination of that campaign;

That one of the main orders of business of said commission was to manipulate the Young Democrats, Inc., throughout California by giving directives on strategy to James Burford and Joseph Ayeroff, fractional leaders of the Young Democrats, Inc. This organization and its publication, "*Light*," which was in Communist Party hands through the editorship of Dolph Winebrenner, were used by the Communist Party to "carry the load," as it were, of Communist Party program in the 1938 elections in California;

That along that line, said commission transmitted through Communist Party channels various decisions in regard to the Young Democrats, Inc., to Claudia Williams, said to be the Communist Party fraction secretary of that organization in San Francisco;

That also similar directives were directed to Charles Saphirstein (whom I had also met through James Burford as a Communist Party comrade), and who at that time was active in the Young Democrats, Inc., somewhere in the San Joaquin Valley area; likewise, directive was sent to Al Shanks, also in the Young Democrats, Inc.;

That along that line it was interesting to me to note that after the pact between Russia and Germany and hence the Communist Party line changed, persons with whom I had had contact in the Communist Party and who belonged to the Young Democrats, Inc., withdrew from that organization and formed the Democratic Youth Federation in California, which organization turned back to the Young Democrats after Germany attacked Russia, thus changing the Communist Party line back to collaboration with democratic forces; in that manner, the direction of all organizations under the domination of the Communist Party indicates that they serve as foreign agencies for the Soviet Union;

That the aforesaid Los Angeles County Political Commission had full control of the policies of the Motion Picture Democratic Committee of which aforementioned Philip Dunne was Chairman, and Melvyn Douglas another prominent official; our commission made all decisions on policy and direction of this organization, planned resolutions for it and transmitted same to that organization through either the representative present or through Communist Party channels, directed, it was announced in meeting, to Maurice Murphy, a "comrade," who was Executive Secretary of the Motion Picture Democratic Committee; it is worthy of note that said Maurice Murphy later became the Executive Secretary of the aforementioned League of American Writers, Hollywood Chapter, which I know of my own knowledge to be a Communist Party-controlled organization;

That our said commission discussed ways and means of influencing various prominent persons in the Democratic Party—I recall in particular Walter Ballou—and frankly discussed the past record, weaknesses and stupidities of such persons with a view toward controlling them; one of the tactics most frequently planned as a method of controlling a political figure was to invite him to a Communist Party fraction meeting, planning on revealing to him after he had been lured into the meeting, that he was sitting in an "open" fraction meeting, and giving him to understand that this fact would be used against him unless he did the bidding of the Communist Party;

That at that time I realized that few Americans who had been reared to believe the best in their fellowman could withstand such Machiavellian cynicism in politics, and realized full well that such scheming, unprincipled political manipulators would be very successful in politics; at that moment I realized the true meaning of Georgi Dimitroff's "Popular Front" speech; he MEANT that the Communists could accomplish more by devious indirection than they could by standing on a soap box and shouting for

revolution, as they had in the past; but by that time I also realized that there was no hope of finding honesty or frankness within the Communist Party; heretofore I had put down much of the things with which I was dissatisfied to "lack of development" and to the "wrong interpretation of the Communist Party line"; now I knew that the higher one went, the worse the corruption;

That the fates of many political figures were decided at meetings of aforesaid commission, in view of the fact the Young Democrats, the C. I. O., a large bloc of the motion picture colony as well as of the Democratic Party itself could be manipulated by these Communist schemers; our commission had the facilities to reach every one of the supposed 3,000 Communist Party members in Los Angeles County with directives—"musts"—and these individuals, in turn, because each one of them was as active or more so than myself, influential in several organizations, could multiply his influence by several hundred; thus our Los Angeles County Political Commission of the Communist Party was determining a large part of the policies of Los Angeles City and County and the State of California;

That we sent suggestions and directives to Robert W. Kenny who was running for State Senator and he was regarded as one amenable to suggestions, that is, either a Communist Party member or a close fellow traveler;

That we sent directives to William ("Bill") Mason, chairman of a large Democratic Club in Santa Monica, who was referred to as a Communist Party comrade;

That we sent directives to Don R. Healy, Secretary of Labor's Non-Partisan League of Los Angeles County, which, in turn, influenced a large bloc of votes in the C. I. O.; and through Lou Baron and the facilities of the Los Angeles County Trade Union Commission of the Communist Party, we designated the best possible means for Communist Party members within the A. F. of L. to present Communist Party program within their unions; Herb Sorrell, Business Agent for the Studio Painters' Union, was regarded as the only Communist Party comrade in an A. F. of L. Union in Los Angeles who could put over the entire "Party line" in his union;

That the Unemployed Conference of Studio Unions which later became known as the "COMPAC" was referred to by our said Commission as an organization which could be "counted on" to put over Communist Party program; said Herb Sorrell, as well as the aforementioned Frank Tuttle were active in that organization;

That individuals who were "liberal" merely because of their humanitarian impulses could be brought under the Communist Party political influence through such organizations as the United China Relief and the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; that Jewish people could be influenced through their hatred of Nazis through the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League; that Mexicans

could be influenced through the Spanish Speaking People's Congress; that Negroes could be influenced through the National Negro Congress and the Japanese-American voters through the publication, DOHO; women, especially housewives, could be reached through the League of Women Shoppers; and so on, to say nothing of the 21-year-old youth which the Communist Party tried to reach through the youth assemblies, which later became the California Youth Legislature, member of the National Communist controlled American Youth Congress; that I know from Communist literature and from official Communist statements that all the foregoing organizations were at that time controlled by the Communist Party;

That we discussed some briefly, some at length, the role, in relation to Communist Party program, the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, the National Lawyers Guild, the Screen Writers Guild, the Screen Actors Guild, the Screen Directors Guild, the Teachers Union, the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees Progressive Caucus headed by Jeff Kibre; the C. I. O. Council, the Musicians Union, the Culinary Workers Union, as well as the Workers Alliance and the new-born Communist coordinating body for WPA, the Arts Union Council;

That those were our implements; our methods were described previously as basely cynical; the coating of idealism which was wrapped around Communist Party plans when they were handed down to the more tender comrades with whom I had previously associated was now left off; without so much as a reference to the Communist Party "enabling act," that is, Lenin's statement that "the end justifies the means," this commission plunged into the California political field to build a secret, camouflaged, efficient political machine;

That we probably had less than a thousand active Communist *cadres* (a Communist Party term to indicate a human unit, which is a "thing," not a being, in Communist thought) in the entire southern California area who were adept enough in parliamentary tricks, smooth enough to camouflage the Communist Party line, daring enough to face and bluff out attacks, cynical enough to proceed on orders without idealistic justification, and who were tied, hand, brain and hide, to the Communist Party. We had to juggle them around, give each many roles to play, coordinate all work in order to make the Communist Party camouflaged machine sound like a million votes. It required more than training or even long experience in even the cleverest and slipperiest of American type political maneuvering. We had access to, and drew from, the Communist Party's Asiatic form of intrigue; the use of teamwork in a combination of brazen effrontery and sly, psychological tricks. Al Lane (Lewis) claimed he spent a number of years in Moscow, and he laid claim to knowing how to maneuver "scientifically"; I believe he does, and the history of California during the Olson regime has proven that Al Lane and others of his kind were successful;

That beside those persons previously mentioned as having obtained appointments, others whom I knew to be Communists or fellow travelers who received appointments from Olson were:

William J. Plunkert, in the State Relief Administration;

Alice Orans, of whom I heard in the Social Service Units of the Communist Party;

Allen Metcalfe, "Young Democrat" to whom the Communist Party members referred as "comrade";

Esther Sapiro, whom I met on one occasion within the Communist Party;

Frank Taylor, who identified himself to me as a Communist Party member;

Al Shanks, aforementioned;

Sam Kalish, aforementioned;

James Burford, aforementioned;

Jules Kievits, aforementioned;

Miriam Holtz, aforementioned;

Katherine Kilbourne, aforementioned;

Rose Segure, aforementioned;

Carey McWilliams, aforementioned;

Martin Irons, aforementioned;

Marguerite Clark, aforementioned;

Elenore Bogigian, who received an appointment to an administrative position on WPA as Herbert Legg's secretary;

Claudia Williams, aforementioned;

That undoubtedly there were many other Communist Party members who received important California State positions with whom I had contact, but whose real names I did not learn;

That it should be mentioned here that spreading over all like a protective canopy was the Communist Party press, the *People's Daily World*, in California; all Communist Party members must subscribe to it; all must donate a day's pay to it; all must read it and believe it; and all must take part in compiling information for its "news" columns; it was looked upon as the "voice" of the camouflaged Communists in California, and like the Communists, it denied its Communism;

Communist Party Cultural Commission

THAT SIMULTANEOUS with my membership in the aforementioned said political commission, I was drawn into the Los Angeles County Cultural Commission as a representative from the political commission; that this commission was organized to fill the need expressed by Mary Virginia Farmer, mentioned previously: To coordinate the work of the Los Angeles County apparatus of the Communist Party with that of the underground, darkly secret Hollywood Cultural Commission, which in turn was part of the Communist Party apparatus in Hollywood, which, according to Communist knowledge generally, dealt directly with the Central

Committee of the Communist Party of the United States rather than with the local apparatus; therefore, this form of coordination was highly necessary from an organizational point of view;

That members of said Los Angeles County Cultural Commission, beside myself, were:

Miriam Brooks, now wife of Jack Moore, 1941 Los Angeles county secretary of the Communist Party; she was then a member of the Musicians Union, A. F. of L., and worked on the WPA Music Project in Los Angeles; meetings were held in her home on North Coronado;

Leona McGenty, aforementioned, who represented the Communist Party fraction on the Federal Theatre Project;

Howland Chamberlain, member of Actors Equity;

Darby Jones, member of Screen Actors Guild;

Barney Brown, in charge of Communist Party theatrical work; also co-representative with me from the political commission;

Charles Maddox, member of the Artists Congress and a worker on the WPA Federal Art Project;

Roth Reynolds, Artists Congress, unemployed, who has since become chairman of a downtown "Forum" in Los Angeles;

Kenneth Patterson, actor;

Dr. Lao Selfrid, aforementioned;

Sid Davidson (Martin), member of the Los Angeles County Educational Commission;

Marvin Carter, member of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild;

Sonora Babb (who also used another name), member of the League of American Writers;

Several others whose names I do not know;

That the tasks of this commission were to devise means of coordinating Communist Party work in the "arts"; to assist with theatrical entertainment containing Communist Party propaganda for labor unions, for meetings of various mass organizations and for political rallies;

That this commission organized the Arts Union Council, supposed to act as a coordinating body for various WPA unions; in other words, it was a Communist prop to bolster the failing Cultural and Professional Projects Association which had now reached its goal and was part of the Workers Alliance; since project workers on the cultural projects rejected this union, the Communist Party devised the Arts Unions Council, supposedly a delegated body, and took in delegates, which in most cases were the Communist Party fraction members from the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, Federal Writers Project unit; the A. F. of L. Musicians Union of which a number of members were on the music project; Actors Equity, of which a number of members were on the Federal Theatre Project; the Artists Congress of

which members were on the Federal Art Project, and of course, the Workers Alliance; said Arts Unions Council later became the nucleus of a Nation-wide organization to "Save the Federal Theatre Project" after exposures of Communist Party manipulation of said project made it necessary for Congress to abolish it;

That this said cultural commission also coordinated work of the League of American Writers, both in Hollywood and among free-lance writers throughout Los Angeles; I do not know if any non-Communists belonged to this organization, I never knew a member of it who was not active in Communist Party work;

That there was considerable time spent in said cultural commission plotting a method whereby the Communist Party fraction within the Musicians Union in Los Angeles, of which said Miriam Brooks was a member, could gain control of that organization;

That also considerable discussion dealt with setting up a Communist-controlled art center in Los Angeles to offset the so-called "reactionary art" sponsored by the late General Otis and Harry Chandler;

That, inasmuch as this said commission was composed solely of Communist Party members, a great deal of time was spent speculating on the bugagoo, Trotskyism; I gathered from the childish, frightened statements of my comrades that they feared the influence of Leon Trotsky would envelop the field of art; and that a great part of said fear apparently was engendered by the fact that I was collaborating on a play with aforementioned Theodor Robinson, whom the Communist Party had branded a "Trotskyite";

That I recall in particular one two-hour lecture by Sid Davidson (Martin) which reminded me of the children's scare phrase, "The goblins will get you, if you don't watch out!"; this was all done to impress and frighten me and to cause me to cease work with Robinson, but it had the opposite effect; I laughed at my comrades, who were frightened white by the "scare tale" of what Trotskyists do to "art," and after that I was "too busy" to attend said Cultural Commission meetings;

That I was by that time violating Communist Party discipline without regard for consequences; in fact, I hoped I would be expelled; that would be a way out; however, my comrades continued to pull me into other Communist Party work, evidently in the hope I would "see the light" and wax enthusiastic once more;

Trotskyism in Writing

THAT ONE SUCH MEETING which may or may not have been staged for my benefit, but which had for its main topic of discussion "Trotskyism in Writing" was called by the aforementioned Sonora Babb, though she was not present, and held in her home in Hollywood; the avowed purpose of that meeting was to stimulate interest in the League of American Writers in Los Angeles; those present beside myself were:

Theodore Pezman, aforementioned writer on the play, "*Sun Rises in the West*" and present employee in the United States Employment Service;

Harry Tarnoff, who called himself a writer, but who showed no ability at that meeting;

George Shaftel, who is well known in Los Angeles for his membership in writers' organizations, but whose writings are unknown;

Betty Rosenhouse, who laid no claim to writing ability but who frankly stated she intended to become an official in the League of American Writers;

Several women whose names I do not know;

That as stated previously, the entire topic of discussion was the cataclysm of "Trotskyism" in writing; I gathered that this meant exposure of the Communist Party in writing, and I believe it was on that occasion I decided to use what ability I had as a writer to do just that;

That the foregoing is an example of the Communist Party members' approach to art, writing and the theater; they are mediums through which to express Communist Party propaganda; they are fields to monopolize, nothing more;

That by this time, Summer of 1938, the matter of layoffs on WPA which always hit at the end of the fiscal year, June 30th, had the Federal Writers Project in a broil; due to the fact that so many project members had been rejected by the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild and because the Cultural and Professional Projects Association had no hold on the Federal Writers Project, workers turned to another form of union expression and eventually evolved an independent union, the Federal Writers Project Union, but in the throes of its organization the Communist Party fraction on said project created much to-do; for one thing aforementioned Elliot Wax and Lillian Jones attended the organizational meeting of the aforementioned Arts Unions Council as representatives of the Federal Writers Project (without the knowledge or consent of anyone on the Federal Writers Project except the Communist Party fraction thereof), then attempted to force upon the Federal Writers Project the commitments they had made in this organization; needless to say, there was much fuss over that point;

That about that time Rose Boyd (Busch-Visschnier) who had set herself up as dictator of the Federal Writers Project, called meetings of said project into which outside Communists would be called; I recall Leona McGenty was called into one; another time Mrs. McGenty, then organizer for the Workers Alliance on the Federal Theatre Project, sent Al Haieg, a new recruit into the Communist Party, as her representative; another time aforementioned Paul Pinsky was inveigled to take a bow; another time Lew Michener, who attended our Communist Party fraction meeting, and who was then C. I. O. Council Secretary in Los Angeles,

participated; that all I recall this accomplished was to make non-Communist project workers very bitter against the Communist Party;

Communist Party Commissions

THAT BEFORE PASSING to a more personal phase of this account, I wish to make the point that the aforementioned COMMISSIONS, of which there were many, were used as a superstructure, coordinating apparatus to by-pass the more ponderous process of so-called "Democratic Centralism," which was nothing more than a process of dictatorship; by this process, orders from Moscow were supposed to come to the Communist Party National Central Committee in New York where they would be interpreted and policy for the Nation worked out in accordance; then they proceeded down the line to the unit, the basic structure of the Communist International, then the unit was supposed to evolve means of implementing the orders (never on whether or not it would accept the order), and pass this decision on to the fractions which this unit controlled, and then the fractions would take the decision into unions or other organizations as "individual" opinion; the aforesaid COMMISSION cut much of this red tape, enabled the Communist Party fractions to get orders from the Commission to which the secretaries thereof were attached without waiting for a unit meeting; there were many other ways the COMMISSIONS cut red tape of the old Peters Manual (a manual of organization of the Communist Party);

That I attended the Professional Section Convention and also the Los Angeles County Convention of the Communist Party, the latter being held around May 1, 1938, the other about two weeks earlier; that I recall at the Professional Section Convention it was brought out there were two hundred ten (210) members of that section; work of the section has been outlined previously and unions under its control indicated;

That at the Los Angeles County Convention of the Communist Party, held at 121 W. Eighteenth Street, Los Angeles, I encountered a number of comrades who have been mentioned previously; I recall that Herb Sorrell was doorman at the session I attended, and accepted my credentials; that the membership of the Communist Party was estimated as around 3,000 at that time; that plans were discussed for developing a more efficient political machine, on which subject Paul Cline spoke;

That some time during the Summer of 1938 I met aforementioned Hugh Mason at a Communist Party social gathering; he informed me that he was a member of the Communist Party fraction of the aforementioned Conference of Studio Unions which was at that time called "COMPAC," and that Charlotte Darling, a worker at Disney's Studio, was the secretary of said fraction; that he advised me to get in touch with said Charlotte Darling in order to establish a closer contact between aforementioned Los Angeles County Political Commission of the Commun-

ist Party and the Communist Party fraction of COMPAC; I telephoned Miss Darling and on several occasions discussed Communist Party affairs with her, and noted that decisions from aforementioned Political Commission were very quickly transformed into action within COMPAC, according to news reports of same;

Control Commission

THAT DURING the time I was in disagreement with the Communist Party's line and tactics, that is, from the Spring of 1938 through the Summer, Dr. V. A. K. Tashjian telephoned me many times commanding my appearance at his office; the first time I went before Dr. Tashjian (Dr. Parker) in his official capacity as chairman of the Los Angeles County Control Commission of the Communist Party, was when Howland Chamberlain, then Membership Director of Unit 130, to which I was attached until about March, 1938, escorted me to Communist Party headquarters at 124 W. Sixth Street, Los Angeles, to interview "Dr. Parker" about the so-called "Trotskyite," Theodor Robinson; on that occasion Dr. Tashjian, whom I instinctively distrusted, informed me that Robinson had been branded officially by the Communist Party as a "Trotskyite" and that I was to break off all relations with him; that from that moment forward I had no respect whatsoever for the decisions or impassioned ravings of my comrades with respect to said Robinson; that I ascertained to my own satisfaction, after examining correspondence and documents, some of which were signed by said Dr. V. A. K. Tashjian, that said Robinson, who stated that he had been friendly to the Communist Party in 1933 when he was in college at Los Angeles, had loaned to said Dr. V. A. K. Tashjian the sum of \$500, for which said Dr. Tashjian had given his personal note, which note I saw; that said Robinson informed me that when he attempted to collect that sum of money, Dr. Tashjian had screamed that it was a donation; that Robinson had pressed the claim unsuccessfully, from Chicago, where he then lived, and that thereafter the members of the Communist Party to whom he had been friendly began to shun him; that I had in my possession at one time a letter on the stationery of the Communist Party of Illinois to Theodore Pezman, fractional secretary of the aforementioned Southwest Unit of the Federal Theatres, signed by the Illinois State Secretary of the Communist Party, saying that Theodor Robinson was to be prevented from obtaining employment in Los Angeles because he was a "Trotskyite"; Pezman presented me with that letter ordering me to show it to Robert Brownell, aforementioned supervisor on the Federal Writers Project, in an effort to dislodge said Robinson from his position on said project; this command I disobeyed, and the letter was finally turned over to Federal authorities; that then and there I learned how "Trotskyites" are manufactured by the Communist Party;

That in about July of 1938, by which time I had grown completely contemptuous of Communist Party commands, that a

Mollie Prager, of whom I had heard much in the Communist Party, appeared at the Federal Writers and stated flatly that she was ready to move into my flat at 1323 W. Fourth Street and that she would live with me; my only response was, "Like hell you are, and if you want to run into a hornet's nest, just try it.";

That I had heard much discussion within the Communist Party of that method of whipping recalcitrant members back into line; that I had heard that not infrequently members of the opposite sex were ordered to make love to the backsliding member and to report intimate conversations to the Control Commission; that after I had resisted the advances of aforementioned Eugene Schachner, I came to the conclusion that the Control Commission had resorted to the next best thing by sending said Mollie Prager to me;

That the last I heard of said Mollie Prager was in 1939 when she was a stenographer in the office of the Los Angeles Board of Education;

That the aforementioned John Henry Reese, who had appeared at the Federal Writers Project under peculiar circumstances, in that he had not gone through regular WPA channels to obtain his employment, pretended to be a Communist Party fellow traveler, and constantly flitted around the vicinity in which I was working on the project; he became very friendly with Velda Johnston, who, in turn, remained an associate of mine, and frequently said Reese invited me to go out socially with Velda Johnston and himself, which I did;

That on the morning of August 4, 1938, said John Henry Reese entered the office I shared with Robert Brownell, and with an apologetic laugh, stated: "The time has come when you must choose between your comrades and that Trotskyite, Ted Robinson."

That I asked, "What do you mean?" and he began, "Dr. Parker says——"

That he got no further. I interrupted, saying, "Go back and tell Dr. Tashjian that my Communist Party book will be in the mail tonight." That in accordance with that threat, I mailed my Communist Party book, which was in the name of Irene Wood, and which dues were paid up through June, 1938, to the Professional Section Membership Director, the aforementioned Minna Klein, at the Professional Section post-office box in the Hollywood Substation Post Office;

That said John Henry Reese departed from said Federal Writers Project very soon thereafter, and I heard he was working in the office of Ellis E. Patterson; that I encountered him some time in the fall of 1938 on the street, when he ordered me to accompany him to Dr. Tashjian's office; I refused; that this same John Henry Reese is now employed in the United States Department of Internal Revenue, which fact I established some time in January, 1942, by calling that department on the telephone; said

Reese answered and attempted to discuss the matter of my 1941 income tax with me; that the last time I saw said John Henry Reese was at noon on February 24, 1942, when the Assembly Fact-Finding Committee in Un-American Activities recessed for lunch, and immediately after hearing the testimony of Dr. V. A. K. Tashjian, aforementioned;

That said John Henry Reese was standing alone in the corridor outside the hearing room in the State Building, Los Angeles; I left the room ahead of the crowd and evidently surprised him at his post; he carried papers of the Internal Revenue Department in his hand; he asked me what Tashjian had said, but I did not reply;

That shortly after I returned my Communist Party membership book to Minna Klein, the aforementioned C. H. ("Brick") Garrigues called on me at my residence, then 1247 Huntley Drive, Los Angeles, and pleaded with me to return to the Communist Party; he informed me that it was the decision of the Professional Section Committee that I could continue my writing collaboration with said Theodor Robinson, if I wished, and that I could have any assignment in the Communist Party which I might want; I informed him I wanted no assignment within the Communist Party; that I wanted to forget my association with it;

That the aforementioned Walter McElroy, who was then Supervisor of the Federal Writers Project in San Francisco, came to Los Angeles and called on me at 1247 Huntley Drive, and stated he could arrange my transfer in WPA to San Francisco if I desired, that he could put me in touch with William Z. Foster, General Chairman of the Communist Party of United States, who was resting in California, and that I could arrange to work directly with Foster if I desired; I told McElroy that I had no desire to meet William Z. Foster or any other Communist Party official; that I wanted to be let alone to go my own way;

That shortly after I returned my membership book in the Communist Party, Dr. V. A. K. Tashjian called me by telephone and commanded me to come to his office in the Hillstreet Theatre Building (2d Floor, 815 South Hill Street), which I did; he escorted me into his dentist chambers and there alternately cajoled and threatened me and endeavored to discover how much I knew of Communist Party secrets; he stated that I could take an assignment in the Communist Party to report direct to him, if I wished, which assignment would be spying on other Communist Party members; he stated that if I persisted in my hostile attitude to the Communist Party that I would be expelled from the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild (which expulsion process had not yet started) and that I would be deprived of an opportunity to make a living in Los Angeles; my arguments came to naught with him,

he would not listen to my criticism of the Communist Party;

That said Dr. Tashjian formed the habit of calling me by telephone at such hours as two or three o'clock in the morning, and would say in a voice full of mystery. "I want to see you, comrade." That on every occasion he telephoned me I agreed to talk to him in his office after working hours, but that each interview was a repetition of the last one; on one occasion I recall that we were discussing the dishonesty of the "Popular Front" program of the Communist Party, and Dr. Tashjian replied that "We trained revolutionaries know that bourgeois governments must be overthrown by force"; that I knew he meant also the Government of United States because it is always mentioned in Communist Party literature as a "bourgeois" government; that I then and there ceased argument with Dr. Tashjian;

That some time in October, 1938, said Dr. Tashjian requested my appearance in his office; I went, and he informed me that my activities in the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild in opposition to the desires of the Communist Party fraction therein indicated that I was a "Trotskyite"; he did not inform me that I would be, or was, expelled from the Communist Party, but I later heard him testify under oath that he had expelled me from the Communist Party for "Trotskyite" activities;

That shortly thereafter, Robert Brownell, who had been extremely friendly and deferential to me during my membership in the Communist Party, informed me that I was no longer his editorial assistant on the History Essay of the Los Angeles Guide, and that I must move my desk out of his office, which I did; that I was put on the most menial sort of research work; that my research notes were frequently "lost" at the project, and that all manner of obstacles were thrown in my path at work; that my salary was reduced from \$94 monthly to \$85 monthly by Brownell, and that I was assigned to work under the Negro woman, Lillian Jones, a former Communist Party comrade; that during my association with said Brownell he informed me that he had acted as Secretary to Harry R. Bridges in San Francisco;

That Communist Party members whom I had known within the party hounded my footsteps, both at work and during my leisure time; wherever I went, I would look up and there would be a former comrade staring at me; sometimes it would be Donald A. Murray, sometimes Theodore Pezman, sometimes Leona McGenty, but more frequently, as I worked at research in the Los Angeles Public Library, I would see Eugene Linder, former member of Leo Gallagher's office staff, watching me from a corner in the room; this childish form of hide-and-seek did not particularly annoy me, although I knew it was intended to do so;

That one Ramon Welch obtained employment on the Federal

Writers Project and attempted to draw me out on my opinion of the Communist Party, but I noticed that he made contact with Leona McGenty and other Communist Party members who frequented the Los Angeles Public Library, and therefore I did not become friendly with said Welch; this is the same Ramon Welch who is now Secretary of the Spanish Speaking People's Congress in Los Angeles, which I know to be a Communist organization;

That some time in the Spring of 1939, one Maurice ("Jerry") Kaplan, sports writer on the *People's Daily World*, whom I had known slightly within the Communist Party, approached me at my work in the Los Angeles Public Library; he first made a reference to my opposition to the Communist Party fraction of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, then stated that he would "hate to see anything happen to me"; I drew him out, and he stated he meant he would hate to see me meet with a fatal accident, but that such might be the case if I persisted in my opposition to the Communist Party;

That I was somewhat taken aback, mainly because this death threat followed so closely the pattern used by the underworld during the days of bootleggers, not because Kaplan was threatening my life; it then dawned on me suddenly that the Communist Party bore many striking resemblances to the gangs of Al Capone, "Bugs" Moran and others, and that many Communist Party members were true "gangster" types, including Maurice ("Jerry") Kaplan; that realization probably shaped my reply;

That I said to Kaplan: "You've got a powerful mob, pal, thousands of devoted mobsters, hundreds of venal politicians who'll play your game, a powerful press, and a hold on a lot of unions——"

That he agreed with me gleefully, apparently under the impression that I realized I could not combat such a force, then I shot at him: "Well, roll out your artillery, boy, there's going to be a war!";

That there was a war between myself and the Communist Party, and that my slogan is "never surrender";

That the so-called "party line" is taught to members of the Communist Party in new members class in such a way as to instill in the novitiate Communist a mystical awe of the "word from Moscow" and in such a way that the Communist Party member will never dare to question its wisdom; for instance, the new member is told immediately, as soon as he signs the application card to join the Communist Party, by the person who recruits him, that he is placing himself in the hands of the Communist Party, that he must accept its judgments and rely on its wisdom, that he must obey Communist Party orders as he would military

command, for he is entering an army that is in a war, that he is dedicating himself, his brain as well as his hands, to a cause for which he must be willing to give his life if necessary; that there are special Communist Party terms to convey these meanings, but which terms are incomprehensible to the uninitiate;

Communist Schools

That in the first new members class I attended, aforementioned Sid Davidson (Martin) explained the foregoing matters to the assembled class, whose names are mentioned previously; that is, he informed us we had joined the Communist Party and that meant we had dedicated our lives to the cause of said party; that we were subject to the discipline of said party and that we must obey all party decisions as conveyed to us through official party channels without question, and that we must put implicit faith in the decisions of said party leaders because they were better informed than we on what our activities should be;

That in said new members class we novitiate Communists learned from our official manual and from our teacher, Sid Davidson (Martin) that the Communist Party of United States of America is an integral part of the Communist International with headquarters in Moscow; that all major decisions, that is those pertaining to world policy, are made by the Central Committee of said Communist International (COMINTERN) and that said decisions are relayed through official channels to each Communist Party of each country throughout the world, and that in the instance of United States, the National Central Committee in New York met and decided on how to apply the particular mandate within the United States, and that this National decision was passed to the State committee of each State (or District) of the Communist Party of the United States, and that the process of determining the most efficient manner of putting such mandate into practice was decided upon by said State Committee, which decision was passed to the next lower body, that is the various county committees throughout California, and that the process was there repeated, and that such decisions of the county committee as were passed on to the various sections in Los Angeles County, such as the Professional Section, the Harbor Section, the Industrial Section, the Goodyear Section, the Pasadena Subsection, the Hollywood Section and Santa Monica Subsection thereof and so on; that then the process was repeated and that decisions of the section were in turn passed on to the units of said section where again the process was repeated; that is, since the unit is the basic structure of the Communist Party to which each and every member of the Communist Party must belong, in the unit each member of the Communist Party had an opportunity to "discuss democratically" the means which members of that unit should use in order

to put said Communist Party decisions into practice, and that this was the extent of Communist Party democracy, because members had no right to question the decision of a higher body, and that once a unit as a whole arrived at a decision this must be carried out without further discussion by each and every member thereof even though he had disapproved of said decision; that each member had a right to appeal a decision to the next higher body of the Communist Party; but that during such appeal he must carry out the mandate;

That said Sid Davidson (Martin) informed the aforementioned new members class that the Communist International arrived at its conclusions by studying digests of reports from all over the world, and that whatever decision it made, was made with a view toward benefiting the Communist Party on a world-wide basis; that in order to compile these reports each member of the Communist Party must turn over all information of the nature he was instructed by his unit to gather to said unit, which turned it over to the next higher body and so on up to the Comintern; that each body digested such material as was submitted to it and sent its report to the next higher body, and so on;

That, after I went out into general Communist Party work I learned from official mandates that much espionage was carried on by the entire membership of the Communist Party; that material desired by the Communist Party officially was: (1) All available information on labor unions and the members thereof, especially with respect to their attitudes, individually, toward the Communist Party and members thereof; (2) all possible information on enemies of the Communist Party, especially those who had obtained secrets about the Communist Party; (3) any possible information that could be obtained about the operation of industrial plants, such as processes, machinery and transportation facilities to and from said plant; (4) any possible information that could be obtained about government bureaus and personnel thereof; (5) any possible information that could be obtained about political figures, preferably that which could be used to "bring them to terms," as it were;

That during the time I was in the Communist Party and from my official party contacts, I never learned the exact operation of this espionage system; that no specific instructions were given, that while reports were made within the units to which I belonged, I do not know of the progress of these reports to or within higher bodies; that I formed the conclusion that this so-called "mass espionage" was conducted more for the purpose of "activating" members, that is, giving them something to do in which they felt a sense of importance, rather than for the purpose of obtaining a mass of detail on, for instance, the operation of the Works Progress Administration;

That during the time I was in the Communist Party and attached to official units thereof, the so-called "party line" was transmitted to unit members through what was termed an "Org" letter, or a mimeographed letter supposedly compiled in the county headquarters of the Communist Party in Los Angeles and sent to all the unit organizers thereof;

That during my attendance, such "Org" letters were read to Unit 131 at each meeting thereof by Walter McElroy, the organizer of that Unit, to Unit 130 at each meeting thereof by Leona McGenty, the organizer thereof, and to Unit 140 by Herbert Klein, the organizer thereof;

That during the time I was in the Communist Party as a full-fledged member, that is, from January, 1937, to August, 1938, that the general "party line" for the world was "collective security," that is, the collaboration of all governments and agencies within countries who could be persuaded to enter such an arrangement, against Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy;

That within United States, according to official Communist Party literature which I read and according to the aforementioned "Org" letters, the application of the "collective security" line meant: (1) Boycotting German-made merchandise as well as, for a while, boycotting Japanese-made goods, especially silk stocks; (2) any and all possible assistance to Loyalist Spain in its fight against Franco; (3) all possible propaganda vituperation against these aforementioned indicated enemies at any and all times by all members of the Communist Party, in writings, in speeches, in conversations with individuals; that these "smear" terms were handed down to us as official terminology by which to refer to not only the aforementioned governments but also to other enemies of the Communist Party whom the Communist Party officially wished to link with these governments and ideologies; for instance, to apply the term "Fascist" to an individual did not mean to a Communist Party member that the person so titled was a member of the Fascist Party of Italy, but that he was a person who was to be "isolated" from general society and that the use of that term, which had been officially smeared by the Communist International would mean the social destruction of the individual; that the same was true of the term "Nazi" or "Hitlerite";

That there were many, many ramifications of the application of said "collective security" line of the Communist Party, but that this serves to illustrate the manner in which the Communist Party operates within;

Communist Oath

That at the time I took the oath of membership into the Communist Party said oath was very vague in terminology and that I had no idea of what would be required of me by my signature to it; that as I recall it I agreed merely to abide by the discipline of the Communist Party and to accept its decisions;

That at a later date during which time I was a member of the Communist Party, I attended a general membership meeting of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County at the Embassy Auditorium in Los Angeles and heard about 200 new members take the oath, and that in said ritual these new members swore with upraised fists (in the Communist salute) that they would consider the Soviet Union their country and that they swore full allegiance to said Soviet Union;

That throughout the time I was in the Communist Party all teachings were slanted in such a way that a member could not possibly believe the allegiance of the Communist Party officially was to any country or government other than the Soviet Union; that the aforementioned Soviet Union, as a government, as the headquarters of the Communist International, as the originator of both political and cultural ideology, was the sacred country of the world; that all other governments were criticized, labelled as "Fascist," "imperialist" or "bourgeois"; that the latter term was most frequently applied to the Government of United States;

That in New Members Class Sid Davidson (Martin) gave us the explanation that all "capitalist" governments must be overthrown eventually before a world Soviet government could be established; that his wording was vague and his meaning unclear, and that only after I became aware of the operations and the terminology of the Communist Party did I understand his meaning; that he explained that within United States the "progressive" forces were in a position to capture key Government positions during the Roosevelt regime, and that such "progressive" forces must defend their "progressive" government against "reaction," by arms if necessary; that it was not until my aforementioned conversation with Dr. V. A. K. Tashjian with reference to the aims of the Popular Front and at which time he informed me that Communist Party members of long standing understood the Government of United States must be overthrown, that I fully comprehended the meaning of the terms used in New Members Class by Sid Davidson (Martin);

That I have formed many conclusions, about the nature of the Communist Party, none of which are favorable to it; but that I realize from observation that it is a powerful force within the United States for the reason that it attracts not only the social misfits of the "gangster" type, but a large per cent of unassimilated Europeans and Asiatics for which people in the United States have the deepest sympathy and respect, and also that it so cleverly couches its propaganda that it wins the devotion of many honest Americans who have not the educational background and mental balance to think for themselves; that it attracts opportunists.

satellites and sycophants because of its strength, and that it presents one of the major problems of the United States today.

Dated this twenty-third day of November, 1942.

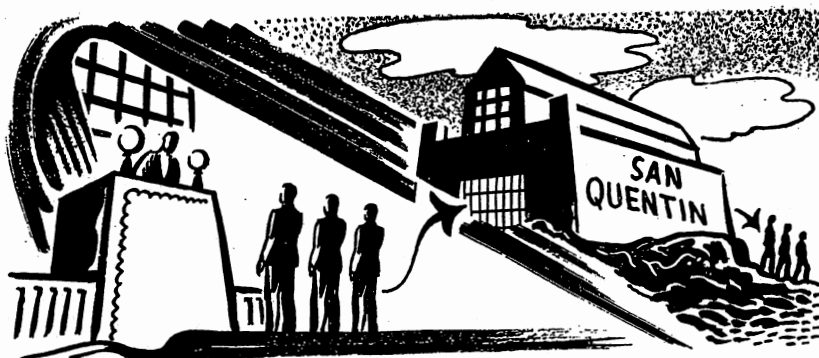
RENA M. VALE

(SEAL)

Subscribed and sworn to before me this twenty-third day of November, 1942.

J. H. GOSLING

Notary Public in and for the County of Los Angeles, State of California.



CHAPTER XIII

King, Conner, Ramsey Case

LEGAL HISTORY, SAN QUENTIN, PAROLE

IN NOVEMBER 28, 1941 three men, who were serving a minimum sentence set by the California Prison Board of Terms and Paroles, of 20 years, were suddenly and unexpectedly paroled from San Quentin Prison. These men were Earl King, Frank Conner and E. G. Ramsay. On the day the men were released, a statement by the Attorney General, Earl Warren, appeared in most of the daily newspapers in California. The statement of the Attorney General is as follows:

"The release of King, Ramsay and Conner is an outrage to public decency and a blow against the security of human life in California. These men initiated the brutal murder of a law abiding citizen without provocation and while he was peaceably engaged in earning a living for his wife and three babies. They didn't give him a chance for his life. He was beaten with blunt instruments and hacked with knives until he was dead in his own living quarters on the Steamship *Point Lobos* where the assassins laid in wait for him. King, Ramsay and Conner were fairly convicted by a jury, sentenced by the judge, their conviction affirmed by the appellate courts and now their guilt is vouched for by the very parole board that today released them after only four years and some months of imprisonment. Human life has indeed been cheapened! The murderers are free today, not because they are rehabilitated criminals, but because they are politically powerful Communist radicals. Their parole is the culmination of a sinister program of subversive politics, attempted bribery, terrorism and intimidation which has evidenced itself in so many ways during the past three years."

This statement by the Attorney General of the State of California, emphatic and certain, brought the matter under the jurisdiction of the committee. Public hearings were immediately opened in the Civic Auditorium in the City of San Francisco December 1, 1941, and ended with the examination of certain prisoners at San Quentin Prison, December 6, 1941.

Legal History of the Case

Earl King, E. G. Ramsay, Frank Conner and George Wallace were indicted by the Grand Jury of Alameda County as principals in the murder of George W. Alberts.

The grand jury indictment against King, Ramsay, Conner and Wallace, charging them with murder, was returned October 21, 1936, and the trial ended January 5, 1937. Sakovitz and four unidentified sailors from the *S. S. Arctic*, were named in the indictment but were never apprehended.

King, Ramsay, Conner and Wallace were tried before a jury in Alameda County and all four were found guilty of murder in the second degree. King, Ramsay and Conner appealed from the individual judgments of conviction and from orders denying each a new trial. Wallace did not appeal. The judgments of conviction, and the orders appealed from were, in each case, affirmed by the District Court of Appeal, First District, Division One, December 28, 1938, and a rehearing was denied January 12, 1939. A hearing was denied by the Supreme Court of California January 26, 1939.

George W. Alberts was chief engineer on a steamer known as the *Point Lobos*. He was killed in his stateroom on Sunday morning, March 22, 1936.

Labor Background

At the time of the killing of Chief Engineer George W. Alberts, King, Conner and Ramsay were connected with the *Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers Union*. King was the secretary and chief executive officer of the union; Ramsay was a patrolman of the union; and Conner, an oiler on the ship *Point Lobos*, was the union's delegate on the ship. George Wallace and Sakovitz were active members of the same union. It should be noted that there were no labor difficulties on the waterfront at the time of Alberts' death.

Communist Background

Mathew G. Guidera was a delegate for the *Marine Ships, Cooks and Stewards, A. F. of L.*, on the *Point Lobos* in 1936. Speaking of Earl King, Guidera testified (Volume V, pp. 1429-1447): "Mr. King has been known on the waterfront for a period of years, regardless of anything you may hear from others, as an official spokesman and representative of the Communist Party."

Manuel Cabral, according to Guidera, was a member of the Communist Party and at one time solicited Guidera to join the party. Revels Cayton, a member of the Communist Party, also attempted to induce Guidera to join the party. Guidera stated that he had discussed Communism with Earl King on a number of occasions and had from time to time discussed the Communist Party line on the waterfront with him, Cayton, and Paul Boyles. Cayton was the Communist fraction leader of the group. Guidera was acquainted with Ben Sakovitz and knew him as "Wimpy" Sakovitz. Guidera stated that Sakovitz was introduced to him as a member of the Communist Party.

New needs, ambitions and policies of Soviet Russia had come into being in 1935. The Trojan Horse cavalymen were riding. More than ever before the Communist Party was desirous of controlling shipping and transportation. The general strike of 1934 had demonstrated the power of the Communist Party on San Francisco's waterfront. Communist Party members had made great inroads into the waterfront unions, and Guidera was certain that his own union, the *Marine Ships, Cooks and Stewards*, was controlled by the party members in it.

Attorney General Earl Warren, who was district attorney of Alameda County at the time King, Conner and Ramsay were prosecuted and convicted for the murder of George Alberts, testified at length. (Volume VI, pp. 1643-1693.) He stated that there had been innumerable people beaten within an inch of their lives on the waterfront during this period. They were labor union men who disagreed with King and his crowd. Many of these men disappeared and were never found. Some were found, one or two weeks later, floating in the San Francisco Bay. One man was found floating in the bay, wrapped up and manacled in a chain just two weeks before King, Ramsay and Conner were indicted for murder. The Attorney General observed that after King, Ramsay and Conner were tried and convicted, the beatings and drownings of men in the bay area discontinued almost entirely. He stated: "In my humble opinion, it was due to the conviction of those men."

The Attorney General offered a photostat of a copy of a letter written by Earl King to Paul M. Sorensen, chief engineer of the steamship *Malama*. The Attorney General, in his presentation of the letter to the committee, stated: "It shows the attitude of Mr. King, not only toward this man Alberts, but toward other chief engineers, who were perhaps in a similar position to him. It is a rather vitriolic letter, and one that shows extreme arrogance; and there are innumerable threats — veiled threats — contained in it."

The letter presented to the committee by the Attorney General was on the letterhead of the Pacific Coast *Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers Association*, 58 Commercial

Street; Kearny 3699; and is dated August 13, 1936. The letter is as follows:

"Paul M. Sorensen, Chief Engineer, S. S. Malama,
Matson Navigation Company, Pier 32,
San Francisco, California.

"Dear Sir: We have had a great many complaints about your attitude toward firemen's ship delegates. We are putting your name on the blackboard permanently as a troublemaker. Our firemen's delegates are supposed to work in the interest of the Firemen's Union aboard ship, to see that they get the proper overtime, and proper working rules, as provided in the award.

"We have had numerous complaints about you, that you individually take it upon yourself to break our working rules, and conditions that we are supposed to get under the arbitration award. When you got into the last trouble with our men, we asked our firemen to get off the ship, rather than cause friction between the Engineers Association and our association. However, we are putting your name on our blackboard so that we will remember it at the next violation of our working rules that you try to impose on your members.

"One more violation and our members will refuse to sail with you on any ship on the Pacific Ocean that you happen to be on, and we discover you on this ship. This is official, so please be governed accordingly if you have any desire to keep harmony between the Engineers Association and in the Maritime Federation. Any more violations and we will print your name to be circulated up and down the coast, as a disruptor of union unity and we will ask all of our members on any ship that you go on to give you plenty of noncooperation. We will see to it that your name is associated with a common cur dog, of the female variety.

"If you think the Firemen's Union is going to be dictated to by a lunkhead like you, just try one more violation of our award. We will be delighted to have you do it, as we would be glad to reduce such ilk as yourself. I understand that now that you have become a chief, you have lost all touch with the idea that you belong to the working class, and you think that you are a God Almighty. We hope you have pleasant thoughts along these lines, because you will soon be deflated from your bombastic opinion of yourself.

"If you want to fight with the Firemen's Union, we will be glad to give it to you. If you want to pull in your haunches and be a good member of the Maritime Federation, conduct yourself like a gentleman, you will find we will be willing to do the same. Continue to act as you have and no fireman will sail with you. I don't know whether you are a 'fink' or not, but you certainly have all the actions of one.

"Yours truly,

"EARL KING, Secretary."

George W. Alberts

AS WE HAVE SAID, George W. Alberts was the Chief Engineer on the Steamer *Point Lobos*. He was about 37 years old at the time of his death, in excellent physical condition and stood about six feet in height and weighed around 200 pounds. Matthew G. Guidera told the committee that the chief engineer was very vehement and emphatic in his opposition to Communism and that he had heard Alberts express himself on many occasions against Communism and Communist activities.

From Guidera the committee learned something of the last trip made by the *Point Lobos* prior to the murder of its chief

engineer, Alberts. During the trip to the East Coast considerable difficulty developed with the crew. There were several stoppages of work on the gulf, and Guidera stated that all of these stoppages and difficulties were inspired by Frank Conner, the delegate for the *Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers Association*. Most of these difficulties were between the engine force and the Chief Engineer, Mr. Alberts. In Mobile, Alabama, the loading of the cargo was stopped at the instigation of Frank Conner. Trouble also developed in New Orleans. On the way home, Guidera stated, there was a meeting on board the ship of the three delegates for the deck, engine and stewards' departments. It should be remembered that Guidera was a delegate on board the *Point Lobos* for the *Marine Ships, Cooks and Stewards*. The question before the meeting was in reference to activities of the respective unions when the *Point Lobos* docked on the West Coast. Guidera stated that "nobody trusted the 'deck department' too well" and that the discussion did not go into detail for that reason. Apparently Chief Engineer Alberts' antagonism to the Communist Party and its members in shipping and on ships had been discussed. Frank Conner, at that time, told Guidera that he would "have to get rid of Alberts." In the jargon of ships, shipping and the waterfront, "to get rid of a man" was to finish him completely, "not just dump him—there was no such thing as 'dumping' mentioned." Guidera explained that by "dumping" a man was meant "beating him up and letting him live a little while." He stated that Conner said, "I suppose we will have to get rid of Alberts." I know Conner; and I know he meant what he said; and I knew, when he said it, he had the connections to carry out what he said."

When the *Point Lobos* arrived in San Pedro, Guidera sought out Chief Engineer Alberts and told him that he ought to leave the ship, relating to him what he had heard from Conner. Alberts laughed at him. Guidera, however, told Captain William D. Lion, who was at that time the Operating Superintendent for the Swayne and Hoyt Steamship Company. Guidera testified: "I told Captain Lion he should have Mr. Alberts removed because, if he didn't, Mr. Alberts would not sail with the ship. He paid no attention to me."

From the uncontroverted facts of the case the committee learned that on Saturday morning, March 21, 1936, Conner telephoned King at the office of the union in San Francisco, telling him that Alberts had discharged one Edward Widmer, a member of the engine-room crew and a member of the union, without paying him all of his overtime money due and asked King to send a patrolman over and get the matter fixed up. George Wallace was at the union headquarters at about the time Conner telephoned to King. King saw Wallace and asked him if he wanted to go on a job, to which Wallace replied that he did not and walked away. Ramsay and "Wimpy" Sakovitz met Wallace a short time after and told him that he had better come back to

King's office as King wanted to see him. Wallace returned to King's office with Ramsay and Sakovitz.

Once in the office, Ramsay said to King: "That God-damned fink, he belongs to some company union and he needs a lesson."

There was some further discussion and King said: "Go over and beat him up."

Thereafter King went to the outer office of the union where A. M. Murphy, Assistant Secretary and Treasurer of the union, was located. King directed Murphy to give Ramsay \$30 and Murphy did so, after King told him that the money was to be used for an "expedition across the bay."

A bludgeon was secured by Sakovitz from the janitor of the building and given to Wallace. This bludgeon was described as one-half of a printing roller about 18 inches to two feet long and about four or five inches in thickness. Ramsay, Wallace, Sakovitz and a sailor whose name is not known, then proceeded to the Howard Terminal in Oakland where the *Point Lobos* was docked. They arrived on the dock about noon and remained there until about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. During this time Ramsay twice left the group and boarded the *Point Lobos*. Upon his first return he remarked: "That God-damned fink, I talked to him and I could not get him off." Conner later joined the group on the dock. Ramsay boarded the ship a second time, and upon leaving said to the others: "I'm going aboard the ship and try to get him to come ashore." Upon rejoining the group, Ramsay stated: "The only way to get him is to go aboard the ship." Ramsay left the group a third time, going in the direction of the ship, but came running back saying: "He is coming." At this juncture a police officer in uniform appeared on the dock. Alberts, with a companion, had left the ship and, upon crossing the dock entered an automobile and drove away. Upon Ramsay's warning that "You had better beat it," the men separated.

During the night the *Point Lobos* was moved to Encinal Dock in Alameda. On the morning of Sunday, March 22, 1936, Wallace and Sakovitz met in San Francisco. With them was the unknown sailor who had accompanied them the previous day. Sakovitz declared: "Well, I have to go over and get that God-damned fink." Wallace said that he did not want to go but Sakovitz warned him that he "had better come over if you know what is good for you." Thereupon, the three, Wallace, Sakovitz and the sailor, proceeded to the dock in Alameda. Sakovitz here gathered up two more sailors from the Steamer *Arctic*. Conner joined the group. Sakovitz undoubtedly took charge of the entire expedition and ordered Conner to go aboard and see if he could locate Alberts. At the same time Sakovitz explained to Conner and the rest of the group where each should station himself should Conner find Alberts aboard. They all then went aboard the ship and took their stations as planned. Wallace went to the starboard side of the ship near the passageway in which Alberts'

stateroom was located, and was later seen with his hand on the knob of Alberts' stateroom door. Sakovitz went to the forward end of the passageway close to Alberts' door, facing Conner, and the others took various positions about the deck of the ship.

George Alberts came aboard the ship with Captain Odeen. He went immediately to his cabin, laid his cap on the pillow of his bunk and removed his coat, preparing, perhaps, to change to more seagoing clothes, as the ship was about to sail. Conner immediately gave a signal with his hand to Sakovitz. In a few minutes a noise came from the chief engineer's stateroom, which was later described by Wallace as sounding like "Ugh, ugh, ugh." In a mere matter of seconds Sakovitz emerged with blood on his hands and told Wallace: "You had better beat it."

The deed was done. Alberts lay dead on the floor of his tiny cabin in a pool of his own blood.

We saw and studied the pictures of Alberts' cabin taken but a few minutes after his death. We saw the pictures of Alberts' mutilated body and heard the report of the physicians who scientifically—in cold, impartial, professional language—told of the wounds found upon the dead engineer's body and the cause of his death. The committee has never heard of a more cold-blooded, ruthless and unwarranted slaying of a human being. A hard and telling blow with a metal instrument had crushed the flesh from the back of Alberts' head. The pictures revealed hard and heavy blows behind each of the engineer's ears. A knife had been thrust into his neck, chest and shoulder. A powerful thrust carried the blade of a knife through both walls of Alberts' abdomen. And, as if this were not enough, the knife was thrust with terrific force into Alberts' thigh, in the rear, and then ripped downward toward the knee-joint some nine and a half inches, severing the great artery. The engineer had entered his stateroom at about 11 o'clock Sunday morning. At about 11:20 a. m. the ship's first engineer opened the door of Alberts' stateroom to call him and found him dead. The killing had been accomplished and the escape of the assailants from the scene of the crime had been effected in about 15 minutes.

Upon hearing of Alberts' murder, Guidera immediately went to the district attorney's office in Alameda County and told them what he knew of the case. He promised to assist in any way desired.

Campus Unit Number Five of the Communist Party

Shortly after the commission of this revolting crime, a meeting was in progress of Campus Unit Number 5 of the Communist Party in an apartment occupied by James Burford on Channing Way, near College Avenue, in the City of Berkeley. (Volume VI, pp. 1783-1794.) About 18 members of the unit were present.

The meeting was interrupted. We will permit Don Morton, testifying under oath before the committee, to describe what happened:

"Well, there was a knock loud enough—we were in the center of the apartment; there's a room between where the meeting was held and the hall—we heard the knock, in the second room; and Mrs. Burford then called Jim—that's her son—and said there was someone who wanted to see him. He says, 'Is it important?' And she whispered—we could hear the whisper; and he said, 'Yes.' Then he brought these two men in * * * He said, 'Comrades, two friends are here from downtown—' He didn't say they were comrades or mention their names; but that we would have to take up a collection to help a certain comrade in trouble out of town—that was all that was said."

Morton testified that a collection was immediately taken up and the two men thanked everyone and left the apartment in a hurry. About a week later Morton asked a Mrs. Eastman, one of the Communist members of Unit Number 5, about the collection that had been taken, and she told Morton that it was for one of the boys who was being kept under cover at her place in San Francisco, a chap by the name of "Wimpy." Mrs. Eastman was very secretive about the whole affair but told Morton that the underworld knew about the trouble and that there were four or five involved.

Flight

Sakovitz, Wallace and the unidentified sailor fled to Salt Lake City and from Salt Lake City to Chicago and from there to New York. Sakovitz told Wallace that he had friends who would secure passage for them to Russia. Nothing was done about this plan as far as Wallace was concerned and he returned to San Francisco.

Ramsay had returned part of the \$30 which Murphy had given to him the day before the killing at King's request. Ramsay told Murphy at that time that he was "hot." Murphy, at a loss as to how to enter the money in the books, took the matter up with King, who told him he would discuss it with him later.

Immediately upon his arrival in San Francisco, Wallace went to the union and talked to Murphy. He told Murphy he wanted to see King, but Murphy informed him that King was away.

The following morning Ramsay met Murphy and Wallace in Wallace's hotel room. Ramsay turned pale upon seeing Wallace and said: "For God's sakes, what are you here for?" Wallace replied: "I am here to find out what the score is." Ramsay stated that he did not believe the police were wise and that nobody knew who did the job, because he, Ramsay, had been thoroughly questioned by the police.

King remained absent from the city. Something had to be done. Murphy made an appointment with Lawrence Ross, the editor of the Communist West Coast paper, the *Western Worker*. Ross suggested that Wallace return to the east and keep in touch with Murphy under an assumed name. Ross also suggested that

Wallace's union membership book be "phoneyed" so that Wallace could secure employment on East Coast ships. In accordance with Ross' suggestion, Murphy made out a new union book for Wallace under the name of "George White," with a notation showing the payment of all dues to July, 1936. It was then arranged that Wallace communicate with Murphy under the name of Albert Diekman. Wallace then, for the second time, left San Francisco for New York.

Wallace, in desperation, wrote to King, first under his own name and later under the name of George White. King failed to answer any of Wallace's letters.

On August 1, 1936, Wallace again returned to San Francisco and went immediately to King's hotel. He told the clerk his name was Wallace and that he wanted to see King. The clerk told him that King was not at home. A man by the name of O'Neill gave Wallace \$50 and told him to keep off the streets and avoid being seen by anyone. O'Neill also told him that Lawrence Ross tried to make arrangements for him to go to Russia but apparently had been unable to do so. He then suggested that Wallace go to Mexico.

King returned to San Francisco shortly after Wallace's second arrival and learned that Wallace was again in town. Wallace's union book was then stamped ahead to April, 1937, and Wallace was instructed to attempt to escape into Mexico.

Wallace went to El Paso, and from there to Del Rio and then on to Brownsville, Texas. While in Brownsville, he attempted to go to Mexico City, but not having sufficient money to get across the border, he wrote a letter to Murphy under the name of Albert Diekman, requesting that Murphy give the letter to King and that King write to him in Brownsville, Texas. Upon receipt of the letter Murphy told King about it and King said he would take care of it, but failed to do so.

Matthew G. Guidera, returning from Australia on the S. S. *Mariposa* early in July of 1936 was elected to negotiate for the *Marine Cooks and Stewards* on the Pacific Coast, preparatory to the 1936 waterfront strike. During the time that he served on this committee he occupied rooms at the Terminal Hotel located at 60 Market Street in the City of San Francisco with A. M. Murphy, the Assistant Secretary and Treasurer of the *Marine Firemen's Union*. Thus it was that he learned of Murphy receiving a letter from George Wallace, under the alias of "George White." The letter was postmarked "Del Rio, Texas" and Wallace told Murphy to tell King that he needed more money to get across the border into Mexico. Guidera immediately contacted the district attorney's office in Alameda County and arranged with George Hard, one of the inspectors of the office, for a dictaphone to

be set up in Guidera's room in the Terminal Hotel. The dictaphone was set up between 3:30 and 4 in the evening and Guidera then called King and asked him to come over to the hotel. King complied and met Guidera in the lobby. They both went to Guidera's room and Guidera showed King the letter from Wallace.

"You sent those birds over to make a bungle of a job," Guidera said to King. (Volume V, p. 1435.)

Guidera testified that "King sat and crumpled the letter * * * crumpled and wrinkled the letter. I said, 'What are you getting nervous about, Earl?' He said, 'I am not nervous; I'm not nervous at all.' Later, I asked, 'Why exactly did you send them over to kill Alberts?' He said, 'I sent them over, all right.' He paused—for a minute, he paused—he said, 'Forget about it all for a while. Now, let's forget it'."

Apparently King was suspicious of Guidera. "The night before, however," Guidera testified, "after I had the meeting with King in my hotel room, I attended District Council Number 2 of the *Marine Federation of the Pacific Coast*, which was being, at that time, held at 32 Clay Street, known as the 'Recreation Center for the Waterfront.' During the meeting, Mr. King approached me and asked for a key to my hotel room; which I gave him so that he could arrange to get those letters. A few minutes afterward, he talked with Harry Bridges and Rathborne and others * * * I saw him talking to Harry Bridges, Rathborne and a couple of others. He came back, and handed me the key; and said, 'It might be a frame up.' I said, 'If you're that way, O. K.'"

The arrest of King, Conner, Ramsay and Wallace followed.

Communist Cause Celebre

CONNER immediately confessed his part in the entire affair. (September 3, 1936.) Attorney General Earl Warren told the committee about Frank Conner's confession. Mr. Warren stated:

"Well, the first thing that developed was the statement that Mr. Conner made to me, in my office, concerning his participation in this affair. The statement itself was made to me about the third of September—a day or two after he was brought down here from Seattle; and he told me, at that time, that all of these men mixed up in this affair, other than himself, were Communists; that King was a Communist; that Ramsay was a Communist; and that Wallace was a Communist; and he said that it was apparent to him that these fellows—referring to King and Ramsay—were going to take care of themselves, and going to throw him to the wolves; and he said, 'They're not going to do that with me; I know too much about them. That's the way these Comicals do.' He referred to them in the slang phrase as 'Comicals.' He said that he, personally, did not know that they intended to kill Alberts when they went in there; he thought they were just going in there to give him a very severe beating; and, had he known they were going to kill him, he wouldn't have consented and helped them and directed them to Alberts' stateroom at the psychological time to accomplish this beating. He said there were a few hundred Communists on this coast who were running many thousands of good labor organization men; and they were doing it by terror and intimidation; and he said, to

me and to Mr. Hoyt, after the formal confession he made, that no matter what happened to him in this trial—he said, 'I'll never sail on another ship with as many as one Communist on the ship, because,' he said, 'when there is as many as one on there, it's trouble, trouble, trouble all the time you're out at sea.' He said, 'They are arrogant; they'll tell you to do something; and, if you don't do it, then they'll wait for you and you'll get it on the beach.' He said, 'You'll get dumped'—which means when they are ashore, they will have something happen to them, as happened to George Alberts in this case; and he told us how that situation had worked all over the world; he told how it worked here on the Pacific Coast; and we knew, of our own knowledge, of innumerable cases of men—many, many of them labor organization union men—who were beaten within an inch of their lives just because they wouldn't respond to this so-called leadership of Earl King and his crowd; men who wouldn't dare to come forward, or go to the authorities, to complain, for fear the thing would be repeated the next time they went on a job. You couldn't get any witnesses to testify for them if they did, because people were terrorized; and Frank Conner detailed to us that system which was in vogue; and he said there were only a few hundred of those people, in fact, but they were keeping—these aren't the words he used—but he said they were keeping in bondage hundreds of fine labor organization people on this coast, who had no sympathy with the thing at all—and I sincerely believe that is true—the average man who works on the waterfront—the average labor union man there—is as fine a citizen as you will find any place in this country—good law-abiding, family men; but they have been dominated and persecuted themselves by Earl King and his kind."

The Attorney General stated that George Alberts was murdered because he "was a courageous man * * *. He would not tolerate the domination of King or any of his Communistic elements, and he refused to take dictation from him. In an effort to prove, to not only Alberts but everyone else who was similarly situated, that it was a very dangerous thing to do, Earl King sent these fellows over to do this job, * * * that's the sum total of the reason."

The Attorney General stated that the *Western Worker*, Communist West Coast publication, the very day the defendants were arrested and before anyone knew the nature of the charge against them, started a campaign of abuse and vilification against Warren, who was then the District Attorney of Alameda County. This campaign has continued from that day to the present time by the Communist Party and its publications. (Volume VI, pp. 1643-1693.)

The indictment of the men was attacked by Lawrence Ross as a "labor frame-up."

Defense attorneys were soon secured for the defendants, with the exception of Wallace, who refused to accept the counsel selected for him. He fully confessed his participation in the crime. George Andersen, who usually represents the Communist Party in California, represented Earl King. Herbert Resner represented Frank Conner.

Miles G. Humphrey, former member of the Communist Party,

knew Herbert Resner when Resner was the editor of the "*Daily Californian*," campus paper at the University of California at Berkeley. (Volume V, pp. 1616-1631.) Aubrey Grossman had referred to Resner, in the presence of Humphrey, as a Communist Party member.

The State, in its prosecution of the defendants, carefully avoided the issue of Communism. It was the attorneys for the defendants who emphasized this point. George Andersen and Herbert Resner particularly utilized it in their challenges to veniremen. Attorney General Earl Warren testified that Andersen and Resner asked "whether or not the jury would be influenced or prejudiced by the fact that the defendants might be known as Communists or might be proved to be Communists." (Volume VI, p. 1659.)

Ralph E. Hoyt has been the District Attorney of Alameda County since January of 1939. (Volume V, pp. 1543-1573.) He was formerly the chief assistant district attorney to Earl Warren when the latter was the district attorney. Hoyt had been with the district attorney's office since 1919 and participated in the trial of King, Ramsay, Conner and Wallace.

He recited the details of the murder of George Alberts. The chief engineer had been discovered by a brother officer at about 11.20 a.m., Sunday, March 22, 1936. Hoyt stated that the chief engineer was found seated in a pool of his own blood; that his skull was fractured; that he was disemboweled, and that a long, deep gash had been inflicted on the back of one thigh. He introduced exhibits and pictures of the corpse into the committee's records.

King, Ramsay, Conner and Wallace had been found guilty by a jury in Alameda County of second degree murder. Hoyt recounted the voluntary statement of Frank Conner made prior to the trial in which Conner had told of the difficulties he had with the Communist Party and of his fear of being abandoned by them in his difficulty. Hoyt recited the testimony of A. M. Murphy, concerning the Communist Party and its connection with the murder. He told of Murphy's statements concerning Lawrence Ross, Communist Party functionary and editor of the *Western Worker*, and how Ross had been contacted concerning money for Sakovitz and Wallace. Ross had told Murphy that it would be necessary for him to get in touch with the Soviet Union before passage could be provided for the murderers and that "there had to be certain underground things done." Ross had suggested to Murphy that Wallace's union membership book be "phoneyed up" so that Wallace could secure work in the east. Murphy had agreed to provide money for Wallace and Sakovitz to travel to New York City.

Hoyt read passages from the *Western Worker* published during the trial of the men, showing the strong Communist inter-

est in the case. The *Western Worker* branded the entire prosecution as a "frameup by shipowners." Matthew Guidera was branded as a "stool pigeon," et cetera, by the Communist sheet.

The district attorney related Wallace's confession and the attempts made to bribe Wallace into accepting Communist Party choice of attorneys. Wallace had refused to let the Communist Party trap him. Despite precedence and contrary to the usual procedure in reference to defendants who turn State's evidence, Hoyt pointed out that George Wallace was still incarcerated in San Quentin, while King, Conner and Ramsay were paroled. He also presented copies of the *Western Worker* and the *People's Daily World* as evidence of the Communist Party's campaign to free King, Ramsay and Conner.

Every important witness against the defendants was a member of a bona fide labor organization.

Matthew G. Guidera, after the exposé of the ship murder, was expelled from the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Association*. He was accused of being a "stool pigeon" and a "frame artist." He testified that he was expelled without the benefit of a trial. The trial committee consisted of five members, Guidera stated, and at least three of them were known to be members of the Communist Party and the other two "as questionable." Manuel Cabral was named by Guidera as one of the Communist Party members.

Cabral denied that he had ever been a member of the Communist Party. (Volume VI, pp. 1729-1730.) He admitted, however, knowing Ernest G. Ramsay, having made a trip around the world with him in 1935 on the *S. S. Monroe*. He stated that Ramsay had never discussed Communism with him.

Conner in his confession, stated that King, Ramsay and Wallace were all members of the Communist Party. (Volume VI, pp. 1643-1693.)

When Wallace had confessed he was immediately accused by the Communists in San Francisco as being a "labor spy." Later they offered him \$5,000 if he would accept one of their attorneys and Wallace refused. The defense attorney for the others then claimed that Wallace had no right to the public defender as he had means (which they had offered him) to employ private counsel. This point delayed the trial and it had to be decided by the court. It was decreed that Wallace had a right to the public defender. (Vol. VI, pp. 1643-1693.)

In the late summer of 1936 defense committees for King, Ramsay and Conner began to mushroom out of closed Communist Party caucuses. (Volume VI, pp. 1783-1794.) Four or five Communist members of Berkeley's Unit Number 5, grew into larger committees. The original members were Herbert Naboesack,

James Burford, Glen Mayfield, Aubrey Grossman and Don Morton. Naboeseck was assigned to contact the unions and gathered a list of 95 members with addresses in the East Bay area (*Marine Firemen's Union*); Mayfield was assigned to contact public speakers and supply them with information; Grossman was assigned to collect funds and to contact faculty members at the University of California for legal assistance; Burford was put in charge of education and propaganda and Don Morton was assigned to writing up the necessary material for these activities. Don Morton told of a meeting at Mrs. Eastman's home on Derby Street in Berkeley some time in July of 1936 when Aubrey Grossman reported that he had collected funds from some 20 or 25 faculty members at the University of California and that these sums averaged \$15 to \$20 apiece.

John Gee Clark, immediately after being appointed to the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles by Governor Olson, took steps to parole King, Conner and Ramsay. The Attorney General stated that the Advisory Pardon Board staged a big demonstration for the felons in May of 1940 and that they crowded in all the Communists they could find. Lieutenant Governor Patterson cast the only vote for their pardon at that time. (Volume VI, pp. 1643-1693.)

Mervyn Rathborne denied ever having been a member of the Communist Party or of the *Young Communist League*. (Volume VII, pp. 2008-2024.) He is secretary of the San Francisco C. I. O. Council and a member of the *American Communications Association*, Local 9. He knew Archie Brown and Ben Jones as members of the Communist Party. Rathborne subscribed to the *People's Daily World* and knew Harry Bridges "very well."

Rathborne is a member of the King, Ramsay, Conner Defense Committee. He presented the committee with copies of resolutions passed by the San Francisco C. I. O. Council calling for the release of the men. He also submitted a photostatic copy of a check for \$1,500 from the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee which was signed by David J. McDonald and Phillip Murray. Rathborne was a member of the executive committee of the King, Ramsay, Conner Defense Committee along with Miriam Dinkin, V. J. Malone and George Hardy. He stated that the committee did not work for the release of George Wallace. He stated that he did not know if King, Ramsey or Conner were members of the Communist Party. He stated that the defense committee had received evidence which established the innocence of King, Ramsay and Conner, uncovered by Aubrey Grossman and Herbert Resner. He did not know if Grossman or Resner were members of the Communist Party. He concluded his testimony by stating that he believed the three men had been framed by the Employers' Group.

The Board of Prison Terms and Paroles and the Advisory Pardon Board under the Olson administration up to the appointment of Booth Goodman, who replaced John Gee Clark when he

was appointed a Superior Court Judge in the County of Los Angeles, made little headway in either securing a pardon or a parole for the felons. Governor Culbert L. Olson, after having spent a day with King, Conner and Ramsay in San Quentin Prison, announced that he had come to the conclusion that these men did not look like murderers and that he regarded the evidence against them as flimsy and very largely impeached and that he was considering a pardon for them. This announcement on the part of the Governor came shortly after the Communist Party was excluded from the ballot by action of the California Legislature. On Friday, October 11, 1940, Miss Anita Whitney made a broadcast over the National Broadcasting Blue Network in which she said:

"I would like to ask Governor Olson: When you met in your own home with the leaders of the Communist Party in 1938, and accepted our assistance and support for your election, you did not think we were subversive or un-American then, did you? When you were elected Governor with the help of Communist votes, you did not think that we were anything but good Americans, did you? But today, Governor Olson, you have gone over so completely to reaction that you are eating your own words of 1938. You have found it necessary and expedient to do this, since you have gone over to the war camp, which wishes to drag America into the imperialist war.

"The Governor's speech on the radio was hypocritical and revealed a guilty conscience. He admitted there was a large section of public opinion opposed to his signing the anti-Communist bill. He practically admitted there is grave doubt, expressed to him by some of his own attorneys, as to whether the bill is constitutional. He admitted that the Communist Party is neither illegal nor is it outlawed by this bill. He admitted that the bill discriminates against the Communist Party, by depriving it of the election rights that other parties have. He admitted all these things, and yet he signed the bill, and wants the people to believe there is nothing undemocratic about his action."

The Governor had signed the bill outlawing the Communist Party early in October of 1940. It was about three days later, without consulting Mr. Hoyt, District Attorney of Alameda County, or the Attorney General or anyone who had had anything to do with the investigation and prosecution of the King, Conner, Ramsay case, that the Governor made the trip to San Quentin Prison above-mentioned and spent the better part of the day with the three prisoners, King, Conner and Ramsay. (Volume VI, pp. 1643-1693.)

Governor Olson's contemplated pardon of the three felons met with a storm of public indignation. Shortly thereafter, he appointed Booth Goodman to the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles, replacing John Gee Clark. Archie Lyons had been on the board for about two years and the Governor, with the appointment of Booth Goodman, had a majority of the three members. Almost immediately after Goodman's appointment to the Board, Lyons and Goodman voted for the parole of King, Conner and Ramsay; Stephens, the other member of the board voting against parole.

Special Privileges at San Quentin

CLINTON T. DUFFY, Warden of San Quentin Penitentiary, was questioned at length concerning the conduct and the alleged special privileges granted King, Conner and Ramsay while confined in the prison. (Volume VI, pp. 1806-1818.) Duffy was appointed to the position of Warden of San Quentin Prison by the State Pardon Board of Prison Directors on September 1, 1940, and had been acting warden since July 13, 1940. His position as warden automatically made him a member of the Advisory Pardon Board. The other members of this board were Lieutenant Governor Ellis E. Patterson, Warden Clyde Plummer of Folsom, and Mr. Stone of the Bureau of Identification.

Earl King, Ernest G. Ramsay, Frank Conner and George Wallace were incarcerated in San Quentin Prison when Duffy became warden. Duffy stated that he did not know of any special privileges granted them. King had certain specific duties on the waterfront of the prison which, Duffy stated, gave him an opportunity to contact persons on incoming barges. Such contact, Duffy explained, would, of course, be under the supervision of an officer of the prison. This particular officer had charge of all prisoners engaged in unloading barges and sometimes two or three officers supervised the work, depending on the number of prisoners so engaged. Duffy added: "We place some trust in our inmates."

King was permitted to sleep outside the prison walls because he was on duty at a donkey-engine 24 hours a day. All of King's predecessors in this assignment had slept outside the walls. Duffy considered King capable and trustworthy for this position. Assignments for such jobs outside the prison walls, Duffy explained, were made by a committee of the officers of the penitentiary. Only some 12 or 15 prisoners are permitted to sleep outside the walls, out of the 4,000 inmates in the institution. Duffy did not consider this to be a special privilege although he admitted that permitting the men to sleep outside of cell blocks was so considered. He knew of no contraband brought into the prison while King was on the waterfront.

Ramsay had worked outside the prison walls in the fire department for a short time.

C. L. Doose, a Lieutenant of the Guard at San Quentin Prison for about seven months, in charge of the reception of visitors at the prison, was questioned concerning the visitors who called at the penitentiary to see King, Ramsey, Conner and Wallace. (Volume VII, pp. 2078-2083.) Doose identified many visitors' slips and explained the manner in which they were filled out. He stated that visitors were allowed to stay one hour which was an invariable rule, although the slips showed that the visitors stayed a much longer time with King, Ramsay and Conner. Doose admitted that

he had permitted the members of the King, Ramsay and Conner Defense Committee to interview these prisoners in his office instead of in the usual visitor's room. He had become acquainted with the members of the defense committee but could not remember their names. The only member of the King, Conner, Ramsay Defense Committee remembered by Doose was Miriam Dinkin. He stated that he did not know of any defense committee for Wallace. Wallace had to greet his visitors in the regular visiting room. Doose stated that he only permitted attorneys to see prisoners in his office and that he only gave this permission on other occasions for special business, such as the members of the King, Conner, Ramsay Defense Committee.

Victor Nelson is a Sergeant of the Guard at San Quentin and has been employed at the penitentiary for 13 years. (Volume VII, pp. 2074-2078, and 2084.) He is a guard on the waterfront at night and his watch starts at 4 p.m. and finishes at midnight. No barges unload during his watch. He testified that King cooked his own meals in a cabin on the waterfront and secured his food from the commissary. Ernest G. Ramsay, Mr. Nelson testified, relieved King for one night outside the wall.

Employment for Parolees

THE COMMITTEE was interested in learning why King, Conner and Ramsay had been released without having immediate employment. It is generally understood that the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles never parole convicted felons unless the board is assured that bona fide employment awaits them upon their release from prison. For this purpose, among others, the committee subpoenaed John E. Chadwick, a State parole officer since September of 1940. (Volume V. pp. 1631-1639.) Chadwick stated that it was quite true that the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles must be assured, in every case, that released felons will immediately be employed. Chadwick had personally ascertained that King and Ramsay had employment before they were released from San Quentin. He stated that Earl King had been offered a job by two C. I. O. Unions, one as a longshoreman and the other as a maintenance man in a union building on Golden Gate Avenue. King had accepted the latter position and had reported for work. Ramsay had furnished bond and was released to the immigration authorities for deportation and the entire matter was referred to the Attorney General's office. Meanwhile, Ramsay was "working on the waterfront" handling freight. He was employed by the C. I. O. *Warehousemen's and Longshoremen's Union* in a classification of employment which was not subject to the approval of the *Employers' Association*. Conner was in the Stanford Hospital under the care of a Dr. French for mental and emotional instability.

Chadwick stated that he had found the unions reliable in placing men in employment when they agreed to do so upon their parole from prison. Some unions were very reliable in placing released convicts, such as the *Marine Firemen's Union*; and others were very uncooperative, such as Local 47 of the *Musicians' Union* in Los Angeles.

In probing the matter of the alleged employment of King, Conner and Ramsay upon their release from San Quentin Prison, Frank P. Foisie, the President of the *Waterfront Employers' Association* of San Francisco, was examined. (Volume V, pp. 1342-1349.) Foisie had been president of the association since 1938 and presides at all of the board and membership meetings. He stated that no one can obtain a job on the waterfront unless that employment is considered by a joint committee of the Longshoremen's Unions and the *Waterfront Employers' Association*. He personally examined the records of the association and found no indication there of an application for employment for Earl King, Ernest G. Ramsay or Frank Conner for work on San Francisco's waterfront. He submitted minutes of the last meeting of the association to the committee. He concluded his testimony by stating that he knew the Defense Committee for King, Ramsay and Conner was organized by the Communists on the waterfront and in the waterfront unions to secure a pardon for the prisoners.

The subterfuge used here should be obvious without comment. The board had no assurance that the men would receive legitimate employment. They were released to certain unions which, according to Chadwick, were to secure employment for them.

The Parole Board

THE COMMITTEE made every attempt to subpoena Archie Lyons of the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles but was unable to serve him. Booth B. Goodman, the chairman of the board, testified December 2, 1941. (Volume V, pp. 1573-1616.) Goodman, in addition to being Chairman of the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles, was also a Director of Penology for the State of California, and had been appointed to both these positions by Governor Culbert L. Olson. He had been appointed to the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles October 14, 1941. He admitted that he had no experience with penology before accepting this appointment.

He presented a picture of a kindly gentleman, befuddled and confused; caught in a morass of plotting and intrigue. The weakness and flimsiness of his own position fluttered through his testimony from time to time like loose papers caught in a wind. It was apparent to the members of the committee that Goodman was continually fitting arguments and fictions to the board's decision in the case, rather than applying the facts to the decision. He stated that he had voted for the parole of King, Ramsay and

Conner after a prolonged study of the case. George Wallace had not been paroled because, stated Mr. Goodman, George Wallace had fled the scene of the crime and, therefore, was *more apt* to be guilty than King, Ramsay and Conner, who had remained in San Francisco or its environs. Goodman recognized the public interest in the matter and had heard it said that the case against the men was a "frame-up." His examination of the testimony had revealed conflicting evidence to him. He wondered why Murphy, who had helped Wallace and Sakovitz escape, had never been prosecuted. He considered this "reprehensible conduct" and therefore was inclined to disregard *Murphy's* testimony.

At one point in his testimony Goodman stated that he was not claiming that the men were not properly convicted although he had so indicated at another point. He believed that the men had started out to commit a simple assault, and therefore should not have been held responsible for the murder of the Chief Engineer of the *Point Lobos*. He did not recall Matthew Guidera's testimony in reference to the plot to "get" Alberts when the *Point Lobos* was on its way up the West Coast.

Goodman disclaimed any knowledge of Communist pressure for the pardon or parole of King, Ramsay and Conner. He emphatically denied that Governor Olson had ever discussed the case with him. He knew of no pressure on the Governor for the pardon or parole of the convicts. Although, in the beginning of his examination Goodman had stated that he had been appointed to the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles on October 14, 1941, he became confused later in his testimony and stated that he had been chairman of the board for 18 months.

He believed that the prison records of King, Ramsay and Conner were good. He believed that their past records were good. He stated that George Wallace had a record of previous arrests and that his testimony and statements conflicted on occasion. He did not believe in a "spirit of revenge" in penology and personally believed that the continued incarceration of King, Ramsay and Conner belonged in that category. He did not believe that the murder of George Alberts could be properly termed "cold-blooded." He distinguished between men who struck blows and men who planned such an assault, although he believed the evidence in this case did not show any "planning." He later admitted that there was evidence of a plan to have Alberts "beat up." Under examination, he later admitted that Conner and Ramsay did have previous records of arrests, bail-forfeitures, et cetera, as well as George Wallace. He reasoned that if convicts such as King, Conner and Ramsay were held in prison unnecessarily they might become martyrs. He believed that a man like Earl King had been punished sufficiently by the time served because he had not planned to murder the chief engineer. He concluded his testimony by stating that he did not read or pay any attention to the mass of letters, telegrams and communications which had poured into

Mark Noon's office in San Quentin, urging the release of King, Ramsay and Conner.

Mr. J. H. Stephens, veteran member of the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles, testified at length concerning the efforts made to parole the men. (Volume V. pp. 1471-1494.) He stated that Warden Clinton Duffy of San Quentin Prison took exception to the members of the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles in making investigations of prisoners coming up for parole. He stated that this had been the procedure followed by members of the board for many years. In spite of Warden Duffy's objections, Stephens investigated the King, Conner, Ramsay case. He ascertained where each prisoner was working in the penitentiary, and learned that King had been working on the waterfront and sleeping outside of the prison. Ramsay was also working on the waterfront and Conner was a sweeper in one of the cell blocks. King was operating a donkey engine, as was Ramsay, and both prisoners had ample opportunity to contact people on incoming boats.

Stephens stated that King, Ramsay and Conner first came before the board after serving approximately two years. At that time, John Gee Clark was the chairman of the board and desired to parole the men. Mr. Escola, third member of the board at that time, felt that the men should receive a minimum of 20 years. Escola and Stephens voted for a 20-year sentence and Clark, the chairman of the board, voted "no." The minimum time to be served under a 20-year sentence would be 12 years and 8 months.

Stephens told of the \$10,000 bribe offered to Archie Lyons, present member of the board, to vote for the parole of the convicts. After Paul Yarrimain, the man accused by Lyons of offering the bribe, was acquitted, and after Booth Goodman had been appointed to the board, the case was again brought up and Lyons voted for the parole of the men. Stephens stated that they had served only four years and seven months. He stated that Lyons and Goodman denied Wallace a parole "because he had a former record," and that this procedure was contrary to the action of the board for a period covering some 10 or 11 years. Stephens also stated that King and Ramsay had been released from San Quentin without the usual investigation concerning jobs, places to live, and other important matters. The parole officers had announced that "some one had telephoned" who said that the men would be given jobs.

Mental Condition of Men

THE COMMITTEE was interested in learning the mental and physical condition of King, Ramsay, Conner and Wallace. It had been stated that Wallace was mentally inferior to the other three, although it was known at the time of the hearing that Conner was being hospitalized in San Francisco. For this purpose the committee examined two of San Quentin's physicians.

Dr. Leo L. Stanley has been a physician at San Quentin for some 28 years. He had examined George Wallace and was acquainted with his physical and mental condition. (Volume VII, pp. 2067-2071.) He stated that Wallace had shown a pronounced "anxiety neurosis" at a time when he had refused to see George Andersen, attorney for the Communist Party of California, Herbert Resner, attorney for Conner and another chap by the name of Karse, on January 16, 1939. Dr. Stanley also testified that Wallace had been struck by an inmate of the prison, on October 15, 1940, by name of Daban.

Dr. David G. Schmidt is the Chief Psychiatrist at San Quentin Penitentiary. (Volume VII, pp. 2045-2067.) The usual procedure with prisoners was followed in the case of Earl King, Ernest G. Ramsay, Frank Conner and George Wallace when they entered San Quentin Prison. Dr. Schmidt made the entry examination and his subsequent contact with prisoners is at such times as they are confined in the prison hospital or when their mental conditions seem to warrant a further examination. He also has an opportunity to examine prisoners when disciplinary problems arise in relation to them. It is the duty of the chief psychiatrist to make a check on the prisoners when they are scheduled to appear before the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles.

He testified that Wallace was not mentally active, that he had an inferiority complex and that his intelligence was retarded. Wallace had been hospitalized in 1937 suffering with an "anxiety neurosis." He appeared to have "vague delusions" of persecution and believed that he was being framed by Communists. The doctor stated that Wallace had told him that the Communists were interested in King, Ramsay and Conner but that they were not interested in him; that they wanted to injure him and were keeping him in San Quentin. The doctor stated that worry over the Communist situation appeared to be the chief cause of Wallace's "instability." He admitted that "an average man" would, in all probability, crack up in the same way under the same circumstances. He believed that the fact that Wallace has received poorer treatment than those he helped to convict has tended to "retard" him.

The doctor stated that Wallace is in dread fear of bodily harm from the prison inmates and believes they are influenced by Communists. (The prison records show that Wallace was hospitalized for a wound inflicted by an inmate by name of Daban (No. 60,069) whom Wallace accused of once being a bodyguard for Harry Bridges.)

Frank Conner, in contrast to George Wallace, according to Dr. Schmidt, is "emotionally unstable," which is to be distinguished from "mentally unstable." The doctor said that Conner felt as though he had been used as a "cat's paw" in the case. Doctor Schmidt stated he believed Wallace and Conner were not equal

in responsibility; that Conner was of a very simple mind, but a thoroughly satisfactory worker, while Wallace was of marked "mental instability" and therefore not reliable.

It should be stated here that Dr. Schmidt had once classified Conner as a "moron" in the prison records, and although the questions of the committee were directed toward bringing out this point, Dr. Schmidt appeared to evade the issue.

John Mustak

JOHN MUSTAK, a prisoner in San Quentin Penitentiary, was called before the committee at the request of George Wallace. He stated that he had been doing undercover work for the *American Legion*, connected with Post 347 of this organization, located on Mission Street in San Francisco. He stated that he reported his undercover work directly to Stanley (Larry) Doyle and Harper Knowles and that they had picked him for this work because of his experience in the Military Intelligence during the World War. In connection with the work, he became acquainted with Earl King, whom he met at the Terminal Hotel in San Francisco in 1931, and again at the Communist Party State Headquarters in the latter part of 1935. He also knew Ernest G. Ramsay, Frank Conner and George Wallace. His activities in connection with his work for Doyle and Knowles were to investigate Communism. He joined the Longshoremens' Union and was sent to San Pedro.

Lawrence Ross, a Communist functionary and the Editor of the *Western Worker*, selected Mustak as the Communist Party member to help in sabotaging the Merchant Marine. Ross introduced Mustak to Harry Bridges and Earl King and was told to take his orders from them. He stated that Earl King was introduced Mustak to Harry Bridges and Earl King and told him to Party. Mustak had taken the name of "Merich" in the Communist Party and had turned his Communist Party book over to Knowles. In the Communist Party meetings he attended, he heard the names of Ramsay and Conner from time to time as accepted members of the Communist Party, but stated that he had no personal knowledge of their membership.

He stated that he believed the Communist Party "smelled a rat" along toward the last of his activities. Although he had fooled them for some nine months, he stated that they finally kidnapped him and marched him at the point of two guns to the office of George Andersen, the attorney for the Communist Party of California. He did not prosecute his kidnappers on advice of the *American Legion*. Although he believed that the Communist Party suspected the true role he was playing, nothing was done about it at the time. He believes, however, that they laid the trap into which he ultimately fell and for which he is now serving time in San Quentin.

In July of 1939 plans were laid to hold up a grocery store in San Pedro in order to raise funds for the Harry Bridges Defense Committee. Mustak stated that the grocer was supposed to be in collusion with the plan and that the money was to be turned over to the men without a struggle for the use of the Communist Party in its defense of Harry Bridges. The grocer was to be reimbursed by the Insurance Company. Mustak stated that he was assigned by the Communist Party to participate in the holdup and that other Communist Party members drove him to the scene of the robbery and left him there alone. Following instructions, Mustak took \$1,600 from the grocer, was arrested and charged with the robbery and convicted.

He stated that Knowles and Doyle failed to come to his rescue and that he was advised to protect the *American Legion* and "take the rap." He had never been convicted of any crime before. He concluded his testimony by submitting letters from Harper Knowles of the *American Legion* and the Chief Investigator of the La Follette Committee.

George Wallace

GEORGE WALLACE seems to be the forgotten man in the King, Ramsay, Conner case. He is still in prison. Certainly, if King, Ramsay and Conner deserved to be paroled, so did George Wallace. The committee examined the previous records of all four men and reports that Wallace's record was no worse, in any respect, than the others. We saw and questioned him at San Quentin Penitentiary December 6, 1941. (Volume VII, pp. 2099-2112, 2114-2128.) We believe that he has real cause to be in fear of bodily harm from members of the Communist Party, regardless of Dr. Schmidt's estimation of his mental condition. We believe that there is a real reason, and not an imaginary one, for his "anxiety neurosis."

Wallace first met "Wimpy" Ben Sakovitz in January of 1936 at the Union Hall of the *Marine Firemen*. Wimpy told Wallace that he was a member of the Communist Party. After the murder of George Alberts, Wimpy induced Wallace to accompany him to New York to see Roy Hudson. Earl King also told Wallace and Sakovitz to see Hudson in New York City. Wallace stated that he went to New York with Sakovitz and there met Roy Hudson. Wallace stated that Hudson would do nothing for them and referred them back to Harry Bridges in San Francisco. This occurred about one month after the *Point Lobos* murder. Hudson gave Sakovitz some money, and Wallace and Sakovitz parted. Wallace subsequently returned to San Francisco.

Harry Bridges paid Wallace a visit in San Quentin Prison, and Wallace stated that Bridges told him that as long as he was against Communism and Communists that Bridges would see to it that the Communists in San Quentin Prison "undermined" him.

Wallace feels that the Communists in the prison have followed these instructions. He believes that Earl King exerts considerable influence over the party members within the prison walls. He stated that his life had been threatened because he refused to subscribe to the *People's Daily World* and other Communist Party publications which, he claimed, are circulated within the walls of the Prison. Herbert Resner had called to visit him but he had refused to see him. He stated that George E. Bodle, an attorney, wrote to him expressing an interest in his case. Miriam Dinkin, of the King, Conner, Ramsay Defense Committee, came to see him. He stated that Miss Dinkin "used to hang out here" and that she was very popular and had dinners at the prison. When Miriam Dinkin came to see him she tried to induce him to accept her judgment in the selection of an attorney but he refused. He stated that he told her that he was not a Communist and never would be.

George Bodle testified before the committee (Volume IX, pp. 2799-2808) in Los Angeles, February 24, 1942. He stated that Wallace had communicated with him. He went to San Quentin to see Wallace but never represented him. He stated that he had no connection with the King, Ramsay, Conner Defense Committee.

At the time of his trial, Wallace stated, a Robert Cole offered to secure an attorney for him if he would place his entire case entirely in the hands of the attorney selected. Wallace refused to accept this offer saying that he believed the attorney selected by these people would sell him out. Robert Cole offered to spend \$5,000 for an attorney for Wallace, but did not offer him the money. Cole stated that the *Marine Firemen* would raise the money. Wallace did not know that Robert Cole was a member of the Communist Party.

Rena M. Vale, former member of the Communist Party, (Volume VII, pp. 2112-2114) testified that she knew Robert Cole as a member of the Communist Party in Los Angeles in 1938. She stated that his real name was "Cohn" and that he was the organizer of the Professional Section of the Communist Party in Los Angeles. He was known by both names, although he had asked the Communist Party to drop his real name because he did not want to involve his family.

Testifying regarding his previous record, Wallace stated that he had never been convicted of any crime prior to his conviction in this case. He had waited four months in a county jail in New York for trial on a misdemeanor charge but was released.

He told the committee of being attacked by a man by the name of Daban in the Prison.

He concluded his testimony by presenting a sheaf of letters written and received by him during the time that he had been in the penitentiary. He stated that he felt that he had been discriminated against by both the prison authorities and the parole board. He concluded by stating:

"I referred a question to the last record of this board—referring to this; I was an American citizen, and came into this board, and I respected justice; but I did not get justice; I did not have any Communist influence; and I still have in my mind—that's the reason I didn't get no break, which I deserve."

Conclusion

ALL OF THE TESTIMONY taken by the committee in reference to the King, Ramsay, Conner case, together with the uncontroverted and established facts of the case, brings the committee to the conclusion that the murder of Chief Engineer George Alberts on the *Point Lobos* was Communist inspired and planned. At least King and Sakovitz were members of the Communist Party. Wallace was merely a tool used by the others. Conner, undoubtedly, was under the influence of King and the group with whom he worked and was possibly friendly to the Communist element on the waterfront. There is no doubt of the guilt of all four men. Both Conner and Wallace confessed, although Conner later attempted to repudiate his testimony. The logic of the law governing such cases is hard to attack and possibly has never been attacked heretofore in the many, many similar cases scattered throughout California's high court decisions. So that the record be complete in this instance, we quote from the opinion of the appellate court, 30 Cal. App. (2d) 185 (85 Pac. (2d) 937:

"In the present case there is presented no question of death resulting from the commission of a simple assault or occurring in the commission of a misdemeanor. There is here a death resulting from the use of a deadly weapon which the appellants say they never intended. Such weapon was, however, actually used, and by one who joined with them in the plan to beat up the deceased, which plan they counseled. The question is whether the use of such a deadly weapon upon the person of Alberts and his resulting death was a natural or probable consequence of the plan or agreement among the actual assailants and for which the appellants may be held liable, two of them, Ramsay and King, not being present.

The character of the plan is of great importance. Here, several men set out to beat up another. In the words of King, he 'sent them over to tamp the chief.' Preparations were made for trouble. It was known that he was vigorous and strong. One, at least, prior to setting out on the expedition, equipped himself with a bludgeon. At the scene of the expected trouble others were asked to stand by. Not being able to get at the victim the first day, the majority returned the second day and proceeded to the victim's place of abode aboard ship. They prepared and were prepared, to meet force with force and to overcome resistance at any cost. The natural and probable consequence of such an undertaking is homicide, and the homicide here committed by one of the conspirators is nothing less than murder. All who combined to commit the unlawful act of violence are equally guilty. The law makes no distinction between them and each is responsible for the act of any other of the party in the prosecution of the original design. All joining in the enterprise are as guilty of murder as the person who actually caused the death."

The participation in the case of Lawrence Ross, Communist Party functionary and the Editor of the *Western Worker*, should leave little doubt in the mind of anyone regarding the design of the Communist Party to make the King, Ramsay, Conner case a celebrated one. The cry of "frame-up" on the part of Communist

publications re-echoed only in those labor organizations controlled and dominated by Communist Party fractions and expanded "progressive" caucuses. Communist pressure and influence was strong enough to find its way into the State Government of California. There is no doubt in the minds of the members of the committee that this pressure was exerted on the Chief Executive of this State. The committee concludes that King, Ramsay and Conner are free today merely because the Communist Party had obtained great influence in the political arena of the State of California. George Wallace is still in San Quentin because he refused to program with the Communist Party.



CHAPTER XIV

Communist Writers • Press LEAGUES, MOBILIZATION

This entire chapter is taken from the 1945 Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California.

Writers' Congress at U. C. L. A.

IN LATE AUGUST of 1943, under the auspices of the *University of California* at Los Angeles and the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*, a letter signed by Marc Connelly and Ralph Freud as co-chairmen of the Congress Committee, announced a *Writers' Congress* to be held at Royce Hall, *University of California*, on the Los Angeles campus, October 1, 2 and 3, 1943. The fee for the entire Congress, including public meetings, general meetings, lectures, panels and seminars, was set at \$5, payable in advance.

A superficial investigation of the project soon disclosed its Communist inspiration and guidance. Every precaution had been taken in an attempt to disguise the purpose of the Congress and the Communists had gone further than usual in "window dressing" its committees. Many of the names included in the Congress and advisory committees were "innocents," clearly unaware of the Communist origin and purpose of the Congress. Non-Communist news commentators and radio personalities, blissfully ignorant of the nature and character of the proposed Congress, were snagged under one pretense or another into permitting their names to be used in advertising the Congress. The chairman of the *Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities* checked with one such individual who expressed amazement when he was told that his name was included on the printed letterhead as a member of the advisory committee.

The letter is as follows:

"DEAR WRITER: The Writers Congress on the Los Angeles Campus of the University of California will conduct a search for greater usefulness and will seek to establish firmer international understanding of democratic objectives by professional writers in all media.

The Congress is being organized by joint committees of the University of California and the Hollywood Writers Mobilization. The latter was formed immediately after Pearl Harbor to channel the war efforts of the eight writers' guilds of the West Coast. It cooperates constantly with our armed services, the Red Cross, the O. W. I. and other governmental agencies, as well as many non-political, civilian organizations requiring professional writing for motion pictures, the radio, newspapers and magazines, camp shows, etc.

Writers must understand recent enormous changes in techniques as well as basic social and political concepts if they are to communicate the virtues of these changes and expose their faults. The Congress offers its facilities for such an understanding.

The speakers and leaders of discussions in the panels and seminars will be outstanding writers from all the United Nations. Many will represent governmental and semi-governmental agencies. Others of international distinction will speak only for themselves.

The Invitations Committee hopes you will be able to participate. We have therefore enclosed an application card for your convenience. If you will be kind enough to fill this out and return it to the Congress Committee officers, your name will be registered. Further details of the Congress Agenda are being forwarded to you.

Sincerely,

(Signed)

MARC CONNELLY

RALPH FREUD

Co-chairmen, Congress Committee"

The following names were printed on the letterhead as members of the Congress Committee:

Marc Connelly,
Francis Edward Faragoh,
Gustave Arlt,
Bill Blowitz,
Richard Collins,
Franklin Fearing,
Paul Franklin,
Sheridan Gibney,
Talbot Jennings,
Howard Koch,
John Howard Lawson,
Melvin Levy,
Alfred E. Longueil,
Milton Merlin,
Joseph Mischel,
Sam Moore,
Arch Oboler,
William Oliver,
H. R. Reynolds,
Allen Rivkin,
Robert Rossen,
Zachary Schwartz,

Ralph Freud,
Sidney Buchman,
Fox Case,
William Dozier,
John B. Hughes,
Joris Ivens,
Stephen Longstreet,
Kenneth MacGowan,
Mary C. McCall, Jr.,
William Morris, Jr.,
Dudley Nichols,
Carl Sandburg,
Dore Schary,
Arthur Schwartz,
Robert G. Sproul,
Rex Stout,
Lamar Trotti,
Walter Wanger,
Walter White,
Pauline Lauber Finn,
Jane Mead.

The guilds participating in the *Hollywood Writers Mobilization*, under the chairmanship of Robert Rossen, were listed as follows:

Screen Writers Guild,
Radio Writers Guild,
Screen Publicists Guild,
Screen Readers Guild,

Screen Cartoonists Guild,
American Newspaper Guild,
Independent Publicists,
Song Writers Protective Assn.

Although the "window" for the writers' Congress "front" was carefully dressed, a number of the persons acting as "committeemen" were known. Francis Edward Faragoh is a prominent member of the left-wing group of Hollywood and promotes the cause of the Soviet Union and meets with Soviet visitors in Los Angeles. Richard Collins was registered as a Communist in Los Angeles in 1936 from 2106 North Las Palmas Avenue. The "*People's Daily World*" for August 30, 1941, announced that Collins was one of the sponsors for a state-wide conference on civil rights to be held in San Francisco September 27, 1941, protesting the "Tenney Committee and the Tenney bill outlawing the Communist Party." Paul Franklin was the executive secretary of the *National Radio Writers' Guild* in New York in January of 1942. Howard Koch was reported by the "*People's Daily World*" (June 26, 1943) as the author of the screen version of Davies' book "*Mission to Moscow*." He presented his views on the authenticity of the film at a *League of American Writers* (Communist front organization) symposium on Sunday, June 27, 1943, in Hollywood. William Oliver was the dramatic editor of the "*Los Angeles Herald*" in 1940. He was said to be a member of Unit 140 of the Professional Section of the Communist Party when Rena Vale was a member of that Unit. He was also a member of the Communist fraction of the *Newspaper Guild*. (See pages 153 and 154 of the report of the *Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities* in California for 1943.) Allen Rivkin is a Hollywood left-wing writer. He was a member of the *Anti-Nazi League*. His name has been used from time to time for "window-dressing" Communist front organizations and activities.

Sidney Buchman is a screen writer and a member of the *Screen Writers' Guild*. He was announced as a signer for the *Third American Writers' Congress* in "*Direction*" magazine for May-June, 1939. Joris Ivens is reported to have made documentary films in Spain and China which were distributed and exhibited through *Communist Party* channels in California and the United States. Dudley Nichols was the President of the *Writers' Guild* in Hollywood in 1938. His name was carried on the letterhead of the *Hollywood Anti-Nazi League for the Defense of American Democracy* (Communist front organization) as a sponsor in May of 1939. He is a Hollywood screen writer. On January 21, 1940, he was a sponsor for the *Conference for Democratic Action* in Fresno. He has permitted his name to be used for various Communist front organizations and activities from time to time and has taken part in many Communist dominated programs. In 1941 he was a sponsor of the *Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges*. In May of 1941, he signed a call for the *Fourth American Writers' Congress*.

The committee and *Communist Party* members consider John Howard Lawson one of the most important Marxist strategists in Southern California. Rena M. Vale (former Communist Party member), stated that she knew Lawson as a member of the Com-

munist Party fraction of the *Screen Writers' Guild* in Hollywood. Miss Vale stated that he had given advice on the *Communist Party* program in the writing of the play, "*Sun Rises in the West*." He wrote the screen play "*Blockade*" which advanced the *Communist Party* line. John Leech, former secretary of the *Communist Party* for Los Angeles County, testified before the Los Angeles County Grand Jury (94369; 8-15-40) that Lawson had been sent from New York to Hollywood by the Central Committee of the *Communist Party* in company with V. J. Jerome (Isaac Romaine), a member of the *Communist Party* National Committee. Lawson had immediately become active in Hollywood Study Clubs and in the Communist fraction of studio unions, particularly in the *Screen Writers' Guild*. Leech stated that Lawson had met *Communist Party* members at the home of Communists Davida and Fred Franchi. In May of 1937 Lawson was reported as Secretary of the American office for *Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy*. He became a dominant figure in *Communist Party* drama groups and attended *Communist Party* fraction meetings in New York and Hollywood. He was one of the sponsors of the *Citizens Committee for the Defense of Harry Bridges* and a frequent speaker for the *League of American Writers*. He signed the call for the *Fourth American Writers' Congress*. He was an instructor in the *American League Writers' School* and became Vice President of the *League of American Writers' Congress*. In the fall elections of 1942 he appeared in a paid advertisement in the *Los Angeles Times* as an endorser of La Rue McCormick, Communist candidate for election to the State Senate. He answered attacks on the film "*Mission to Moscow*" before the *League of American Writers*.

History of Communist Party Writers' Congress

THE REVOLUTIONARY WRITERS' FEDERATION was the American Section of Moscow's Communist "*International Union of Revolutionary Writers*" (of the *International Bureau of Revolutionary Literature*). The *Workers' Cultural Federation* was an outgrowth of this organization, in reality, an amalgamation of Communist revolutionary cultural groups composed of at least 130 societies. The *Revolutionary Writers' Federation* included the *John Reed Club* writers' group, *Proletpen*, *Hungarian Proletarian Writers'*, *Workers Correspondence Association*, *Japanese Cultural Federation*, *Finnish Cultural Federation*, *Lithuanian Literary Dramatic Club*, *Jack London Club*, *Pen and Hammer Club* and *Student Review*. The *Workers' Cultural Federation* adopted the slogan "*Toward an American Revolution*." On November 15, 1930, the Second Conference of the *International Union of Revolutionary Writers* was held in Kharkov, Russia. The American delegates were instructed to form a National organization of revolutionary writers and artists upon their return to the United States. (*Daily Worker*, December 6, 1930.) Among the American delegates at

this conference were Fred Ellis, Michael Gold, William Gropper, Joshua Kunitz, A. B. Magil and Harry Allan Potamkin.

Pursuant to the directives of the Kharkov Conference, a meeting was held in New York City on June 14, 1931, out of which emerged the *Workers' Cultural Federation*. An honorary Presidium was elected, among whom were Maxim Gorki and N. Krupskaya (Lenin's widow), U.S.S.R.; Ludwig Renn of Germany; Henri Barbusse of France; Tomas of Hungary; Lo Hsun of China and Theodore Dreiser, John Dos Passos, Upton Sinclair and William Z. Foster of the United States. William Gropper, Alexander Trachtenberg (*Communist Workers' Library* publisher), R. B. Glassford, Michael Gold, K. Marmor, J. Shafer, A. B. Magil, Harry Allen Potamkin and T. H. Li, a Chinese Communist, (held at that time for deportation), were elected to an active Presidium. Headquarters for the organization was established at 63 West 15th Street, New York City. The *John Reed Club* and "*New Masses*" magazine were at the same address and it was designated by the "*New Masses*" as "*The first American Revolutionary Center.*"

A cablegram from Moscow was read at the June 14, 1931, conference which said, in part:

"International Union Revolutionary Writers Welcomes Launching of Federation Workers' Cultural Organizations America Stop * * * Before Federation Stands Task of Creating Proletarian Culture in Womb of Capitalist System Stop Launching Federation Is Most Significant Event in History American Revolutionary Culture," etc.

Whitaker Chambers, Charles Yale Harrison, Melvin P. Levy, Harry Alan Potamkin and K. Wallace were among the American writers serving on the 1932 staff of the *International Union of Revolutionary Writers*.

In August of 1932, "*Literary Service*," edited by Keene Wallis of the *John Reed Club*, made its appearance as a monthly publication of the *International Union of Revolutionary Writers*. Indicative of the type of "cultural literature" is the following poem by the Communist Negro poet, Langston Hughes:

GOODBYE CHRIST

"Listen, Christ,
You did alright in your day, I reckon—
But that day's gone now.
They ghosted you up a swell story too,
Called it Bible—
But it's dead now.
The popes and the preachers've
Made too much money from it.
They've sold you to too many.

"Kings, generals, robbers and killers—
Even to the Czar and the Cossacks,
Even to Rockefeller's church,
Even to The Saturday Evening Post.
You ain't no good no more.
They've pawned you
Till you've done wore out.

"Goodbye,
 Christ Jesus Lord God Jehova,
 Beat it on away from here now.
 Make way for a new guy with no religion at all—
 A real guy named
 Marx, Communist Lenin, Peasant Stalin, Worker Me—

"I said, Me!

"Go ahead on now,
 You're getting in the way of things, Lord.
 And please take Saint Ghandi with you when you go,
 And Saint Pope Pius,
 And Saint Aimie McPherson,
 And big black Saint Becton
 Of the Consecrated Dime.
 And step on the gas, Christ!
 Move!
 Don't be so slow about movin'!
 The world is mine from now on—
 And nobody's gonna sell Me
 To a king, or a general,
 Or a millionaire.

American writers serving on the 1933 staff of the *International Union of Revolutionary Writers*, included Upton Sinclair, Michael Gold, A. Magil, John Dos Passos, Emjo Basshe, Walter Carmon, Theodore Dreiser, Fred Ellis, Ed Falkowski, Joseph Freeman, Josephine Herbst, Langston Hughes, Joseph Kalar, Joshua Kunitz, Louis Lozowick, Norman MacLeod, Myra Page, Horace Gregory, Agnes Smedley, Mary Heaton Vorse, Jack Conroy, John Hermann and Herman Spector.

The *John Reed Clubs* were named in honor of the so-called "first American Communist," John Reed. These clubs were affiliates of the *International Union of the Revolutionary Theatre* and a section of the Communist *International Union of Revolutionary Writers*. The New York *John Reed Club*, formerly at 430 6th Avenue, organized the *Workers' Cultural Federation* with which all John Reed branches were affiliated.

The First American Writers' Congress and the Birth of the League of American Writers

THE CALL for the first *American Writers' Congress* suggested the formation of the *League of American Writers* and boldly stated that the organization to be formed would be "affiliated with the International Union of Revolutionary Writers." It declared that the Congress "will provide technical discussion of the literary applications of Marxist philosophy and of the relations between critic and creator."

The objective of the Congress was further stated in the proceedings: "We believe such a Congress should create the *League of American Writers*, affiliated with the *International Union of Revolutionary Writers*. In European countries the *International Union of Revolutionary Writers* is in the vanguard of literature and political action."

The "call" was signed by the following:

Nelson Algren,	Lincoln Kirstein,
Arnold B. Armstrong,	Herbert Kline,
Nathan Asch,	Joshua Kunitz,
Maxwell Bodenheim,	John Howard Lawson,
Thomas Boyd,	Tillie Lerner,
Earl Browder,	Meridel Le Sueur,
Bob Brown,	Melvin Levy,
Fielding Burke,	Robert Morss Lovett,
Kenneth Burke,	Louis Lozowick,
Robert Coates,	Grace Lumpkin,
Erskine Caldwell,	Lewis Mumford,
Alan Calmer,	Edward Newhouse,
Robert Cantwell,	Joseph North,
Lester Cohen,	Moussaye J. Olgin,
Jack Conroy,	Samuel Ornitz,
Malcolm Cowley,	Myra Page,
Theodore Dreiser,	John Dos Passos,
Edward Dahlberg,	Paul Peters,
Guy Endore,	Allan Porter,
James T. Farrell,	Harold Preece,
Kenneth Fearing,	William Rollins, Jr.,
Ben Field,	Paul Romaine,
Waldo Frank,	Isidor Schneider,
Joseph Freeman,	Edwin Seaver,
Michael Gold,	Claire Sifton,
Eugene Gordon,	Paul Sifton,
Horace Gregory,	George Sklar,
Henry Hart,	John L. Spivak,
Clarence Hathaway,	Lincoln Steffens,
Josephine Herbst,	Philip Stevenson,
Robert Herrick,	Genevieve Taggard,
Granville Hicks,	Alexander Trachtenberg,
Langston Hughes,	Nathaniel West,
Orrick Johns,	Ella Winter,
Arthur Kallet,	Richard Wright.

It will be noted that John Howard Lawson and Melvin Levy were listed as signing the call for the *First Writers' Congress* in New York City. Both men have been active in subsequent Writers' Congresses and appear as members of the committee for the *Writers' Congress* which was held on the Los Angeles Campus of the University of California, October 1, 2 and 3, 1943.

The committee is in possession of a photostatic copy of the proceedings of the *First American Writers' Congress*. (New York, 1935). The most naive spectator and quarter-witted participant of this first *Writers' Congress* could not have been deceived as to its Communist revolutionary character.

A report by Moissaye J. Olgin, author of "Why Communism?" (one of the most inflammatory and revolutionary pieces of modern Communist literature in existence), was read to the Congress. The report was on the *First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers*, and glorified Karl Radek and Nikolai Bukharin, old Bolsheviks who were "liquidated" by Stalin's purge in 1937-38.

Joseph Freeman, under the heading "*The Tradition of American Revolutionary Literature*," stated:

"These ideas were prevalent in left-wing literary circles in this country in the early twenties. During the boom period, many intellectuals who had allied themselves with the workers under the impact of the war and the October Revolution, were absorbed into the then prosperous middle classes. A small group of left-wing writers, influenced by the Communist movement as their predecessors had been influenced by the socialist and syndicalist movements, agitated for a revolutionary art and literature in America. Conditions imposed upon them a task which was primarily propagandistic, educational, organizational. They wrote, lectured and organized with a view to circulating basic Marxian ideas in literature. They founded the New Masses, the Theatre Union, the New Theatre, Partisan Review, the John Reed Clubs, the Film and Foto League; they taught literature in the Workers' School and wrote about it in the *Daily Worker*, partly to acquaint the workers with contemporary literature, partly to acquaint writers with the viewpoint of the workers and its significance for culture in general and literature in particular. They developed young poets, critics, journalists and novelists who subsequently did creative work of distinction. They published and encouraged revolutionary writers not only in New York, but also in the Middle West, the Coast, the South, among them talented Negro writers like Langston Hughes and Eugene Gordon. In doing so, they were not—as their enemies said—importing a Russian idea imposed upon them by the Kremlin. They were developing in their own country an international idea as old as the proletarian party—an idea that had its own specific American traditions."

John Howard Lawson and Waldo Frank were dominant figures in the Congress. Clarence Hathaway was, at the time of the Congress, editor of the *Communist Party* New York publication, the *Daily Worker*. Hathaway was enthusiastic about the Congress and expressed himself in the following language:

"I greet this Congress of writers in the name of the entire staff of the *Daily Worker*. From the outset of the preparations of your Congress the *Daily Worker* has given the closest attention to preliminaries required to bring together the cream of American writers. We have run all of the advance material on the Congress, and many articles dealing with it, and the action it must take to advance the struggle against war and Fascism. The *Daily Worker* did so, because, as the organ of the Communist Party of the United States, it was conscious that we must not only win the overwhelming mass of the American workers and farmers for the revolutionary position, but that the writer, the intellectual generally, and the middle class, must be made active allies of the working class in its struggle against Capitalism."

Congratulatory telegrams and cablegrams were received from leading Communists. Karl Radek sent the following cablegram from Russia:

"We, the Congress of Soviet Writers, extend our brotherly hand to all of the writers who are on the road toward us, no matter how far they still are from us, and if only we see in them a will and a wish to help the working class in its struggle to help the Soviet Union. We say to them: the best aid you can render us will be that you place yourselves shoulder to shoulder with the working class of your country, with its revolutionary minority."

Waldo Frank was so enthusiastic that he imagined the "revolution" right around the corner. Speaking on the "*Values of the Revolutionary Writer*," he declares:

"My premise and the premise of the majority of writers here assembled is that Communism must come, and must be fought for. If a writer doubts this, I doubt he is an artist; and I doubt he is a Marxist. If we believe

that Communism is the organic next step of the world to be released by freeing the world's forces of wealth, we must believe in the art of revealing man's depths which bear this destiny. We will embody in our work the substance of life; the blood, the bone, the eye, the conscious embrace of necessity whose child is freedom—knowing that insofar as we create this truth, we are moving, and moving those who hear us, toward the Revolution."

Edwin Seaver discussed the "*Proletarian Novel*," and in attempting to distinguish between his subject and its bourgeois prototype, he broke down and came to cases. "What are we here for?" he cried. "What do we believe in? The fight against war and fascism? True enough. But this is largely a negative statement. Are we not here because we believe in forming a new and Communist ideology within the shell of the old and decaying capitalist society, because we seek the way out of capitalist anarchy toward that socialist order which is now in the process of construction in the Soviet Union, because in essence we subscribe to the Marxian revolutionary analysis of historical change?"

As might well be expected, Earl Browder, Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, was one of the speakers. He said, in part:

"Writers who are coming into this cultural stream are traditionally not interested in political life and problems. In their vast majority they are skeptical of all political parties, if not contemptuous. They find, however, in the new life in which they participate, there is a political party which plays an increasingly influential role, the Communist Party. They find it necessary to define their attitude toward this Party which actively participates in their chosen world. They see that this Party is a force in fine literature, as well as in strikes, in unemployment struggles, in battling for Negro rights, even in a reactionary Congress where it rallied through mass pressure 52 votes for the Workers' Insurance Bill without having a single Communist congressman—as yet. Yes, the Communist Party is a force, in every phase of life of the masses, even that of poets, dramatists, novelists and critics.

"We are all of us bound together, forced to work out our common problems collectively, by the menace of a common enemy which threatens to destroy everything that we hold dear. The fight against reaction, against fascism in the inner life of nations and against imperialist war internationally, is our common bond * * * We are not alone. We have brothers in every land. We have a mighty stronghold in this battle, in the land where socialism is being built, where a new culture is blossoming—the Soviet Union. This fortress against reaction is at this time our greatest protection against the wave of reaction sweeping the world. We must protect it as it protects us. * * *

"It is with these thoughts that the Communist Party greets this historic Congress of American Writers. We are all soldiers, each in our own place, in a common cause. Let our efforts be united in fraternal solidarity."

Langston Hughes, already referred to, called for immediate violent revolution in verse. His contribution is as follows:

REVOLUTION

"Great mob that knows no fear
Come here!
And raise your hand
Against this man
Or iron and steel and gold

"Come here,
Great mob that knows no fear,
And tear him from limb to limb,
Slit his golden throat
Ear to ear,

Who's bought and sold
You
Each one
For the last thousand years.

And end his time forever
Now—
This year—
Great mob that knows no fear."

Eugene Clay, in "*The Negro in Recent American Literature*," states that Richard Wright's poem "*I Have Seen Black Hands*" is one of the finest poems that has appeared in the "*New Masses*." It is partly as follows:

"I am black and I have seen black hands
Raised in fists of revolt, side by side with the white fists of white workers,
And some day—and it is only this which sustains me—
Some day there shall be millions and millions of them,
On some red day in a burst of fists on a new horizon!"

Moishe Nadir, following the Communist line of the day, placed President Roosevelt and Hitler side by side as hirelings of the "war-mongers." "The proletarian writer of today," he declared, "must above all unceasingly call attention to the fact that the old war-mongers of the Stinnes, Morgan, Deterding, DuPont and Krupp stamp, as well as their hirelings, Wotan, Hitler, Father Coughlin, Brother Roosevelt, are once more plotting to rid themselves of the 'over-production' of laboring men, by dumping them into the hell fires of the coming imperialist war, a most 'convenient' way, no doubt, of liquidating the contradictions inherent in capitalist economy." Comrade Nadir insisted that they all *love America*. "Above all," he said fervently *and in italics*, "We love America as one of the most beautiful flowers in the bouquet of the world Soviets of tomorrow."

John Howard Lawson kept the proceedings moving toward the pre-determined objective. He reminded the assembled writers "that detailed technical analysis is the most urgent need of Marxist criticism." He was aware that the revolution was not quite as close as Waldo Frank believed, and that Communist Party strategists had much yet to accomplish. The organization of the *League of American Writers* was the principle objective of the *First American Writers' Congress*. When this momentous event had taken place Lawson reminded the delegates of the work ahead. "This is a very solemn moment," he said. "Exciting and stimulating and important as the proceedings of this Congress have been, we now enter on a much more serious task—the actual carrying out of the permanent development and growth of the Congress. I think that if there is one thing more than anything else that has been impressibly demonstrated at these meetings, it is the depth and breadth and magnitude of the tasks of the working class, of the Revolutionary movement."

When the applause of the final session died down, James Farrell arose and suggested the singing of the *International*. The concluding sentence of the photostatic copy of the report of the proceedings in the possession of the committee states that: "*This was done.*"

The *League of American Writers* was born. Before the final

session of the *First Writers' Congress* came to a close, Jack Conroy announced to the delegates that the nominating committee had named for its head, Waldo Frank. The nomination was unanimously approved. The executive committee elected is as follows:

Kenneth Burke,
Malcolm Crowley,
Joseph Freeman,
Henry Hart,
Granville Hicks,
Alfred Kreymborg,
Albert Maltz,
Edwin Seaver,
Alexander Trachtenberg,

Harold Clurman,
Waldo Frank,
Michael Gold,
Josephine Herbst,
Matthew Josephson,
John Howard Lawson,
Isidar Schneider,
Genevieve Taggard.

A National Council was then elected composed of the following:

Nelson Algren,
Maxwell Bodenheim,
Michael Blankfort,
Van Wyck Brooks,
Sterling Brown,
Alan Calmer,
Harry Carlisle,
Merle Colby,
Edward Dahlberg,
James T. Farrell,
Angel Flores,
Robert Herrick,
Orrick Johns,
Tillie Lerner,
Robert Morss Lovett,
Lewis Mumford,
Clifford Odets,
Joseph Opatoshu,
Rebecca Pitts,
George Sklar,

Lincoln Steffens,
Richard Wright,
Fielding Burke,
Robert Cantwell,
Eugene Clay,
Jack Conroy,
Leonard Ehrlich,
Kenneth Fearing,
Horace Gregory,
Sidney Howard,
Joshua Kunitz,
Meridel Le Sueur,
Grace Lumpkin,
Moishe Nadir,
M. J. Ogin,
Paul Peters,
William Rollins, Jr.,
Agnes Smedley,
James Waterman Wise.

The first *American Writers' Congress* became a thing of the past as the last note of the "*International*" faded away, a memorable milestone in the Red history of the United States. The *League of American Writers* carried on the work of the Congress, calling new Congresses as often as *Communist Party* strategy demanded. The second *American Writers' Congress* was held in 1937. The same Communist influences and domination were present at its sessions.

The Third Congress was held in New York City June 2, 3, 4, 1939. The call was signed by the following:

Benjamin Appel,
Newton Arvin,
Helen Merrell Lynd,
Kenneth Fearing,
Arthur D. Ficke,
Millen Brand,
Joseph Freeman,
Mauritz Hallgren,
Dorothy Parker,
Van Wyck Brooks,
Genevieve Taggard,
Dubose Heyward,
Erskine Caldwell,

Richard Wright,
Stanley Young,
Leane Zugsmith,
Meyer Levin,
Nora Benjamin,
Francis Faragoh,
Tess Slessinger,
Philip Stevenson,
Carey McWilliams,
Irving Stone,
Dorothy Brewster,
Henry Hart,
Sidney Buchman,

Katherine G. Chapin,
 Alfred Kreymsborg,
 John Wexley,
 Muriel Rukeyser,
 Vida D. Scudder,
 Edwin Seaver,
 John Howard Lawson,
 Donald Ogden Stewart,
 Viola Brothers Shore,
 Guy Endore,
 Henry Pratt Fairchild,
 Albert Bein,
 Bruce Minton,
 Ruth McKenney,
 Marjorie Fischer,
 Harvey O'Connor,
 S. J. Perelman,
 Leland Stowe,
 Frederick Prokosch,
 Lorine Pruette,
 Samuel Putnam,
 W. L. River,
 Jess Kimbrough,
 Humphrey Cobb,
 Lester Cohen,
 Ella Winter,

Frank Tuttle,
 Jean Starr Untermeyer,
 Ralph Roeder,
 Arthur Kober,
 Malcolm Cowley,
 George Dillon,
 Muriel Draper,
 Philip Dunne,
 Vincent Sheean,
 Upton Sinclair,
 Albert Maltz,
 Aline Bernstein,
 Bessie Breuer,
 Louis Bromfield,
 Daniel Fuchs,
 James Thurber,
 Lillian Hellman,
 Kenneth Burke,
 Eugene Holmes,
 Louis Untermeyer,
 Carl Van Doren,
 Harold J. Rome,
 Joshua Kunitz,
 David Lamson,
 Jesse Lasky, Jr.,
 Irwin Shaw.

Waldo Frank was mysteriously absent from the *Third American Writers' Congress*. Eugene Lyons, in his book *The Red Decade*, clears up the mystery. "As a footnote to the story," says Mr. Lyons, "I offer in exhibit Mr. Waldo Frank. When Mr. Frank exchanged his private mysticism for the fashionable mysticism of the Muscovite aberration, he was hailed as a hero in the Communist press. He was made chairman of one of the principal planets in Stalin's solar system, the *League of American Writers*. All went well until the Soviet bloodletting touched Mr. Frank's conscience. He wrote a letter to the *New Republic* suggesting an international labor and socialist inquiry into the whole matter. Immediately his services to the cause were forgotten and his name was mud. He had committed the deadly sin of doubting. When the next *American Writers' Congress* foregathered, he was mysteriously missing. Let the innocent literati who continued to claim that the League and its Congresses were independent, explain the technique by which Waldo Frank was eliminated after his slip, and his place taken by one of Hollywood's best, Donald Ogden Stewart."

The first Pacific Congress of "American Writers," a direct attempt of the Communist *League of American Writers* to extend the original plan to West Coast left-wing writers, was held in San Francisco October 23, 24, 25, 1936. Using the same technique as that so successfully used in the *First American Writers' Congress*, the Pacific Coast Congress gave birth to the Pacific Coast branch of the *League of American Writers*. This branch was headed by Carey McWilliams and Clara Weatherwax. Haakon Chevalier was reported as one of the most active members of the Committee in San Francisco.

The Hitler-Stalin Pact, the rape of Poland and the Soviet invasion of Finland created a furious retreat of literary "innocents," parlor-pinks and cocktail revolutionaries who had permitted their names to be used for the Calls of the Writers Congresses. As a result the Fourth Congress, held in New York early in June of 1941, was a dismal affair, attended only by such stalwarts as Donald Ogden Stewart, Dashiell Hammett, John Howard Lawson and Dudley Nichols. Orson Welles and a number of obscure writers were recruited for this Congress by Communist scouts after much barrel-scraping. The dubious "Oscar" of leadership of the *League of American Writers* passed from Donald Ogden Stewart to Dashiell Hammett.

Alexander Trachtenberg has been a Communist functionary since the *Communist Party* was organized in the United States in 1919. John Howard Lawson is considered something more than a mere "functionary" of the *Communist Party*. He is held in reverential awe by ordinary *Communist Party* members. Alexander Trachtenberg, head of the *Workers' Library Publishers, Inc.*, is regarded as the leader of the *agit-prop* (agitational propaganda) division of the *American Communist Party*.

Communist Right-About Face

THE SIXTH PERIOD of Communist strategy in the United States was launched in a cloud of confusion June 22, 1941. American Communist strategists were in a dither attempting to adjust their Marxian spectacles for a peep into the crystal ball of world events for a "scientific" and "materialistic" interpretation of history. They were pathetically bewildered until directives arrived from the oracle in Moscow's Kremlin. The Leninistic "sharp turn" was not only "sharp" and breath-taking; it was practically a hair-pin turn. Many of the Comrades bringing up the rear were nearly stomped to death as the "vanguard of the proletariat" executed the death-defying maneuver. It took a little time to reform the ragged ranks of the confused proletariat and to restore order and discipline. New names, costumes and credentials had to be prepared. It ordinarily takes time to change from the role of a wild-eyed revolutionist, mobilizing inferiority-complexed literary men for red hack-writing, to an American patriot mobilizing the literati for its war efforts against a common enemy. John Howard Lawson, Alexander Trachtenberg and the hierarchy of Communist strategists were equal to the task. Once the program was formulated, new names supplied and credentials cleverly manufactured, "innocents," fellow-travelers and trembling opportunists were easily found. It would be done with Hollywood trappings, at a State institution of higher learning and to the strains of the *Star Spangled Banner* instead of the *International*. Stalinistic "power-plays," Leninistic "shary-turns," Marxist dialectic and the materialistic interpretation of history would be subtly explained and reconciled under the benevolent noses of naive "progressive" professors while

the "capitalistic" press paid tribute and homage to the Hollywood setting for the launching of the new Communist "line."

John Howard Lawson was not quite so skillful with the *Joint Fact-Finding Committee* as he is reputed to be with Communist devotees. He testified that he had come from New York City and that he had resided in Southern California for approximately 15 years. He admitted attending the *First Writers' Congress* in New York in 1935, that he had spoken at some of its sessions, contributed articles and that he had been acquainted with Alexander Trachtenberg for many years. When asked whether or not he had ever heard of the Second Conference of the *International Union of Revolutionary Writers* at Kharkov, Russia, he replied: "I have heard it mentioned in relation to certain charges made by this committee in regard to the Writers' Congress in 1943." The answer might have been cleverly evasive if the photostatic copies of the proceedings of the *First Writers' Congress* in possession of the committee did not reveal that the *League of American Writers*, to be created by the Congress, was to be "affiliated with the *International Union of Revolutionary Writers*." Lawson had signed the call. He stated that he had probably met Clarence Hathaway but that he could not place him at the time of testifying. This "evasiveness" might have been successfully practiced on the members of the committee if it had not been in possession of documentary evidence that Lawson was a staff writer on the *New York Daily Worker*, East Coast Communist publication, at the time that Clarence Hathaway edited the publication. His memory conveniently failed him at times.

" * * * Do you recall that the congress," Mr. Combs asked, "the one we were talking about, closed with the singing of the International—or did it?"

"I have no idea," Mr. Lawson replied. "I presume it did, but I don't know."

"Why do you presume it did?"

"Because I also saw some charges that were made by this committee previously in which the statement was made, and I assumed you had some basis for the statement. It is very likely true."

Lawson admitted knowing James Farrell for approximately 12 years.

Lawson admitted that he was familiar with the *League of American Writers* and that it had been created by the *First American Writers' Congress*. He stated that he was a member of the National Executive Committee and that at the time of testifying (1944) he was serving in the capacity of national vice-president, which office he had held for six or seven years.

Carl Winter was chairman of the *Communist Party* of Los Angeles County until the party changed its name to the *Communist Political Association* of California. When the change was effected Winter held a comparable office in the "Association" and Max Silver became secretary. Lawson admitted being acquainted with both Winter and Silver. He had been a guest, together with Max Silver and others, at Carl Winter's birthday party. Lawson

had no desire to stress his association with these official functionaries of the *Communist Party*. (Com. Tr., Vol. XXIII, pp. 150-151):

Q. By Combs: Did you ever meet with Silver and Mr. Winter on any other occasions?

A. Not that I recall, no.

Q. Is it possible you may have met with them and forgotten?

A. I may have met them in certain social gatherings, but I don't remember it.

Q. Around at people's houses from time to time you may have met them?

A. It's possible. It was so casual I have forgotten it.

Q. You have known each of them for approximately the same period of time, have you?

A. Yes.

HOLLYWOOD WRITERS' MOBILIZATION

AS HERETOFORE REPORTED by the committee, the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor December 7, 1941, supplied the impetus for Communist strategy made necessary by Germany's attack on Soviet Russia in June of that year. For the first time a Communist slogan meant something to American ears. "Unity" in the war effort for victory made sense, and the *Communist Party* launched the slogan fully cognizant that it gave them a supreme advantage in revised strategy. Under this convenient guise of "unity" *Communist Party* functionaries went to work on the creation of a series of new "front" groups. The *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*, allegedly composed of the guilds connected with the motion picture industry, was one of the first to emerge. John Howard Lawson appeared to be the dominating figure in the creation of the "Mobilization," assisted by Robert Rossen and Marc Connelly. The alleged purpose of the organization, under the guise of assisting the war effort, was to provide scripts, speeches, skits, plays and similar material for bond drives and similar activities. Its true purpose, of course, was the creation of a clearing house for Communist propaganda.

Strategy for "Window Dressing" Congress

By 1943 the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization* had attracted a considerable membership. It is not to be assumed that the members of Communist front organizations are all Communists or that the majority of them are remotely interested in Communism or sympathetic to it. Quite the reverse is true, as the Committee pointed out in its 1943 Report. The bait used by Communists in snagging innocents into "front" organizations is considerably varied. The so-called "intellectual" appears to be easy prey for Communist functionaries. All of the planning is done in closed Communist meetings. Steering committees are created and fellow-travelers are contacted. Innocents are then snagged for "window-

dressings" and committees are selected for the job in hand. The usual procedure was followed in the creation of the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization* and the *Writers' Congress*. John Howard Lawson and Marc Connelly contacted the University of California in Westwood and successfully solicited the assistance of Professor Ralph Freud of the Dramatic Department. Reinforced by Freud the three men called upon the chairman of the English Department with the proposal that the University join with the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization* in sponsoring the *American Writers' Congress* at the University. As a result of these maneuvers a University Committee was appointed to work with the committee of the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization* for the preparation of the Congress. Lawson, Connelly and Freud apparently did most of the work (as was to be expected) and it appears that the several professors of the University Committee had little to do with the plans.

Marc Connelly testified before the committee October 13, 1944 (Com. Tr. Vol. XXIII, pp. 112-120) that Lawson had been active in organizing the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*. He stated that the *Mobilization* was composed of the *Screen Writers' Guild*, the *Radio Writers' Guild*, the *Screen Publicists' Guild*, the *Screen Cartoonists' Guild*, *American Newspaper Guild*, *Independent Publicists' Association* and the *Song Writers' Protective Association*.

Questioned on the activities of the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization* in connection with the war effort, Connelly testified (Com. Tr., Vol. XXIII, pp. 118-119):

A. By Connelly: The war effort—oh, it has been supplying the Office of War Information, the Army and Navy, with material, U. S. O. with material, the Red Cross. It supplies material for actors on the bond raising tours, it supplies spot announcements on radio for any drive that happens to be on at the moment, paper saving and so forth. It supplies articles following the directives of the war agency that certain accents must be made for conservation of this or the aid of this, if there is a Russian relief or a French relief or an Italian relief clothing drive, or anything that we are asked to assist in, our membership is at their disposal and volunteers its service for that purpose.

Q. By Mr. Combs: As a matter of fact, judging from the list of guilds and unions which comprise the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*, that work, that activity would cover music, radio scripts and skits and plays, and all sorts of creative material of that type, even cartoons, would it not?

A. Yes.

Q. And is there a present program being carried out by the mobilization to write moving picture scenario scripts for use by the Office of War Information?

A. So far as I know, yes.

Q. Are those pictures which will be made from those scripts to be exhibited in the United States or overseas?

A. I believe both.

Rena M. Vale, a writer by profession and formerly a member of the *Communist Party* of Los Angeles County, was engaged,

in collaboration with others, in preparing the script for the production "*The Sun Rises in the West*" at the time she was a member of the *Communist Party*. The chief task of the Communists, engaged in this work, was to weave *Communist Party* propaganda and policy into the lines and action of the production. Miss Vale's affidavit is set forth in its entirety in the Committee's 1943 Report. At page 148 of the report, Miss Vale states:

"That in the throes of playwrighting, John Howard Lawson, and a Professor Lewis, met with our fraction to assist in the problems of converting Communist propaganda into play form; that these so-called experts in the dramatic field offered no concrete suggestions in so far as I could see; they merely ranted about our responsibilities as Communist Party members."

Lawson's subtlety and evasiveness and convenient lapses of memory are typically illustrated in his answers to questions concerning the episode mentioned by Miss Vale. (Com. Tr., Vol. XXIII, p. 153):

Q. By Mr. Combs: Do you recall a production called, "Sun Rises in the West?"

A. I recall hearing mention of it, yes.

Q. It was produced about 1937 or '38—late in '37 or early in '38?

A. I couldn't answer that.

Q. Did you ever read the play?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever advise on it?

A. No, not that I recall.

Q. Are you positive you never did?

A. No, I am not positive.

Q. It isn't your testimony—

A. (Interrupting) I don't know, because I have advised people on many, many plays and productions. I know I never saw that or read the manuscript, so I doubt if I could have advised with any detail.

Q. Did you advise about the method of staging the production without reading it, could somebody have told you about it?

A. I don't know.

Q. By whom was the production produced?

A. It was a production of the Federal Theatre. I don't know by whom it was produced.

Q. By the Federal Theatre. That was a part of the WPA program, wasn't it?

A. Yes.

Lawson was able to recall that he had been connected with the *Committee for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy*. He admitted having been a sponsor for the *Citizens' Committee for the Defense of Harry Bridges*. He was able to remember signing the Call for the *Fourth American Writers' Congress* in 1941 and having been an instructor in the *League of American Writers School*. He admitted supporting and sponsoring the candidacy of La Rue McCormick, an admitted and registered member of the *Communist Party*, for election to the California State Senate in 1942.

He became vague and evasive when questioned concerning his connection with the *New York Daily Worker*, the official publication for the *Communist Party of the United States*. (Com. Tr., Vol. XXIII, pp. 156-158):

Q. By Mr. Combs: Did you ever hear of the *Daily Worker* in New York?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you assume that is the official publication of the Communist Party of the United States prior to the change—of its change to the Communist Political Association?

A. I can't testify to that. As far as that goes, you are asking me a great many questions which are purely assumptions and in regard to which I have no personal knowledge.

Q. Have you ever read the publication?

A. Yes, frequently.

Q. Have you ever read the Masthead?

A. No.

Q. Would it refresh your memory at all if I were to tell you, which is a fact, on the Masthead appears the hammer and sickle and words in effect, "The official Communist publication of the United States?"

A. I would like to say at this point in your questioning you are telling me. If you want to ask me questions, I'm very delighted to answer any questions, but the presentation of assumptions and opinions, assumptions regarding people whom I know nothing about or publications about which I know very little—

Q. (Interrupting) You wrote for the *Daily Worker*?

A. That's correct.

Q. I show you a photostat dated December 21st, 1935, and call your attention to page 2 and ask you if that is about the time you were a contributing writer for the *New York Daily Worker*?

A. I have no way of knowing this photostat is accurate, but I presume that I was at that time.

Mr. Coombs: I wish to read some names into the record from the photostat, reading from page 1 (reading):

Editors C. A. Hathaway, Joseph North, James Olgin, Edwin Seaver, Sender Garlin, A. B. Magil, Michael Quinn, Earl Browder, Erskine Caldwell, Malcolm Cowley, James Farrell, (who is the one who suggested the singing of the International at the closing of the first congress), William Z. Foster, former vice president of the Communist Party of the United States, Waldo Frank, who presided at the first Writers' Congress, Corliss Lamont, John Howard Lawson, Clifford Odets, M. J. Olgin, whose name was read into the record as the reporter of the Kharkov conference, George Sklar and Anna Louise Strong, Jack Stachel, Meridel Le Sueur, whose name has been read into the record, Lincoln Steffens, Ella Winter, Clara Weatherwax.

Lawson admitted having been a subscriber to the West Coast Communist publication, the *People's Daily World*, since it started publication. He was familiar with *American Youth for Democracy*, the new name for the *Young Communist League*, and admitted having been a sponsor of the organization. He admitted being a member of the *American League for Peace and Democracy*. He was familiar with the *Labor Defender*, published by the *International Labor Defense* and admitted that he had contributed articles to the publication on occasion.

The Attorney General of the United States, Francis Biddle, made an investigation of the *Writers' Congress* and the *League of American Writers* and issued a confidential written report on these organizations in 1942. It subsequently was made public and the Committee reproduces it in full:

"The League of American Writers, founded under Communist auspices in 1935, for some years attracted to its fold many of the most prominent American writers, Communists and non-Communists. In 1939 the League began openly to follow the Communist Party line as dictated by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and at that time most of the non-Communists dis-affiliated themselves from it and declared their opposition to its policy.

"The League of American Writers was founded as a congress of American revolutionary writers held in New York City April 26-27, 1935. The call for the congress was signed by members of the John Reed Club, including such well-known Communists as Earl Browder, Isidor Schneider, John L. Spivak, and Michael Gold. The congress greeted Gold as the best loved American revolutionary writer and Gold in turn told the gathering that, 'Our writers must learn that the working class which has created a great civilization in the Soviet Union is capable of creating a similar civilization in this country.' The leading speakers at the congress were all prominently identified with the Communist movement in the United States and featured such men as M. J. Olgin, editor of the Communist Yiddish Daily, *Morning Freiheit*, Alexander Trachtenberg, head of the Party's publishing house, International Publishers, Inc., and Clarence Hathaway, editor of the *Daily Worker* whose masthead then proclaimed it the official organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A. section of the Communist International. The league was created, among other things, to enlist writers in a national cultural organization for peace and democracy and against fascism and reaction, to support progressive trade-union organizations and the people's front in all countries, and to cooperate with the progressive forces.

"Soon after the league was established, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow decided upon the Trojan horse policy for Communist parties everywhere. By this policy Communists sought to infiltrate existing organizations without revealing their identity. Accordingly, it became necessary to conceal the Communist influence in the League of American Writers. The revolutionary slogans and resolutions were discarded. In the years from 1936 to 1939 the league made an effort to secure as members the leaders of liberal thought among American writers. Although its Communist control was deliberately obscured, it sponsored a policy which accorded with the Communist Party line in those years, including condemnation of the Franco revolution in Spain and an interpretation of that revolution as presenting an issue of Communism vs. Fascism. In its congresses held in these years the league condemned fascism and praised the 'Soviet peace policy.' It sought to make its program attractive by sponsoring the Federal Arts Project and attacking those who were opposed to any of the social legislation then being enacted in the United States.

"At the time of the Russo-German pact in August, 1939, the League of American Writers began once more to follow the Communist Party line openly and without much attempt at dissimulation. It was in this period that most of the prominent non-Communist writers resigned from the league. Thomas Mann stated that the league 'thinks too much about politics and not enough about literature.' In 1940 and up until June 22, 1941, the league devoted its efforts principally to keeping the United States out of the 'imperialist war.' Its activities were featured in the *Daily Worker*, and it in turn complimented the *Daily Worker* for the recognition it was giving to the league's anti-war program. Many leading Communists were openly active in the league at this time.

"On June 6, 1941, the league held its Fourth Annual Writers' Congress in New York City. It condemned the 'imperialist war,' which it called a war for world markets. Speakers charged that the President was attempting to lead the country into war, and condemned the administration for its action in sending troops to quell the North American Aviation Co. strike and for its prosecution of Harry Bridges.

"The American Peace Mobilization and its picketing of the White House was endorsed. Less than a month later the league issued a call to all writers and writers' organizations for 'all immediate and necessary steps in support of Great Britain and the Soviet Union.'

"Not only did the league follow the Communist Party line in regard to foreign affairs, but its program since 1940 has shown a close parallel to the leading domestic issues supported by the party, including a campaign in behalf of Negro rights, opposition to what is called political persecution in the United States, and praise of the Soviet Union and its leaders.

"The League of American Writers maintains an annual writers' school in New York City, featuring courses in labor journalism and pamphlet writing taught by Communists. Once each week it sponsors a 'work in progress' reading by some author. The Daily Worker, in its regular reports of these readings, indicates that the majority of invited readers are known Communists or fellow travelers.

"The overt activities of the League of American Writers in the last two years leave little doubt of its Communist control. The resignations of many writers who had affiliated themselves with it in the era of the Trojan horse and their statements at the time of disassociating themselves from it largely remove all possible speculations as to the facts."

PEOPLE'S EDUCATIONAL CENTER

J. EDGAR HOOVER, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, addressing the annual commencement exercises at *Holy Cross College*, Worcester, Massachusetts, June 29, 1944, stated:

"Over the years, the American Communists have developed a propaganda machine and a nefarious and elaborate school system of their own. Their officials in secret and public meetings urge that the propaganda phase of their work must be accelerated. Brazenly, they have urged the development of courses, lectures, and assemblies as media to espouse the ideologies of Marxism and to establish Marxism as a school of thought in the United States. . . ."

For the first time, Earl Browder has assumed absolute and direct control of the "*Workers' Schools*" of the United States. It is reported that in New York City, V. J. Jerome and Elizabeth Lawson are the key people in the Communists' "elaborate school system." V. J. Jerome (alias Isaac Romaine) has been the secret educational director of the *Communist Party* for many years. He was formerly the editor of *The Communist*. Jerome is considered one of the outstanding dialecticians in the United States and is considered by many members as the "brains" of the *Communist Party*. He was one of the instructors in the New York *Workers' School*. It is estimated that the *Communist Party* schools will graduate about 5,000 students a year.

The *People's Educational Center*, new Communist Party propaganda school, was launched in Los Angeles the latter part of 1943. There is good reason to believe that this Communist

front is an offshoot of the *Writers' Congress* held on the campus of the *University of California at Los Angeles*. The *Workers' School* is to be absorbed by this new educational "front."

A letter under date of October 20, 1943, was addressed to many individuals, associations and labor organizations. The letter is as follows:

"The People's Educational Center would like your organization to have a hand in its program, a voice in its policies. To this end we cordially invite you to investigate the aims and purposes of the Center, to become familiar with our tentative courses in education and our means of carrying the program to completion.

"The provisional committee of the People's Educational Center is drawn from many phases of Los Angeles life—men and women from business, the university, civic affairs, labor, the professions, women's affairs. It was organized to give Los Angeles a new type of adult education, education in a changing world, to meet fast changing conditions where, as the Red Queen said to Alice in *Wonderland* 'You have to run awful fast if you want to stay in one place.'

"The Center is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization. Already lined up for its teaching staff are leaders in the field of university education, scientists and professional men and women. The varied courses in its curricula will be taught by men and women who know their subject by actual experience.

"We will be most pleased to send you complete information on request. We would like to meet with representatives of your organization—to get their views on our program, to learn from their experiences how to make this center a more living force for the future good of Los Angeles and the Nation. We would like your help in bringing to the people generally the most satisfying of all experiences in human affairs—the happiness that come with learning something new and keeping abreast of the times."

Under the title "Provisional Committee for the People's Educational Center," appear the following names:

John Allard,
Fay E. Allen,
R. S. Avery,
Charlotta A. Bass,
George Bradley,
Philip M. Connelly,
O. W. E. Cook,
Frank C. Davis,
Rev. Martin S. Eidsath,
Harry Hoijer,
John Howard Lawson,
Louis Levy,

Arnold Manoff,
Dean E. McHenry,
Russell L. McKnight,
Carey McWilliams,
M. William Pomerance,
Ruth S. Ryan,
Eva Shafran,
Albee Slade,
C. L. Vanderbie,
Ralph D. Winstead,
William Wolff.

The address on the letterhead is "812 Broadway Arcade Bldg., 542 South Broadway, Los Angeles 13, California."

The Communist character of the organization is clearly revealed by the personnel of the Provisional Committee. Phillip M. Connelly is said to have joined the *Communist Party* in June or July, 1938, and was attached to Unit 140, Professional Section, of the *Newspaper Guild*. During the Hitler-Stalin Pact he appeared in support of various peace rallies. His devotion to the *Communist Party* publication, *The People's Daily World*, is indi-

cated by the announcement that he had donated a day's pay to the paper. He has been active in many Communist front organizations and has assiduously followed the *Communist Party* line for many years.

Frank C. Davis is assistant professor at the *University of California*, at Los Angeles. In 1939, 1940 and 1941, he sent telegrams to District Attorney Matthew Brady, in San Francisco, in defense of Sam Darcy, Communist. He is reported to have formerly been a professor at the *University of Washington*.

The Communist record of John Howard Lawson is set forth in considerable detail in this report under the title "*Writers' Congress at the University of California*."

Carey McWilliams is a member of nearly every Communist front organization in the State of California. His record is treated at some length in various parts of this report.

Mrs. Ruth S. Ryan is a Los Angeles teacher. She was registered as a Communist in Los Angeles County June 15, 1940, at 4306 La Clede Avenue, Los Angeles. In August of 1940 she sponsored Celeste Strack for the *Communist Party* nomination to the office of Congress for the Thirteenth Congressional District. She sponsored Louis Baron for the *Communist Party* nomination to the office of Congress for the Thirteenth Congressional District in August of 1938. She also sponsored Pettis Perry for the *Communist Party* nomination to the office of the State Board of Equalization for the Fourth District in August of 1938. In 1942 she appeared as a member of the *Los Angeles Consumers Council*, Communist front. (See page 104, Committee's Report for 1943).

Eva Shafran merits particular notice in this report. For some time she was the active organizer of the *Communist Party* in Los Angeles County. She was registered as a Communist in Los Angeles County in June of 1940. She wrote for the *Western Worker*, West Coast Communist predecessor to the Communist publication, *The People's Daily World*. In October, 1936, she wrote an article for the *Western Worker* entitled "*The Socialist Party and Trotskyites*." In December of 1936 she wrote an article for the *Western Worker* entitled "*Unity of Negro and White Urgent in Maritime Strike*." Eva Shafran is known among Communists as an outstanding Marxist. For many years she has taught advanced classes on Marxism-Leninism in the *Communist Workers' School* in Los Angeles. According to the testimony of John Leech, former Secretary of the Communist Party in Los Angeles County (before the Los Angeles Grand Jury, 94369-8-15-40) Eva Shafran was transferred to Los Angeles by the *Communist Party* from the New York *Workers' School* in 1935 or early in 1936. She was immediately assigned to the California State Committee of the *Communist Party* and has devoted herself to the task of raising the political level of Communists in Los Angeles. Her name is variably spelled "*Shafran*," "*Shaffron*" and "*Shiffman*."

Albee Slade is an organizer and publicity man for the *Congress for Industrial Organization*. He has been editor and commentator on a radio program "Our Daily Bread" (C. I. O. newspaper of the air).

Carl Winter, former secretary of the *Communist Party* of Los Angeles County, is advertised as a lecturer at the *People's Educational Center*.

The committee finds that the *People's Educational Center* is inspired and controlled by the Communists; that it is, in fact, a Communist organization for the dissemination of Marxism—part of the "elaborate school system" of Communism mentioned by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the *Federal Bureau of Investigation*.

WEST COAST COMMUNIST PRESS

The People's Daily World, in its July 9, 1943, issue announced: "... now, in this crucial summer of 1943, as we prepare for the greatest military offensive to smash the Axis enemy, as we fight to hold the home front against the fifth column, as we look ahead to the 1944 elections—we feel that the *People's Daily World* will be more needed than ever. . . . The *People's World* must be improved, its circulation extended, its finances bolstered. . . ."

A "call" was subsequently issued by the *People's Daily World* for a "Pro-War Press Conference on Behalf of the *People's Daily World*" for Wednesday, August 4, 1943, at 8 p.m., at the *First Unitarian Church*, located at the corner of 8th Street and Vermont Avenue in the City of Los Angeles.

The letter for the call was signed by Ed Robbin, editor of the *People's Daily World* in Los Angeles and Judith Schmidt, the Los Angeles manager for the Communist newspaper. The letterhead contains the following names as "endorsers" of the "call":

Joseph W. Aidlin,
Fay Allen,
Charlotta Bass,
Gray Bemis,
Revels Cayton,
Parley Parker Christensen,
Grover Johnson,
Pete King,
John Howard Lawson,
Joe Marty,
La Rue McCormick,
Lester McMillan,
Dorothy Connelly,
Frank Corona,
James Daugherty,
Ernest Dawson,
Theodore Dreiser,

Kenneth Eckert,
Pearl Fagelson,
Leo Gallagher,
Ed Gilbert,
Augustus Hawkins,
Martin Hourihan,
Carey McWilliams,
Richard Otto,
Pettis Perry,
William Rosenthal,
Rev. Clayton Russell,
Chaim Shapiro,
Vincent Sherman,
Max Silver,
Herb Sorrell,
Al Waxman,
Cone Young.

Joseph W. Aidlin is a member of the Communist front organization for attorneys, the *National Lawyers' Guild*.

John Leech, former Secretary of the *Communist Party* of Los Angeles County, testified before the Grand Jury of Los Angeles County (Grand Jury testimony, 94369-8-1540) that Aidlin was a member of the *Communist Party* and that Leech, as secretary of the party, knew him as a member. Leech testified that Aidlin had worked for Leo Gallagher on *International Labor Defense* cases.

Mrs. Fay Allen was formerly a member of the Los Angeles Board of Education. She followed the *Communist Party* line consistently. She was a member of the *California League for Democratic Action* and a member of various Communist "front" organizations. On August 30, 1941, the *People's Daily World* lists Mrs. Allen as a sponsor for a state-wide conference to be held in San Francisco, September 27, 1941, for the purpose of protesting the "Tenney Committee and the Tenney Bill outlawing the Communist Party."

Charlotta Bass has been mentioned many times in the pages of the committee's report. She is the editor and owner of the Los Angeles Negro newspaper, *The California Eagle*. On August 30, 1941, the *People's Daily World* lists Mrs. Bass as a sponsor for a state-wide conference protesting the "Tenney Committee and the Tenney Bill outlawing the Communist Party." On October 3, 1942, the *People's Daily World* announced that Mrs. Bass would be the principal speaker for a "Win-the-War-Rally" at the Los Angeles Breakfast Club under the auspices of the *International Workers Order*, a *Communist Party* organization. This particular meeting was attended by the Soviet Consul, Clarence Muse, Carey McWilliams and Ellis E. Patterson. On November 2, 1942, Mrs. Bass appeared in a paid political advertisement in the *Los Angeles Times* endorsing La Rue McCormick, Communist candidate for State Senator from Los Angeles County. She recently was appointed to the National executive committee of the *International Labor Defense*.

Gray Bemis is an officer in the *International Workers Order*, a Communist organization. On November 2, 1942, Bemis endorsed La Rue McCormick, Communist candidate for State Senator for Los Angeles County in a paid political advertisement in the *Los Angeles Times*.

Revels Cayton was a registered Communist in San Francisco in 1940. He was one of the many Communists and Communist fellow-travelers who endorsed the San Francisco conference protesting the "Tenney Bill outlawing the Communist Party and the Tenney Committee." He served as secretary for the Bay Region District Council of the *Maritime Federation of the Pacific* in 1941. He was a pallbearer at the funeral of James McNamara, confessed dynamiter. In May of 1941, he was reported as the Vice President of the San Francisco C. I. O. Council.

Parley Parker Christensen is a Los Angeles City Councilman. He was endorsed by the *Communist Party* and the *People's*

Daily World for the Los Angeles City Council from the Ninth District in May of 1939. He voted against the charter amendment barring from city services persons advocating the overthrow of the Government in February of 1941. He supported the Los Angeles City Board of Public Works' action in issuing a permit to the *American Peace Mobilization* (Communist front organization collaborating with Hitler and Stalin during the Stalin-Hitler pact).

In supporting the rally for the Communist publication, the *People's Daily World*, Christensen is quoted as stating:

"We have great need in this community for an independent paper devoted to labor and the underprivileged generally. The *People's Daily World* has met that need splendidly; things that need to be said—truths that the people need to know—are found in the columns of the *People's Daily World*. Hope your conference on August 4 is successful. It deserves the support of every patriotic American. More power to you."

James Daugherty is a National representative for the C. I. O. *Utility Workers Organizing Committee*. He has protested the "Tenney Committee" and the bill outlawing the *Communist Party*. He opposed California's *Subversive Registration Act* of 1941. He ran a paid advertisement in the Labor Day edition of the *People's Daily World*, August 30, 1941. He represented the C. I. O. *Utility Workers* on a committee for the *People's Daily World* Fund Drive. He was a representative for the C. I. O. "Night for *People's Daily World* Fund Drive," September 27, 1941.

Ernest Dawson is a book dealer in the City of Los Angeles. He has continually permitted his name to be used in *Communist Party* programs and "front" organizations. He was a member of the State Sponsoring Committee for the *Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee*, with headquarters at 127 South Broadway, Room 318, Los Angeles, in May of 1940. In 1939, 1940 and 1941 he sent communications to San Francisco's District Attorney, Matthew Brady, in defense of Sam Darcy. He signed a preliminary petition for the *Committee for Citizenship Rights for William Schneiderman* in 1941 and endorsed the *Committee for Citizenship Rights of William Schneiderman* in January of 1942.

Theodore Dreiser is a novelist. He contributed articles to *The Clipper* (formerly *Black and White*), Communist publication, in 1940. He continually lends his name to Communist front organizations and programs. He spoke at the first *Tom Mooney Defense Committee* meeting held under the auspices of the Communist Party in San Francisco. He appeared with Dorothy Parker and Donald Ogden Stewart as a guest of honor at the *State, County and Municipal Workers of America* (S. C. M. W. A.) Defense Committee reception, January 19, 1941, in San Francisco. On January 26, 1941, Dreiser appeared as the signer of a petition protesting "Un-American Actions Against Communists" and the outlawing of the Communist Party. (*New Leader*, January

26, 1941). *People's Daily World* for January 27, 1941, reports Dreiser as the principal speaker at a meeting in San Francisco. At this meeting he is reported as stating that Soviet workers are far better off than American workers. On March 5, 1941, Dreiser signed a petition addressed to the President of the United States and Congress, defending the Communist Party.

On July 7, 1941, Dreiser was listed as the National Vice Chairman of the *American Peace Mobilization*, Communist front organization in support of the Hitler-Stalin Pact. On April 18, 1941, the *People's Daily World* reported that Dreiser denounced the Dies Committee and J. B. Matthews for stating that the *American Peace Mobilization* was a "Communist front group." He signed the call for the *Fourth American Writers' Congress* in an advertisement appearing on the back of *The Clipper* for May, 1941. He was elected an honorary President of the *League of American Writers*, Communist organization. He was a member of the Sponsoring Committee for the *Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee*, August 14, 1941. He eulogized Leo Gallagher, an admitted and registered member of the *Communist Party*, at a testimonial dinner at the Wilshire Bowl, June 4, 1941.

Pearl Fagelson is a member of the County Council of the *International Workers Order*, a Communist organization. She was a member of the *Los Angeles Consumers Council* as of March 27, 1942, a Communist front organization. She sent postal cards to San Francisco's District Attorney, Matthew Brady, defending Sam Darcy, a Communist, in 1939, 1940 and 1941.

Leo Gallagher is an admitted and registered member of the *Communist Party*. His Communist record is long and need not be repeated here.

The Communist record and activities of John Howard Lawson are set forth at considerable length in this report under the title "*Writers' Congress*."

Mrs. La Rue McCormick is an admitted and registered member of the *Communist Party*.

The Communist activities and record of Carey McWilliams are set forth in detail in this report. The *People's Daily World* for July 21, 1943, reports McWilliams as saying:

"In my opinion the *People's Daily World* is doing a very good job. You don't have to go any further back than the recent 'zoot suit' riots to see this. The Hearst papers incited violence and prejudice; the *People's World* urged unity and exposed the fifth column influences behind the rioting.

"*People's World* circulation may be small compared with the *L. A. Examiner* or *The Times*, but its viewpoint and integrity have gained for it widespread respect and consideration.

"I am glad to endorse your August 4 conference in the First Unitarian Church, and you have my best wishes for the success of your financial drive."

Pettis Perry is an admitted and registered member of the *Communist Party* and for many years has been one of the party's functionaries in Los Angeles County.

The Reverend Clayton Russell is a Los Angeles minister. On November 2, 1942, he appeared as an endorser for Mrs. La Rue McCormick, *Communist Party* candidate for State Senator from Los Angeles County, in a paid political advertisement.

Max Silver is a Los Angeles Communist functionary.

Herbert Sorrell is an officer in the *Studio Painters' Union*, A. F. of L. He has persistently followed the *Communist Party* line. He subscribed to the *Communist Party* publication, the *People's Daily World*. Leaflets distributed in July of 1940 listed Sorrell as an officer in the *American Peace Crusade*, Communist organization. He also appeared as an endorser for Mrs. La Rue McCormick, *Communist Party* candidate for State Senator, in a paid political advertisement in the *Los Angeles Times*, November 2, 1942.

Al Waxman is the editor and publisher of the *Eastside Journal*, a "throw-away" newspaper in east side Los Angeles. He also endorsed Communist La Rue McCormick for State Senator in a paid political advertisement. (See section "Zoot-Suit," this report.)

Two or three weeks prior to August 4, 1943, the date set for the *Communist Party* Press Conference, Senator Jack B. Tenney, Chairman of the *Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities*, telephoned the Rev. Ernest Caldecott, Minister of the *First Unitarian Church* of Los Angeles, protesting the meeting of the Communist group in the church. Rev. Caldecott assured Senator Tenney that he would look into the matter. Some time later Senator Tenney talked to George Wyant, Business Manager of the church. Mr. Wyant assured Senator Tenney that he also would make an investigation of the matter.

The meeting was held at the time and place, as advertised.

Ed Robbin and Paul Cline, former Secretary of the *Communist Party* of Los Angeles County, dominated the platform at the meeting. None of the people who had endorsed the "call" attended. There were about 200 present.

Ed Robbin called for recommendations and suggestions for the improvement of the *People's Daily World*. He read many letters and telegrams among which were communications from Theodore Dreiser, Herbert Sorrell and Assemblyman Lester McMillan of the Sixty-first Assembly District, Los Angeles County. The Communist publication, the *People's Daily World*, carried Assemblyman McMillan's letter in its August 5, 1943, issue. The letter, in part, reads as follows:

"Jack Tenney's attack on your pro-war conference is not at all surprising to me. But honestly, I think it will do you more good than harm.

"This Red-baiting stuff is wearing awful thin and if he is really shocked because . . . I have endorsed the conference then he ought to get wise to himself. He is due to get a lot more shocks as progress and liberal unity move ahead.

"Maybe what Tenney is really irked about is that the conference call attacks the Hearst newspapers and supports President Roosevelt. Tenney loves Hearst and hates Roosevelt.

"Yes, I have endorsed this conference because I think *The People's World* is doing a fine job of supporting the war.

"Please accept my best wishes for the success of your conference."

Judy Schmidt was introduced as the chairman of the sponsor drive for the Communist paper. She stated that \$10,000 had already been received and that she was hopeful that the quota of \$60,000 would be made in the allotted time. She stated that a trade union subcommittee was assisting in increasing the sale of the paper and that the *Committee to Spread Communism* was also assisting the drive.

A Negress representing the *Committee to Extend Communism Among Colored People* was appointed to the campaign committee.

Paul Cline, former Secretary of the *Communist Party* of Los Angeles County, was introduced as the principal speaker. A veteran Communist functionary, he now has charge of the San Francisco office of the *People's Daily World*. He opened his address with a lashing attack on William Randolph Hearst and Colonel McCormick, newspaper publishers. He criticized the Los Angeles metropolitan newspapers and eulogized the *People's Daily World*. He declared that the Communist paper was the only "all out to win the war" publication on the West Coast.

The Los Angeles Unitarian Church As a Communist Meeting Place

A PAMPHLET entitled "*Workers' School*" had been circulated on the campus of the *University of California* at Los Angeles during the *Writers' Congress*. This pamphlet advertised courses offered by the school.

The committee learned that certain *Communist Party* classes were being held in the *Unitarian Church* at Eighth and Vermont in the City of Los Angeles and one such class was scheduled to open August 6, 1943. Having learned that protests to the Rev. Ernest Caldecott, Minister of the church, were futile, the following letter was written to John R. Quinn, Tax Assessor for the County of Los Angeles, under date of September 4, 1943:

"MY DEAR MR. QUINN:

"I am desirous of calling your attention to a matter that

has undoubtedly escaped your attention and one in which I am sure you, as well as the taxpayers of the City and County of Los Angeles, will be vitally interested.

"For some time past, the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California, through its investigators, has been concerned with what definitely appears to be a flagrant violation of the taxation laws of California in reference to the First Unitarian Church, located at 2936 West 8th Street in the City of Los Angeles.

"I particularly want to call your attention to Article XIII, Section 1½ of the Constitution of California, which was adopted by the people November 6, 1900, and which reads as follows:

'All buildings, and so much of the real property on which they are situated as may be required for the convenient use and occupation of said buildings, when the same are used *solely and exclusively for religious worship*, shall be free from taxation; provided, that no building so used which may be rented for religious purposes and rent received by the owner therefor, shall be exempt from taxation.'

"I further call your attention to Article 2, Section 256 of the Revenue and Taxation Code of California, which reads as follows:

'The affidavit for church exemption shall show that: (a) The building is used solely for religious worship, (b) The described portion of the real property claimed as exempt is required for the convenient use of the building, (c) It is not rented for religious purposes and rent received by the owner.'

"The Reverend Ernest Caldecott is the pastor of this church. The record reveals that the church or some portion of the premises have been used from time to time for Communist front organization meetings and is presently being used by the Los Angeles Workers School. The current announcement of courses in the above mentioned school for the summer term of 1943, July 19 to September 6, reveals on page 7, that the course on 'Problems of American Democracy' beginning August 6, conducted by John Howard Lawson, Carey McWilliams and Albert Maltz, is being held in the Unitarian Church, located at 2936 West 8th Street. (East of Vermont) and that the tuition for the whole course is \$2 and that single admissions are 50 cents.

"The character of the Los Angeles Workers School is revealed in its pamphlet, 'Announcement of Courses, Summer Term 1943—July 10-Sept. 6, on page 10, under the heading 'Fundamentals of Marxism.' This course is described as follows:

'This course is an authoritative exposition of the fundamental principles of scientific Socialism. It teaches the main theories of Marx, Engels, and as further developed by Lenin, Stalin and by America's foremost Marxists, Earl Browder, William Z. Foster and other American Communists. The course deals with the fundamental teaching of Marxian economics, politics and social development. It will give the student a fundamental grasp of the economics of Capitalism and the

problems of a war economy for victory; the economics of Socialism; the origin and role of the State, Democracy, Fascism; the Marxist teaching of war in general and the present war in particular; tactics of the working class and problems in National Unity; the Communist Party.

(This course is recommended as an introductory course and should be taken by everyone who intends to make a thorough study of Marxism.)

"Pettis Perry, active Communist functionary and former secretary of the Communist Party for Los Angeles County, spoke at this church February 13, 1943, as did the present secretary of the Communist Party for Los Angeles County, Carl Winter.

"On August 4, 1943, the Communist Party publication, the *'People's Daily World,'* held a rally and fund-raising drive at this church. The call was issued by Ed Robbin, who is a registered Communist. Pettis Perry, La Rue McCormack, Paul Cline and many other notorious Communists and fellow-travelers sponsored the call for the *People's Daily World* at the Unitarian Church on this occasion. Our reports on the meeting indicate some 200 in attendance. Although the writer protested to the Reverend of the church, Ernest Caldecott, concerning the meeting, it was held on schedule nevertheless. The purpose of this meeting was definitely commercial, devising ways and means of financing the Communist publication, the *People's Daily World*.

"We have no quarrel with Reverend Ernest Caldecott or the First Unitarian Church, their religious or political beliefs. We are primarily concerned with subversive organizations. We have no quarrel with the Soviet Government, our ally in the present conflict. Our concern is with the seditious, traitorous sabotaging group of American Communists in California who worked incessantly for 22 months during the Hitler-Stalin pact to sabotage our defense and war effort and who are still determined to destroy our form of government, our democracy and our Constitution, once this conflict in Europe is concluded.

"It certainly appears that the use of church premises for the purposes above enumerated violate both the spirit and intent of the constitutional provision, exempting church property, above quoted, and the section of the Revenue and Taxation Code of California above mentioned.

"The books and records of the First Unitarian Church should reveal that this type of thing has been going on for a period of years. Our committee stands ready and willing to cooperate with your office at all times, and we are in a position to furnish you with details and proof of similar meetings held at this church.

"Trusting that you will make an immediate investigation into this matter to the end that the laws of California be enforced on the subject and that subversive and seditious groups be denied sanctuary within the confines of a religious edifice, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

JACK B. TENNEY."

THE C. I. O. POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

KARL MARX realized that the revolution in Europe was postponed when news of the discovery of gold in California came to his attention. He wrote:

"There can be no talk of a real revolution in such a time as this, when general prosperity prevails, when the productive forces of bourgeois society are flourishing as luxuriantly as is possible within the framework of bourgeois conditions. Such a revolution can only take place in periods when these two factors, the modern forces of production and the bourgeois forms of production, are in antagonism each to the other."

Marx turned his attention to political action. Without losing sight of the ultimate objective for the violent destruction of all existing States, he inclined toward the elaboration of political tactics in conformity with established bourgeois methods and trends. The principles of modern Communist strategy were crystallizing in Marx's mind and ultimately found expression in the first *Communist International* (International Workingmen's Association). The franchise demonstration in London against Disraeli convinced Marx that his political technique was workable. Reporting to Engels about the franchise demonstration, Marx said: "It is really amazing compared with anything seen in England since 1844, and wholly the work of the International. * * * This shows how different it is when one works behind the scene and disappears from the public eye, as compared with the democratic manner of assuming important airs in public and doing nothing at all."

The basic principle behind Marxian political technique is subtle collaboration with the class it seeks to destroy. It is the ingratiating dishonesty of the assassin who accepts the hospitality of his victim until he can safely stab him in the back and take all of his possessions. Marx, in an address issued to the *Communist League* in March of 1850, put it this way: "The relationship of the revolutionary labour party in a petty-bourgeois Democracy is as follows: It joins forces with the petty-bourgeois Democracy against the fraction whose overthrow it aims at affecting; but it opposes both the one and the other in matters it wishes to establish on its own account."

Communist Political Party a Failure

THE COMMUNIST PARTY, as a political entity, was created. The establishment of the *Third Communist International* (*Comintern*) gave impetus to the formation of Communist Parties in various countries throughout the world, all affiliated with and dominated by the *Comintern* in Moscow, Russia. Marx declared in *Misere de la Philosophie* that economic production with its attendant social stratification, creates the basis of political history of each epoch. He contends that the whole course of history down to our time has been a history of class struggle. He called for the annihilation of the bourgeois system of society, and, at the same time, called on Communists everywhere to assist in the bourgeois revolution. The principle behind this strategy was not for the purpose of putting political power in the hands of the bourgeoisie but to put new political weapons into the hands of the Communists. As a political party, apparently acting within the law, the Communists would occupy a favorable position in the political field.

Practical experience has proved to Communist strategists that Marx was not altogether correct in his strategy of the Communist political party. Only in Russia, where the *Bolsheviks* ruled with an iron hand, was Communism respectable. Throughout the countries of the world the Communist Party has been held in contempt, its ideology, leaders and adherents discredited. The utilization of "front" organizations, with Communist control and domination carefully concealed, has been far more effective. A small, compact and disciplined group of Communists, working behind the scenes of a "front" organization, are able to direct the thinking and the activity of thousands of people and to ruthlessly discard and liquidate the "innocents" when Communist objectives have been achieved.

Political "Front" Technique

THE COMMUNIST PARTY never attained, under its own banner and in its name, influence or prestige in the United States. Through its "front" organizations, however, it has made considerable progress, particularly during the past decade. Its greatest successes have taken place since Pearl Harbor.

The successful realization of "front" organizational activity was reached by the Communists in its creation of the *C. I. O. Political Action Committee* in July of 1943. Sidney Hillman, head of the *Political Action Committee*, recently announced that the organization would be made permanent.

The legislative committee investigated the activities of the *C. I. O. Political Action Committee* in California from its inception. R. E. Combs, counsel and chief investigator for the com-

mittee, submitted a detailed report on July 8, 1944, which report was read in its entirety into committee records in San Francisco October 27, 1944. The report is as follows:

"The National Executive Board of the *Congress of Industrial Organizations* created the *Political Action Committee* on July seventh, 1943. The board is composed of 49 members. At least 18 of them have records of collaboration with the Communist program in the United States, and this minority actually controls the board. These 18 members are: Louis Alan Berne, President of the *International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians of America*; Donald Henderson, President of the *United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America*; Joseph P. Selly, President of the *American Communications Association*; Julius Emspak, Secretary-Treasurer of the *United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America*; Grant W. Oakes, President of the *United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers of America*; Eleanor Nelson, Secretary-Treasurer of the *United Federal Workers of America*; Joseph F. Jurich, President of the *International Fishermen and Allied Workers of America*; Ben Gold, President of the *International Fur and Leather Workers of America*; Morris Muster, President of the *United Furniture Workers of America*; Harry Renton Bridges, President of the *International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union*; Ferdinand C. Smith, Secretary of the *National Maritime Union of America*; Lewis Merrill, President of the *United Office and Professional Workers of America*; Abraham Flaxer, President of the *State, County and Municipal Workers of America*; Michael J. Quill, President of the *United Transport Workers of America*; Joseph Curran, President of the *National Maritime Union of America*; Reid Robinson, President of the *International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers of America*; E. F. Burke, Secretary of the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Association of the Pacific Coast*, and Frank R. McGrath, President of the *United Shoe Workers of America*.

"For a detailed report concerning the Communist affiliations and activities of each of these 18 individuals see the publication of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities (Dies Committee) concerning its investigation of the *Political Action Committee*, June, 1944.

"Phillip Murray appointed Mr. Sidney Hillman as head of the newly-created committee, with R. J. Thomas, Sherman Dalrymple, Albert J. Fitzgerald and David J. McDonald as his assistants. The United States was then divided into 14 regions, with a director and subordinates in charge of each. California and Arizona comprise Area Thirteen, and the California State Headquarters was located in San Francisco, although the great majority of the State's population and the bulwark of its union strength is in

Los Angeles County. It is of some coincidental interest to note that the Communist Party also divided the Nation into Communist Districts, and that California and Arizona were in District Thirteen, with headquarters located at 121 Haight Street, San Francisco.

"In charge of the affairs of the *Political Action Committee* in California is Mrs. Claudia Williams, alias Claudia Hoffman, alias Claudia Parker. Her Communist record, as shown by the files of the State *Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities* is long and varied, commencing with her affiliation with the *Young Communist League* and extending through years of activity in the *Communist Party*, mostly in Northern California. Sworn statements from a number of witnesses are available to show that Mrs. Williams has been a Communist for at least eight years.

"In each of the 14 regions established by the *Political Action Committee* the work is largely carried on through the C. I. O. County Councils. In Los Angeles County, for example, the county council is composed of the following members: Walter Pollard, Oscar Fuss, Aaron Shapiro, Lyle Proctor, Jeff Kibre, James Thimmes, Jerry Conway, Jerome K. Posner, James T. Patterson, Francis Forsburgh, Court Meyers, Philip M. Connelly, Griselda Kuhlman, George Harvey, William Bluhm and John G. Grady. The records of the Communist collaboration and affiliations of eight of these individuals are available from the files of the State committee.

"Mr. Hillman has stated that his committee intends to collect and spend at least \$2,000,000 in the 1944 State and National election campaigns. The defeat of Congressman Starnes of Alabama and Costello of California, each a prominent and active member of the Dies Committee, and the political retirement of Martin Dies, is an important indication of what Mr. Hillman's committee intends to accomplish.

John L. Lewis and Sidney Hillman

"**M**UCH CONTRADICTIONARY MATERIAL has been written concerning Mr. Hillman's attitude toward Communism. It is known that in 1922 he visited the Soviet Union and conferred with Lenin; that he donated the sum of \$3,000 to the Communist-controlled Jewish newspaper 'Freiheit,' in the name of his wife, Bessie Abramowitz; that he served as a director and trustee of the Garland Fund with William Z. Foster, National Chairman of the *Communist Party*. It is also known that Mr. Hillman professed to be anti-Communist when the party was seeking to penetrate and control his *Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union*.

"The attitude of the party toward Mr. Hillman is strangely reminiscent of its attitude toward John L. Lewis, the forgotten founding father of the C. I. O. From 1935 until 1941 the Com-

munist press was lavish in its praises of Lewis as the saviour of the toiling masses of America. Thus in its monthly magazine, "*The Communist*," March, 1940, p. 201, we find the following statement:

"... In short, the coalition position formulated by President Lewis has in it the elements for transition for the American working class to a higher stage of political activity."

"And as part of the same article on page 203 is found this sarcastic comment regarding Mr. Hillman, because he was then for Roosevelt and the Communists were not:

"... Consider, for example, one of the recent expressions of President Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, publishing a statement on the A.C.W.A. political policy in the February issue of 'Advance,' that is after Roosevelt's Congress message and war budget, President Hillman manages to muster sufficient courage (or is it something else?) to tell the workers that:

"... there is no man in public life in whom we can so fully and safely confide, and for the balance of the journey."
"Confide, mind you. Giving yourself away. Entrusting your fate passively and unconditionally to one of the most militant spokesmen of Wall Street imperialism. And for 'the balance of the journey.'"

"So far as this particular issue of "*The Communist*" was concerned, Lewis was still useful to the party and Hillman was not. This was while the Non-Aggression Pact still existed between Germany and the Soviet Union, and was prior to the invasion of Russia on June 22, 1941. The war, so far as the Communists were concerned, was still an imperialistic affair; Roosevelt was a war-monger; conscription was all wrong; and it was during this same period that the party launched its potent front organization, the *American Peace Mobilization*, together with an epidemic of strikes that swept across the Nation like a scourge. Hence this double-barrelled blast against Messrs. Roosevelt and Hillman.

"In *The Communist* for May, 1940, there was another chance to slip in a plug for Lewis, so his wisdom and oratorical ability were mentioned on page 388 as follows:

"These practical objectives arise from the most intimate and burning needs of the masses of the people. They are the immediate needs of the American working class and its allies—the toiling farmers, the youth, the Negro people and the aged. They are the needs of the great gathering coalition for which John L. Lewis spoke so eloquently to the miners of northern West Virginia on April 1."

"By 1941, however, Mr. Lewis had been squeezed dry of his usefulness to the Communists, so they characteristically began to pepper him with acid adjectives. In the October, 1943, issue of *The Communist*, page 899, this blast was fired:

"The A. F. of L. Council's failure to accept John L. Lewis' application for the re-affiliation of the United Mine Workers, however, was a service to labor, and it came as a blow in the face to that defeatist, Lewis, insolent and autocratic, who hoped to use the A. F. of L. Council as an instrument against the war and to split the workers away from President Roosevelt."

"This was after the invasion of Russia, so the war had now become a 'people's war,' instead of imperialistic; the *American Peace Mobilization* had unobtrusively slipped into the realm of things best forgotten, and Roosevelt was no longer a warmonger.

"In the same magazine for January, 1944, page 64, the Party was still taking pot shots at Mr. Lewis, as follows:

"... Guided by this *consistence* (italics ours) the Communists have been able to exert a positive influence on such vital issues as... the no-strike pledge made by labor and the struggle to defeat and isolate the defeatist and insurrectionist elements led by John L. Lewis inside labor's ranks."

"Mr. Benjamin Stolberg was able to shrewdly predict the liquidation of Mr. Lewis when he stated in his article, '*Communist Wreckers in American Labor*,' which appeared in the September 2, 1939, issue of the '*Saturday Evening Post*,' page 5, that:

"Mr. Lewis is the Samson of American Labor; and the Communist Party is his current Delilah."

"Having gone through the unpleasant experience of being implacably forced out of control of the gigantic labor organization which he created, Lewis spoke with some degree of authority when he stated, in effect, that both Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman were now in the unenviable position of either collaborating with the Communist program or being removed from the scene of American labor without further ado.

"In the case of Mr. Hillman the party used the Lewis technique in reverse. They hated and excoriated him when his sentiments ran counter to the Party line attitude toward Mr. Roosevelt and the war, and when he was resisting their efforts to take over his Clothing Workers union, but when he apparently saw the handwriting on the wall and capitulated, he, too, was hailed as the saviour of the toiling masses of America.

Communist Inspiration and Domination

"FEW PERSONS who are at all informed on the subject are so naive as to believe that the conception of a *Political Action Committee* originated with the C. I. O. They are well aware, on the contrary, that it was originated for the C. I. O. by the *Communist Party of America*. This assertion is, of course, the theme of this report, and fortunately the Communist press heralded the event and prepared the way for it through several years of propagandizing. Bearing in mind that Mr. Hillman's committee was not born until July 7, 1943, its period of gestation must have been relatively short so far as the C. I. O. and Mr. Hillman were concerned, because Mr. Lewis was the darling of the party until 1941, and Mr. Hillman was being called bad names because he was for Roosevelt, "the warmonger," until after the Germans invaded Russia on June 22, 1941.

"But as far back as 1940 the Communists had been busily preparing the ground for just such a committee. They had been quick to see the tremendous advantage in organizing by industries rather than by individual unions, and were not overlooking the unparalleled opportunity to regiment labor for their own purposes through the medium of the C. I. O. When John L. Lewis started the movement he was so successful that he literally ran out of organizers, and turned perforce to those past masters at the art—the Communists. Immediately they entrenched themselves like reinforced concrete in great key unions through which they hoped to control the industrial strength of the Nation. Thus Federal workers, State, county and municipal employees, agricultural workers, the unemployed, draftsmen, engineers, technicians, maritime workers, employees in the vast fields of transportation and communications, and workers in that tremendously important medium for propaganda—the moving picture industry—all were insidiously penetrated by the Communists until they attained virtual control of these powerful union organizations.

"This did not mean that the rank and file members of these unions were at all Communistically inclined, but it did mean that at the top, in control, were groups of party members who pulled the strings, hatched the political strategy, determined strike policies and completely dominated the situation. And so it went with the National organization of the C. I. O. until 18 of the 49 members of the National Executive Board were either party members or fellow travelers by the time the *Political Action Committee* was voted into being on July 7, 1943. Affairs of the board are determined by vote of these members representing the largest union memberships and so a minority group was and is able to dictate the National policies of the C. I. O. Mr. Stolberg described the situation as follows in his *Saturday Evening Post* article, heretofore mentioned:

"The party's chief method of confusion is to divide its followers into two groups: Those who admit to membership in the party and those active fellow travellers who make it a point not to hold membership cards. In the C. I. O. virtually all the Communists are such fellow travelers."

"The moment the C. I. O. began, the Communists placed organizers, speakers, their whole apparatus, both official and "innocent" at Lewis' disposal. Lewis accepted. The C. I. O. needed leadership. And he was certain he could control the Communist stooges. "Who gets the bird," he asked, "the hunter or the dog?"

"Several hundred fellow travellers penetrated the early C. I. O. Acting as a disciplined and unscrupulous minority they were soon in dominant positions in a number of unions. More than 100 of them got into the organization campaign of Little Steel alone.

Many of these were "volunteers," that is, supported by the party or some innocent front. After the failure of the premature strike in Little Steel, a great many of them were weeded out by Phil Murray, head of the steel union. And they were largely kept out of the textile drive by Sidney Hillman, who as head of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers had had his troubles with them. But by the time this sporadic house cleaning had begun, they were pretty well entrenched throughout the C. I. O., and were in complete control of the national headquarters.

Communist Long-Range Objectives

TIN ORDER to fully appreciate the purpose of the *Communist Party* in creating and working through the C. I. O. *Political Action Committee*, it is necessary to know something of the long-range objectives of the party. The whole basic theory of Communism is this: That in every capitalistic country there is an inevitable conflict between two great classes, capital on the one hand, and labor on the other. Communist texts refer to these classes as the 'bourgeoisie' and the 'proletariat,' respectively. Capital controls all of the means whereby material goods are produced; labor produces them. As mechanical devices for industry are perfected and as production is increased, the power of the capitalistic minority will be increased at the expense of the laboring minority until vast economic empires are owned by a few individuals. It is, reason the Communists, inevitable that this conflict and natural antagonism exist, and that with such a concentration of wealth in the hands of a few 'economic royalists' the working classes will be exploited, deprived of their civil liberties and kept in a sort of involuntary bondage. Communists are taught that the working masses in every capitalistic nation will eventually revolt against this form of economic servitude, and that the *Communist Party* in each of those countries—trained, disciplined and organized according to the precepts of Communist ideology, shall lead the toiling masses in their struggle to overthrow the capitalists. There is only one way to eliminate the conflict between capital and labor, maintain the Communists, and that is to liquidate capital. The step by step technique whereby this goal is to be achieved was formulated during the prelude to the Russian revolution and stands as a pattern to be followed by the Communists everywhere.

"It should not be necessary to point out here that Communism is, and always has been, international. That fact can almost be established through current newspaper and magazine articles, but Mr. Jack Moore, while Secretary of the *Communist Party* for Los Angeles County, removed all doubt when he testified before the *State Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities* on July 28, 1941, as follows:

"Q. By Mr. Combs: What disciplinary power does the Executive Committee of the Comintern (*Communist Interna-*

tional) exercise over the component groups in other countries?

"A. They are affiliated directly to the *Comintern*. They have, I believe, the power to send delegates to a National Convention and lay down a position of policy and propose that this be followed.

"Q. As a matter of fact, the Executive Committee of the *Comintern* can immediately, without cause, outlaw an entire party in a country, can it not?

"A. Well—

"Q. For any reason or no reason; and, I might add further, that there is a clause that sets that forth specifically in the *Communist International* and the Constitution to which you just referred.

"A. They possibly have that power. I am not acquainted with the clause you are referring to.

"Q. I will read it to you, Mr. Moore. Reading from Article III, Section 12 of the 1928 Constitution of the *Communist International*:

"The leading body of the Communist International in the period between Congresses is the Executive Committee, which gives instructions to all sections of the Communist International and controls their activity.

"... The Executive Committee of the Communist International has the right to expel from the Communist International, entire Sections, Groups and individual members who violate the program and constitution of the Communist International or the decisions of the World Congress or of the Executive Committee of the Communist International."

"And on pages 102-103 of the transcript of Mr. Moore's testimony, he explains the relationship of the *American Communist Party* to the *Communist International* after 1940:

"At the present time there is no direct relationship, or organizational relationship, because, of the passage of an Act, I think properly called the Voorhies Act, which provided for the prosecution of international labor organizations,—I don't know all the details of this act.

"... On November 16-17, 1940, a Special Convention was called at that time to amend the Party Constitution, which, up to that time, had a clause stating that the Communist Party of the United States was a Section of the Communist International, and at that time all organizational relationship was severed,—at the time of the Convention.

"Last year it was announced that the *Communist International* had voluntarily disbanded. Then the *Communist Party* of the United States changed its name to the *Communist Political Association*. Then the *Young Communist League* changed its name to *American Youth for Democracy*. Few people were deluded by this camouflage job. The spots were changed, but underneath the leopard remained the same.

"According to this testimony by an expert, the *Communist Party* of the United States was completely controlled by the *International* in Russia, at least until 1940. At that time the sole reason for deleting the statement of that fact from the constitution of the American Party was the passage of a Federal act which provided a penalty unless such foreign affiliation either be discontinued or all members of the Party be registered with the United States Department of State. Subsequent events have demonstrated that Mr. Moore selected his words with meticulous care when he testified that after 1940 there was no longer any 'direct' relationship or 'organizational' relationship between the *Comintern* and the American Party, and that this apparent severance of connection was in name only.

"For nearly a quarter of a century the *Communist Party* in this country has consistently followed the exact pattern for revolution laid down by Lenin in achieving the revolution of 1917. That technique is set forth in textbooks and pamphlets which fortunately, are available for reference on this point. In 1939 a commission in the Soviet Union prepared a textbook which was printed in 24 languages. Twelve million copies of the first edition were shipped to every country in the world where a *Communist Party* existed, and within five months after the first batch arrived more than 80,000 copies were sold in the United States. Of this highly important work, Earl Browder said:

"This is no ordinary book to be skimmed through and then laid aside on a bookshelf. It is a scientific textbook to be studied and mastered, not a collection of dogmas to be memorized, not for mechanical quotation of extracts, but to understand the essence of the theory of Marxism-Leninism so that it can be *applied* to the most varied and difficult problems and situations, so that this theory can be enriched with the new experiences of the revolutionary working class movement also of our own country.' (Advertisement in "*The Communist*," September, 1939.)

"This text, studied assiduously by *Communists* everywhere, describes in elaborate detail the strategy employed by Lenin and Stalin in engineering the revolution of 1917. Over and over again it emphasizes that the Party in any capitalist country must commence its revolutionary work by a long process of penetrating and ultimately gaining control of the working masses. Over and over again the *Communist* press in this country has stated that the American Communists constitute the vanguard of the working class, and constantly have the Communists worked since the Party started here in 1919 to regiment and indoctrinate the trade union movement so it would wield a potent influence at the polls—naturally in accord with the Party line. Once this stage of influence was gained, the Communists would be in a position to

replace those sound and able legislators who refused to carry the Party line with individuals who would be more tractable. This textbook, in describing how labor was regimented as a prelude to the 1917 revolution, states:

"The Bolshevik Party during this period set an example in all forms and manifestations of the class struggle of the proletariat. It built up illegal organizations. It issued illegal pamphlets. It carried on secret revolutionary work among the leadership of the various legally existing organizations of the working class. The Party strove to win over the trade unions and gain influence in people's houses, evening universities, clubs and sick benefit societies.

"The Revolutionary movement of the workers steadily developed, spreading to town after town, region after region. In the beginning of 1914, the workers' strikes, far from subsiding, acquired a new momentum, they became more and more stubborn and embraced ever larger numbers of workers.' (*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*).

"This attempt at revolution was interrupted by the first World War, but thereafter, as the book points out, efforts to penetrate and regiment the workers were resumed with telling effect. This, then proved to be the first all-important step along the path of revolution.

"In 1926 Joseph Stalin wrote:

"Confidence of the working class in the Party is not attained at one stroke, and not through the medium of force directed at the working class, but by the Party's prolonged work among the masses, by a correct Party policy, by the ability of the Party to convince the masses through their own experience of the correctness of its policy, and by the ability of the Party to gain the support of the working class to follow its lead.' (*Problems of Leninism*, by Joseph Stalin, pp. 44-51).

"In America Earl Browder followed this basic precept by instructing his Party as follows:

"Trade unions are the primary organizations of the working class. It is in the unions that the workers learn the first lessons of organization and of struggle, without which there can be no development of revolutionary consciousness. Consequently, Communists have always emphasized that one of their central tasks is to work within the trade unions. We can not win the majority of the working class for our program unless we base all of our large-scale, united working front upon united activities within the unions.

"The Trade Unions are schools in which the workers learn the elementary lessons of the class struggle, and through

them they grow into more conscious and more effective fighters against capitalism.' (*What Is Communism?* by Earl Browder, pp. 109-110).

Rehearsals for Revolution

THE EXTENT to which these principles have been carefully followed in the United States can be seen in the technique used in the San Joaquin Valley cotton strike of 1933, and the San Francisco general strike of 1934. Much material is available concerning these two dress rehearsals for revolution, the best of which is a booklet by William F. Dunne, entitled, *The Great San Francisco General Strike*, Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1934, wherein the role played by the Communist Party in that strike is frankly discussed, and which contains a critical resolution by the national committee of the party which reads, in part, as follows:

"The outstanding shortcomings in the whole development of the strike on the West Coast was the inability to develop the strikes of the marine workers in other ports (Atlantic and Gulf) and to coordinate the strikes that did take place (Gulf) with that of the West Coast. This was to a certain extent due to the underestimation of the marine strike on the West Coast by the Party as a whole, and especially the marine districts.

"The comrades responsible for the leadership of the Party in San Francisco expressed their main weakness in a slowness and even hesitancy in taking up the exposure of Ryan and Company, in the weakness in answering the red-baiting campaign of the capitalists and the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, in the insufficient bringing forward of the Party and building it among the strikers. These weaknesses reflect a tendency which believes that the development of unity of action on the part of the workers is possible by weakening the fight against the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, who, in every phase and stage of the strike, were actively engaged in strike-breaking. A further weakness was the inability to coordinate the strike in the various ports on the Pacific Coast, where the two Party districts worked on the whole without adequate contacts."

"Thus it can be seen, out of the mouths of the Communists themselves, how their pattern for gaining control of the trade union movement was formulated in Russia, reiterated by Stalin, written into the Party's social textbook and tested and subjected to critical analysis in the strike described above. That was the pattern which was being followed while the Communists were penetrating the C. I. O. until they were able to eliminate Mr. Lewis from his position of control and dictate the policies themselves. The idea of consolidating the masses into one formidable political body found expression in their press while the Party was still lambasting its current idol, Mr. Hillman, as the foe of labor. *The Communist* for February, 1940, stated on pages 104-108:

"Because it incorporates most of the essential needs and demands of the masses at the present time, the legislative program of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) represents in fact a practical basis on which to build the fighting unity of the working people of the United States.

"... They will gain such an understanding through the experiences of the struggle, deepened and illuminated by the political work of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class—the Communist Party."

"And in the March, 1944, issue of the same publication the following statement appeared on page 218:

"In every city, State and Congressional district in the country all the forces of organized labor and other win-the-war elements should come together and set up joint committees. These should take up the urgent task of politically registering the millions of uprooted war workers and also develop other active political work in support of the war. Preparations must be made for labor to cast a solid win-the-war vote in 1944."

"In many of the Communist-dominated unions this 'encouragement' and 'stimulation' consisted in withholding the union cards from the individual members until they first registered to vote—thereby depriving the members of the right to work as a penalty for failing to do something which should be none of the union's business.

"During the many years that a slow but steady penetration was being made in the ranks of organized labor, the party has always been alert to take immediate advantage of any internal conflict, such as a depression, to recruit additional members into its fold. In 1939 thousands of migratory agricultural workers poured into the State from the dust bowl area, driven from their farms and homes by an economic condition with which they were unable to cope. At that time California was operating a *State Relief Administration*, and these migrants were housed, fed and clothed through this agency. Here was a magnificent opportunity for mass propagandizing, and consequently the Communists herded the applicants for relief into a union for the unemployed—the *Workers Alliance*. The president of this typical front organization was Alexander Noral, a registered Communist. The *State Relief Administration* was literally permeated with Communists who operated through the medium of another union, the *State County and Municipal Workers of America*, of which Abraham Flaxer, a member of the C. I. O. National Executive Board, is president. After a residence of one year the migrants became eligible to vote, and were told by the Communist organizers that they must register to vote for more liberal legislators to obtain higher appropriations for relief to bring more migrants into the State. This vicious circle had reached an alarming peak when the entire situation was fumi-gated by an Assembly Investigating Committee and the subversive condition disclosed. The ranks of both unions were rapidly decimated, which provoked the following angry statement from President Flaxer:

"In California the Yorty Committee succeeded in destroying a union of 3,500 members in the State Relief Administration."

"Under existing conditions there is another, far greater artificial population which has been brought into this State by the need for war workers by the hundreds of thousands. The Douglas Aircraft plants in Los Angeles County alone employ some 80,000

persons. Virtually all of these workers are required to join a union before they are permitted to work. In those unions which are Communist-dominated the same old technique has been used with success—the same technique that was formulated by Lenin, reiterated by Stalin, taught by the *Third International*, hammered home by the Communist press, set forth in the Party's official textbook and subjected to field experiment, with appropriate critical analysis, in the San Francisco general strike, to-wit: Penetration and regimentation of the trade union masses.

"The rank and file membership in the average union is too busy to study the complex ideology of Communism. They are loyal, patriotic citizens and far from Communistically inclined; but they are powerless because their union, both nationally and locally, is Communist-dominated at the top.

Communist Control of Legislatures

"THERE IS A CONSTANT BARRAGE of propaganda leveled at those legislators who presume to vote contrary to the Party line. They are called enemies of organized labor, tools of big business, Wall Street stooges and traitors to their constituents. Any legislative investigating committee which has the temerity to investigate Communist activities is immediately branded as Fascist, Fifth Column, a tool of Hitler and thoroughly unpatriotic. The most shopworn accusation now is to charge that whenever anyone investigates the American variety of Communism, he is being 'anti-Soviet,' and is therefore dividing the people against their war ally, and obstructing the war effort! It is needless to point out that there isn't supposed to be any connection between the Russian and American Communists any more. By the same specious reasoning, if a group of American citizens of English descent sought to overthrow our form of government and to substitute therefor the British governmental system with a royal family, anyone who sought to expose and prevent the plan would be anti-British and a menace to the war effort.

"And so the Communists have carried on for nearly twenty-five years, and during that time they have made tremendous progress. The facts speak for themselves. It is not hysteria, nor witch-hunting, nor red-baiting to simply cite the record for what it shows. And if the *Communist Party* is successful, through the *Political Action Committee*, in replacing sound, courageous legislators with those who will be subservient to the Party line—and we have a few already—then we must be prepared for the sort of legislation the Party has been advocating these many years: Repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism laws, abolition of all committees to investigate subversive activities, abolition of the FBI. etc.

"Steadfastly adhering to the concept that it must first penetrate and regiment labor as the initial step in its revolutionary program; American Communists seized on the structure of the CIO through which to operate in this field. Once they obtained control of the structure of that great organization they promptly unhorsed Mr. Lewis and set up the CIO *Political Action Committee*, which is Communist-dominated from top to bottom. In California the State-wide activities of that Committee are controlled by Communists whose records are known to every official investigating agency in the field.

"Too many members of State and National legislative bodies view statements — although documented — regarding Communist activities as the product of hysteria. It is precisely this sort of indifference and apathy to a profoundly serious condition that makes the progress of the Communists comparatively easy. Only when labor, and industry as well, can be brought to view the situation in its true light; only when resistance to such insidious subversive influence comes from motives that are patriotic rather than financial or political can this problem be dealt with adequately.

"Meanwhile, the C.I.O. *Political Action Committee* constitutes a menacing subversive force in the Nation and in this State."

Destruction of Legislative Investigating Committees

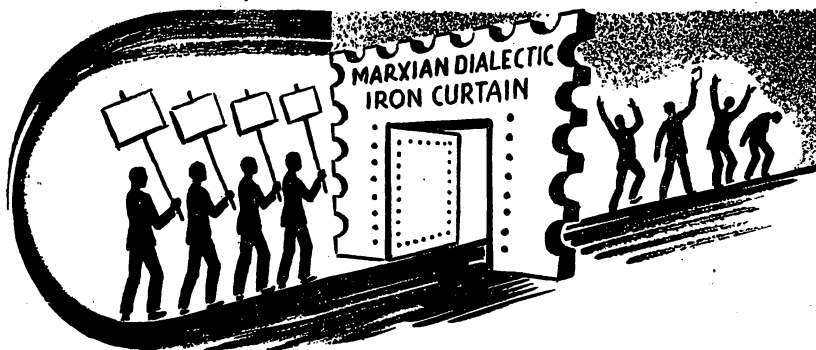
THE COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS throughout California, Communist fellow-travelers and naive "progressive" and "liberal" innocents, have combined, under Communist inspiration and domination, in a campaign of vilification and "smear" against this Legislative Committee. The C. I. O. *Political Action Committee*, with the same inspiration and domination, is determined to destroy all agencies that investigate subversive activities. The defeat of Congressman John Costello of Los Angeles and other members of the Dies Committee is an illustration of their strength and success in this direction. A special legislative supplement to the Communist publication in California, "*The People's Daily World*," has just launched a campaign for the discontinuance of this Legislative Committee. On page 5 of the supplement under the heading printed in red, "*The Tenney Committee Should be Blacked Out*," is the following:

"Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 2 would extend the life of the Tenney Committee, and appropriate \$10,000.00 for its expenses. This Committee which has functioned like the discredited 'Dies Committee' on un-American activities in the House of Representatives, has failed to indict activity of a Fascist-inspired character, and has instead devoted its time

and the taxpayer's money to red-baiting and smear campaigns against progressive and pro-labor individuals and groups.

"It should be sent to well merited oblivion by the defeat of this Resolution, which has been referred to the Senate Committee on Rules."

Every Communist front organization will be utilized to pressure the California Legislature during the 1945 Regular Session for the discontinuance of the committee investigating subversive activities.



CHAPTER XV

Communist Front Organizations

AIMS • SCOPE • EXAMPLES

IN VOLUME 17 of the published records of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives, 78th Congress, pp. 10,331 to 10,349, appears the following:

MR. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, you have before you a tabulation of various Communist-front organizations and the names of members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee who have been affiliated with these various fronts. Inasmuch as the list of Communist-front organizations is a very extended one it has been divided into categories, 11 in number.

We have a group of fronts dealing with racial, refugee, and alien questions, marked "Category No. 1"; a list of fronts for defense, support, or honoring of avowed Communists, marked "Category No. 2"; a list of fronts for farmers, consumers, unemployed, and social and economic legislation, marked "Category No. 3"; a list of fronts for legal, defense, and civil rights, marked "Category No. 4"; a list of fronts for professional groups, marked "Category No. 5"; a list of fronts on the Spanish Civil War, marked "Category No. 6"; a list of fronts for support or praise of the Soviet Union, marked "Category No. 7"; a list of fronts on war, peace, and foreign relations, marked "Category No. 8"; a list of fronts for youth and education, marked "Category No. 9"; a list of Communist magazines, books, and other literature, marked "Category No. 10"; and a list of fronts in miscellaneous fields, marked "Category No. 11."

All together there are 245 Communist-front or Communist-controlled organizations named in these 11 categories.

Pages 9 and 10 of the tabulation which you have before you are a chart showing how many different Communist fronts or Communist organizations the members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee have been affiliated with. For example, Louis A. Adamic, the first name on the list, has been affiliated with 3 separate organizations in category 1, 1 organization in category 2, 5 organizations in category 4, 4 organizations in category 5, 3 in category 6, 2 in category 7, 3 in category 8, 1 in category 9, 2 in category 10, and 1 in category 11, making a total of 25 Communist-front organizations with which Louis Adamic has been affiliated.

On this chart you will find that 26 of the members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee have been affiliated with 10 or more Communist-front organizations; 46 of them have been affiliated with 5 or more Communist-front organizations, and 89 of them have been affiliated with 2 or more Communist-front organizations, leaving, out of a total of 119 who are listed on this chart, 30 whose affiliations have been with only 1 Communist-front organization.

In that connection I should like to say that it is often the case that a man's allegiance to Communism is not properly judged by the number of fronts with which he has been connected. A half-way Communist or a 75-percent Communist may be affiliated with 25 Communist-front organizations, whereas an out-and-out Communist may be affiliated with only 1 or 2 or 3 Communist-front organizations. In other words, it is often the case that the more useful a man is as a Communist, the less often his name is put forward in a front organization or in front organizations. So that the matter is not to be judged entirely on a statistical basis, but rather on the nature of his affiliations, and particularly on the nature of the organization with which he is affiliated. We pointed out day before yesterday that 11 of the members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee were affiliated with the American Peace Mobilization, which was such an out-and-out Communist organization, working in a period when the Communist line was so easily discernible that there could be little doubt that the 11 persons affiliated with it on this list knew they were working for a Communist organization. They were not innocents; duped by some pretentious objective announced by the organization.

The last column, which is marked "Total" on this chart adds up to 842 separate organizations with which the 119 individuals have been affiliated. That is an average affiliation of a little more than 7 for each of the 119 individuals.

Now, you will find that 5 of the persons on this chart have what might be called a perfect score. They have been affiliated with Communist organizations in every category. The categories

were not selected with a view to putting 5 or 10 or any other number on such a basis, but it works out that Joseph Curran has a total of 47 affiliations with Communist organizations, covering every category, no matter how you shuffle them.

Langston Hughes, likewise, has a perfect score with 49 affiliations.

Dorothy Kenyon, a municipal judge in New York City, also has a perfect score with 20 affiliations, including every category on the chart.

Max Lerner, one of the editors of the newspaper PM, and also a radio broadcaster for Sante Creme Cheese, has a total of 26 affiliations, covering every category listed here.

Paul Robeson is the fifth of the group, who has affiliations in every category, having a total of 34 organizations with which he has been connected.

Now, Mr. Chairman, it is obviously impossible to read in detail for this record the memoranda on 119 individuals, but I should like to select a few of them to give some idea of the type of individuals gathered around Mr. Hillman in his National Citizens Political Action Committee.

One of the members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee is Hiram Motherwell. Hiram Motherwell, you will notice on the chart, has a total of three affiliations with Communist front organizations. Motherwell also was the translator of Benito Mussolini's novel the Cardinal's Mistress. I have here a copy of the book, The Cardinal's Mistress By Benito Mussolini, translated by Hiram Motherwell, which has a 14-page introduction signed by Motherwell himself. To sum up what Motherwell has to say about Mussolini—and the introduction, of course, will speak for itself—one may say that Motherwell was ecstatic about Mussolini. The terms of praise for Mussolini could hardly be more exaggerated than these written by Motherwell as an introduction to this novel which he translated. I will give you a few samples. This is quoting from Motherwell about Mussolini.

With all his own mental superiority he knows how to stand for the public and the people. This intuitive communion with the feelings of the mob enables him now in his capacity as statesman and head of the government to keep his finger upon the pulse of the nation.

Again, to quote from Motherwell concerning Mussolini:

It is a revelation of personality. This terrific piling up of magnificent words, this prodigal multiplication of metaphors within a single sentence, this passionate hunting out of detail and ever more detail in describing the aspects of a mountainside or the emotions of a guilty lover, are perhaps minor manifestations of that gargantuan vitality which has finally imposed itself upon all Europe.

Again Motherwell writes the following of Mussolini:

He is a very recreator of Italian prose. The short sentences of his recent style, the blunt words, the shock derived from the rapid succession

of hammer-like blows and curiously modern, rhythmic sweep like the long throb of a huge turbine—all those so different from the patterned melody of conventional oratorical and expository Italian prose, have brought a much needed precision and strength to a language which had unjustly been considered all drowsiness and song.

Motherwell wrote this introduction in 1928. About the same time Motherwell was affiliated with such out-and-out and well-known Communist organizations as the New Theatre League, which was the name taken by an organization originally called the League of Workers' Theaters, the American branch of which was completely under the control of Communists, and whose international headquarters were in Moscow, known as the International Union of Revolutionary Theaters.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to make an observation here off the record.

(After discussion off the record.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. I do not profess to be an expert on book reviews, but the title of the book reflects the general content of the novel, namely, a rather bold attack upon the Catholic clergy.

I started to say that to some it may seem inconsistent that a man can play both sides of the totalitarian street. That is not as extraordinary as some might think. The totalitarian mind very often shifts easily from red totalitarianism to brown totalitarianism and back again. We have a number of instances in which that has been true.

Motherwell is a member of Hillman's National Citizens Political Action Committee.

Another name on the National Citizens Political Action Committee is that of John D. Butkovich. Butkovich is also known as Ivan Butkovich, the Russian equivalent of the English name "John." Butkovich has quite a Communist record, and at the same time a record of support for Nazis. Butkovich was charged with having aided, financially and otherwise by propaganda the pro-Nazi Quisling in Yugoslavia, Ante Pavelich. Butkovich sued the men who made the charges against him, in a Pittsburgh court, and lost his suit. The jury was satisfied that the allegations were substantially correct, and ordered Butkovich himself to pay the cost of the suit. That is a lengthy record, and I ask permission to include it along with the various memoranda on these 119 persons.

Mr. COSTELLO. Without objection, that will be done.

(The document referred to is on file with the committee.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Pavelich's pro-Nazi organ published in the United States, prior to the entry of the United States into the war, was published by Butkovich who at the same time—and if you will remember, that was the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact—at the same time was affiliated with such Communist organizations as the American League for Peace and Democracy, and various others.

In this connection we have a front organization known as the American Slav Congress, with which 11 members of Mr. Hillman's National Citizens Political Action Committee are affiliated. The American Slav Congress is a contemporary Communist front which held its most recent annual convention in Pittsburgh on September 23, 1944.

Leo Krzychi is the president of the American Slav Congress. Other members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee who are affiliated with the American Slav Congress include J. J. Zmrhal, Stephen Zeman, Jr., Zlatko Balokovic, John D. Butkovich, and Peter Ratica.

Another matter about the American Slav Congress is that its executive secretary, George Pirinsky, has for many years been openly a Communist. That is a situation which is often true of Communist fronts. The president himself may not be an avowed Communist; the executive secretary often is. Being a little closer to the operations of the front, the party trusts the running of the front to one of its own members. Pirinsky is executive secretary.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Under what category do you have the American Slav Congress?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Under the first category, fronts dealing with racial, refugee, and alien questions. I think you will find it there on the first page, about the sixth or seventh organization.

Now, a man behind the scenes, who has a good deal to say about the running of the American Slav Congress, is one Tony Minerich or Anthony Minerich. The name is variously spelled M-i-n-e-r-i-c-h, M-a-i-n-a-r-i-c-h, and one or two other variations of the name. Tony Minerich was the national executive secretary of the Young Communist League. He is one of the oldest Communists in America. He was a delegate to the tenth national convention of the Communist Party. He has been an avowed Communist for approximately 20 years. At the Biltmore Hotel in August of this year the leaders of the American Slav Congress were called together by Tony Minerich. They were addressed by Sidney Hillman. At the conclusion of Mr. Hillman's address Tony Minerich personally took the floor and made a motion that the American Slav Congress and the leaders of these various Slav front organizations affiliate with the National Citizens Political Action Committee. Minerich's motion was passed unanimously. It is hardly thinkable that so prominent a Communist as Tony Minerich, who was running the meeting at which Hillman spoke, could have escaped Hillman's notice as an avowed Communist.

Mr. COSTELLO. That was in New York?

Mr. MATTHEWS. In New York, at the Hotel Biltmore, in August of this year. Minerich ran the meeting, made the motion, and the group unanimously voted to affiliate with the National Citizens Political Action Committee, which apparently accounts

for the fact that 11 of the 141 members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee are from this Slav group.

The committee has in its possession copies of cablegrams from Moscow to various individuals and publications in the United States, which indicate that the American Slav Congress and its affiliated bodies are in some kind of a working relationship with a parent body in Moscow, also known as a "Slav Congress"—the "Allslav Congress of Moscow."

To give you some idea of the familiar Communist line, I cite the call for the second American Slav Congress, held in Pittsburgh, September 23-24, 1944, in which you have the following:

The coming American elections are part of the struggle against Hitler and Tojo. Our domestic battle against fascism must be won at the polls next November. The nomination and election of the President in November has become the paramount necessity for the American people and the rest of the world.

Those familiar with the Communist Party line will see at once that the charge that all those who vote against the President are in some way linked with Hitler and Tojo is the familiar Communist line, and that, of course, is the plain statement of this call on which the names of 11 members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee appear. In other words, the program of the Communists, as expressed in most of the front organizations at the present time, is a program of hate and division, as was brought out yesterday by the testimony of David Loth, a deliberate effort to set Americans against Americans by charging that something approximating one-half of the population is in league with Hitler and Tojo, and represents a fascist movement in the United States which must be defeated at the polls.

Among the various Communist front organizations and publications which are at present not dormant but actively associated with the Political Action Committee, I cite the following: The American Labor Party, captured by the Communists under the leadership of Hillman during the past spring, and pretty generally recognized as having been captured by the Communists under Hillman's leadership; The American Slav Congress, the American Youth for Democracy. Just as the Communist Party dissolved and went underground and reappeared as the Communist Political Association, so the Young Communist League last October formally dissolved itself, went underground and re-appeared with the name "American Youth For Democracy." A number of the members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee are sponsors of the American Youth For Democracy at the present time.

The Communist, which is the official organ of the Communist Political Association, formerly of the Communist Party, the Communist Political Association itself, the Daily Worker, Fraternal Outlook, Hollywood Democratic Committee—which, as has been pointed out in these hearings, is not in any way affiliated with the

Democratic Party, but is a group largely run by and for Communists in California—the paper *In Fact*, published and edited by George Seldes, the Independent Voters' Committee of the Arts and Sciences, International Workers' Order, the Negro Labor Victory Council, the New Masses, the *People's World* (the Communist Party newspaper on the west coast), Southern Council for Human Welfare, the magazine *Spotlight* of the American Youth for Democracy, and the Union for Democratic Action—all of these publications and organizations are now in existence and all are working closely with the National Citizens Political Action Committee.

In other words, you have, Mr. Chairman, not only an interlocking personnel, but also a group of interlocking organizations associated with the National Citizens Political Action Committee, and tending to confirm the conclusion that the National Citizens Political Action Committee is in itself a Communist front organization, or the Major Communist front organization at the present time.

I will take up the record of Langston Hughes. Langston Hughes is a member of the National Citizens Political Action Committee and an avowed Communist. He has been a leading member of the Communist Party in this country for approximately 20 years. His name is so well known that there can be no doubt whatever that Mr. Hillman is acquainted with him, if not personally, certainly by reputation, and must know him as an avowed Communist. Hughes is a well-known poet. A fair sample of his poetry may be found in a verse entitled "The Worker's Song," which reads as follows:

Put one more S in the U. S. A.
To make it Soviet.
The U. S. A. when we take control
Will be the U. S. S. A. then.

Another of Langston Hughes' poems reads as follows:

Good morning, Revolution,
You are the very best friend I ever had.
We are going to pal around together from now on.

That is printed in four lines to make it look like a poem, even though it may not read like a poem.

Finally, here is another sample of Langston Hughes' so-called poetry, which gives some idea of the character of some of the men and women around Hillman:

Good bye, Christ Jesus,
Lord, God, Jehova
Beat it on the way from here
Make way for a new guy with no religion at all,
A real guy named "Marx, Communist Lenin,
Peasant Stalin, Worker Me"
I said "Me." Go on ahead now. You are getting
In the way of things, Lord,
And step on the gas, Christ.

Move, and don't be so slow about moving.
The world is mine from now on.

Mr. THOMAS. When did Mr. Hughes write that stuff?

Mr. MATTHEWS. These samples come from his poetry during the past 15 or 16 years. He has written a number of volumes of poetry beginning, I think the first was published in 1928. Most of—in fact, all of these have appeared in Communist publications, such as the *Daily Worker* and *New Masses*.

Mr. THOMAS. Are you going to tell the committee what he has been doing in the last few years?

Mr. MATTHEWS. His occupation, so far as I know, is that of a writer. He has written novels as well as poetry, and again, as I say, he makes his living as a writer. He is still an avowed Communist, a member of the Communist Party of public record as late as the beginning of the present year, and presumably was transferred to the Communist Political Association with all the other members of the Communist Party when the party went underground.

There follows a tabulation of Langston Hughes' affiliation with 49 Communist and Communist front organizations and publications.

Mr. THOMAS. What is your opinion as to why Mr. Hillman has selected a man like this for director of this N. C. P. A. C.?

Mr. MATTHEWS. To deal directly in the realm of opinion, I would presume that Mr. Hillman didn't draw up the list himself personally, and that the list of the members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee was probably submitted to him by some commissar or other of the Communist Party. There are a number of people on the National Citizens Political Action Committee in a position to do that. Joseph Curran might very well do it—and this is all in the realm of conjecture, but it is a problem which has to be confronted—Curran certainly is trusted enough by the party to present a list acceptable to the party to Mr. Hillman, and have it accepted. Certainly that was done in the case of the capture of the American Labor Party in New York. There were direct negotiations between the party and Mr. Hillman. The party presented its slate and it was accepted by Mr. Hillman. That is a matter of public record. It would appear that the same was done in the case of the personnel of the National Citizens Political Action Committee.

Paul Robeson, the noted singer, is also a member of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, and while not a publicly avowed card-holding member of the party, is on record as being a Communist quite as fully as Langston Hughes. In the magazine *Soviet Russia Today* Paul Robeson, in 1936, wrote that he had traveled almost around the globe and had lived in England, the United States, and Soviet Russia, and that for the future, so far as he, his wife, and his son were concerned, their homeland

was the Soviet Union. In the same article he stated categorically that Communism was the only way. There is a vast deal of evidence to show that Paul Robeson has gone publicly on record as being a Communist in the sense that he favors Communism, even though he may not have in his possession a party membership card.

Roscoe Dunjee, editor of a newspaper in Oklahoma City, is a member of Mr. Hillman's National Citizens Political Action Committee. In March of this year Dunjee contributed an article to the New Masses, Communist weekly, in which he said, among other things:

I have had considerable knowledge of the work of the Communist Party in the State of Oklahoma, and I know of no program or effort on the part of the Oklahoma leaders of that organization that in the remotest way indicates a spirit of violence and lawlessness.

That statement, of course, is in sharp contrast with the Attorney General's statement which I read on Tuesday, to the effect that:

The Communist Party of the U. S. A., from the time of its inception in 1919 to the present time, is an organization that believes in, advises, advocates, and teaches the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States.

Quoting from the same articles in New Masses, by Roscoe Dunjee, we have the following:

As president of the State conference of branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, I have every year for the past 10 invited the Communists to address our meeting. Allen Shaw, secretary of the Communist Party of Oklahoma, addressed our State conference at Tulsa last November.

Finally Dunjee made his position even more clear when he wrote in the New Masses:

Personally I endorse the idea of an international state as espoused by the Communist Party.

Perhaps it should be noted at this point that the idea of the international state as espoused by Communism is a world union of Socialist soviet republics, and since Dunjee claims to have considerable familiarity with the Communist Party, he undoubtedly knows that that is its idea of an international state.

Mr. Louis Adamic is a member of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, with a long Communist record, showing affiliation with 25 front organizations. Some years ago the secretariat of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers, with headquarters in Moscow, wrote Adamic for an expression of his views on Russia and the United States. Adamic's reply was republished in the Daily Worker of September 22, 1934, page 7. With respect to the Soviet Union Adamic wrote:

The ideas, principles, and methods which are the basis of the Soviet Union doubtless are the highest promise and hope that humanity has today.

On the subject of the United States Adamic had the following to say to the International Union of Revolutionary Writers:

And, of course, there is the New Deal in the United States, with its imperialism, that will bring on a new world war, which I expect will end in a world revolution, in the sovietization of all the countries.

That was September 22, 1934. It was published in the Daily Worker on page 7.

To come down to something much more recent, in Adamic's pro-Communist record we have him writing in his book, *The Natives Return*, the following:

Now I see why the Russian revolution was necessary from the standpoint not only of backward, peasant Russia but of the world at large.

And again in one of his books he wrote:

The story that I present here is, as I see it, a criticism of our American capitalist-democratic civilization. The most severe criticism, it seems to me, that anyone could write. America is at the crossroads, right or left. Eventually it will be left, for in its very nature, which I cannot discuss here, it is a left or revolutionary country.

You may recall, Mr. Chairman, that last year the armed forces of the country had a plan to distribute many thousands of copies of one of Mr. Adamic's books, and I think when it was discovered that it had revolutionary and pro-Communist statements in it, it was withdrawn from circulation to the armed forces.

I will take up one more of the members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, Lillian Smith. You will find on the chart that Lillian Smith has been affiliated with only three Communist-front organizations, but one of these three was the American Peace Mobilization, at the founding of which she was present in Chicago, and at which time she affiliated herself not only with the American Peace Mobilization but also with the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder in the interest of national unity. Lillian Smith is the author of a recent novel called *Strange Fruit*, which, as is generally known, I think, is a piece of sexual filth dealing almost entirely in miscegenation. Lillian Smith's headquarters are in Georgia, where she is editor of a pro-Communist magazine known as *The South Today*.

Now, Mr. Chairman, it would be possible to give similar accounts of, let us say, half of the members of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, showing how they voluntarily and deliberately are on record as pro-Communists, not simply affiliated with Communist-front organizations as innocents, but having made a public record over these past 10 or 20 years—as long as 20 years in some cases—indicating distinctly that these persons constitute one of the most important groups in the entire Communist movement in the United States during the past 20 years. Take the 119 as a whole, the evidence will show that it is fair to characterize the group as the nucleus of the Communist-front movement in this country during the past decade, and it is for that reason that it seems fair to characterize the National Citizens Political Action Committee as a Communist-front organization, having the ambitious objective of worming the way of the Communists into the Democratic Party.

If you would like details on the records of these individuals, I have here the files showing exactly the kind of affiliation which the individual had with the particular Communist-front organization. In addition to this record, we have memoranda on the 245 organizations with which they have been affiliated, showing why the organization is characterized as a Communist-front organization.

Mr. COSTELLO. Have you prepared a list showing the names of the various Communist-front organizations, and with it the affiliation of each member?

Mr. MATTHEWS Yes.

Mr. COSTELLO. Will it be possible to put that in the records, showing the 842 affiliations?

Mr. Matthews. That is correct. In fact, it will show some 2,500 affiliations, because in many cases an individual has had more than one affiliation with the same organization, so the record will be complete. For example, it will show that Paul Robeson was not only a national officer of the American Peace Mobilization but was also an outstanding speaker for it on some occasions.

Mr. COSTELLO. You have that complete record have you?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. COSTELLO. You can make it a part of the record?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

(The document referred to follows:)

I. FRONTS DEALING WITH RACIAL, REFUGEE, AND ALIEN QUESTIONS

NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT

All-Harlem Youth Conference
American Committee for Anti-Nazi
German Seamen
American Committee for Protection of
Foreign Born
American Committee to Save Refugees
American Croatian Congress
American Slav Congress
Chicago Conference on Race Relations
Crispus Attucks Community Council
First Congress of the Mexican and
Spanish Peoples of the United States
International Committee on African
Affairs
Jewish Peoples Committee
Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee
Marian Anderson Citizens Committee

National Committee to Aid the Victims
of German Fascism
National Negro Congress
National Negro Women's Council
National Scottsboro Committee of
Action
Negro Cultural Committee
Negro Labor Victory Committee
Negro Playwrights Company
Non-Sectarian Committee for Political
Refugees
Slovene National Congress
South Side Committee for Racial Unity
Southern Negro Youth Congress
United Aid for Peoples of African
Descent
United Committee of South Slavic
Americans

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS
AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS

Adamic, Louis, 3	McConnell, Francis J., 2
Balokovic, Zlatko, 5	McWilliams, Carey, 1
Benet, William Rose, 1	Murray, Phillip, 2
Benson, Elmer, 3	Neilson, William A., 3
Bethune, Mary McLeod, 4	Niebuhr, Reinhold, 2
Boas, Ernest P., 1	Platek, V. X., 1
Bowie, W. Russell, 1	Popper, Martin, 1
Bunzick, Zakro, 1	Quilici, George L., 1
Butkovich, John D., 1	Ratica, Peter, 1
Carey, James B., 1	Robeson, Paul, 4
Corrothers, Sylvester L., 2	Robinson, Edward G., 1
Curran, Joseph, 6	Robinson, Reid, 2
Embree, Edwin R., 1	Schuman, Frederick L., 1
Frazier, E. Franklin, 2	Smith, S. Stephenson, 1
Green, John, 2	Soule, George, 2
Gutknecht, John, 3	Steele, Julian D., 1
Hecht, Ben, 1	Thomas, R. J., 1
Hillman, Sidney, 2	Tobias, Channing H., 4
Hughes, Langston, 5	Van Kleeck, Mary, 2
Kenyon, Dorothy, 1	Walsh, J. Raymond, 1
Krsycki, Leo, 1	Weaver, Robert C., 2
Lange, Oscar, 1	Welles, Orson, 3
Lapp, John A., 1	Wise, James Waterman, 3
Lerner, Max, 2	Zeman, Stephen, Jr., 1
Lewis, Alfred Baker, 1	

II. FRONTS FOR DEFENSE, SUPPORT, OR HONORING OF
AVOWED COMMUNISTS

NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT

Appeal for Lawrence Simpson	Mother Bloor Banquet
Appeal for Pardon of German Communist	New Masses Letter to the President
Ben Leider Memorial Fund	Open Letter Protesting Ban on Communists in the American Civil Liberties Union
Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder	Prestes Defense
Citizens' Nonpartisan Committee to Elect Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., to the City Council	Protest Against Ban on Browder
Committee of Professional Groups for Browder and Ford	Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee
Communist Party	Schappes Defense Committee
Communist Party, Statement Defending	Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee
Gerson Supporters	Statement by Negro Leaders Protesting Attacks Against Communist Candidates
Joint Committee for Trade Union Rights	Statement Urging Ballot Rights for Communists
Julius Rosenthal Memorial Committee	Washington Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder
League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford	

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS
AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS

Adamic, Louis, 1	Lapp, John A., 1
Balokovic, Zlatko, 2	Lerner, Max, 4
Benet, William Rose, 2	Lewis, William Draper, 1
Bittner, Van A., 1	McConnell, Francis J., 3
Bliven, Bruce, 4	McWilliams, Carey, 3
Carey, James B., 1	Niebuhr, Reinhold, 1
Coolidge, Albert Sprague, 1	Robeson, Paul, 6
Curran, Joseph, 4	Robinson, Reid, 2
Dombrowski, James, 1	Schuman, Frederick L., 1
Epstein, Henry, 3	Soule, George, 3
Frazier, E. Franklin, 1	Thomas, R. J., 1
Haywood, Allan S., 2	Tobias, Channing H., 1
Hughes, Langston, 4	Whitney, A. F., 1
Kenyon, Dorothy, 1	Wilson, Mrs. Luke I., 1
Kirchwey, Freda, 2	Wise, James Waterman, 3
Krzycki, Leo, 1	

III. FRONTS FOR FARMERS, CONSUMERS, UNEMPLOYED, AND
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LEGISLATION

NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT

American Investors Union	National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance
Consumers National Federation	National Council to Aid Agricultural Labor
Consumers Union	National Farmers Union
Daughters of the American Depression	National Right-To-Work Congress
Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America	New York State Conference on National Unity
International Workers Order	Southern Conference for Human Welfare
Interprofessional Association for Social Insurance	Trade Union Committee on Industrial Espionage
Joint Committee of Trade Unions in Social Work	Trade Union Committee on Unemployment
League of Women Shoppers	Wisconsin State Conference on Social Legislation
Methodist Federation for Social Service	Workers Alliance of America
Milk Consumers Protective Committee	
National Joint Action Committee for Genuine Social Insurance	

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS
AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS

Alexander, Will W., 1	Bauer, Catherine, 1
Anderson, Mary, 1	Benson, Elmer, 1
Anderson, Mrs. Sherwood, 1	Bethune, Mary McLeod, 2

Individuals connected with one or more of these fronts (continued)

Bittner, Van A., 1	Mason, Lucy Randolph, 1
Bliven, Bruce, 1	McConnell, Francis J., 3
Carey, James B., 1	McCulloch, Frank, 1
Clyde, Ethel, 2	McGill, James H., 1
Curran, Joseph, 2	McWilliams, Carey, 3
Dalrymple, Sherman H., 1	Murray, Philip, 1
Dombrowski, James A., 1	Niebuhr, Reinhold, 1
Dunjee, Roscoe, 1	Patton, James G., 1
Durr, Mrs. Clifford, 1	Perry, Jennings, 1
Epstein, Henry, 1	Pinchot, Mrs. Gifford, 1
Foreman, Clark, 1	Reid, Ira, 1
Hastie, William, 1	Rieve, Emil, 1
Haywood, Allan S., 3	Robeson, Paul, 1
Hollander, Sidney, 1	Smith, Lillian, 1
Hughes, Langston, 1	Smith, S. Stephenson, 1
Kenyon, Dorothy, 3	Soule, George, 1
Kirchwey, Freda, 2	Tobias, Channing H., 1
Lapp, John A., 1	Van Kleeck, Mary, 4
Lerner, Max, 2	Williams, Aubrey, 2

IV. FRONTS FOR LEGAL DEFENSE AND CIVIL RIGHTS

NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT

Abolish Peonage Committee	Mooney-Billings Mass Meeting
All-California Conference for the Defense of Civil Liberties and Aid to Labor's Prisoners	Murray Defense Committee
American Committee of Liberals for the Freedom of Mooney and Billings	National Citizens Committee for the Protection of Civil Rights in the Automobile Industry
Bridges Defense Committees	National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners
Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges	National Committee for Peoples' Rights
Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges	National Conference on Civil Liberties
Civil Rights Federation	National Emergency Conference
Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America	National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights
Emergency Defense Conference to Defend Democracy at Home	National Federation for Constitutional Liberties
Galena Defense Committee	National Scottsboro Committee of Action
Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights	New York Tom Mooney Committee
Harry Bridges Defense Committee	Open Letter on Harry Bridges
Harry Bridges Victory Committee	Petition to Grant Pardons to McNamara and Schmidt
International Labor Defense	Scottsboro Defense Committee
Marian Anderson Citizens Committee	
Maryland Association for Democratic Rights	

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS

AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS

Adamic, Louis, 5	Kenyon, Dorothy, 4
Anderson, Mary, 1	Kirchwey, Freda, 3
Bauer, Catherine, 1	Lapp, John A., 2
Benet, William Rose, 3	LeCron, James, 1
Benson, Elmer, 4	Lerner, Max, 3
Bethune, Mary McLeod, 4	Lewis, John Frederick, 1
Bliven, Bruce, 1	McConnell, Francis J., 2
Boas, Ernest P., 1	McGill, James H., 1
Bowie, W. Russell, 2	McWilliams, Carey, 4
Carey, James B., 4	Murray, Philip, 1
Clyde, Ethel, 1	Neilson, William A., 2
Connelly, Marc, 2	Niebuhr, Reinhold, 1
Coolidge, Albert Sprague, 2	Osowski, W. T., 1
Curran, Joseph, 7	Pinchot, Gifford, 1
Dalrymple, Sherman H., 1	Pinchot, Mrs. Gifford, 1
Dombrowski, James, 2	Reid, Ira, 1
DuPont, Zara, 3	Robeson, Paul, 2
Durr, Mrs. Clifford, 2	Robinson, Reid, 3
Embree, Edwin R., 1	Schlesinger, Arthur M., 2
Epstein, Henry, 1	Soule, George, 2
Foreman, Clark, 1	Thomas, R. J., 1
Frazier, E. Franklin, 2	Tobias, Channing H., 3
Gimbel, Elinor, 1	Townsend, Willard, 1
Green, John, 1	Van Kleeck, Mary, 2
Hastie, William, 3	Walsh, J. Raymond, 3
Haywood, Allan S., 2	Welles, Orson, 1
Hillman, Sidney, 3	Whitney, A. F., 3
Hollander, Sidney, 1	Williams, Aubrey, 1
Hughes, Langston, 4	Wise, James Waterman, 2

V. FRONTS FOR PROFESSIONAL GROUPS

NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT

American Writers Congress	National Committee Against Censorship of the Theatre Arts
Artef	National Lawyers Guild
Artists' Front to Win the War	New Dance League
Congress of American Revolutionary Writers	New Theatre League
Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians	Public Use of Arts Committee
Film Audiences for Democracy	Theatre Arts Committee
Films for Democracy	Theatre Workshop
Frontier Films	Third American Writers Congress
International Juridical Association	United American Artists
League of American Writers	Western Writers Congress
League of Workers Theaters	Writers Congress

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS

AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS

Adamic, Louis, 4	Hughes, Langston, 5
Bauer, Catherine, 1	Kenyon, Dorothy, 3
Benet, William Rose, 4	Kirchwey, Freda, 2
Benson, Elmer, 1	Lee, Canada, 2
Bittner, Van A., 1	Lerner, Max, 2
Bliven, Bruce, 3	McConnell, Francis J., 1
Carey, James B., 1	McCulloch, Frank, 1
Connelly, Marc, 3	McWilliams, Carey, 5
Coolidge, Albert Sprague, 1	Motherwell, Hiram, 2
Curran, Joseph, 1	Popper, Martin, 1
Eliot, Thomas H., 1	Quilici, George L., 1
Gutknecht, John, 1	Robeson, Paul, 4
Harburg, E. Y., 1	Soule, George, 3
Hastie, William, 1	Walsh, J. Raymond, 1
Hays, Mortimer, 1	Welles, Orson, 4
Haywood, Allen S., 1	Whitney, A. F., 1
Hecht, Ben, 1	Wise, James Waterman, 1

VI. FRONTS ON THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT

Abraham Lincoln Brigade	North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
American Friends of Spanish Democracy	North American Spanish Aid Committee
American Relief Ship for Spain	Refugee Scholarship and Peace Campaign
American Rescue Ship Mission	Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign
Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo	United American Spanish Aid committee
Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade	Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade
Joint Lift the Embargo Committee	Washington Committee to Lift the Embargo
Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain	Washington Friends of Spanish Democracy
Medical Bureau American Friends of Spanish Democracy	Writers and Artists Committee for Medical Aid to Spain
Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy	
Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy	

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS

AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS

Adamic, Louis, 3	Bliven, Bruce, 4
Balokovic, Zlatko, 1	Boas, Ernest P., 3
Benet, William Rose, 3	Bowie, W. Russell, 1
Bethune, Mary McLeod, 3	Carey, James B., 1

Individuals connected with one or more of these fronts (continued)

Connelly, Marc, 1	Rieve, Emil, 1
Coolidge, Albert Sprague, 2	Robeson, Paul, 7
Curran, Joseph, 3	Schlesinger, Arthur M., 2
Frazier, E. Franklin, 1	Schuman, Frederick L., 2
Gutknecht, John, 1	Smith, S. Stephenson, 1
Hecht, Ben, 2	Soule, George, 3
Hughes, Langston, 3	Speir, Mercedes P., 1
Kenyon, Dorothy, 2	Sweezy, Alan, 2
Kirchwey, Freda, 5	Tobias, Channing H., 1
Lerner, Max, 3	Van Kleeck, Mary, 7
Lewis, John Frederick, Jr., 1	Weaver, Robert C., 1
McConnell, Francis J., 8	Welles, Orson, 2
McWilliams, Carey, 2	Wesley, Carter, 1
Neilson, William A., 8	Whitney, A. F., 3
Niebuhr, Reinhold, 3	Wise, James Waterman, 2

VII. FRONTS FOR SUPPORT OR PRAISE OF THE SOVIET UNION

NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT

American Council on Soviet Relations	Open Letter for Closer Cooperation With the Soviet Union
American Friends of the Soviet Union	Open Letter to American Liberals
Friends of Soviet Russia	Russian-American Industrial Corpora- tion
Friends of the Soviet Union	Russian Famine Relief Committee
Congress of American-Soviet Friend- ship	Soviet Russia Today
Golden Book of American Friendship With the Soviet Union	Statement by American Progressives on the Moscow Trials
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship	

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS

AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS

Adamic, Louis, 2	McWilliams, Carey, 1
Balokovic, Zlatko, 1	Murray, Philip, 2
Benet, William Rose, 2	Neilson, William A., 1
Bethune, Mary McLeod, 1	Porter, Katherine Anne, 1
Clyde, Ethel, 1	Ricker, A. W., 1
Curran, Joseph, 3	Robeson, Paul, 2
Dalhymple, Sherman H., 1	Robinson, Edward G., 1
Embree, Edwin R., 1	Robinson, Mrs. Edward G., 1
Gimbol, Elinor, 1	Robinson, Reid, 3
Green, John, 1	Schuman, Frederick L., 2
Hillman, Sidney, 4	Soule, George, 2
Hughes, Langston, 5	Thomas, R. J., 2
Kenyon, Dorothy, 1	Van Kleeck, Mary, 5
Krzycki, Leo, 1	Walsh, J. Raymond, 1
Lerner, Max, 3	Welles, Orson, 1
Lewis, John Frederick, Jr., 1	Whitney, A. F., 2
McDonald, David J., 1	Wise, James Waterman, 4
McGill, James H., 1	Zmrhal, Jaroslav J., 2
McMahon, Francis, 2	

VIII. FRONTS ON WAR, PEACE, AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT

All-America Anti-Imperialist League	Committee for Peace Through World Cooperation
American Committee for Free Yugoslavia	Conference on Pan-American Democracy
American Committee for Struggle Against War	Council on African Affairs
American Congress for Peace and Democracy	Council for Pan-American Democracy
American Friends of the Chinese People	Emergency Peace Mobilization
American League for Peace and Democracy	National Organizing Committee for First United States Congress Against War
American League Against War and Fascism	New York Peace Association
American Peace Crusade	People's Congress for Peace and Democracy
American Peace Mobilization	San Francisco Coordinating Council for Peace
Amsterdam World Congress Against War	Student Congress Against War
Chicago All-American Anti-Imperialist League	United States Congress Against War
Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War	Washington Peace Mobilization
	World Congress Against War

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS

AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS

Adamic, Louis, 3	Lee, Canada, 1
Anderson, Mary, 1	Lerner, Max, 2
Anderson, Mrs. Sherwood, 2	Lochard, Metz T. P., 3
Bauer, Catherine, 1	McConnell, Francis J., 5
Benson, Elmer, 2	McWilliams, Carey, 3
Bethune, Mary McLeod, 1	Motherwell, Hiram, 1
Bittner, Van A., 1	Neilson, William A., 1
Bliven, Bruce, 3	Niebuhr, Reinhold, 3
Boas, Ernest P., 1	Patton, James G., 1
Butkovich, John D., 1	Popper, Martin, 1
Carey, James B., 4	Reid, Ira, 2
Cooke, Morris L., 1	Robeson, Paul, 3
Coolidge, Albert Sprague, 1	Robinson, Reid, 5
Curran, Joseph, 11	Schuman, Frederick L., 4
Dalrymple, Sherman H., 1	Smith, Lillian, 1
Davis, Michael, 1	Soule, George, 2
Embree, Edwin R., 1	Tobias, Channing H., 1
Hillman, Sidney, 2	Van Kleeck, Mary, 1
Hughes, Langston, 5	Walsh, J. Raymond, 1
Kenyon, Dorothy, 1	Whitney, A. F., 2
Kirchwey, Freda, 3	Wise, James Waterman, 3
Lapp, John A., 1	

IX. FRONTS FOR YOUTH AND EDUCATION**NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT**

Abraham Lincoln School	League of Young Southerners
American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom	Memorial Day Youth Peace Parade Committee
American Student Union	Philadelphia Peoples Forum
American Youth Congress	Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art
American Youth for Democracy	Tom Mooney Labor School
California Youth Legislature	United Student Peace Committee
Council of Young Southerners	World Youth Congress
Jefferson School of Social Science	

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS**AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS**

Adamic, Louis, 1	Kirchwey, Freda, 2
Alexander, Will W., 2	Lerner, Max, 2
Anderson, Mrs. Sherwood, 1	Lochard, Metz T. P., 1
Bauer, Catherine, 1	Mason, Lucy Randolph, 1
Benson, Elmer, 1	McAllister, Mrs. Thomas F., 1
Bethune, Mary McLeod, 3	McConnell, Francis J., 1
Bittner, Van A., 1	Murray, Philip, 1
Bliven, Bruce, 2	Neilson, William A., 1
Boas, Ernest P., 1	Niebuhr, Reinhold, 1
Carey, James B., 4	Robeson, Paul, 2
Clyde, Mrs. Ethel, 1	Smith, S. Stephenson, 1
Coolidge, Albert Sprague, 1	Soule, George, 1
Curran, Joseph, 2	Van Kleeck, Mary, 2
Durr, Mrs. Clifford, 1	Walsh, J. Raymond, 1
Frazier, E. Franklin, 1	Welles, Orson, 1
Hewes, Laurence I., 1	Whitney, A. F., 2
Hughes, Langston, 2	Williams, Aubrey, 1
Kenyon, Dorothy, 2	Wise, James Waterman, 4
Kingdon, Frank, 1	

X. COMMUNIST MAGAZINES, BOOKS, AND OTHER LITERATURE**NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT**

American Committee for Anti-Nazi Literature	Midwest Daily Record
Anvil	New Masses
Black & White	New Pioneer
Book Union	Partisan
Champion	Science and Society
Daily Worker	Social Work Today
Dynamo	Sunday Worker
Equality	Washington Bookshop
Freiheit	Woman Today
International Publishers	Workers Bookshop
Labor Defender	Workers Library Publishers
Left Book Club	Workers Monthly

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS
AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS

Adamic, Louis, 2	Hollander, Sidney, 1
Anderson, Mary, 1	Hughes, Langston, 13
Balokovic, Zlatko, 1	Kenyon, Dorothy, 1
Barnes, Vera White, 1	Kirchwey, Freda, 2
Benet, William Rose, 1	Lange, Oscar, 1
Benson, Elmer, 2	Lapp, John A., 1
Bittner, Van A., 1	Lerner, Max, 1
Bliven, Bruce, 1	McWilliams, Carey, 3
Carey, James B., 1	Murray, Philip, 1
Curran, Joseph, 6	Porter, Katherine Anne, 1
Dunjee, Roscoe, 1	Robeson, Paul, 2
Epstein, Henry, 2	Schuman, Frederick L., 1
Frazier, E. Franklin, 1	Van Kleeck, Mary, 5
Galbraith, J. Kenneth, 1	Weaver, Robert C., 1
Green, John, 1	Welles, Orson, 2
Gutknecht, John, 1	Whitney, A. F., 2
Hewes, L. I., 1	Wilson, Mrs. Luke I., 1
Hillman, Sidney, 1	Wise, James Waterman, 2

XI. FRONTS IN MISCELLANEOUS FIELD
NAME OF COMMUNIST FRONT

Allied Voters Against Coudert	Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-
American Fund for Public Service	election of Congressman Vito Mar-
Better Chicago League	cantonio
California Committee for Political	People's Institute of Applied Religion
Unity	Progressive Committee to Rebuild the
Committee for Boycott Against Japa-	American Labor Party
nese Aggression	Southern Women Statement for the
Descendants of the American Revolu-	Abolition of the Poll Tax
tion	Testimonial Dinner for Ferdinand C.
Garland Fund	Smith
League for Mutual Aid	United Electrical, Radio, and Machine
National Peoples Committee Against	Workers of America
Hearst	Washington Committee for Aid to
National Religion and Labor Founda-	China
tion	Work Camps for America
	Workers Cultural Federation

INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE FRONTS
AND NUMBER OF CONNECTIONS

Adamic, Louis, 1	Lerner, Max, 2
Anderson, Mrs. Sherwood, 1	Lewis, Alfred Baker, 1
Benson, Elmer, 1	Loeb, James, 1
Bethune, Mary McLeod, 1	Mason, Lucy Randolph, 1
Bliven, Bruce, 3	McConnell, Francis J., 2
Carey, James B., 1	Mulzac, Hugh, 1
Coolidge, Albert Sprague, 1	Niebuhr, Reinhold, 2
Curran, Joseph, 2	Pinchot, Mrs. Gifford, 1
Dombrowski, James A., 1	Pope, Liston, 1
Durr, Mrs. Clifford, 1	Quilici, George L., 1
Epstein, Henry, 1	Robeson, Paul, 1
Fitzgerald, Albert J., 1	Schuman, Frederick L., 1
Gutknecht, John, 1	Seiferheld, David F., 1
Haywood, Allan S., 1	Smith, Lillian, 1
Hillman, Sidney, 2	Soule, George, 1
Hughes, Langston, 2	Tilly, Mrs. M. E., 1
Kenyon, Dorothy, 1	Van Kleeck, Mary, 1
Kirchwey, Freda, 3	Whitney, A. F., 1
Lapp, John A., 1	Wise, James Waterman, 1

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	Total
Adamic, Louis	3	1		5	4	3	2	3	1	2	1	25
Alexander, Will W			1						2			3
Anderson, Mary			1	1				1		1		4
Anderson, Mrs. Sherwood			1					2	1		1	5
Balokovic, Zlatko	5	2				1	1			1		10
Barnes, Verda White										1		1
Bauer, Catherine			1	1	1			1	1			5
Benet, William Rosea	1	2		3	4	3	2			1		16
Benson, Elmer A	3		1	4	1			2	1	2	1	15
Bethune, Mary McLeod	4		2	4		3	1	1	3		1	19
Bittner, Van A		1	1		1			1	1	1		6
Bliven, Bruce		4	1	1	3	4		3	2	1	3	22
Boas, Ernest P	1			1		3		1	1			7
Bowie, W. Russell	1			2		1						4
Bunzick, Zarko	1											1
Burke, J. Frank				1							2	3
Butkovich, John D	1							1				2
Carey, James B	1	1	1	4	1	1		4	4	1	1	19
Clyde, Mrs. Ethel			2	1			1		1			5
Connelly, Marc				2	3	1						6
Cooke, Morris L								1				1
Coolidge, Albert Sprague		1		2	1	2		1	1		1	9
Corrothers, S. L	2											2
Curran, Joseph	6	4	2	7	1	3	3	11	2	6	2	47
Dalrymple, Sherman H			1	1		1	1	1				5
Davis, Michael M								1				1
Dombrowski, James A		1	1	2							1	5
Dunjee, Roscoe			1							1		2
Dupont, Zara				3								3
Durr, Mrs. Clifford			1	2				1			1	5
Elliott, Thomas H					1							1
Embree, Edwin R	1			1			1	1				4
Epstein, Henry		3	1	1						2	1	8
Fitzgerald, Albert J											1	1
Foreman, Clark			1	1								2
Frazier, E. Franklin	2	1		2		1			1	1		8
Galbraith, J. Kenneth										1		1
Gimbel, Elinor				1			1					2
Green, John	2			1			1			1		5
Gutknecht, John	3				1	1				1	1	7
Harburg, E. Y				1	1							2
Hastie, William H			1	3	1							5
Hays, Mortimer				1								1
Haywood, Allan S		2	3	2	1						1	9
Hecht, Ben	1				1	2						4
Hewes, L. I., Jr								1	1			2
Hillman, Sidney	2			3			4	2		1	2	14
Hollander, Sidney			1	1						1		3
Hughes, Langston	5	4	1	4	5	3	5	5	2	13	2	49
Kenyon, Dorothy	1	1	3	4	3	2	1	1	2	1	1	20
Kingdon, Frank									2			2
Kirchwey, Freda		2	2	3	2	5		3	2	2	3	24
Krzycki, Leo	1	1					1					3
Lange, Oscar	1									1		2
Lapp, John A	1	1	1	2				1		1	1	8
LeCron, James				1								1
Lee, Canada					2			1				3
Lerner, Max	2	4	2	3	2	3	3	2	2	1	2	26
Lewis, Alfred Baker	1										1	2
Lewis, John Frederick				1		1	1					3
Lewis, William Draper		1										1
Lochard, Metz T. P								3	1			4
Loeb, James											1	1

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	Total
Mason, Lucy Randolph			1						1		1	3
McAllister, Mrs. Thomas F.									1			1
McConnell, Francis J.	2	3	3	2	1	8		5	1		2	27
McCulloch, Frank			1		1							2
McDonald, David J.							1					1
McGill, James H.			1	1			1					3
McMahon, Francis							2					2
McWilliams, Carey	1	3	3	4	5	2	1	3		3		25
Motherwell, Hiram					2			1				3
Murray, Philip	2		1	1			2		1	1		8
Mulzac, Hugh											1	1
Neilson, William A.	3			2		8	1	1	1			16
Niebuhr, Reinhold	2	1	1	1		3		3	1		2	14
Osowski, W. T.		1		1								2
Patton, James G.			1					1				2
Perry, Jennings			1									1
Pinchot, Cornelia B.			1	1							1	3
Pinchot, Gifford				1								1
Platek, V. X.	1											1
Pope, Liston											1	1
Popper, Martin	1				1			1				3
Porter, Katherine Anne							1			1		2
Quilici, George L.	1				1						1	3
Ratica, Peter	1											1
Reid, Ira			1	1				2				4
Ricker, A. W.							1					1
Rieve, Emil			1			1						2
Robeson, Paul	4	6	1	2	4	7	2	3	2	2	1	34
Robinson, Edward G.	1						1					2
Robinson, Mrs. Edward G.							1					1
Robinson, Reid	2	2		3			3	5				15
Schlesinger, Arthur M.				2		2						4
Schuman, Frederick L.	1	1				2	2	4		1	1	12
Seiferheld, David F.											1	1
Smith, Lillian			1					1			1	3
Smith, S. Stephenson	1		1			1			1			4
Soule, George	2	3	1	2	3	3	2	2	1		1	20
Speir, Mercedes Powell						1						1
Steele, Julian D.	1											1
Sweezey, Alan						2						2
Thomas, R. J.	1	1		1			2					5
Tilly, Mrs. M. E.											1	1
Tobias, Channing	4	1	1	3		1		1				11
Townsend, Willard				1								1
Van Kleeck, Mary	2		4	2		7	5	1	2	5	1	29
Walsh, J. Raymond	1			3	1		1	1	1			8
Weaver, Robert C.	2					1				1		4
Welles, Orson	3			1	4	2	1		1	2		14
Wesley, Carter						1						1
Whitney, A. F.		1		3	1	3	2	2	2	2	1	17
Williams, Aubrey			2	1					1			4
Wilson, Mrs. Luke I.		1								1		2
Wise, James Waterman	3	3		2	1	2	4	3	4	2	1	25
Zeman, Stephen, Jr.	1											1
Zmrhal, Jaroslav J.							2					2

"ZOOT-SUIT" RIOTS IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

PAGES 200 to 217, inclusive, of the Committee's 1943 Report dealt with the *Sinarquista* movement in Southern California. At the time the committee submitted its report to the Legislature there was but little information available on this organization. Subsequent investigation of the *Sinarquistas* and its leaders has substantiated, for the greater part, most of the material set forth in the Committee's 1943 Report.

The *Pachuco*, or so-called "zoot-suit," fad among Negro and Mexican youth in Los Angeles' east side was a golden opportunity for Communist racial agitation. The riots that occurred in June of 1943, together with the activities of certain Communist front organizations and the vociferous charges of the Communist press, forcefully brought the situation to the attention of the Committee. An intensive investigation of the *Sinarquista* movement, its leaders, its aims and objectives, the *Pachucos*, or "zoot-suiters," Communist interest and agitation, and the relation of one to the other of these apparently heterogeneous groups, was immediately launched.

Gangs of Mexican and Negro boys, garbed in the fantastic costumes now generally known as "zoot-suits," had been roaming the streets of the east side of the City of Los Angeles since early in 1941. Many of these boys were armed with clubs, knives, brass knuckles and pieces of chains. Every properly attired "zoot-suiter" wore heavy-soled oxfords. In extreme cases the soles of these "zoot-suit" oxfords were in excess of an inch thick and when properly used in a gang fight became formidable weapons. United States sailors and soldiers were assaulted on the streets and in cocktail bars by groups of "zoot-suiters" and violent disturbances were reported from time to time. Early in June of 1943, the long-smouldering antagonism flared into violence.

Pachuco Crimes

C. B. Horrall, Chief of the Police Department of the City of Los Angeles, testified that it was the policy of his department to make an arrest whenever a violation of the law occurred. Carrying concealed weapons is a violation of the law and many Mexican boys were arrested for this offense. Chief Horrall stated that the first *Pachuco*, or "zoot-suit," disturbances began early in 1941. He stated that the boys were divided into a number of gangs which clashed from time to time. He had heard of the *Citizens' Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth* and its activities and had been informed that some of the people connected with the organization were members of the *Communist Party*. It was the Chief's opinion that the organization was a *Communist Party* "front." He believed that the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*, and similar organizations, inflamed

racial prejudices, and in the *Pachuco*, or "zoot-suit," problem, had contributed to the conflagration by constantly stirring and fomenting antagonisms through hysterical activities. He categorically denied charges made by Al Waxman in the "*Eastside Journal*," Charlotta Bass in the "*California Eagle*" and the Communist publication, "*The Peoples' Daily World*" that the police had been brutal in handling participants in the riots. He testified that no specific case of brutality on the part of the police had come to his attention, but, on the contrary, that during the disturbances, 10 or 15 police officers had received serious injuries. Chief Horrall's testimony, in part, follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XIX, pp. 4443-4445):

By Senator Tenney: Q. Do you believe these disturbances were principally due to racial prejudice and discrimination?

A. I have to go back a ways in answering that question to give—at least, for me to express my opinion, because the thing goes back a ways, that's what I meant to say, Mr. Tenney.

Q. First, you might answer that yes or no, if you can. The question again is: Do you believe racial prejudice and discrimination was the basic cause for this disturbance?

A. I do not.

Q. Now, go ahead and modify in any way you want.

A. These disturbances, of course, started with the Latin-American gang situation, which was among themselves, up until approximately a year ago; that is, there were fights between different gangs, different members of the gangs, and were confined almost entirely to themselves. However, about a year ago we had a little difficulty down at San Pedro, wherein they got mixed up with the sailors down there. That was the first I knew of where they got outside of their own gangs. When we had another disturbance here about three or four months ago in Venice, where there was reported that an attempt was made to break up a USO dance down there, and then this latest, which, according to the reports I have, started in the north end up here around the 1700 block on North Main Street as, apparently, the result of some of the sailors making advances to some Mexican girls or talking to them. I don't know whether it went any farther than that, and it started the difficulties, and then there was retaliation back and forth between this particular group up there and the sailors until it reached the place where it got some publicity in the papers, and that was what caused the gangs to congregate downtown that night and brought the crowd all out. However, some people have chosen to call it riots; I don't think it should be classified as that. And the feeling in general among them was one of fun and sport rather than malice. Quite a few of the boys had their clothes torn off, but the

crowds weren't particularly hard to handle; they were large, but we had no difficulty in breaking them up; they would go a couple of blocks away and form there. There were no attacks made on policemen.

Another point I would like to make: While there were a great many service men in these crowds and quite a few civilians, and many of those crowds were led from place to place by civilians, not service men, and in some instances those individuals were reported to be of Latin-American extraction.

Q. Did you find any Axis or fifth column—what you might term Axis or fifth column—influence?

A. Nothing that I could prove. Repeatedly I heard claims that there were subversive influences connected with this, but I have no proof of that.

Q. Of course, in the opinion of the committee, the subversive influences could be from either the Communist side or the Axis.

A. I have heard both.

Q. The Communist committees have claimed Axis fifth column influence, and we have investigated as to the *Sinarquista* end. You have no independent knowledge of fifth column activity?

A. No, only the report the *Sinarquistas* did have some influence in it. We were never able to find out whether they did or not."

Captain Contreras, of the sheriff's office, testified (Committee transcript, Volume XIX, pp. 4563-4565):

They have a situation out in East Los Angeles, of course, they have a large Mexican population, and there is about 30 to 40 thousand Mexicans live there, and they have about 300 so-called hoodlums out there in gangs, various gangs.

Q. Did you through your office or with the assistance of the sheriff's department in general make any survey of the so-called zoot-suit problem?

A. We have.

Q. Do you have the data available?

A. I have some of it, sir. There was on the night of June 18th, 10 or 15 arrests made of boys ranging from 17 to 19 years old. Each one of these were charged with failure to disperse, inciting a riot at the time of arrest, and the following weapons were found in their possession: Two steel bars, one large truck wrench, three tire irons, 3 iron wrenches, one hammer, one auto crank, 4 pieces of two by four lumber, one gallon milk bottle, one large Seven-Up bottle. The arresting officers said when the gangs were being surrounded they started throwing their weapons. Subject Moreno was identified by

the officer as being one of the gang who had a half gallon milk bottle with the bottom broken off, and was leading the gang. We had from time to time 10 to 15 arrests in that part of the County, and the cases are still pending, most of them.

The committee requested Captain J. F. Reed, Administrative Assistant to the Chief of Police of the City of Los Angeles, to present police officers who had been involved in the "zoot-suit" riots. On the afternoon of June 23, 1943, Captain Reed appeared before the committee with the police officers, as requested, and made the following general statement for the record (Comm. Tran. Vol. XIX, pp. 4450-4453):

By Chairman Tenney: Q. Captain, I spoke to you over the phone, I think it was the other day with reference to the officers that had been involved in some of these disturbances. Were you able to bring the names of any of the officers today?

A. Yes, sir, I have 15 officers who have been injured in such type of activity, and they are all here today. I have a list of those and the different times whereby they were injured during the riots in places of that type.

Q. Are the officers here?

A. Yes, the majority of them were subpoenaed for 3 o'clock. I have the background of the first gang outbreak that we had.

Q. We would like to have that very much. Go right ahead.

A. The first outbreak that we had in Los Angeles which was of major importance was on 8-16-41, at 11 o'clock. I have the two officers who handled the original investigation, but I will endeavor to give you a short synopsis of what happened. A dance was being held over on Boundary Street; that's over in the Rose Hill section of Huntington Drive; whereby many of the Mexican boys of this pachuco type and girls attended a dance. A rival gang came over and tried to bust the dance up and take some of the girls away. They weren't very successful. They proceeded to arm themselves—across the street was a picket fence, and they tore all the pickets off the fence, and they armed themselves and started to fight. They were finally turned away, and they proceeded to go down the street and get into an automobile and lay in wait for the group to break up. As the group broke up later that night a car with two or three youngsters, I don't exactly know how many were in that car, but as they came down the street this car was in hiding and pulled out alongside, directly hit and turned it over, killing two of the occupants. That was the first gang outbreak of any importance.

Q. When was that?

A. 8-16-41. Officer Joe Willis was the radio car officer who answered the call, and Officer J. E. Hampton, who made the investigation, are here, and they can go into those facts more thoroughly than I can. Then, as conditions grew worse

throughout the Mexican area, they attacked only those of Latin-American extraction. Wherever there was a party or a dance or home gatherings, these groups would travel around in caravans of cars, and pull up in front of the house and demand everything they had to eat in the house or drink, they took over, and if anybody objected they were beaten up. We received complaints about that from the Mexicans. A man by the name of Torrez of East Los Angeles came into the police department with Joe D. Rivera and complained about conditions. He didn't feel his family was safe or anybody, and he asked the police department take action against these hoodlums. Of course, we were all the time making arrests of various groups, and I have several reports of interest showing the type of crimes they were committing. They attacked a young girl of 14 years of age. There were five or six different boys that attacked this girl, and it was necessary for the officer to club them off the child before they could get them in custody. In many cases they grab a young couple, tie the escort up, rape the girl and then urinate on them. Just recently there was an attack made with five boys, in Pachuco suits, they raped a 56 year old negro woman, and all raped her, and one of the boys was 14 years old, approximately 14 years old, and while he raped her the others held her at the point of a knife. Then they offered her a drink of wine, which she refused, and then they drank the wine and then urinated in the bottle and forced her to drink out of this bottle. That is some of the types of things that have been going on.

After the Sleepy Lagoon thing they gradually started to attack other people. They got out of the Latin-American group and went into other nationalities; then along came the service men, the sailors; they came into the area and they were attacked. If they were on the street talking to girls or things like that, for no reason at all 15 or 16 boys would jump on one service man. We have had numerous complaints about that. They would go into the Negro section, and there were many arrests made on many of these cases. Four zoot-suiters held up a station operator, who was shot, and they did go out of Los Angeles County into San Bernardino, Riverside, Ventura and so forth. We have information from San Bernardino and Riverside of crimes being committed, which seem to be the same type as these gangs. Wilmington seems to have the same type of gang. They seem to be very close to the induction center of the Army, they are very closely situated to the induction center in Wilmington, and in Ventura, which has also had considerable difficulty. Coming back to the present so-called riot in the downtown area, the night of June 7th, about 5,000 people were involved at one time, and there were civilians, soldiers and everybody who heard about it over the radio came down, and it made it extremely difficult to handle. We had no difficulty or trouble in breaking them up, they

didn't resist the officers at all; but if a group of service men were broken up they formed in another place, but always leading each group there was always a civilian, either a Mexican or Negro or white; and as we eliminated the leaders from the service groups, by 11 o'clock at night we had eliminated most of the leaders, all the civilians, and we had the thing under control whereby there were no more assaults."

Captain Reed went on to explain that during a period from June 1 to June 10, 1943, 187 juveniles were arrested in connection with the "zoot-suit" riots. Most of these arrests occurred on June 7th. Forty-eight of these defendants were charged as incorrigibles, beyond the control of their parents under Section 700 of the *Welfare and Institutions Code*; eight were charged with assault with a deadly weapon; nine with battery; 56 for violation of *Penal Code* Section 407, unlawful assembly; three with carrying concealed weapons, 25 for violation of the *Municipal Code*, Section 505, loitering, and 38 for violation of the curfew law. Two hundred juveniles, in addition, were brought to the police station and after being questioned, released and sent home to their parents. Between January 1, 1942, and June 10, 1943, Captain Reed listed, in addition to the foregoing, a total of 134 crimes charged to suspects wearing "zoot-suits." These crimes included 21 burglaries, one attempted burglary, one grand theft, 18 petty thefts, three petty thefts for motor vehicles, 63 robberies, six attempted robberies, nineteen thefts from persons, and two worthless checks. Between October 1, 1942, and June 14, 1943, 316 persons wearing "zoot-suits" were arrested and charged with various crimes. Eighteen of these defendants were White or Caucasian, 133 were Negroes and 165 were Mexicans.

Captain Reed's description of one of the disturbances is typical (*Com. Tran.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 4461-4462):

Captain Reed: A. I have one other of the 77th district. This report I am going to read from is Captain Richard Simon's report, the 77th division, Los Angeles Police Department. This excerpt says (reading):

"On the night of June 9th, 1943, about 200 service men, all armed with wooden clubs, boards, iron bars, and other weapons appeared in Watts in 52 commandeered cars. As our force was insufficient to effect a mass arrest without the necessity for a pitched battle, these men were in effect shepherded by the available officers and prevented from injuring persons or property. The doors of two houses were forced, but no one injured. A wearer of a zoot-suit was taken from his seat in a theatre, but officers released him at once and removed the service men from the theatre. The keys were taken from many of the cars and the service men held on 102nd Street until help arrived. At the same time the theatre entry was made, a gang of approximately 100 Negro and Mexican boys threw rocks at officers and auxiliary policemen

at 103rd and Graham Streets. This group was dispersed. Had the service men been aware of this gang, a violent riot would surely have resulted. This gang later drove about the Watts area and the Graham district to the north in a large truck disturbing the peace. I know of no personal injury received by anyone during the evening. More rocks were thrown through windows of P. E. trains. Resume of police action:

"1. About 100 service men turned over to military police and shore patrol.

"2. Thirteen adults arrested for disturbing the peace (above gang).

"3. Twenty-five juveniles arrested for unlawful assembly (above gang).

"4. About 55 juveniles on the street taken to Watts Station, questioned by juvenile officers and released.

"5. Curiosity seekers dispersed."

It gives you a kind of an idea about this situation. You can readily see service men were picked up and turned over to the proper authorities, as well as the Mexican boys, Negro boys and Whites.

C. L. Christopher, member of the Los Angeles City Police Department for nearly 20 years, testified June 23, 1943. His testimony, in part, follows (Com. Tran., Vol. XIX, pp. 4474-4476):

Mr. Combs: Q. Where were you on 7-26-42 approximately at 7:15?

A. I was in the vicinity of Pomray and Marks.

Q. How did you happen to be there at that time?

A. We were called. I work in a two-man radio car, and we drove by and attempted to disperse a large group of Mexicans who were holding a crap game on the sidewalk of the public streets.

Q. About how many persons were present at the time you got there?

A. Approximately 40 to 50.

Q. Now, tell us please concisely what happened which resulted in injuries to you at that time and place.

A. Officer Hawks, Officer Hutman, Officer Karat and myself responded to the call, and when we got there we observed—we drove up in a plain colored car and observed what was going on, and we jumped into the crowd and grabbed the ones in the act of gambling, attempted to place them in the car, and as we did a riot started.

Q. Did you see them gambling?

A. We did. During the melee there was one woman and

her husband, he was in the United States Army uniform or a Marine, and they started yelling and saying they were not going and egging the Mexicans on and calling us loud profane names and agitating the crowd, and as fast as we put the defendants in the car for creating the disturbance, someone would go around to the other side of the car and jerk the car door open and take the people out, and they were pushing us around and tearing our clothes off of us and separating us from our defendants and the radio car. During the melee one of the Mexicans had a knife or a piece of glass, and he was swinging it back and forth and it slit my finger across here (indicating). We were successful in taking three defendants away with us, and they went before the Grand Jury and they were bound over by the Grand Jury, and the attorneys representing them rather than go to trial compromised with the District Attorney, and Mr. Shoemaker, who was in charge of that detail, entered a plea before Judge Scott. Judge Scott gave them the maximum amount of penalty and suspended the sentence to five days, and placed the ones we had up on two years probation.

Q. Were any other officers with you at that time also injured?

A. Not to the extent of having received medical attention. We were all more or less soaked with water. Some of the Mexicans ran up and grabbed the water and threw it all over us.

Q. During the occurrence of that incident could you discern a general attitude of defiance and contempt for the things you were trying to do on the part of the crowd?

A. We have had that in every arrest during the last year or year and a half among the Mexicans.

Q. A feeling of defiance?

A. I have worked among the Mexican people out of my time probably 10 or 11 years.

Q. Prior to that time up to a year and a half ago did they view the police department with more respect than they have since?

A. We got assistance. I worked the beat which was then called Mexican from Sunset to College, and from Alameda to Figueroa Street, and at that time we got a world of cooperation from the Mexicans. It used to be if a police officer was involved, instead of having them against us, they were against their own race of people and would help.

Q. So this attitude of defiance and contempt and lack of cooperation, viciousness, which has been exhibited, has all arisen during the last year and a half?

A. That's right.

* * * * *

Q. Were you injured on any other occasion?

A. I was.

Q. When was the next occasion?

A. 10-17-42 at 3:30 a.m.

Q. At what locality?

A. In front of 2321 East First Street.

Q. How did you happen to be there at that time?

A. Officer Karat and I was down in the south part and we heard a riot call at that address. When we arrived the officers had been there and taken care of the difficulty; that is the Carioca Restaurant, which is a very respectable place, in the Hollenbeck district, catering to married people and elderly people. So we stopped and were talking to the lady, and asked her what the trouble was and she informed us that there was a band of zoot-suits, and because she wouldn't serve beer and let them have the free run of the place, they had practically wrecked it and the officers had arrested five or six, but there were probably ten or fifteen that had gotten away. While we were talking we observed an automobile backing approximately 35 or 40 miles an hour, first on one side of the street and then the other, and then come to a stop in behind our car, and Officer Karat stepped back to ask the driver of the automobile what the matter was, and he started cussing Officer Karat and reached down to pick up an iron he had on the floor, a piece of spring steel. I jumped out of the car and ran back to assist. I thought from my first observation that he was full of marihuana. We got him out of the car, and it took four of us to handcuff him. A large crowd gathered, and I think we could have had an awfully nice mess. In trying to put the handcuffs on he bit my thumb on the right hand and two of my fingers on the left hand, necessitating medical attention and shots of tetanus.

Q. Had he been smoking marihuana?

A. He had not. . . .

Carl R. Erickson, an officer in the Los Angeles Police Department, testified that he was attacked at about 5:45 p.m. on January 15, 1943, between Fifth and Sixth Streets on Pacific and San Pedro. His testimony, in part, follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XIX, pp. 4485-4486):

A. I was patrolling the beat, and I made my hourly ring, and my attention was drawn to a crowd of people half way between Fifth and Sixth Streets. I thought someone had been injured, so I started towards them. I entered through the crowd, and Alfonso Sandoval yelled, 'It's a cop.'

Q. Were you in uniform?

A. In full uniform. He started towards me and grabbed me, and another assailant started towards me, and two more

—there were about 10 or 12 actually in physical combat. In the middle of the fight Sandoval grabbed my badge and started striking me. I held him at arm's distance and didn't strike him at all, I held him away, and while I was holding him Roy Huhta, an ex-pug, swung and struck me on the right cheek.

Q. With his fist?

A. With his fist. I released Sandoval, and another Mexican Pachuco that was coming in on the left and grabbed Huhta and slugged Huhta, and Huhta went down. That is the first blow I struck.

Q. Did you use your night stick?

A. I didn't have any night stick or any sap—I had been on the motorcycle.

Q. Did you have a gun?

A. I had a gun, yes.

Q. Did you use it?

A. Not with the amount of people—there was 50 or 75 people at the beginning of the fight.

Q. How were you injured?

A. I had some teeth knocked out in the lower jaw.

Q. Did it require dental or medical care?

A. It required the dentist's attention.

Q. How many Pachucos would you estimate were present on that occasion?

A. There was about—mingled in the crowd, there was about 30—20 to 30 actual Pachucos.

Q. What was the attitude of the crowd towards you, co-operative or hostile?

A. The crowd was neutral.

Q. How about the Pachucos, what was their attitude?

A. Antagonistic. . . .

John J. Halloran, also an officer with the Los Angeles Police Department, told the committee of receiving a radio call to investigate a "gang attack" on a service station at 800 North Mission Road in Los Angeles. (Com. Tr., Vol. XIX, pp. 4489-4494.) He testified that, in the company of two other officers, he drove to the locality indicated in the radio call and upon arriving found a man badly beaten, covered with blood, cut about the face and stabbed in the back. The victim's nose had almost been severed from his face. Securing a description of the assailants and their car the officers cruised about the neighborhood and eventually picked up their trail. A woman directed them to a house where fifteen or twenty of them had taken refuge. Officer Halloran's testimony continues (Com. Tr., Vol. XIX, pp. 4492-4493):

A. . . . the lights were turned off in the house, but we heard a commotion inside and we started to enter, at which time the people in the house—there were about 15 or 20—I think probably about 20 in the house. When they saw us coming some of them tried to make their escape, and three of them rushed at me from the front door, and I don't know who shot, but I heard a shot about that time coming from the direction of the house, and I pulled my gun and ordered these three to halt, which they didn't do and I shot two of them and effected the arrest of those, and the other two officers and myself arrested 12 altogether in the house.

Q. The two you shot were in the act of running away, were they?

A. At the time I shot them.

Q. And you ordered them to halt?

A. Yes.

Q. Which they refused to do?

A. Yes.

Q. The first shot you heard wasn't fired by you or any of the officers with you?

A. No, it wasn't.

Q. What happened to the two prisoners that you shot?

A. They recovered.

Q. They both recovered?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you say you effected the arrest of 12 altogether?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was their attitude toward you and the other officers when you were effecting their arrests?

A. They were very belligerent, they put up some resistance. The other two officers were both struck by these defendants during the arrests, but we finally got them quieted and put them in the cars and took them to the station.

Q. Did you have to use any other means of force to subdue them?

A. I didn't myself, but I believe Officer Stevens and Officer Autis both did.

Q. Used their saps?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were they Pachucos?

A. Yes.

Q. And arrested in Pachuco suits?

A. Yes.

Officer Vance Brasher of the Los Angeles Police Department testified as follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XIX, pp. 4494-4498):

Mr. Combs: Q. You were here when Captain Reed related the circumstances affecting you in connection with the Pachuco disturbance, were you not?

A. Yes.

Q. On what date did that difficulty occur?

A. November 26th, 1942.

Q. At what time?

A. Approximately 9:30 in the morning.

Q. Were you in plain clothes or uniform?

A. Plain clothes.

Q. Do you habitually work in plain clothes?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where did the disturbance take place?

A. 276 Clover Street.

Q. What part of the city is that?

A. The east side of town.

Q. How did you happen to go there?

A. The detective bureau had advised us that a Mexican—there was three of them—the previous night had knocked a woman down over in Hollywood and snatched her purse, and in doing so one of the Pachucos had dropped an identification card, and they informed us the fellow lived at 276 Clover Street, so we went over to establish the address.

Q. When you say we, who do you mean?

A. My partner, Tom Buckley and I.

Q. You were in a patrol car?

A. We staked out from 10:30 of the 25th until the time it occurred, approximately 9:30 of the 26th. At the time we had information he was in the house. My partner went around to the back, and I went to the front, so in case he ran out of the back my partner would get him, and I entered the front door. He was lying inside, and as I pulled the screen door he stuck a gun in my face and fired.

Q. Where did he shoot you?

A. The jaw, here (indicating).

Q. And you are indicating the scar?

A. And it came out down the back of my neck (indicating).

Q. What happened, did you go down?

A. Momentarily. As I came to, my partner came running

in, and Vallez, he jumped over me and run down the street. I pulled my gun and shot six times at him.

Q. Did you hit him?

A. I started to reload, but in the meantime my partner came running in and chased him and cornered him down between two houses, and he had to shoot him at that point before he took him. We took him to the receiving hospital; he didn't die.

Q. He didn't die?

A. No, he didn't.

Q. What happened to him, was he prosecuted?

A. He was prosecuted.

Q. Was he convicted?

A. He was convicted.

Q. Where is he now?

A. I guess it would be San Quentin. He was also wanted for two robberies, grand theft, auto and merchandise.

Q. Was he a Pachuco?

A. That's right.

Q. Dressed in a zoot-suit?

A. That's right.

Q. How old was he?

A. 19 years old.

Q. Were you involved in any other difficulty with Pachucos?

A. Yes, in the case where a police officer was killed. It started over a Pachuco, a drunken Pachuco.

Q. Will you relate the circumstances. — when did that occur?

A. That happened on the 31st of December.

Q. Of last year?

A. That's right, of '42.

Q. What time of the day?

A. Approximately 11:30—that was New Year's Eve.

Q. Where did it occur?

A. 1763 North Main Street.

Q. What happened?

A. At that time my partner and I were patrolling, and we noticed a crowd out in front of a cafe.

Q. What was your partner's name?

A. Tom Buckley.

Q. The same person?

A. The same person. We noticed a woman and three men arguing. We thought it was just a Mexican brawl, drunks, so we hollered at them to "bust it up and go home." We traveled about a quarter of a block and heard five shots. We immediately turned around, and we saw two fellows running from the scene. Well, we stopped the car and apprehended them, and when we went back to the scene we found the officer lying in front of the cafe, he had been shot.

Q. The officer had been shot?

A. That's right. After investigation, one defendant, Mr. Brasdeaz, a homicide, in the city hall admitted shooting the police officer.

Q. He confessed?

A. That's right. He was convicted and received a manslaughter verdict.

Q. What was the officer's name?

A. Diro.

Q. Were these persons with whom you had controversies at that time and place Pachucos?

A. Two of them were, yes.

Q. Dressed in zoot-suits?

A. Yes.

Officer Meredith John Layman told the committee that he and his partner, Officer Trout, had received a radio call in Venice during the period of the "zoot-suit" disturbances. Arriving in the vicinity of the pier in Venice the officers were approached by a Mexican who asked whether or not they were policemen. Upon replying in the affirmative the Mexicans told the officers that there was a fight in progress on the end of the pier. It was after nightfall and at this time the entire coast area was blacked out. Stepping to the end of the pier the officers were suddenly assaulted by five or six young Mexicans, all, except one, of whom were wearing "zoot-suits." The exception was wearing a soldier's uniform. One was armed with a pair of brass knuckles while two others wielded black-jacks. Officer Layman suffered an injury over the left eye which required two stitches and his teeth were driven through his lips. His testimony, in part, follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XIX, pp. 4500-4502):

Chairman Tenney: Q. Did they use any weapons?

A. Two blackjacks and a pair of knuckles.

Q. A pair of knuckles?

A. Yes, I was knocked down to my knees twice—I got back up.

Q. You say they were in zoot-suits?

A. Yes, the tight-legged trousers and the coat didn't quite reach to the knees.

Q. They had the full Pachuco pants on?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you effect their arrest?

A. No, sir.

Q. What happened?

A. As I understood later from my partner, he had to draw his gun, as they backed him up against the rail of the pier, and he said they were going to push him over, so he drew his gun, and I was using all the force I could to make an arrest.

Q. Were you knocked groggy?

A. Things appeared clear at that time, but later when I thought about it, it wasn't so clear.

Q. Where were you struck with the brass knuckles?

A. Right here (indicating).

Q. Where that scar is discernible?

A. Yes.

Q. Where else?

A. Right here on my lip (indicating).

Q. Any place else?

A. The two that had the saps hit me across the spine repeatedly, and I still suffer from that.

Q. By a sap, you mean a piece of loaded lead?

A. Yes.

Q. And you were struck across the spine with that?

A. Yes.

Q. You still suffer from the effects of those blows?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Is there any other occasion you sustained any injury in a similar incident?

A. About two weeks before while in uniform at Navy and Ocean, which is a short boulevard, a short block, I was struck in the jaw, but I did not need any medical attention—there was a riot there.

Q. Were you struck on the jaw with a weapon?

A. Only a fist.

Q. And that involved people of Mexican descent, young people who were dressed in the typical Pachuco costume?

A. Yes, sir. I believe there were 13 arrests that night.

Q. What were the arrests made for—rioting?

A. Yes, sir; unlawful assembly, I believe.

Communist Agitation

The Communist press, Communist spokesmen, loud-mouthed Communist sympathizers and fellow-travelers charged the *Sinarquistas* with the responsibility for the riots, alleging that the *Sinarquistas* were controlled and directed by "subversive Fascist Fifth-Columnists." The committee invited a number of the most vehement of these accusers to present facts and data substantiating their charges. By concerted action all of those invited to appear before the committee declined to accept the invitation. The committee thereupon issued subpoenas for each of them. The transcript of testimony, as digested in the 1943 Report of the Committee, clearly indicates that the individuals questioned had no proof of their charges and that the campaign had been one of racial antagonism and agitation.

The Communist Party press, pursuing the party line on racial agitation, continually fed the fires of racial antagonism by charging that Mexican youth in the United States was being subjected to police brutality, race-discrimination, segregation and humiliation. Communist inspired and dominated organizations were created for the alleged defense of the Mexican minority. Meetings were organized in Mexican districts in Los Angeles where trained rabble-rousers orated of police brutality against minority groups, of the unfair treatment of the Mexican and Negro population and of racial discrimination and segregation.

In the October 3, 1942 issue of the *Communist Party* west coast publication, "*People's Daily World*," it was charged that the *Sinarquistas* were sewing "... their seeds ... in fertile soil among the young girls and boys brought up on the east side of Los Angeles." The issue of October 5, 1942, blamed the "zoot-suit" phenomenon on the economic system. The October 8, 1942 issue of the "*People's Daily World*" charged that the Mexican youth was being subjected to Fascist pressure. The issue of October 14, 1942, stated that a "Fascist Fifth-Column" was working unseen among the Mexican youth of Southern California.

The "*People's Daily World*" for October 20, 1942, carried an article by Communist La Rue McCormick in which she declared that Nazi agents were operating in the Mexican communities of the City of Los Angeles, corrupting Mexican youth and inciting racial antagonism.

Two days later the "*People's Daily World*" announced that the Los Angeles C. I. O. Council and the *Spanish-Speaking People's Congress* were demanding that an investigation be made of the *Sinarquista* movement.

On October 24, 1942, the "*People's Daily World*" reported that Communist La Rue McCormick, on her own initiative, had organized a committee of 14 to defend the Mexican youth of Southern California, and to expose the fifth-column elements that

were using the Mexican youth as dupes. Mrs. McCormick, representing the *Spanish-Speaking People's Congress*, was announced as the Secretary of the new organization.

On October 26, 1942, an article in the "*People's Daily World*" reported Philip M. Connelly of the C. I. O. as charging the metropolitan newspapers of Los Angeles of fomenting racial antagonism and agitation. Mr. Connelly was quoted as stating that "Crime waves are turned on and off by newspapers like water in a spigot, and when the city editor is short of news, he orders police reporters to round up attack cases and if the sheriff's office is not deliberately participating in the fraud it is being duped."

It should be obvious from the foregoing that the *Communist Party* had launched an intensive campaign through the medium of its press. Similar articles appeared in the "*People's Daily World*" on October 28, 1942, November 2, 1942, November 17, 1942, November 19, 1942, November 30, 1942, December 4, 1942, and December 10, 1942. In addition to this intensive press campaign, a flood of handbills, pamphlets and mimeographed material, both in English and in Spanish, inundated the City and County of Los Angeles.

Students of *Communist Party* technique were aware immediately of the objectives of the *Communist Party* editorial barrage. In accentuation, stimulation and furtherance of the "class struggle," the Mexicans of Southern California were to be impressed with their "minority status." They were to be indoctrinated with hatred for the police, for bourgeois law and order, and punishment for crime was to be "smeared" as racial discrimination, intimidation and police brutality. All bourgeois institutions in Southern California were to be held up as institutions of oppression, hostile to dark-skinned minorities, intent upon their impoverishment and destruction. Having created the conflagration, the *Communist Party* would then appear upon the scene as the rescuing firemen; the only stalwart and courageous champion of the oppressed and persecuted.

Sleepy Lagoon Murder Case

THE SO-CALLED "*Sleepy Lagoon Murder Case*" occurred in Los Angeles County on August 1, 1942. It was destined to be another *cause celebre* for the *Communist Party*.

Sleepy Lagoon, a reservoir on the Williams' Ranch, is situated about a mile and a quarter north-east of Atlantic Boulevard in the City of Los Angeles. It is a somewhat secluded spot, reached only by a dirt road, and is surrounded by shrubbery, trees and undergrowth.

It appears that a group of "zoot-suiters" were assaulted by a rival gang and, having gotten something the worst of the encounter, drove to the vicinity of Vernon and Long Beach Avenues

for reinforcements. Here they gathered a number of friends, young men and women, and headed for the Sleepy Lagoon area where they expected to find the gang that had attacked them. They arrived about two o'clock in the morning.

A party had been in progress for some time in the home of an humble Mexican family situated about a half mile east of the Sleepy Lagoon reservoir. The host and the hostess were an old couple, about 70 and 60 years old, respectively. A small orchestra supplied music for dancing on a cement platform in the back yard. While some of the guests were dancing others stood at the edge of the platform watching the festivities.

Arriving at the reservoir the reinforced group of Mexican boys found the area deserted. They heard the music and saw the lights in the Mexican residence and, still seeking their former assailants, drove their cars to parking distance of the scene of festivities. In the fight that ensued two people were knocked unconscious, many were injured, one seriously stabbed and another died before he could be removed to a hospital.

Arrests followed immediately. Three of the boys were found guilty of first degree murder, nine were found guilty of second degree murder and five were found guilty of criminal assault.

The *Communist Party* had a new *cause celebre*. New front organizations were immediately created, and fund-collecting committees for the defense of the Sleepy Lagoon defendants mushroomed in English and Spanish. Delegations called on Los Angeles County's sheriff and the district attorney, protesting mass arrests and discrimination against the Mexican population of Southern California. An intensified barrage of propaganda appeared in the columns of the "*People's Daily World*." A new flood of leaflets, pamphlets and mimeographed material was loosed on the unsuspecting citizenry of Southern California proclaiming the "Fascist" proclivities of the bourgeois press and city and county officials.

Clyde Shoemaker was a member of the district attorney's office in Los Angeles County when the Sleepy Lagoon Murder Case was brought to trial. Mr. Shoemaker testified June 23, 1943, and his testimony, in part, follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XIX, pp. 4536-4555):

By Mr. Combs: Q. Now, did you ever hear of the organization known as the Citizens Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth?

A. Yes, I heard of it during the prosecution of those 22 defendants. That trial began on the 13th of October, 1942, and the verdicts came in—66 verdicts came in about the 12th of January, 1943.

Q. Did you ever hear of the Citizens Committee for the

Defense of Mexican-American Youth prior to the Sleepy Lagoon case?

A. No.

Q. It is your opinion the committee was created as a result of that case?

A. I believe that's obvious.

Q. Yes. Have you formed any opinion as to whether or not the committee is Communist in character?

A. Well, in my opinion it is definitely so.

Q. And what are your reasons for that opinion?

A. I recall at the outset of the trial a number of defendants were represented by Mr. Dick Bird, one of the public defenders. The other lawyers were Ben Van Tress, Phillip Schultz and a George Jeveg, David Ravin—I don't recall any other lawyers now in the case.

Q. George Shibley?

A. Oh, no, not at the outset. We took a week to select the jury. On the voir dire examination there was not one objection made by defense counsel to any question asked, either by Mr. Barnes or myself, not one. We were very careful to caution the jury that the case involved no racial angle, that the criminal laws were meant for the protection of society against all persons, regardless of race, creed or color. The fact that these boys might be of Mexican ancestry, or any other ancestry, had nothing to do with it, and the race issue was not interjected in the case—we were very careful about it. But after the jury had been selected and after the trial had been under way about a week following that Mr. George Shibley came into the case for the first time and took over the defense of a number who had been represented by the public defender, and he supplanted the public defender eventually altogether. He also took over some of the defendants represented by David Ravin, and pretty soon he had all his clients, and Mr. Ravin and Mr. Dick Bird left the case. George Shibley then represented nine defendants, and from the very day he came into the case, within a half hour after, it was obvious he was interjecting the same Communistic hue and cry that Leo Gallagher had interjected where the C. I. O. longshoremen had been involved, and he was accusing—for instance, he accused me of misconduct before noon of the day he entered, and hardly a day went by that George Shibley didn't accuse everybody, even Judge Fricke, of misconduct, and the prosecutors, and not one of his charges were ever sustained by the court.

Q. The Committee for the Defense of the Mexican-American Youth also accused Judge Fricke of misconduct?

A. Oh, yes; and they were instrumental, I understand, in

employing Shibley. He is generally reputed to have had some part at one time in the *People's World* as an associate editor for a time.

Chairman Tenney: He is very active in the National Lawyers Guild?

A. I am not certain about that, Mr. Tenney. And the case then became, you might say, from the time that Shibley entered it, a public forum for the venting of hate toward the sheriff's deputies, towards attempting to create a racial problem, racial discrimination, and the balance of that trial was made up of efforts, particularly on the part of Shibley, to make that trial a sounding board for the usual hue and cry of the typical socialistic revolutionaries that they appeared to be.

Q. Mr. Combs: I hand you a letter entitled, "Citizens Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth," and ask you if that type of letter was circulated during the prosecution and after the termination of the trial? (Handing to witness.)

A. Mr. Combs, I haven't seen this before. I notice its date is February 16, 1943 —

Q. (Interrupting) Yes.

A. (Continuing)—but during the trial and while the case was being argued in January, a pamphlet was circulated according to our office during the actual time the case was being argued. I have a copy of that here, which I hand you. (Handing to Mr. Combs.)

Q. This is entitled, "The Talk of the Town. Did 22 Mexican-American boys commit murder? Are 350,000 Mexican-Americans criminals? Can Fifth Column knife cut Los Angeles in half?" And bears the following: "Citizens' Committee for the Defense of American-Mexican Youth, 206 South Spring Street, Room 342." Do you have any more copies of this? (indicating)

A. That's the only copy I have.

Q. I think we have a copy of it. I hand you a photostat—

Chairman Tenney (Interrupting): You have said that this committee employed Shibley. On what do you base that statement?

A. Upon a speech that La Rue McCormick gave at the Communist Victory Center along in the latter part of January, just a few days before Mr. Dockweiler died.

Q. I think we have a copy of that speech.

A. I think I furnished Mr. Combs with a copy of it, and I have a copy here (indicating). We covered that with a shorthand reporter, and here is her transcript of it, on January 29th, 1943, at the Communist Victory Center, 1828 Sunset Boulevard, and in this speech her philosophy about their case

is set forth, and in it she indicates they were dissatisfied with the counsel who took the cases, and they were instrumental in selecting counsel to take over the defense during the trial, and upon the basis of that I have assumed from what I have observed that Mr. Shibley was their representative. January 29, 1943, is about two weeks after the verdict was returned. Now, in this may I say that this speech of La Rue McCormick is 99 per cent viciously false. About the only thing that was true was the fact there was a trial and that there were certain defendants by number and that they were convicted, but practically everything else in that sheet is viciously false and inflammatory. When I say "sheet" I mean those sheets, the transcript of that speech (indicating).

Mr. Combs: I would like to offer that transcript, together with the accompanying certification, in evidence as Exhibit 1 in connection with the testimony of Mr. Shoemaker.

Chairman Tenney: So ordered. (Marked Shoemaker Exhibit No. 1.)

The Witness: May I say that reflects better than anything else the type of contentions made in the trial by Mr. Shibley. I might say, he could have written it from the tone of it, and it is the best indication I know of the kind of contentions they made to the public and to deceive the public about that trial of anything I know.

Mr. Combs: For the purpose of identifying this document, the first sheet is an office memorandum to Joseph E. P. Dunn, Chief, Bureau of Investigation, in re: Mrs. La Rue McCormick, from Herbert Grossman; date, February 4, 1943. Signed by Herbert Grossman, Investigator.

The Witness: That's a true copy of the original.

Mr. Combs: There are 10 pages of transcript of Mrs. McCormick's speech, taken at Victory Center, 1828 Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, 8:45 P. M., January 29, 1943. Present: Herbert Grossman; reported by Aurora L. Springer.

Q. Now, Mr. Shoemaker, I hand you a photostat and ask you whether or not you have ever seen the original of which this purports to be a copy?

A. The original I believe had—let's answer your question yes. The original, I believe, had a mimeographed yellow sheet attached to it by an iron stamp.

Q. That's correct.

A. That was picked up, as I recall, on the floor of the courtroom during the trial of the case against the 22 defendants. It is a sample of the kind of petitions that were circula-

ted around the courtroom and in the corridors to collect money from the Mexicans who frequented the trial; which money was turned over to Mr. Shibley.

Mr. Combs: That has been identified as Quevedo Exhibit No. 1.

The Witness: In that connection, I want to make the record very clear that I do not connect Mr. Van Tress or Mr. Philip Schultz, or any of the other lawyers, with the tactics of Shibley; I want that very clear in this record, that I am saying nothing at all to reflect upon them in that respect.

Chairman Tenney: Q. Was there any other lawyer for the defense that was of the same caliber and character as Shibley?

A. No, Shibley went alone. He failed to agree with co-counsel, and stood on his own feet and used his own tactics.

Mr. Combs: Q. I hand you a photostat, and ask you if it is a photostat of the yellow sheet you have just described, and I ask you if you have ever seen the original of which this purports to be a copy? (handing to witness)

A. That looks like it.

Mr. Combs: This is entitled "Unamonos para la victoria El Fascismo." It has already been translated, but hasn't been introduced, and I now offer it as Exhibit No. 2 in connection with Mr. Shoemaker's testimony.

Chairman Tenney: So ordered. (Marked Shoemaker Exhibit No. 2).

Mr. Combs: Q. Now, Mr. Shoemaker, did you ever hear of a person called Reverend Ernest Caldecott?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he the minister of the First Unitarian Church?

A. That's correct. In the block on Eighth east of Vermont.

Q. Do you know whether or not this committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth endeavored to use his church for a meeting to raise funds in connection with the Sleepy Lagoon case?

A. Yes, I can tell you about that. I have here a pamphlet which was circulated after the defendants had been sentenced by Judge Fricke to prison, as I remember. Incidentally, 12 of the 22 defendants were convicted of murder and all sent to San Quentin, and five were convicted of assault and received the maximum jail sentences for that, five were acquitted of the 22, four of whom we suggested to the jury might be acquitted.

Now, after the trial was over and the judgment and sentences had been pronounced, one day my attention was called to this pamphlet which I hold in my hand (illustrating) by our deputy in charge of the Grand Jury. Mr. Ernest Oliver

had heard such a pamphlet was being circulated and a meeting was to be held at the First Unitarian Church for the purpose of raising funds for this committee. I made a note of it, and in almost the same day or the next, Judge Fricke called me to his chambers and handed me this (indicating). It is entitled, "We have just begun to fight," which is another vicious piece of inflammatory literature—

Mr. Combs (Interrupting): I have a copy.

A. (Continuing) — it is 99 per cent false, just as her speech was.

Mr. Combs: I would like to read a very short excerpt from that pamphlet (reading):

"It is mandatory upon the citizenry of Los Angeles to prevent a few newspapers, a few score of police sadists, a pair of ambitious prosecutors and the Fifth Column to cancel out the fine harmony between peoples and nations so diligently being woven in the course of a democratic war.

"The Citizens' Committee for the Defense of American-Mexican Youth, composed of leading members of the community, has long been dedicated to this harmony, and to the elimination of these crippling injustices.

"First on this program is the continued defense of the 17 Mexican-American boys just condemned, a marshalling of every reasonable assistance to prepare for an appeal along the lines maintained by our own Attorney George E. Shibley.

"More recently, also the situation has worsened through the rabid activities of Fifth Columnists anxious to impede the war drive by splitting off a highly productive section of the population from the main body of unity.

"Small wonder, then, that these 12 men and women approached impanelment with a fixed notion that 'Mexican' was synonymous with criminality. And that they were very susceptible to evidence 'proving' one more instance of it." I would like to introduce this as the exhibit next in order for this witness.

Chairman Tenney: Exhibit No. 3. (Marked Shoemaker Exhibit No. 3).

Mr. Combs: I would also like to introduce the pamphlet entitled "The Talk of the Town" as this witness' next exhibit.

Chairman Tenney: No. 4, Shoemaker Exhibit No. 4.

The Witness: May I continue on with the matter concerning Dr. Caldecott?

Mr. Combs: Yes.

A. After Judge Fricke had called me into his chambers and shown me this pamphlet and delivered it to me I telephoned Dr. Caldecott, the Unitarian minister, whom I knew

to be a fine gentleman, a conscientious public-spirited citizen, and asked him if such a meeting had been scheduled at his church, if he knew anything about it, and I believe he replied that the matter was not in his charge, but that he would find out; and he found out that it was scheduled a few days hence, and I said, "I wonder if you know what the meeting is about," and he frankly didn't know, and I asked if he would be interested in knowing, and he said that he would, and so he came to my office very promptly. I had on my desk the grand jury transcript of that case and the entire 6,500 pages of the trial record, and I told him when he came in there was the record, he could look at it then, or he could take a week to look at it if he wanted, but that this meeting that was about to be held at his church was for the purpose of printing the propaganda such as was in the pamphlet entitled "We have just begun to fight," and I said to him in substance, "We feel you ought to know what the nature of the meeting was, so you can decide whether or not you want to be a party to it in any way, shape or manner, because that is an attack upon the judge, upon the prosecutors, upon the jury and upon the fairness of the trial in a case which is now pending before the courts." And he was very courteous, he said he would like to investigate with his official board, and the next day he called me and said he wanted an appointment, and he came down and he brought with him the president of his board, a lawyer who is a member of the staff, employed I believe by the City of Los Angeles in the Bureau of Power and Light—Water and power, and with them came two members of this Citizens Committee for the Defense of American-Mexican Youth. They didn't come exactly at the same time, the two members of this committee followed in a few minutes.

Q. Who were they?

A. Clore Warne and a young lawyer by the name of Robert Morris, whom I had never met, but who was introduced as one of the State barristers of Los Angeles.

Q. Wasn't he—

A. (Interrupting) He stated he had formerly been in the office of Robert Kenny, the Attorney General.

Q. Wasn't he also a representative of the National Lawyers Guild?

A. I don't know about that.

Q. What was his name?

A. Robert Morris. Shall I proceed?

Q. Yes, go right ahead.

A. They—when I say they I mean Mr. Caldecott and his representatives stated that they had arranged this meeting for the purpose of discussing the nature of the meeting to be held in the church, and I had asked John Barnes to come in,

and he sat with us, so six of us were present at the conference. The nature of this discussion was merely this, that we in a few words told Mr. Caldecott in the presence of these two lawyers, Mr. Warne and Mr. Morris, that we felt that sheet which I have referred to was viciously false, without foundation, was inflammatory, and that it was harmful to the case that was pending, and that such a thing as that ought not to be circulated. Our only interest in this meeting was whether or not the minister knew the nature of it, we had no control over the meetings in his church, we didn't invite the conference, they invited themselves on their own accord. These two committee members, they launched into an attack then upon the trial. Mr. Warne led the attack, and we asked them if they were responsible for the preparation of, not only this pamphlet, but of the one which is already in evidence and marked and described as "The talk of the town." They admitted they were, they and a group of other people were responsible for the preparation of those pamphlets. They virtually said in response to our challenging questions it didn't make any difference whether those things were true or not, they were opposed to the prosecution of 22 individuals for the murder of one on general principles, and they virtually justified anything in those pamphlets on the ground their belief and philosophy would not permit them to approve the prosecution against those 22 defendants for the murder of Jose Diaz.

Q. Who is Jose Diaz, was he a Mexican?

A. Jose Diaz was born in the United States, and practically every one of the defendants were American citizens, born right here in Los Angeles, and everyone had the benefit of an education up to the 10th or 11th grade. So the result of it was that after some bitter discussion on the part of Mr. Warne and Mr. Morris, and it was quite bitter, we asked very few questions and took very little part in the discussion, Mr. Barnes and myself, the meeting adjourned; and the next day Mr. Caldecott informed me over the telephone he had concluded to have nothing to do with it, and the meeting was cancelled, and he put it on this ground: Their church was an open forum on civil rights and remedies at any and all times, but never did they intend their premises should be used for an attack upon the courts or an institution of Justice for the purpose of raising funds in carrying on some proceedings—something to that effect.

And I want you to call Mr. Caldecott right here, right now and ask him, and he will tell you he cancelled that meeting, not from any threats from our office, which were not made; he became convinced the meeting was subversive in character and something he wanted to have nothing to do with.

* * * * *

Mr. Combs: Q. Now, Mr. Shoemaker, summing up the impressions which you gained as a result of the events leading up to the Sleepy Lagoon case and which occurred during the trial of the case and which occurred immediately thereafter, tell the committee what your opinion is concerning the influence exerted by Communist organizations such as this Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth.

A. Well, from my familiarity with the nature of the assaults that had been made prior to the Sleepy Lagoon case, and I had been consulted both by the sheriff and the police in regard to a number of cases occurring earlier in 1942, and then my familiarity with the facts and circumstances surrounding the so-called Sleepy Lagoon case, I'm satisfied—in fact, I think there is no doubt about it—that there is no Axis influence in the case whatsoever, or any of the cases, never the slightest evidence of any efforts by any of the Axis powers or any of the agents of the Axis powers to incite any of these people to commit any of these depredations—we never found any evidence at all in that direction. On the other hand, we found that probably the group, the hoodlums that made up these gangs, an aggregate of some 300 out of the total Mexican colony of nearly 300,000, we found the better elements in the Mexican community, the respectable people, all the law-abiding Mexican citizens, heartily approved our prosecution.

If you want to go back and look at the leading Mexican newspaper—I think it is called *La Opinion*—I don't think you will find any criticism in that newspaper of that prosecution or of the police or the sheriff in regard to that case, or any similar case. You'll find that the better elements in the community, both Mexican, colored and white, all believe in law enforcement, with respect to those matters, and upheld the law enforcement agencies. But this group of radicals, whatever you call them—now, when you call them Communists, I want to refer to them as our own breed of Communists, I don't blame Russia—and I don't want to confuse our Communists with those people, that is, they are only a breed, whether you call them Socialists or Socialist radicals or Socialist revolutionaries, they speak a language which in the courtroom always sounds the same. They attack the police officers, they attack the law enforcement, they put the policemen on trial, the law enforcement agencies—they put everybody on trial except the defendant, and their methods with respect to glorifying these defendants, their methods of attacking the police, of attacking the district attorney, ridiculing the court in open court, ridiculing the processes of the court in open court in the presence of these defendants, with the courtroom full of their friends.

Q. That occurred in this case?

A. Oh, yes, every day.

Q. And in the case which preceded it, the Webster case?

A. Yes. And I say in my opinion the activities of these trouble makers do more harm to law enforcement, do more harm to the matter of peace and security of the community than any other single influence, and I personally feel that this group of radicals who make, who support this sort of a movement and who back up these people and raise money, the same way as they did in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, are responsible for stirring up hatred and animosity in the community, are responsible for inciting and fomenting the very thing that happened in the recent outbreaks when the sailors and soldiers finally in desperation took over and we had our recent trouble. In that connection may I say that I believe that in spite of the valiant effort of the police department and the sheriff so many outbreaks had occurred against the men in the armed forces, and they were so disgusted with the tactics of these hoodlums who frequented the streets at night that they finally in desperation because of the extreme situation presented, virtually took the law into their own hands.

I heard a service man stand up in a meeting before a group of veterans some weeks before this outbreak occurred, and he was a man who if I mention his name you would know him, but I won't mention his name—he stood up in the open meeting, and he happened to—I was assistant district attorney at the time—he said he wanted to ask the assistant district attorney why men in the armed forces like myself when we get a week-end off in order to see our family and friends have to take an armed body guard with us in order to keep from being attacked by zoot-suiters, as he called them. That was the situation even before the outbreaks occurred. Incidentally, I left—I left on the 31st, and the outbreak occurred on the 1st day of June. Now, maybe that wasn't what caused them, it may have been a mere coincidence, but the situation really was there, there had been so much building up of the hoodlums by the people of the type of the Citizens Defense Committee, and this false circulation of inflammatory and defamatory material that it was the logical thing to expect they would break out. It was pretty well under control when we finished with that trial. Captain Reed of the police department and the men in the sheriff's department had done wonderful work in covering those assaults and in getting the thing under control until this sort of thing made it bad again.

New Communist "Front"

© ORGANIZATIONS with new names and familiar personnel came into being overnight.

The "*Citizens Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*" soon became the most prominent of the new agit-prop

(agitation-propaganda) committees. Offices were opened and maintained in the Wilcox Building at Second and Broadway in the City of Los Angeles, where the influence and domination of Mrs. La Rue McCormick, a registered and admitted member of the *Communist Party*, guided the work and propaganda. Philip Connelly, then State President of the C. I. O.; Al Waxman, publisher of the "*Eastside Journal*"; Leo Gallagher, *National Lawyers' Guild*; Bert Corona, *Warehousemen's Union*; Jerome Posner, *Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union*; Jessie Armenta, *Laundry Workers' Union*; Gregg Bemis, *International Workers' Order*; John Bright, *Council of Pan-American Democracy*; Josephine Fierro, *Spanish People's Congress*; Herbert Ganahl, *National Lawyers' Guild*; Dorothy Comingore, *Screen Artists' Guild*; Minnabell Cline, *Screen Office Employees' Guild*; Oscar Fuss, C. I. O. Legislative Director; Rose Harmon; Mrs. Will Rogers, Jr.; Guy Nunn, Minorities Group Division of the War Production Board; Carey McWilliams, State Director of the Department of Immigration and Housing; Roger Cardona, President of the *Victory Youth Club*; Stewart Neil, and Charlotta Bass, publisher of the "*California Eagle*," were some of the sponsors of this new Communist front organization.

The following extract from a mimeographed circular distributed in the Los Angeles area by the *Citizens' Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth* is typical:

"The Sleepy Lagoon Murder trial, which resulted in the conviction of 17 Mexican-American boys, three for first-degree murder, nine for second-degree, and five for assault, can only be understood if it is viewed against the background of persecution and discrimination which has been practiced against our Mexican-American population, a part of which has been a press campaign of vilification and slander. In this light it becomes understandable that 12 boys were convicted of the murder of a man without proof that any one of them ever touched him or attempted in any way to do him any harm.

"During June and July of 1942, the Los Angeles Press began to build a 'crime wave' among Mexican-American youth which was unsubstantiated by any official records. Stories of arrests were played up on the front pages; no mention was made of subsequent releases for lack of any charge. The 'zoot-suits' worn by great numbers of Mexican and Negro youth, was invested with a sinister connotation. . . ."

Captain George Contreras of the Sheriff's office of Los Angeles County, in charge of the Sheriff's *Anti-Subversive Detail*, testified, in part, as follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XIX, pp. 4559-4560):

By Mr. Combs: Q. Are you familiar with a building across the street from the one in which you are located known as the Wilcox Building?

A. Yes, sir.

* * * * *

Mr. Combs: Q. Have you ever had occasion to have the tenants of that building checked?

A. From time to time, yes.

Q. Do you have a list of the tenants of the building?

A. Yes. Do you mind if I put my glasses on, I can't see.

Q. Not at all.

A. I have, sir.

Q. Would you mind reading it into the record?

A. (Reading): "Offices in the Wilcox Building, Second and Spring, Room 208, John E. Jeffrey, California Regional Representative, (Was State President of the State, County and Municipal Workers of America).

"208. John St. Cry, State, County and Municipal Workers of America.

"242. Spanish Speaking People's Congress — Josephine Bright, Secretary.

"325. The American Association of Social Workers.

"401. Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

"425. Rose Segure, Regional Representative.

"440. United Office & Professional Workers of America, Local No. 9.

"525. People's Daily World."

That is about all, Mr. Combs, in that building.

Captain Contreras testified that his office had made a thorough investigation of the *Citizens' Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth* and that the group was, in his opinion, a Communist front organization.

There is, of course, no doubt whatever of Mrs. La Rue McCormick's Communist affiliations. She has been a registered Communist for many years and has been an active functionary in party affairs for a long time. She was the spearhead in the Mexican agitational campaign and created the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*. Her testimony, in this connection, follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XVIII, p. 4313):

By Mr. Combs: Q. Of course, you were sponsor, were you not, of the Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth?

A. Yes.

Q. Who actually organized that in its inception, any one individual, or was it a spontaneous proposition?

A. Well, I sent out the invitation to a number of people to come together to discuss the problems, and as a result of the meeting of these people the committee was formed.

Q. From whom did you get the idea?

A. I can't say I got the idea from anyone. I thought it was something that ought to be done.

Q. It originated with yourself?

A. Yes, I think so.

Communist "Front" Sponsors

The first witness examined by the committee in this particular investigation was Philip M. Connelly, State President of the C. I. O. He admitted being connected with the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth* and affiliated, in one way or another, with organizations known to the members of the committee as Communist dominated or controlled. These organizations were: the *Committee for American Unity*, the *Harry Bridges Defense Committee*, the *California Conference for Democratic Action*, the *American Peace Mobilization*, the *National Negro Congress* and the *Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee*.

Connelly testified (pp. 4131-4162, Vol. XVII) that he was acquainted with Carl Winter, Los Angeles County Secretary of the *Communist Party*, and that he had met him shortly after Winter had arrived in Los Angeles. He believed that his last meeting with Winter, prior to testifying, was in the Los Angeles office of the "*People's Daily World*," *Communist Party* publication. (See the 1943 Committee Report, page 154 for Connelly's *Communist Party* affiliation.)

At the time Connelly testified before the committee on the subject of the "zoot-suit" disturbances (June 21, 1943) the Los Angeles office of the "*People's Daily World*" was located in the Wilcox Building at 2nd and Spring Streets. Committee investigators found the offices of the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth* also housed in the Wilcox Building.

Mrs. Charlotta Bass, publisher of the "*California Eagle*," Los Angeles east-side newspaper, was one of the sponsors of the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*. The columns of the "*California Eagle*," editorially and otherwise, echoed the sentiments and hewed to the "line" of the *Communist Party* organ, "*The People's Daily World*." Mrs. Bass testified (pp. 4113-4131, Vol. XVII) that she had been acquainted with Philip M. Connelly for two years; that she was acquainted with Carey McWilliams, Pettis Perry, President of the *Communist Party* of Los Angeles County, Mrs. La Rue McCormick and Al Waxman, publisher of the "*Eastside Journal*." Mrs. Bass stated that she had known Pettis Perry for about 20 years. The metamorphosis of the "*California Eagle*" from a respected American journal, championing the cause of the American Negro, to a Communist propaganda sheet has been going on for several years.

Al. S. Waxman stated (pp. 4071-4113, Vol. XVII) that he had resided in Southern California for about 22 years and that

he had been the owner and editor of the "*Eastside Journal*" for approximately eight and one-half years. He testified that the paper was in the category of a "throw-away" and was being delivered free of charge to about 17,000 persons, about 30 per cent of whom were of Mexican descent. He admitted addressing a group of Mexican boys on the corner of Brooklyn and Indiana Streets prior to the "zoot-suit" riots. He admitted printing articles in the columns of his paper declaring the *Sinarquistas* to be an Axis-dominated group, and, at the same time, he admitted he knew nothing concerning the organization except what he had read in other publications. He admitted that an article appeared in his newspaper June 16, 1943, which stated in effect that the issue in the recent race-riots was a "Fifth-Column" force seeking to disrupt the war effort of the United States. When questioned closely on the facts of such a statement, he was unable to offer the committee any proof to substantiate the statements made in the article in question. He admitted that he was a subscriber to the "*People's Daily World*" and that he was aware that the Los Angeles offices of the publication were located in the Wilcox Building at 2nd and Spring Streets.

Like the "*California Eagle*," Waxman's "*Eastside Journal*" has, for some time, been echoing the sentiments and hewing to the Communist Party "line," as exemplified in the columns of the Communist Party west coast publication, "*The People's Daily World*." Waxman's sympathy with things Communistic is clearly established by his testimony. He admitted attending two meetings, at least, where Pettis Perry spoke as the chairman of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County. He attended the meeting at the Philharmonic Auditorium in Los Angeles January, 1943, and heard the speech of Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States. He admitted being acquainted with Carey McWilliams, John and Josephine Bright, Mrs. La Rue McCormick, Guy T. Nunn, Dorothy Comingore and Oscar Fuss. He stated that he had been acquainted with Philip M. Connelly for approximately 10 years. John and Josephine Bright maintained offices in the Wilcox Building, Los Angeles where the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*, the "*People's Daily World*," and other Communist and Communist front organizations were housed. John and Josephine Bright had been particularly active in a Communist front organization known as the *Spanish-Speaking People's Congress*. Waxman admitted having supported Mrs. La Rue McCormick for State Senate when she was the Communist Party's nominee for that office in the 1942 election.

It was Waxman's opinion that the metropolitan newspapers in the City of Los Angeles were responsible for the so-called "zoot-suit" riots. He contended that these metropolitan publications had carried headlines charging that Mexican boys were attacking members of the United States armed forces and that

because of these headlines disturbances had ensued which were further inflamed and agitated by a succession of sensational headlines.

Waxman maintained that there had been cases of discrimination against the Mexican people before the riots began, stating that Mexican boys and young men were barred from a number of theatres when they sought admission in groups of more than two or three. He stated that Mexican young men were admitted to a limited number of dance halls in the city and barred from the rest. He alleged that the Negro people were being denied service in restaurants throughout the City of Los Angeles. He stated that the Jewish people were particularly being discriminated against and charged that there were no less than 50 cases of such discrimination in the City of Wilmington.

Waxman's Testimony

The editorial and newspaper activities of Waxman and Charlotta Bass have already been discussed. An inspection of their respective newspapers over a period of several months immediately prior to the first outbreak of rioting indicates that the two publications were following the "line" started by the Communist publication, "*The People's Daily World*." All three of these papers combined in an onslaught on the more conservative metropolitan newspapers in Southern California in charging that they (the metropolitan press) were responsible for the "zoot-suit" riots. It was, in fact, the "*Eastside Journal*," the "*California Eagle*" and the "*People's Daily World*" that carried an intensive campaign on the *Pachuco* or "zoot-suit" issue for months. Waxman testified (Com. Tr., Vol. XVII, pp. 4098-4101) as follows:

A. My opinions were expressed in my newspaper probably long before the *People's World* picked up the thing, because we're here; it takes them several days to get the news and bring it back to us. I say again the daily newspapers in my opinion caused these riots by coming out first with the elaborate stories of Mexican boys attacking seamen and members of the armed forces, and then when the fights took place the stories were written and handled in such a manner that the seamen were led to believe that they had gained a victory; so the Mexican boys felt it was then time for reprisals, and then the *Daily News* carried stories that the Mexican boys were the victors, so the service men came back for reprisals, and day after day that journalistic method of selling newspapers on the streets was used, and then when the thing seemed to play itself out and die and there was nothing else to fight about the *Daily News* came out with the banner headline that the zoot-suit boys had declared war on the defense workers. Now, I suppose according to the conversation this afternoon I should have gone to the Federal Government and asked them to check on the results of the headlines. I

took it up with the defense workers, and I found a number of defense workers who had read the *Daily News* who said they were going to quit the night shift and swing shift, and a number said they would continue to work, but carry weapons in their cars for protection.

By Senator Tenney: Q. This article (in the *Eastside Journal*) of June 10th, "Race Incitement to Violence—An Eyewitness Account"—do you think that would have any tendency to stir up riots among the Mexicans? (indicating).

A. I don't think so.

Q. You don't think (reading): "Four boys came out of a pool hall. They were wearing the zoot suits that have become the symbol of a fighting flag. Police ordered them into arrest cars. One refused.

"He asked: 'Why am I being arrested?'

"The officer answered with three swift blows of the night stick across the boy's head and he went down. As he sprawled he was kicked in the face. Police had difficulty loading his body into the vehicle because he is one-legged and wears a wooden limb."

You go on to say (continuing to read):

"At the same corner, a Mexican mother cried out: 'Don't take my boy. He did nothing. He's only 15 years old. Don't take him.'

"She was struck across the jaw with a night stick and nearly dropped the 2½-year-old baby that was clinging in her arms." Don't you think that that would excite anger on the part of the Mexicans?

A. They were doing nothing to stop riots in our city.

Q. I know, but don't you think that would incite anger on the part of the Mexicans?

A. Not if they read the whole article. You have taken only a sentence out of it. If you take a sentence out of the Bible you will have a riot, but if you read the whole Bible you wouldn't.

Q. Isn't that true with the metropolitan press?

A. Unfortunately, no. Most of those articles in my opinion were cloaked to an extent that they carried out what the headlines portrayed.

Q. That reasoning only applies to your article, not the metropolitan press?

A. I think mine was better written than the metropolitan press."

The police records of the City of Los Angeles and the records of the sheriff's office of Los Angeles County do not reveal the

arrest of a *Pachuco* or a member of any of the so-called "zoot-suit" gangs who was the possessor of an artificial leg.

Waxman had charged that a Mexican youth had been clubbed by a deputy sheriff at a time and place named by Waxman. It was alleged that the officer's badge number was "88." Asked by Mr. Combs whether or not he had made an investigation of the charge, Captain Contreras testified as follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XIX, pp. 4563-4565):

A. Yes. Before I go into that, I would like to refresh my memory, too, and declare our office as far as cases concerned where we interviewed a zoot-suiter in the county jail and where he said he was beaten up by one of our officers—

Q. Mr. Combs (interrupting): You and I interviewed the defendant, as I recall?

A. Yes, and I told you I would make an investigation of the situation.

Q. Yes. I think the person to whom we talked accused a member of the sheriff's department, a deputy sheriff, of brutality?

A. Yes.

Q. And gave the number of the badge as number 88?

A. 88, that's right.

Q. Did you make such an investigation?

A. I did.

Q. What did you find?

A. I proceeded out to Belvedere, known as the East Los Angeles Sub-Station, Captain Brewster is in charge, and we found out who the officer was, we found that the officer on the night of the arrest wasn't even out of the station, that he was on duty at the office at the time when the prisoner was brought in, and, therefore, could not have struck this individual at the automobile at the time of the arrest.

Q. And the accusation, therefore, was obviously false?

A. Yes, sir.

Waxman testified further (Com. Tr., Vol. XVII, pp. 4075-4077.):

Chairman Tenney: Q. In your edition of June 16th, in the column "*On The Left*" you referred to this situation (reading): "However, the issue in the recent riots was not the service men. Nor was it the zoot-suit boys; nor was it the Mexicans or the Negroes. It was a sinister fifth-column force that was forging ahead in its effort to disrupt the war effort of this country and to bring an end to unity." Is that correct?

A. That's correct.

Q. Will you elaborate and tell us on what you based it?

A. I have found from time to time on the east side some of our Mexican boys were getting money, more money than they could possibly be earning. Unfortunately, up to this moment I have not been able to determine exactly from whom they get the money, nor how much they get, but the general impression that I have been given by the boys is: "We get money and then whoever gives us the money stops in once in a while and says, 'Why go to work, why do this, why do that.' We'll keep you supplied with money.'" And I have tried on several occasions to locate the source of the money. Unfortunately, up to this moment I have been unable to do it. If your committee is still functioning when I find out I will be very happy to turn it over to you.

Chairman Tenney: Q. To the committee—or is this a committee of which you are a member?

A. Oh, no. I refer to your Committee.

Q. Oh, I see. So it's your guess it is a fifth column?

A. Well, we like to say we believe until we can actually give you names and addresses.

Q. What you have said up to this point: That groups of these Mexican boys have unusual amounts of money?

A. That's right.

Q. And upon asking them the source of money they indicate it has been given to them, and that on occasions the party who gives the money states to them "Why Work?"

A. That's correct.

Q. And on those grounds you build up the presumption it might be a "fifth column?"

A. That's right.

Q. It is, in your opinion, a logical conclusion?

A. I think it is, Mr. Tenney.

Q. Any other explanation could be presumed with equal logic. For instance, the boys might steal, and upon being questioned as to where they had gotten the money, might say it was given to them?

A. It happens during the nine years I have been on the east side I have gained the confidence of some of the boys. As you will note, when I called a meeting of the boys, they showed up.

Q. I would like this question answered. I would like to ask it very carefully: Have you at any time complained of the Mexicans to the police?

A. No.

Q. Are you quite certain of that?

A. Complained of the Mexicans to the police—you mean, the entire race of Mexicans?

Q. Of Mexican boys?

A. No. No, never complained of Mexicans to the police. We have carried articles and straight news in which we have listed the names of the participants after we had secured them from the police records.

Q. You didn't go to the police department about four years ago and demand some action be taken against Mexican groups?

A. Never.

The foregoing testimony of Waxman became significant when Captain J. F. Reed, of the Los Angeles police department, testified June 23, 1943. The committee was particularly interested in learning whether or not there was any truth in charges of police brutality made by Waxman's paper, "*The Eastside Journal*," Charlotta Bass' "*California Eagle*," and the Communist publication, "*The People's Daily World*." Captain Reed was the administrative assistant to the Chief of Police in the City of Los Angeles. His testimony, in part, is as follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XIX, pp. 4448-4450):

Senator Tenney: Q. Captain, are you acquainted with a man by the name of Al Waxman?

A. Yes, sir, very well.

Q. How long have you known him?

A. I would say approximately five years.

Q. During the time you have known him has he ever seen fit to call on you with reference to disturbances on the east side, particularly among the Mexican population?

A. Yes, sir, many times.

Q. Will you give the committee the particulars of those times?

A. I have newspaper clippings—I was assigned to the Hollenbeck as captain of that area, and Mr. Waxman was the editor of the *Eastside Journal* in that area. He made numerous complaints in reference to Mexican youths who were coming into the Jewish area and molesting those people, and asking and demanding that we give more police protection to that area.

Q. About when was that?

A. Back in 1934 or '35 or '36. Of just recent date I have talked to Mr. Waxman along the same lines, approximately five months ago I had a conversation over the telephone with him in reference to the Pachuco situation, at which he asked me at that time to take some definite action and more strenuous action than we were taking at that time in the Hollenbeck area.

Q. Against the Pachucos or in their defense?

A. Against all persons committing those type of crimes,

and he particularly stressed those dressed in Pachuco suits in the "Column Left" he writes. Back when Chief James Davis was Chief of the Police Department, he complained of certain situations and of some rapers and purse snatchers, and so forth, who were operating in that area.

Assemblyman Dickey: May I ask a question?

Chairman Tenney: All right, Mr. Dickey.

Assemblyman Dickey: Q. Up until recently, all the complaints made by Mr. Waxman to your department were complaints against those boys of Latin-American extraction?

A. Not in all cases; in some cases he made complaints about other persons, but he has made complaints about Latin-American youths.

Q. Let me reframe that question and put it this way: His original complaint in that particular section was against the boys who were Latin-American, because they were infringing on the Jewish population in that district?

A. That's correct.

Q. And he requested of your department that more protection be given to the Jewish population in that particular area?

A. That's right.

Q. And it wasn't until recently that he spoke at all in defense of Latin-Americans?

A. Well, he has never spoken to me in defense of the Latin-American group.

Q. He has never spoken to you up until this time in the defense of the Latin-American group?

A. That's true.

Los Angeles Police Officer Clyde L. Schultz, who, after testifying concerning his participation in several of the Pachuco disturbances, had occasion to touch on the report of Al Waxman published in "*The Eastside Journal*." Officer Schultz' testimony, in this connection, is as follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XIX, pp. 4507-4511):

A. * * * We were discussing the story that Al Waxman had in his paper.

Q. What paper are you referring to?

A. The *Eastside Journal*. He stated in that that he was going to talk to a group of Mexican youths at Brooklyn and Indiana at approximately 8:30, he had called a meeting to ask them to cut out that kind of stuff, and in his paper he stated there were 250 attending this meeting. Well, the most that we saw there at any time was 35, and he stated in his paper that there would be 250. While this meeting was going on a load of Pachucos drove up in a car and said there was

a riot at 12th and Central and they were beating up their friends and families, the policemen were. They immediately got into the cars and went down to protect their families and homes. That meeting was held at 8:30, and the riot took place at 10 o'clock. He stated that four boys came out of a pool hall—excuse me while I think a minute. I want to get this straight.

Q. Take your time.

A. He stated four boys came out of a pool hall, and they were immediately grabbed by police officers, and that the reason, the only reason that they were being arrested they were told was because they were Pachucos, and that when this young fellow asked what he was being arrested for he was immediately knocked over the head and knocked unconscious into the gutter.

Q. He so testified?

A. I saw the whole thing. There is no pool room at that location; if I am right, where the four fellows came out of, there is a hamburger joint or a hot dog joint in there. These four fellows were standing in the doorway, and they were ordered to disperse. I believe the officer's name is Green; he works the reserves, and this particular individual that was struck—he may have had an artificial limb, but if he did you couldn't tell it by his walk. He struck the officer in the eye a good stiff jab.

Q. What did he strike him with, his fist?

A. Yes.

Q. You saw that?

A. Yes, I did. I believe the officer got a black eye out of that deal. The rest of them started edging in—

Q. (Interrupting) Toward the officers?

A. (Continuing) Yes. As they did, two uniformed officers drew their saps, and this individual was struck over the head, and he wasn't struck a dozen times, as Al Waxman said; he was struck only once that I know of. That is the only blow I saw struck, and he was struck down and placed under arrest. Al Waxman also stated a woman with a baby in her arms was struck across the head with a night stick.

Chairman Tenney: He said the baby was two and one-half years old.

A. That is approximately the age of the baby. That woman came up and said, 'Why are you arresting my son?' The officer walked with her to the corner and he told her that it was no place for a woman at all, and he suggested she go home before she was injured, before someone would strike her down and injure her, but as far as his striking her across the face with a night stick, that wasn't true. You can imagine

what would have happened to her if she had been struck across the face with a heavy night stick. Previous to that—

Mr. Combs: Q. (Interrupting) You were there and saw this thing occur, and the woman was not struck?

A. No, sir. Previous to the time of the riot Al Waxman run articles in his paper stating hoodlums run wild on east side, purses were snatched, automobiles stolen; what is the matter with police protection? He will come over to the police department and tell various policemen things the Mexican boys do, and then he will turn right around and tell the Mexican boys what the police do.

Q. Did you ever know of a committee known as the Citizens' Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth?

A. No, that's a new one.

Q. Mr. Waxman is a member of the committee.

A. It wouldn't surprise me.

Q. It is a fact, he so testified.

A. It wouldn't surprise me.

Q. Do you know whether or not Mr. Waxman is a member of the Communist Party?

A. I have my own ideas; I don't know for sure.

Q. What is your idea?

A. I think he is. I don't think he'd blow his nose unless he had a red handkerchief.

Q. What makes you think so?

A. From his actions, his attitude, the way he talks to people.

Q. Did you ever hear him talk to them?

A. Yes, I talked to Al Waxman out at the meeting at Indiana. He stated at the time they are not bad boys, the police don't understand—you fellows don't give them a chance, and I don't believe it was only a little over two weeks before when he called them in his paper zoot-suit hoodlums, purse snatchers, automobiles stolen, where is police protection.

Q. Does he point out to the Mexican youth in that area that they are discriminated against and subjected to racial prejudice and police brutality?

A. Well, I have had the Mexican boys tell me he has; I have never actually seen him or heard him do it myself, but I have had various ones of the boys over there tell me that he has said there have been things that have happened on that east side, that the police have used excess force and so forth.

Q. How long have you known Mr. Waxman?

A. Haven't known him at all, only in the last six or seven months, from being around over in that district.

Waxman, on the one hand, through the columns of his newspaper and by public meetings, was inciting the Mexicans of the east-side by telling them they were the victims of discrimination and, on the other hand, he was urging the police to take drastic action against them.

Communist Inspiration

LEO GALLAGHER was another sponsor of the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*. His Communist record is too well known to be repeated here.

Oscar Fuss, another sponsor of the committee, has a consistent Communist record since his arrival in California as an organizer for the Communist-inspired and dominated *Workers' Alliance*.

Jerome Posner, of the *Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union*, was later elected State Chairman of the C. I. O. *Political Action Committee*.

John Bright, representing the *Council of Pan-American Democracies*, was a sponsor of the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*. He has been active in *Communist Party* circles since 1934 or 1935, according to the files of the Committee. At one time he was a member of the Hollywood *John Reed Club*, a Communist journalistic organization named after the first American Communist. Bright was active in raising funds for the Spanish Loyalists and the Spanish refugees and was participating in *Communist Party* activities in the Republic of Mexico as late as the year 1940. John Leech, a former Communist Party organizer for Southern California, testified before the Los Angeles Grand Jury on August 15, 1940, that John Bright had escorted him and Stanley Lawrence to an under-ground Communist group in Westwood Village in 1935 or 1936. Bright is also a member of the National Executive Board of the Communist-inspired and dominated *League of American Writers*.

Josephine Bright is the wife of John Bright. She has been active in Communist front Spanish-speaking organizations, congresses, Mexican congresses, Mexican agricultural workers' unions and Spanish minority groups for a number of years. In recent months she has been active in raising money for Spanish refugees in Mexico. In 1942 she endorsed the candidacy of Mrs. La Rue McCormick, a registered Communist, for the office of State Senator for the 38th Senatorial District.

Carey McWilliams has a long record of Communist "front" affiliations. He has written a number of books from the *Communist Party* ideological viewpoint, notable mostly for inaccuracies and misinformation. In testifying before a Senate Committee in

Sacramento in 1941 he was compelled to admit that many of the assertions in his book "*Factories in the Field*" were without factual basis.

As a Communist "front" propagandist he specializes in agricultural labor agitation and racial problems.

He testified before the committee in Los Angeles June 22, 1943 (Com. Tr., Vol. XVIII, pp. 4329-4375). He stated emphatically that he had never been a member of the *Communist Party* and that the allegations concerning him contained in Miss Rena M. Vale's affidavit (Com. Report, 1943) were false. Without admitting their Communist inspiration and domination, McWilliams admitted having been affiliated with the *National Lawyers' Guild*, the *Inter-Professional Association*, the *Western Writers' Congress*, the *California Council for Democratic Action*, the *School for Organizers*, (sponsored by the *United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America* at Chino), the *Simon J. Lubin Society*, the *Committee for the Protection of Foreign-Born*, the *Schneiderman Defense Committee*, the *Committee for American Unity*, the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*, and the *Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee*. He has been affiliated with so many similar organizations that he was unable to remember whether or not he had been a sponsor of the *Southern California Conference for Civil Rights*. He could not remember whether or not he had spoken at a meeting sponsored by the *League Against War and Fascism* and could not be sure whether or not he had ever affiliated with the *League for Political Unity*. He stated that he had been elected to the board of directors or the board of sponsors, of either the *American Peace Crusade* or the *American Peace Mobilization*. He claimed that he had not been present when the election took place and that his name had been used without his authority. He stated that he had written a letter repudiating the use of his name in connection with the organization as soon as he had become aware of the fact. He freely admitted being a subscriber to the *Communist Party* publication, "*The People's Daily World*," Needless to say, all of these organizations are Communist "fronts."

He believed that the "zoot-suit" phenomenon was a "second generation" problem, aggravated by bad housing conditions, overcrowding, lack of sanitation facilities, lack of recreational opportunities, and a low standard of living. He believed that discrimination against the Mexican people had contributed considerably to ill feeling. He believed that there had been some police brutality but that police inaction, rather than brutality, had permitted the situation to reach riot proportions. The local metropolitan press of Los Angeles, in his opinion, had contributed to the violence in exciting young Mexican boys to drastic action.

McWilliams' views on racial intermarriage are identical with *Communist Party* ideology. On this subject he testified as follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XVIII, pp. 4364-4366):

Q. (By Chairman Tenney) I would like to ask you what you think of miscegenation?

A. I think miscegenation statutes are a reflection of prejudice in the community.

Q. Do you think they should be abolished?

A. I do.

Q. You think there should be free intermarriage?

A. I don't think there should be a legal prohibition against intermarriage, and I'll tell you why: In the Southern States they have had miscegenation statutes for years, it hasn't stopped interracial sexual intercourse; on the contrary the effect of it has been to increase that very practice by reason of the fact that the white man who has sexual relations with a negro woman is not held accountable, he can't contract a valid marriage, and sociologists who have gone into this subject at great length and who are very distinguished have said the miscegenation statutes have had the opposite effect of what it was intended to produce.

Q. Well, with the repeal of these statutes then, of course, marriage between various races would be permissible and legal, and would you advocate that?

A. Mr. Tenney, it would be presumptuous to advocate those marriages. I am not advocating anyone marry; I'm saying that these miscegenation statutes do not accomplish the purpose for which they were passed in the first instance. I think they should be repealed; I think they are symbolic of existing prejudice in the communities, and I feel this to the very degree, and I might say there is a considerable weight of opinion to sustain this judgment, to the very degree the negro race in the United States raises in the social statue in education and so forth, to that very extent you will have less interracial mixture than you have now, when they are, remember, at a disadvantage as a racial minority group in the United States.

Q. I don't think you have answered my question.

A. You can repeat it. I think I have.

Q. I say, do you favor intermarriage?

A. I say it is presumptuous upon me to say that 'A' should marry 'B.'

Q. I understand. I am not talking about 'A' and 'B.' I am talking about the negroes and the whites.

A. I am not advocating. I think the prohibition should be removed.

Sponsors and committee personnel of the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth* were changed from time to time in typical Communist fashion. The Sleepy Lagoon Murder case, as a Communist *cause celebre*, was used by Communist

Party steering committees to feed the racial agitation and antagonism created by the "zoot-suit" riots. Lagging interest is bolstered by the addition of new names to "sponsor" and "committee" lists, and Hollywood glamour is added by way of stimulation. Pursuant to this technique the names of Fay Allen, Harry Bridges, Revels Cayton, John Cohee, John Warren Day, Jaime Gonzales, Augustus F. Hawkins, Martin Hourihan, John Howard Lawson, Canada Lee, Professor F. O. Matthiessen, Michael Quill, Reverend Clayton D. Russell, R. Lal Singh, Albee Slade, Ferdinand C. Smith and Orson Welles were added to the list from time to time.

Orson Welles, a motion picture actor with a flair for politics and left-wing committee work, wrote the foreword to a pamphlet entitled "The Sleepy Lagoon Case," which was printed in English and Spanish and given a wide-spread distribution in the Los Angeles area.

The Communist record of Harry Bridges, as well as his activities on the west coast, are too well known to be repeated here. He was found to be a member of the *Communist Party* in his last deportation hearing. The committee is not aware of any instance in which he has failed to follow the *Communist Party* "line." It is interesting to note that prominent Californians are being pressured or otherwise persuaded to appeal to the President of the United States and United States Attorney General Francis Biddle on behalf of Harry Bridges. The Communists and their front organizations are openly clamoring for a dismissal of the deportation order against this alien, basing their appeal on the alleged ground that he has been an important factor in assisting the United States war effort and that his deportation would disrupt "unity." In this campaign for the alien Bridges, the Communists are using fellow-travelers, political opportunists and "innocents" as Charlie McCarthy-spokesmen in the creation of synthetic west coast public opinion on the subject. The Communist "strategists," during the Hitler-Stalin pact, looked upon the present world conflict as a "British Imperialist War." While Germany was overrunning Western Europe, the American Communists were busy with the "*American Peace Mobilization*" and Communist-inspired strikes in war industries in California and the United States. Harry Bridges' C. I. O. union was telling the world that "The Yanks Are Not Coming" and actively engaged in creating chaos and disunity in the United States defense preparations. It was not the treacherous attack of the Japanese on Pearl Harbor December 7, 1941, that changed the attitude of Harry Bridges, his west coast union or the Communists of the United States. It was Hitler's panzer divisions sweeping into Soviet Russia in June of 1941 that changed the "British imperialist war" into "The people's war." Had history taken a different direction in June of 1941 it is quite possible that west coast shipping, under the direction of Harry Bridges, might be in a deplor-

able condition. The *Communist Party* recognizes the short memory and the short-sightedness of the American people in general, and office-seeking officialdom, in particular.

Revels H. Cayton is a seaman by occupation and has a long record of affiliation with various Communist-controlled organizations. He was registered as a member of the *Communist Party* in San Francisco in 1940. In March of 1941 he signed an open letter to Governor Olson under the sponsorship of the *Academic and Civil Rights Committee*, protesting the outlawing of the *Communist Party* in the State of California. In September, 1941, he was a member of a panel on National and Racial Minorities on a program sponsored by the *California Action Conference for Civil Rights*, a Communist-inspired and dominated organization. In July, 1943, he signed a call for, and was a member of, a "Pro-war Press" conference at the *First Unitarian Church* located at Eighth and Vermont Streets, in the City of Los Angeles on behalf of the "*People's Daily World*." (See title, *West Coast Communist Press*.)

John Cohee is an officer of the *Los Angeles Newspaper Guild*, employed by the *Los Angeles Daily News* and does radio work as a news analyst. Rena Vale (pp. 154-155, Com.'s 1943 Report) stated that John Cohee of the *Los Angeles Daily News* was one of the members of the *Los Angeles Newspaper Guild* who was referred to by the Communists as a Communist sympathizer and in whom the *Communist Party* fractions in the guild placed its confidence. Cohee has been affiliated with the *Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee* and the Communist-inspired and dominated *League of American Writers*.

John Howard Lawson, Hollywood screen writer, has a long record of Communist activity and Communist front affiliations. He testified before the committee October 13, 1944, in the committee's investigation of the Communist-inspired and directed *Writers' Congress* held at the *University of California at Los Angeles* in October of 1943. (See title *Writers' Congress*.)

Professor F. O. Matthiessen is reported as a member of the faculty of *Harvard University*, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Little is known of his background. In December, 1941, he signed a preliminary petition sponsored by the *Committee for Citizenship Rights*, in behalf of William Schneiderman, head of the *Communist Party* of California, who was faced with cancellation of his United States citizenship.

Jerome Posner was connected with the Los Angeles joint board of the *Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America*. He has served on various committees welcoming visiting dignitaries from the Soviet Union. He has interested himself during the present war in the soldiers of the Red Army and at present is State Chairman of the *C. I. O. Political Action Committee*.

Michael Quill is President of the *C. I. O. Transport Workers' Union* of New York. In his capacity as the National President of the *Transport Workers' Union of America* he was one of the 49 members with Communistic background who, sitting with the National Executive Board of the C. I. O., voted the creation of the *Political Action Committee*. (The C. I. O. *Political Action Committee* and its activities in California is considered in another section of this report.)

R. Lal Singh is the editor of a Los Angeles publication, the "*Indian News*." Articles and writers stamp this publication as Communistic. Communist R. Palm Dutt, J. B. Haldane, English Communist, Harry Paulette, head of the English *Communist Party* and other Communist journalists appear as writers in the "*Indian News*." Singh was a sponsor and endorser for the "*People's Daily World*" so-called "Pro-War Press Conference" heretofore referred to and has occasionally contributed articles to the "*California Eagle*," owned and edited by Charlotta Bass. In March, 1943, he spoke on "*The Future of India*" at the Embassy Auditorium in Los Angeles under the auspices of the Los Angeles "Workers School," *Communist Party* educational project, now absorbed by the *Communist Party's* "*People's Educational Center*."

The Sinarquistas

REPRESENTATIVES of the committee visited the Los Angeles County Jail and questioned many of the Mexican young men and women who had been involved in the "zoot-suit" riots. Members of the sheriff's department and Los Angeles police officers were interviewed.

Committee investigators had secured photographs of *Sinarquista* meetings. These photographs clearly reveal the flag of the organization in full display on the platform.

Committee investigators and members of the Los Angeles Sheriff's office had considerable difficulty in locating officials of the *Sinarquistas* in the Los Angeles area. Pedro B. Villasenor eventually was served with a subpoena and appeared before the committee June 21, 1943. He declared that he was a Mexican National. He had come to the United States when about seven years of age and had been familiar with the *Sinarquistas* movement since 1937. He stated that the movement was organized in Mexico, May 23, 1937, by Manuel Zermano, Salvador Abascal, and Jose Oliveras, all of whom were known personally to Villasenor. He stated that the movement was directed by a National Committee in Mexico. Mexico was divided into several regional *Sinarquista* areas, governed by subordinate regional committees. The regional areas were, in turn, divided into municipal areas, which were governed by subordinate committees. He had been secretary of the Los Angeles organization since its inception and, for a time, was in charge of the Southern California region.

Martin Cabrera was the Southern California regional director at the time that Villasenor appeared before the Committee. The organization met in Los Angeles once each week, usually at Martin Cabrera's place of business. The general meetings for the entire membership were held on the first Sunday of each month at 830 S. Hicks Street, Los Angeles. It was stated that the general meetings were always open to the public.

Pedro Villasenor stated that the area formerly under his jurisdiction and now under the directorship of Martin Cabrera, extended south from the Kern County line to the Mexican border, including San Diego and Santa Barbara Counties, as well as the County of Los Angeles. The Northern California region was described as running northward from the northernmost boundary of Kern County and extending to, and including, the City and County of San Francisco. Villasenor stated that a Mr. Porfirio Rivira of Bakersfield headed the northern region at the time Villasenor was in charge of the southern region.

Manuel Buena Torrez of Mexico governed the organization in California. Villasenor explained that the heads of the regions in the United States were in communication with the *Sinarquista* Central Committee of Mexico and stated that the central committee had complete authority and jurisdiction over the movement everywhere. Villasenor admitted having read articles in the Communist publication, "*People's Daily World*," in which it was charged that the *Sinarquistas* was a "Fifth-Column Fascist" organization with a membership of 50,000 people in California alone and, opposed to the American war effort, all of which he denied. He stated that the organization in the Southern California region never numbered more than 400 persons and it was his belief that there were not more than 800 *Sinarquista* members in the State of California.

Communists Versus Sinarquistas

IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND the subtlety of Communist strategy in its attack on the *Sinarquista* movement in California, it is necessary to understand current Communist directives in Mexico, Latin and South America. These directives and immediate objectives are boldly enunciated in a speech of Elias Laferte, President of the Communist Party of Chile, speaking before the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Mexico in Mexico City, May 18, 1944. (See section of this report under title "*Communist Strategy in the Western Hemisphere*.")

The reader should bear in mind that the committee, in this part of the report, is more concerned with the controversy between the Communists and the *Sinarquistas* than with the merit or demerit of the *Sinarquista* movement itself. Committee findings on the *Sinarquista* movement, as such, are hereafter set forth.

Pedro Villasenor was questioned closely concerning Communist attacks upon the *Sinarquista* movement. His testimony follows (volume XVII, pp. 4000-4009):

By Mr. Combs:

Q. Now, Mr. Villasenor, you speak of having been attacked by the Communists. Will you explain what you mean by that?

A. Yes, since some of the fellow citizens from Mexico came to the United States there has been several attacks against us, saying we are fifth columnists and we are receiving money from Hitler, we are organizing the gangs, the zoot suiters on the east side, that we are concentrating to destroy the war effort of the American people and so forth—all those things against us, and I read all those attacks in some magazines—I don't recall the names—and especially the *Daily World*.

Q. The *People's Daily World*?

A. The *People's Daily World* last year, and other Mexican Communist papers that come, like the *Popular* that is printed in Mexico.

Chairman Tenney: That is a Communist paper?

A. Yes.

Mr. Combs: Q. Your organization was attacked in the *Popular*?

A. Yes.

Q. Does Lombardo Toledano write for the *Popular*?

A. Yes, I think he does.

Q. And another magazine that is published in Mexico by Lombardo Toledano is called *Futeo*?

A. Yes.

Q. That is a Communist publication?

A. That's a Communist publication.

Q. Published by Lombardo Toledano?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever seen attacks against the Sinarquistas in those publications?

A. Yes, and some American papers, like the *Sunday Times* from New York, and, of course, the statement made here by Mr. Diaz, made to the *Times*, I think last October of last year, the statement made against us.

Q. Mr. who?

A. Mr. Diaz (spelling), D-i-a-z.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Eduardo Quevedo?

A. I know the man, yes.

Q. Do you know whether or not he has made any attacks on your organization?

A. No, I don't know.

Q. You don't know. Do you know whether or not he is a member of the Communist Party?

A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know whether he is active in doing things for the Mexican youth?

A. I read something about his activities.

Q. Have you seen the article in *Time Magazine* about his activities, that is, in today's issue?

A. No.

Q. You haven't seen that?

A. No.

Q. I hand you what purports to be the masthead of a newspaper, a photostat, and it is entitled 'Special to the Sunday Worker,' and ask you whether or not you have ever seen this article? (Handing to witness.)

A. No. I haven't read this article.

Q. I hand you—

Chairman Tenney (Interrupting): Identify that first.

Mr. Combs: Entitled "Mexico Sinarquista Vanguard of Hitler," first of two articles—"Hitler Fifth Column in Mexico," by Alfred Stelling of the *Sunday Worker*, dated Mexico City, September 22nd, 1942.

I hand you another photostat of the *Daily Worker*, New York, Friday, April 24th, 1942, and call your attention to an article headed, "Mexican Government call Sinarquistas Traitors," and ask you if you have seen that before? (Handing to witness.)

A. I might have read this article in some paper, but I don't recall the specific paper.

Q. What is the *Sunday Worker*, do you know?

A. No. I don't know.

Q. Do you know what the *Daily Worker* is?

A. No, I haven't read it.

Q. The *Daily Worker*, for your information, is the counterpart of the *People's Daily World* on the Atlantic Coast, the Communist newspaper published in New York.

A. I see.

Q. Is there a Sinarquista movement in any other country besides Mexico and the United States?

A. No such thing as the French Sinarquistas.

Q. Is there such a thing?

A. No, that is a good laugh to the Sinarquistas in Mexico.

Q. There was never such a movement?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever hear of a man by the name of Jacques Ladurie?

A. No, sir.

Q. Did you read any place where he was supposed to be the chief of the French movement?

A. Yes, I think so.

Q. And appointed to the Laval cabinet in 1942?

A. I think in some paper.

Q. What paper?

A. *La Opinion*.

Q. Who publishes that paper?

A. Mr. Ignacio Lozano.

Q. I hand you a clipping from *Pic*, August, 1942, entitled, "American-Mexicans ask New Deal," by Josephine Fiero de Bright, and ask you if you ever have seen this article before.

A. No. I haven't read this article.

Q. Do you know who the author of it is?

A. I heard about Mrs. Josephine de Bright.

Q. What did you hear about her?

A. The first time I heard, there was an article printed in the Spanish magazine from the East, I think Chicago—around there—it was printed, and I read an article against us.

Q. Against you?

A. Against us. That is the first time I heard about it.

Q. What kind of a magazine was it?

A. I don't recall the name of it.

Q. You don't know whether it was a communistic publication or not?

A. No, I don't know.

Q. You only—

A. (Interrupting) I remember reading that article and it saying she was coming to California to destroy us.

Q. To destroy the Sinarquista movement?

A. Yes.

Q. Did she come to California?

A. She did.

Q. When did she arrive here ?

A. I don't know.

Q. About how long ago?

A. I think that article I read was last year, sometime last year.

Q. Last year. And she is in Southern California now?

A. I don't know.

Q. You don't know that?

A. No.

Q. I'd like to read an excerpt from this article into the record.

Chairman Tenney: All right, go ahead.

Mr. Combs: This is from page 1, the specific date is August 4th, 1942 (reading): "How many of our native Latin Americans speak English, they can read only Spanish, and so never come in contact with many of the facts about the war and the war effort, that are every-day knowledge to their English-reading brothers. Not only does this keep them from proper information as to the part they can play in winning the war, but it makes them prey to certain diversionist and even Fascist groups in their own midst.

"One such group is the Sinarquista movement, a reputedly Fascist organization which has secured a foothold in Mexico itself, and which is attempting to spread its propaganda to the Spanish-speaking people of this nation. By using discrimination and language difference as a basis, it attempts to create among these people suspicion and distrust of both the United States and the Mexican Governments." I ask this be received as Exhibit No. 5 for this witness.

Chairman Tenney: So ordered. (Marked Villasenor Exhibit No. 5.)

Mr. Combs: Q. Has your organization ever attempted to do the things that are alleged you have done in this article?

A. No, sir.

Q. Are you sure of that?

A. I am very sure of that.

Q. Has any other movement in Southern California endeavored to your knowledge to do the things that are alleged in this article?

A. Not that I know of.

Q. You are familiar with the activities of the Communist Party in connection with American youth?

A. The only thing I know is what I read about them.

Q. You have no first-hand knowledge?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever hear of a committee for the defense of Mexican-American youth?

A. I read about it.

Q. Do you know whether or not Mrs. Bright is a member of that committee?

A. I am not sure about that.

Q. There have been some statements made, Mr. Villase-nor, that the Sinarquista movement has some connection with the Falangist movement in Spain. Is that true?

A. No, sir, no connection with no movement with no party or no organization whatever.

Q. What is the Falangist movement in Spain?

A. I don't know, sir.

Q. I see.

A. (Interrupting) I only heard something about it, I only heard about it, I don't know anything about it.

Q. I see. I now hand you a pamphlet entitled, "The New Hope of the Mexican People — Synarquism. A Complete Summary of Its Program and Principles." The date on the introduction is January 6, 1943. And I ask you if you have seen one of those before? (Handing to witness.)

A. Yes, I have got one in my pocket right now.

Q. That is the one you told me you were going to bring?

A. That's right.

Q. Does that contain a full description of the purposes of the organization and the motives of the Sinarquista?

A. That's true.

Q. You have read this yourself, have you (indicating)?

A. I read it myself.

Q. Who wrote this pamphlet?

A. I think Father Alcium Hoebel.

Q. And he lives at Mount Angel, Oregon, does he not?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you acquainted with him?

A. I know about him, but I don't know him.

Q. Does he have any official position that you know of?

A. No.

Q. Is he connected with the church in any way?

A. I think he is their priest.

Q. A Catholic priest?

A. A Catholic priest.

* * * * *

Mr. Combs: Q. Mr. Villasenor, what was the underlying reason for the organization of the Sinarquista movement in the first place; why was it formed?

A. In Mexico?

Q. Yes.

A. Well, as far as the reasons, we have to make a little history about that. You know Mexico has been the revolutionary country for almost a hundred years, always been disorder in Mexico. Every president elected there has to be a revolution—we all know that—and we never had any order, we never did have any democratic way of living in Mexico. Democracy in Mexico is excluded. We never knew what it was, just in the propaganda of the politicians. We never knew any justice done, especially to the poor classes of people. We had some bad governments, they always destroyed, especially in the religious way of living of the people. We knew we had three years of persecution of Mexico, and the people of Mexico were tired of that way of living, and Salvador Abascal, Manuel Zermano and some of the others got together and they decided to start a new organization, different from the others that have been organized in Mexico. So much difference that even the name, even the tactics of working will be different entirely from the other organizations that have ever been established in Mexico; and they decide to create the Sinarquista movement there. They will organize and educate the people to unite the country in one ideal; that is, to bring order and peace and a common good for all the people in Mexico. They thought that the only way of organizing and establishing the real Christian democratic Mexico was to unite the people and to unite they had to fight in the civic field, we might say—I'm sorry about my English—

Q. (Interrupting) It is very good; it's all right.

A. (Continuing)—they knew they were going to have prosecution against them, many of them will be killed, there will be assassinations — there has been almost a hundred members of our organization has been assassinated, including three or four women that have been killed because of working for the movement. And they knew all that was going to come, and they decide to go and organize the whole country, the whole people, bring them together, not with hate or to destroy each other, but to establish love among the Mexican people, the doctrine of loving even the enemies. Of course, under the religion the sentiment of the people you know 99 per cent of the Mexican people is Catholic, and they saw all that, and how they had been persecuted and knocked around, and the country was full of disturbance and revolutions and disorder and anarchy, and they decided to come out and fight.

Mr. R. E. Combs, interrogating Mr. Villasenor, read several extracts from various publications attacking the *Sinarquista* group

as a subversive organization. Among such extracts was a passage from the book, "*Total Espionage*" by Curt Riess (pp. 236-237) to the effect that "The German espionage system in Mexico used the *Falangé* as its pay clerk, especially to finance the so-called *Sinarquista* movement." (Com. Tr., Vol. XVII, p. 4020.) Another excerpt was read to the witness (Com. Tr., Vol. XVII, p. 4021): "Question of name aside, the *Sinarquists* were a large murder gang, in West and Central Mexico, who wage guerrilla warfare against labor unions (which they denounced as Communist) and against persons to whom President Cardenas had given land. They were organized after the fuhrer system, of course. For a time Manuel Zermano was fuhrer. He was succeeded by Salvador Abascal, a friend of Birto Foucher's, who had to flee to Berlin after his plot failed. Abascal gets plenty of money from somewhere, controls 10,000 armed men, and has the *Sinarquists* organized on a military basis with an intelligence service, hideouts and arms caches. The *Sinarquists* must be considered today the most dangerous *Fascist* movement in Latin America."

Villasenor's testimony continued (Com. Tr., Vol. XVII, pp. 4021-4023):

By Mr. Combs: Q. Have you ever seen that before, or anything similar?

A. No, I haven't read it.

Q. Is anything contained in the article true?

A. Absolutely nothing.

Q. It is absolutely false?

A. I was—I am just surprised all these people who lie about the movement over there.

Q. You know of your own knowledge—

A. (Interrupting) I know those facts are not true, for the *Sinarquistas* in Mexico have absolute orders not to carry any knife or gun or any weapon whatever in there. Whenever they are attacked by force, by any other group, they are always defenseless, they cannot protect themselves when attacked by force. That explains why almost 100 of the people have been killed, and none of those people have been even injured by the *Sinarquistas* in Mexico. Our people have been killed, but none of the others have been killed, you see.

* * * * *

Q. It is your opinion, Mr. Villasenor, that most of these attacks and most of this which you have termed propaganda against your movement, is inspired from Communist sources?

A. (Nods head affirmatively) — yes, sir.

Q. Your movement is very militantly and very aggressively anti-Communist?

A. Yes, sir; absolutely.

Q. One of the principal tenets of your organization——

A. (Interrupting) One of the principles because the Communists in Mexico have done very much harm to the country. They agitate the country, the people, and it is one of the principles of the Sinarquistas to be against the ideas of the Communists.

Martin Cabrera gave his occupation as a printer with his business located on East 12th Street in the City of Los Angeles. He stated that he was a Mexican National and had been in Southern California since 1933. He had been acquainted with Pedro Villasenor for about seven years and had met Salvador Abascal in Los Angeles in 1939 or 1940 when the *Sinarquista Jefe* was in Southern California in the interest of the movement. He stated that he had replaced Pedro Villasenor as the head of the Southern California group, and since April, 1942, had conducted meetings of the various units. Cabrera's testimony, in part, follows: (Com. Tr., Vol. XVII, pp. 4045-4050.)

Mr. Combs: Q. Is your organization anti-Communist?

A. Definitely, yes.

Q. Very much, isn't it?

A. Very much, yes.

Q. And always has been?

A. Always has been.

Q. You have some knowledge, have you not, of the activities of the Communist Party among the young Mexican people in Southern California?

A. Well, the way I see, they have always been trying to befriend——

Q. (Interrupting) The Communists have always been trying to befriend——

A. (Continuing) — always tried to befriend the young people—in fact, during the recent riots all the Communist papers I have a copy of them, I brought just part, because it says something about us being behind the Mexican boy gangs.

Q. Go right ahead with your testimony.

A. Well, the only thing I can say they befriended the young people, always trying to show that they were their friends and that they will help them in every opportunity they have. I don't read very much of this paper except when I have time.

Q. Does your organization try to offset that?

A. Well, our organization is composed of men who work for a living. Anything that is put in there, well, it's donated. In fact, some of our members in order to discharge some of their duties have to leave their work and lose money, because

they don't get anything for it. Sometimes they even have to pay for things that they have to get in the organization.

Q. Is it your feeling that the Communist Party played any part in the stirring up of the recent zoot suit controversy?

A. It is almost a rule whenever they try to put the blame on somebody else, it is a general rule, because they have something themselves.

Q. I see. And have they in this instance endeavored to do that?

A. They have always been trying to put the blame on the Sinarquista's shoulders.

Q. For this particular disturbance?

A. Yes, it says so in the bottom of the little article.

Q. You mean regarding the sources of the fifth columnists?

A. The fifth columnists—it says there (indicating).

Q. This is from the *People's Daily World*, Saturday, May 29th, 1943, page 3, the title of the article is "Behind the Mexican boy gang. Minority needs equal chance in the war effort." The eighth point in the article reads (reading):

"The fifth column in the Mexican community, the Sinarquista movement must be exposed and isolated."

Below that is another title entitled, "A source of danger." In the same paper, "Sinarquista metropolitan press whitewashes it." (Reading:

"The fledgling Sinarquista fifth column recently held a convention here at Eppell Hall, 830 South Hicks Street, several hundred followers attended. The Sinarquista celebrated the first anniversary of the birth of the organization. Martin Cabrera, head of the regional committee, presided. Pedro Villasenor, Luis Uranga, Miguel Lequespi and Jesus Arroyo spoke. The *Herald Express* reporting the meeting said that 'The Sinarquista is an anti-Communist society.' The *Times* reported that it is a Mexican social and civic organization. Neither newspaper indicated that it is a Fascist organization, closely related to the Falange, whose headquarters are in Spain, and whose boss is in Berlin."

Q. How did you happen to get this copy?

A. One of our members happened to get hold of it, and he brought it to me so we can keep it in our records. We have other clippings of papers in which they always battle us, and naturally, we have to offset that somehow, the best way we can.

Q. Yes. How do you do that?

A. By verbal propaganda, telling our members how to act and what to do. Usually we recommend them to be quiet and not stir up any fights with the opposite side.

Q. You tell that to your young people?

A. Absolutely.

Q. Is it your idea the Communists are a good thing for the young Mexicans?

A. I don't think so.

Q. Why don't you think so?

A. The Communist Party has always been proven very violent, and any organization that stirs anything like that up, that can't be any good to any group of people alone.

Q. You say they are very violent—do you mean by that the Communist Party has agitated Mexican youth in this vicinity to cause trouble and to get into difficulty?

A. I have no proof of that, but the way it looks I think, yes.

Q. You think it has happened?

A. Yes.

Q. Why do you think the Communist Party would be interested in doing that sort of thing, Mr. Cabrera?

A. Well, simply because maybe that way they serve their purposes.

Q. You mean in getting members in their organization?

A. In getting members in their organization and getting them to believe they are their friends, and get them to their side.

Q. I see. Have you any knowledge of the fact that the Communists have pointed out to the young Mexicans that they have been discriminated against and subjected to prejudice?

A. No, I have no proof of that, but I have a definite attitude to that fact that is so.

Q. As a matter of fact, one of the main principles of your organization is combatting Communism, isn't that true?

A. Combatting Communism.

Q. Have you ever heard of a man by the name of Lombardo Toledano in Mexico?

A. Very much so.

Q. Who is he?

A. The head agitator in Mexico.

Q. In what party?

A. The Communist Party.

Q. How do you know that?

A. Because all the papers say a lot about him.

Q. About being a Communist?

A. He has always been a Communist.

Q. His first name is Lombardo?

A. Yes, I think it is, I think he is the representative of the party in Russia.

Q. He lives in Mexico?

A. He lives in Mexico.

Q. Does he write for any publication in Mexico?

A. I really don't know that.

Q. Did you ever see anything he has written in any publication?

A. In his own.

Q. You were about to say something.

A. In all papers; we used to get a paper here from Mexico, the *Sinarquista*, and they usually expose all his activities, every now and then our members go there, and it always says about him he's the principal agitator there.

Q. Do you know whether he had anything to do with the care of the Loyalist refugees from Communist Spain?

A. That I think was fostered by the Cardenas government. In fact, I think they brought into Mexico those people, and it is one of the sources of all this trouble.

Q. Did you ever hear of an organization known as the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee?

A. I never have, never heard anything about that."

Many witnesses were called and examined by the committee in connection with the *Sinarquista* movement. Villasenor, Cabrera, and the officers and members of *Sinarquistas* were cooperative. Membership lists were readily secured for committee investigators and representatives of the committee had no difficulty in attending the meetings of the organization. Committee investigators could find nothing conspiratorial in the manner in which the organization conducted its affairs and nothing was found in the principals and objectives of the organization indicating an attack upon the Government of the United States or the State of California. Representatives of the Catholic Church were interviewed by committee representatives and it was learned that, so far as the Church was concerned, the *Sinarquista* movement was not considered "subversive."

Communist Agitation Among Negro Citizens

LE ROY R. INGRAM, Secretary-Manager of the *Eastside Chamber of Commerce* in Los Angeles, testified (Com. Tr. Vol. XVIII, pp. 4258-4301) that the members of his race residing on the east side of the City of Los Angeles had been apprehensive for many months of possible racial disturbances. He believed that the same

forces agitating the Mexican population were at work in the Negro sections of Los Angeles. He stated that the *Communist Party* had, for several years, carried on an agitational program among the Negro citizenry as it had among the Mexican youth of the city. He declared that the *Communist Party* was constantly attempting to place their members in the *Eastside Chamber of Commerce*, which is a conservative, anti-Communist organization of colored people. Mr. Ingram stated that his organization had presented an anti-discrimination bill to the State Legislature in 1943 and had been advised by Guy T. Nunn, an official with the *Minority Division of the Manpower Commission*, and who was, as heretofore noted, one of the sponsors of the *Citizens' Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*, to contact an attorney in San Francisco by the name of Aubrey Grossman. Aubrey Grossman has a long record of Communist front affiliations and has long been identified with the defense of members of the *Communist Party*. Mr. Ingram testified that Mr. Nunn had suggested that Josephine Bright, another sponsor for the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*, also be contacted.

Mr. Ingram testified that he had known Charlotta Bass, owner and publisher of the "*California Eagle*," for a number of years, and stated that, prior to the death of J. H. Bass, Charlotta Bass' husband, the newspaper was conservative in character. There was little change in the newspaper after the death of J. H. Bass, until about the end of 1941, when it suddenly became quite radical. Ingram stated that Mrs. Bass had interested herself in various Communist-front organizations and that her newspaper now carried the same type of material as appeared in the "*People's Daily World*." He was very positive in his belief that the "*California Eagle*" had played a vital role in stirring up Negro and Mexican minorities by constantly declaring that both the Negro and Mexican population were being discriminated against and subjected to unfair treatment and police brutality.

R. G. LaMar, Field Secretary of the *Eastside Chamber of Commerce*, testified that he had organized the chamber about six years before and that it had been the one organization in the colored district that had been active in attempting to offset the constant efforts of the *Communist Party* in dominating the Negro population of east side Los Angeles. It was his opinion that the *National Negro Conference* and the *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People* had been infiltrated by *Communist Party* members to such an extent that these organizations were presently little more than Communist fronts.

Mr. Ingram and Mr. LaMar displayed an unusual knowledge of Communist technique.

Findings

THE MEMBERS of the Committee believe that the investigation of the "zoot-suit" riots in Los Angeles resulted in exposing Communist technique in fomenting racial prejudices and antagonisms. Vicious agitation, subtle conspiratorial intrigue, adroit manipulation of human relationships, skillful play upon prejudices and antagonisms—that is the devilish pattern woven by revolutionary Marxists as revealed by the Committee's "zoot-suit" investigations. Disrespect for law and order, and for the economic system it protects, is interwoven carefully throughout. Rearing its ugly head in sneering triumph over the havoc it has wrought is the monster who prepared and spread the poison—now posing as the champion of those it victimized.

Reports of Communist activity among the Negro population of California, particularly in the Los Angeles area, indicate a similar program of racial agitation. Informed Negro citizens, such as Leroy Ingram and R. G. LaMar, are keenly aware of the situation and they are considerably alarmed over it. The Committee finds that the Communists will continue to foment racial strife and violence. They will, so far as possible, conceal their hand in the agitational process. They will take advantage of every event, exploit discrimination and antagonisms where they exist, invent them where they do not exist and magnify and balloon trifles into mountains. The "zoot-suit" riots will not be the last racial disturbances in California if the Communists are successful in their program. It is Marxian dialectic applied with Machiavellian subtleties.

The Committee finds that the *Sinarquista* organization is composed mostly of Mexican Nationals and that it is governed by a leader and a central committee in a foreign country, Mexico.

The Committee is convinced that the *Sinarquistas* had nothing to do whatever with the agitation and fomenting of the "zoot-suit" disturbances in Los Angeles. The evidence clearly indicates that the *Communist Party* selected this organization for the public spotlight as it went about its vicious work creating a Mexican "minority" in California.

The Committee is not in possession of any additional facts upon which it might modify its 1943 findings on the *Sinarquista* movement. While it has many of the aspects of authoritarianism and much of the trappings of modern totalitarian movements, it is definitely Mexican in character and concerned wholly with Mexico and Mexicans. Its leaders are undoubtedly aware of the program of the *Communist Party* in its attack on both the Government and the Catholic Church, as set forth in the speech of Senator Elias Laferte, and, because of the struggle between the Church and atheistic revolutionary Communism, the *Sinarquistas* are, at this time, the particular target of the Communists both in Mexico and in the United States.

The speech of Senator Elias Laferte clearly states the position and policy of the *Communist Party* in this hemisphere. The *Sinarquistas* are avowedly intensely religious and adherents of the Roman Catholic faith. Senator Laferte, as a Communist spokesman, set the destruction of Roman Catholicism among Mexicans and Latin-Americans as the first task for the Communists. The members of the *Sinarquistas* have been most aggressive in resisting the efforts of the *Communist Party* in the Republic of Mexico. These are a few of the reasons why the *Communist Party* in California attempted to lay the blame for the "zoot-suit" riots at the door of the *Sinarquistas*.

The Committee finds that the Communist publication, "*The People's Daily World*," the "*California Eagle*" and Al Waxman's "*Eastside Journal*" played an important part in the agitation of the Mexican *Pachucos*, both in preparing for the riots and in keeping the issue alive when the violence had ceased. The similarity of the campaign in these publications is not explained as being merely coincidental.

The Committee finds that the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth* is a Communist-inspired and dominated organization.

The Committee finds that there was no police brutality in the handling of the "zoot-suit" disturbances. It finds, to the contrary, that members of the Los Angeles police force and sheriff's office were, in the performance of their duty, seriously injured, killed, ambushed and beaten.

Conclusion

As the hooked cross of Nazi Germany is pounded into the dust by the forward march of allied armies, the shadow of the hammer and sickle of Russian Communism falls across a devastated, war-torn Europe. Tito dominates Yugoslavia. Ercoli is back in Italy. Thorez has returned to France. The Communists of Greece, Holland and Belgium are organizing. A Moscow-dominated "*Free Germany Committee*" awaits Stalin's orders. A "*Free Polish Committee*," Communist-inspired and dominated, is taking over Poland. Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania are being reannexed to the Soviet Union. Every anti-Communist is being liquidated by the Communists as a "Fascist." Stalin will not permit an "anti-Communist" or unfriendly government to exist in postwar Europe. The shadow creeps across India, inner Mongolia and into struggling China.

Can we depend on international pacts? A 10-year non-aggression pact between the U. S. S. R. and Poland was signed on July 25, 1932, and extended for 10 years May 5, 1935. Soviet troops invaded Poland September 17, 1939. Non-aggression pacts were solemnly signed between the U. S. S. R., Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. All of these pacts were violated by an invasion

of these countries by Soviet troops while the pacts were in full force and effect. Soviet troops invaded Latvia June 17, 1940. The Estonian border was crossed by Soviet troops June 17, 1940. Lithuania was invaded by Soviet troops June 15, 1940. A non-aggression pact with Finland was extended for 10 years April 7, 1934. Soviet troops invaded Finland November 29, 1939.

It should be remembered that the Soviet Union, together with Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Iran, Roumania and Finland defined "aggression" as including an invasion by armed forces or an attack by any type of armed forces with or without a declaration of war. Pacts with Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Iran and Roumania under this definition of "aggression" were signed July 3, 1933. Similar documents were signed between the Soviet Union and Lithuania on July 5, 1933, and with Finland July 23, 1933. Soviet troops invaded Roumania June 28, 1940.

The address of Senator Elias Laferte before the Ninth Congress of the *Communist Party* of Mexico boldly announces the Communist plan for domination of the Western Hemisphere. The attack on religion and Democratic institutions is to continue with increased vigor. The Communist plan for the conquest of the Americas is a clear challenge. Senator Laferte speaks clearly and positively of Communist objectives and the establishment of American Soviets.

The "sharp turns" and flexibility of Communist strategy demands eternal vigilance on the part of those who wish to preserve our Democratic form of government. The coming seventh period of Communist strategy will be a critical period for the United States. The violent and forceful overthrow of the Government will be decreed when Communist generals believe that the body politic has been sufficiently penetrated and weakened.

Part of the Communist "softening up" process is its campaign of vilification against State Legislatures and the Congress of the United States. The C. I. O. *Political Action Committee* has replaced the *Communist Party* as a political power. It is well organized, and Communists are in key spots throughout the organization. Earl Browder and the hierarchy of *Communist Party* "brains" are directing this thoroughly regimented political organization. It should be needless to state that this direction is not for the welfare of the United States, but for its destruction.

The close of the war will bring new Communist onslaughts on State Legislatures and on the Congress of the United States. Every effort will be made to elect Marxists or Communist fellow-travelers to Legislative offices in the elections to come. Proposals will be continually introduced in the Legislature designed to destroy the economic and social structure of the State and Nation.

The *Federal Bureau of Investigation* and other National and State agencies are powerless to curb the activities and machinations of the Communist Party. These agencies are only effective

after a crime has been actually committed. They are powerless to stop the continuous sabotage and destruction of the under-structure of our form of government. Violence will not come until the complete structure of our economics, our social order and our Government are undermined and weakened. It will then be too late.

Subversive elements hide behind the Bill of Rights like a kidnapper hides behind his victim when surrounded by an armed posse. Legislation directed at subversive individuals and organizations invariably injure innocent by-standers. The flexibility of Marxian strategy is such that its devotees are enabled to sidestep legislation aimed at their practices. The Voorhis Act of 1940, calling for the registration of all individuals owing allegiance to a foreign country or *ism* was easily evaded by the *Communist Party* of the United States in "disaffiliating" with the *Third Communist International*. They evade laws aimed at their activities with the agility of a flea eluding capture in a blanket.

Exposure and publicity are the two things that subversives can not endure. They "wither away," like Marx's imaginary last state, in an informed community. The public must be educated concerning Communist ideology and Legislative bodies and public officials must make it a patriotic duty to study and understand the falsity, the brutality and the ultimate aims of Communism.

The following is taken from the Report of the Congressional Special Committee Investigating Un-American Activities for 1939, pp. 68-71, 75-82.

1. Control

MANY DIFFICULTIES are to be encountered in any effort to provide a complete list of the front organizations which the Communist Party has set up in this country for the purpose of putting the leaven of revolution into American thinking. There are hundreds of such united front maneuvers. The control of these organizations is usually a matter of considerable subtlety. The Communist Party has never found it necessary to have a majority of the members of united front organizations consciously on its side in order to exercise a dominant control in their affairs and activities. But there can be no doubt of the accuracy of Earl Browder's claim, when he declared:

In the center, as the conscious moving and directive force of the united front in all its phases, stands the Communist Party. Our position in this respect is clear and unchallenged.

2. Aim

The aim of the united front is to extend the influence of the Communist Party far beyond the circle of its own membership, and even far beyond the periphery of the fellow travelers. It aims to reach, by the use of high sounding names and laudable objectives, millions of Americans who would not consciously support any Communist organization working in the open.

3. Scope

Almost no group in the entire population has been omitted from the united front attention of the Communist Party. Lenin said:

Our task is to utilize every manifestation of discontent, and to collect and utilize every grain of even rudimentary protest.

By the utilization of discontent, the Communist Party undertakes to transform any degree or kind of protest into petty hatred, and from this to fashion the instruments of class war.

One or more Communist united front organizations have been set up to bid for the support of each of the following groups: Farmers, students, youth, consumers, social workers, poets, writers, artists, dancers, musicians, athletes, social scientists, women, aliens, physicians, lawyers, the clergy, the intelligentsia, pacifists, war veterans, wage earners, the unemployed, technicians, and architects.

4. Examples of Front Organizations

The committee received voluminous evidence concerning the activities of the Communist front organizations. In this report, only a few of the outstanding united front organizations of the Communist Party will be discussed. These have been chosen chiefly because of their size and influence.

The American League for Peace and Democracy

In considering these front organizations, we will attempt to deal with them with respect to their importance in the Communist "front," according to their size and composition. The largest of the Communist "front" movements in the United States is the American League for Peace and Democracy, formerly known as the American League Against War and Fascism, and, at the time of its inception, as the United States Congress Against War. The following statement appeared in the report of the Cleveland Congress of the league, held in January 1936. It may be found on page 368, volume 1, of this committee's hearings:

There is going to form in this country a united people's movement which will be the counterpart of the Front Populaire in France. This year we have made considerable gains, we can honestly say, in understanding the problems of the United Front, and in learning United Front behavior. . . . A good many times our constituent forces and those who come to our meetings ask us this: "Is the American League Against War and Fascism anti-capitalist?" Of course it is. . . . How could we be against Fascism without being against capitalism?

This report of the league also refers to a resolution greeting the Spanish "red" front which was adopted by the Cleveland Congress. (See p. 368, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

Hearty greetings to our valiant comrades of the People's Front in Spain. Your successful example renews our courage and inspires us to redouble our efforts to attain the same indispensable end in the United States * * * We are heartened by the increasing response of the American people to an appeal for united action. * * * We are one with you in spirit and shall stand shoulder to shoulder until the final victory is achieved.

A report made by the Communist Party on June 24, 1936, contains the following statement (p. 367, vol. 1, committee hearings):

The American League Against War and Fascism is one of the outstanding examples of a broad people's front. * * * Its Third Congress, held in Cleveland last January, registered a representation of mass organizations of the most varied kind with a membership of over 3,000,000. * * *

In *A Program Against War and Fascism*, published by the league, we find this statement (p. 459, vol. 1, committee hearings):

The American League Against War and Fascism was founded at the first United States Congress Against War, held in New York City in September 1933. The steering committee which organized this congress was composed of Communists and non-Communists. * * * Communists have continued in positions of prominence in the league. * * * It is natural enough that they should be proud of their part in founding the league and should claim a large share of credit for its success. * * *

Internationalistic Communist organizers, such as Henri Barbusse and Tom Mann, were permitted by the United States Department of Labor to come from abroad to assist in launching this movement. The league contends publicly that it is not a Communist front movement, yet at the very beginning Communists dominated it. Earl Browder was its vice president.

The following statement appears in *A Program Against War and Fascism* (p. 360, vol. 1, committee hearings):

So far as the economic and political organization of society is concerned, Fascism and Communism are opposites. Fascism is for war; the Fascist state is the war-breeding and war-making state. Communism is for the abolition of war. We can't in any sense be against both. Communists—in Germany and other countries—have shown themselves to be hard, courageous, and sincere fighters against war and Fascism. The same is true here in the United States. * * *

In the program of the league (p. 458, vol. 1, committee hearings), we find that one of its objectives is:

To work toward the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions * * *, through mass demonstrations, picketing, and strikes. * * *

Members of the league have been pledged to resist military training, to demand "total and universal disarmament, as proposed by the Soviet Union"; to "permit no discretion to the President" with regard to the determining of neutrality laws; to oppose "the policies of American imperialism in Latin America and the Far East"; to give support to all peoples resisting "imperialist powers"; to demonstrate constantly "the relationship between war and fascism"; to prevent the "formation of Fascist forces in this country" (but not the formation of Communist forces); to oppose "legislation or orders denying citizens in the armed forces * * *

to receive printed matter or personal appeals in behalf of this or any other program * * * and to defend their rights to join organizations * * * ." It will be noted that the league condemns one "ism" while upholding the Soviet Union, the source of another "ism"—communism.

The call for the United States congress was issued by Communists. On page 457, volume 1, of the committee hearings may be found a list containing the names of these Communists.

The following statement appeared in the January 15, 1934, issue of the Communist International (p. 463, vol. 1, committee hearings):

Our most successful application of the united front has been the anti-war and anti-Fascist movement. We led a highly successful United States Congress Against War, which brought together 2,616 delegates from all over the country. * * * The congress from the beginning was led by our party quite openly. The congress set up a prominent organization on a federative basis called the American League Against War and Fascism.

A statement made by Dr. Harry Ward, national chairman of the league, appeared in the November 1936 issue of Soviet Russia Today (p. 464, vol. 1, committee hearings):

There is no way to constructively organize peace except by adopting throughout the world the basic organization on which the Soviet Union is founded.

In February 1936 issue of Soviet Russia Today, which is, by the way, the official organ of another front movement in the United States, another statement made by Dr. Ward was published (p. 464, vol. 1, committee hearings), in which he said that the chief purpose of the league is "to promote a wider understanding of the peace policies of the Soviet Union and to cooperate with other agencies to prevent an attack on the Soviet Union."

On pages 466 and 477, volume 1, committee hearings, you will note statements from official Communist sources which show Communist Party direction of membership drives for the league.

At the Pittsburgh convention of this movement in November 1937 its name was changed from the "American League Against War and Fascism" to the "American League for Peace and Democracy." (See p. 455, vol. 1, committee hearings.) This organization is the American section of the World Committee Against War and Fascism (now the World Committee for Peace and Democracy). (See p. 299, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The league claimed in November 1937 (see p. 473, vol. 1, committee hearings) 102 branches in 24 States, and a total membership of 4,025,925. According to its report, 246,116 of these were "religionists," yet the Communists brag (p. 368, vol. 1, committee hearings) that:

It is significant that the Communist Party, more than any other labor group, has been able to achieve successfully united fronts with church groups. This is not due to any compromise with religion as such on our

part. In fact, by going among religious masses we are for the first time able to bring our anti-religious ideas to them.

Our committee heard the testimony of J. B. Matthews, who had been listed by a previous witness as one of the organizers of the American League for Peace and Democracy, and one who was active in an official or consultory capacity with at least 20 Communist "front" movements. (See pp. 869, 870, and 871, vol. 1, committee hearings.) Mr. Matthews readily admitted that he was, in fact, the first national chairman of the league. (See pp. 871 and 887, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

I accepted the chairmanship of this organization and, in December, Browder, general secretary of the American Communist Party, went back to Moscow to report on the result or success of the enterprise of setting up the American league.

Mr. Matthews also told of the organizational committee conference at which he presided and in which alien Communist leaders took a prominent part. (See p. 899, vol. 1, committee hearings.) He told of the Moscow connections of the league. (See p. 901, vol. 1, committee hearings.) He showed the manner in which the Communists carry out their party line through the league. (See pp. 905 and 906, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

We have given you a fairly exhaustive report on the American League for Peace and Democracy, first, because, in spite of the testimony of many witnesses and the voluminous documentary evidence presented to our committee, there is still an attempt to deny the fact that the league is a Communist "front" movement; and, second, because we have had to face the fact that many Federal Government employees, some in official positions, have been and are still admittedly associated with this and other "front" movements, which are unquestionably "front" movements for the international scheme for revolution of a foreign power. For those who wish to go into this matter further, we recommend the reading of the testimony of John P. Frey, Walter S. Steele, Homer Chaillaux, and J. P. Matthews, in volume 1 of this committee's printed hearings.

International Labor Defense

ACCORDING TO DOCUMENTS published by the "International Labor Defense," it is the American section of the "M. O. P. R.," or the "Red International of Labor Defense," often referred to as the "Red International Aid." (See p. 495, vol. 1, committee hearings.) As reported by Mr. Marcantonio in a statement made to the "American Association for the Protection of Foreign Born" in 1938, the "International Labor Defense" has a membership of over 300,000 in the United States. (See p. 494, vol. 1, committee hearings.) The following statement may be found in the constitution of this organization (p. 495, vol. 1, committee hearings):

The name of the organization shall be International Labor Defense, section of the International Red Aid.

In the pamphlet "What is the I. L. D.?" (p. 495, vol. 1, committee hearings), the movement claimed 800 branches in 47 States in this country. In this it also states that it "cooperates with the American League Against War and Fascism and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights," together with the "Women Consumers Educational League, the Communist Party, the International Workers' Order, and the Jewish Workers' Club."

The March 2, 1934, issue of *Imprecor*, the organ of the Third International, states (p. 496, vol. 1, committee hearings):

A straight path leads from the relief association founded in London by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in aid of the victims of the revolution of 1848 to the founding of the International Red Aid. It commenced with local relief committees and has grown into the world-wide organization of the International Red Aid. It was the Bolsheviks who founded the International Red Aid in response to a suggestion made by the Association of Revolutionists under Czarism. From the first moment of the existence of the International Red Aid, the Communist International put the whole of its forces at the disposal of this mighty achievement of international proletarian solidarity. Lenin, Stalin, Manuelsky, Piantnitsky, Knorin, and Kuusinev, Clara Zetkin, Marchievsky, and many other Bolsheviks took up the work of the International Red Aid.

On the fifteenth anniversary of the Comintern (Communist International), the International Red Aid greets the Comintern and especially the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and expresses its revolutionary thanks for the invaluable aid which it has given its work in all countries. Millions of "red" helpers greet the Comintern and its leader, Stalin; millions of "red" helpers call to the struggle and pledge themselves to carry on the struggle steadfastly and resolutely for the emancipation of the proletarian class.

For the most part the leaders of the International Labor Defense are Communists. (See Affiliations, pp. 497, 498, 500, 501, and 502, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

Louis Engdahl, who was the general secretary of the American section of the International Labor Defense for years until his death in Moscow in 1935, was one of the most widely known Communists in the United States. Its present secretary, William L. Patterson (colored), is a widely known Communist. Chief counsel for the International Labor Defense, Joseph Brodsky, is also prominent in Communist circles, as is its other secretary, Anna Damon. (See pp. 497 and 503, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The International Labor Defense, in its international organization outside of Russia, has "12,000,000 members," according to its own statement. (See p. 495, vol. 1, committee hearings.) In a report published in the July 6, 1934, issue of *Voice of Action*, a Communist magazine, the International Labor Defense admits that it is organized in 70 countries, and that it has handled 25,000 defense cases, such as the Sacco-Vanzetti; the Gastonia-Marion, N. C.; Imperial Valley, Calif.; Scottsboro, Ala.; Atlanta, Ga.

(Herndon); and the Mooney-Billings cases. Its reports indicate that most of those defended by the International Labor Defense are Communists.

In its own publication (p. 494, vol. 1, committee hearings) the International Labor Defense shows that its international congresses meet in Moscow. Under Arrest, a pamphlet issued by the International Labor Defense, advises the arrested Communists to use fictitious names and addresses, to lie, or refuse to give any information to police, and to use courtrooms as forums to exploit the theory or revolution. (See p. 496, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

In reporting on the International Labor Defense, the Third International, in an article published in Labor Defender, December 1935 (p. 502, vol. 1, committee hearings), said:

The political and moral assistance which the International Labor Defense organizations render our prisoners and their families, to political emigrants, to persecuted revolutionaries and anti-Fascists has saved the lives and preserved the strength and fighting capacity of thousands upon thousands of most valuable fighters of the working class in many countries. * * *

The International Labor Defense also maintains a section known as the "prisoners' relief fund," which raises funds for the jailed Communists and for the relief of their families while they are serving jail sentences.

We have learned, through documents issued by the International Labor Defense, that it raised \$61,825.23 for the Scottsboro boys. (See p. 502, vol. 1, committee hearings.) The International Labor Defense borrowed money from the American Civil Liberties Union with which it furnished bail for the defendants in the Gastonia-Marion, N. C. case. The prisoners escaped to Russia shortly thereafter. (See p. 503, 526, and 536, vol. 1, committee hearings.) The organ of the International Labor Defense in the United States published greetings to Soviet Russia on the anniversary of the red revolution in that country. (See p. 502, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

Among the Communist "front" movements with which one of our witnesses, J. B. Matthews, was in the past affiliated, was the International Labor Defense. (See p. 870, vol. 1, committee hearings.) He tells of its connection with Moscow. (See p. 897, vol. 1, committee hearings.) Mr. Matthews said, from personal experience:

There is no question whatever about the International Labor Defense being a Communist organization. There is no debate on that particular point.

In 1936 Communists launched a move to unite the various radical "defense" organizations in the United States under the International Labor Defense. (See p. 367, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

A united labor defense movement is becoming a pressing necessity. The International Labor Defense is unquestionably the outstanding and

most effective organization in the field. It has a fine record of achievement. I am sure the leading comrades of the International Labor Defense will agree with me (Earl Browder) when I declare that we are willing to meet all groups interested in a united labor defense movement.

The front was perfected only in part. A closer cooperation with other organizations was noted, although cooperation had previously existed to a great extent. (See pp. 371, 537, 575, 628, and 682, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

Witnesses testified that in a great many cases International Labor Defense local offices were operated in conjunction with Communist locals. In this connection an American Legion leader from Detroit testified. (See pp. 1339, 1340, 1346, and 1347, vol. 2, committee hearings.)

Mr. Kittrock, who was, as we have previously stated, formerly a member of the Communist Party, testified that all Communist legal problems were turned over to the International Labor Defense to settle. The organization was referred to in Communist circles as the "legal department of the Communist Party." (See p. 1396, vol. 2, committee hearings.) Still another witness also testified that the "International Labor Defense" is the "legal department of the Communist Party." (See p. 1459, vol. 2, committee hearings.) Police Sgt. Harry Mikuleak, attached to the Detroit Police Department, testified that his investigations concerning the International Labor Defense revealed that it is not only the legal department of the Communist Party, but that it is also a branch of the International Red Aid, located in Moscow. He submitted as documentary evidence the "Draft of resolution on agitation and propaganda for National Plenum of the International Labor Defense," confiscated after the arrest of a Detroit Communist Party and International Labor Defense leader. This document contained instructions from the "International Red Aid" of Moscow to the International Labor Defense leaders here, and clearly indicated the absolute Communist character of the International Labor Defense and its definite connection with it. (See pp. 1566 to 1581, vol. 2, committee hearings.)

One of the resolutions passed by the International Red Aid in Moscow (p. 1576, vol. 2, committee hearings) was as follows:

The task of winning over the broad masses of workers under the banner of international proletarian solidarity for the struggle against white terror, fascist reaction, bourgeois class justice, can be solved only by the widest development of the agitational work of the International Red Aid. * * *

The resolution continued with reference to the International Labor Defense in the United States, as its section.

The International Labor Defense claims responsibility for the setting up in this country of a great many aid movements for the so-called "Loyalist" front in Spain. (See p. 566, vol. 1, com-

mittee hearings.) The "Loyalists," as we know, make up the "popular front" government in Spain. In this connection, the International Labor Defense announced:

At the outbreak of the Fascist rebellion in Spain, the International Labor Defense in the United States swung into action, and it was this action which became the basis for the great solidarity movement organized in the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and the Medical Bureau. The International Labor Defense began to collect medical aid, and to accomplish this it set up committees involving doctors, nurses, professionals, and all sorts of people friendly to the Spanish cause, whom we had never reached before.

These organizations, which have among their leaders many Federal employees, have collected over a million and a half dollars in the United States, presumably for relief for the Spanish "red" front, of which a large percentage is spent in this country for propaganda, etc. (See pp. 567 and 568, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The interest of Communists in Russia and the United States in the Spanish red front will be noted in testimony appearing on pages 372 and 564 to 573, volume 1, as well as in testimony appearing on pages 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 734, 748, and 751, volume 1, committee hearings. We will deal further later on in this report with the aid movements, which, in personnel, show the red "united front" worked out to perfection.

Friends of Soviet Union

THE FRIENDS OF THE SOVIET UNION is possibly one of the most open Communist "fronts" in the United States. It is headed by the former Columbia University professor, Corliss Lamont, the son of the Wall Street banker, J. P. Morgan's partner. Young Lamont has long been a close friend of the Communist regime and a supporter of the system of government existing in Russia.

The purpose of this organization, as shown by evidence submitted to this committee, is to propagandize for and defend Russia and its system of government. Like the majority of the "front" movements, it has a sprinkling of non-Communists (but sympathizers) on its official rostrum. It is a section of an international movement directed from Moscow. To show its close harmony with the Communist movement, we point to excerpts from some of its documents. An article published by the Friends, "Who are the Friends of the Soviet Union?" clearly indicates this harmony. (See p. 512, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

Affirming the essential identity of interest of the working class the world over, the Friends of the Soviet Union recognize in the Soviet Union the outpost of world socialism. * * * The interests of the working classes and farmers the world over demand a close bond of solidarity between the workers in capitalist countries and the Soviet workers.

In another pamphlet, *Tasks and Activities of the Friends of the Soviet Union*, published by the organization (pp. 512 and 513, vol. 1, committee hearings), the Friends admit that they penetrate our industrial sections.

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 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 classes. * * * Recognizing the close connection between the defense of the workers of the United States, the Friends of the Soviet Union enter actively into all workers' struggles against exploitation and oppression, against lynchings of Negro workers, against deportation bills and capitalist terror, against white guard conspiracies and capitalist discrimination. * * *

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

Across the top of an issue of a publication, circulated by the Friends of the Soviet Union among workers in the Navy Yard at Washington, D. C., was the Communist symbol—the hammer and sickle. The following statement appeared in one of these issues (p. 514, vol. 1, committee hearings):

Friends of the Soviet Union local plan to make Washington a fortress of Soviet defense. Thus can we crystalize the great wave of sympathy and enthusiasm of the Washington workers, liberals, professionals, and students for the Soviet Union into a solid organization * * * into a powerful Friends of the Soviet Union movement.

The address of Prof. W. L. Dana, formerly of Harvard and later lecturer at the Boston Communist school, was quoted in a State convention report issued by the Chicago section of the Friends of the Soviet Union. This address ended with the words: "Long live the Soviet Union." Following Dana's address, Robert Minor, of the central committee of the Communist Party, spoke. (See p. 514, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

Throughout the convention, the non-party united front character of the Friends of the Soviet Union was reflected in the composition of the delegates, the resolutions adopted, and was particularly emphasized in the speeches of the representatives of the central committee of the Communist Party, Robert Minor and Alexander Trachtenberg.

Prizes in the form of trips to the Soviet Union, with expenses paid, are awarded by the Friends of the Soviet Union in its various campaigns. (See p. 514, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

On its membership card, the organization prints the following:

The Friends of the Soviet Union for the Recognition and Defense of the Soviet Union.

The Friends of the Soviet Union is an international organization, with headquarters in many countries, devoted to the developing the international solidarity of the working masses for the support and defense of the Soviet Union. (See p. 515, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

In one issue of Soviet Russia, national organ of the Friends of the Soviet Union, space was devoted to a warning to its members against holding meetings in Communist centers. It reported that some prospects had been lost because meetings had been held in "red" centers. (See p. 515, vol. 1, committee hearings.) This publication carries numerous articles by high-ups in the Communist Party. (See p. 514, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The American Technical Aid Society is affiliated with the Friends of the Soviet Union.

The report of the convention of the Friends of the Soviet Union, published in the organ of the Communist International, *Imprecor*, Volume 14, No. 11 (p. 516, Vol. 1, committee hearings), states in part:

The first national convention of the American section of the Friends of the Soviet Union was held in New York January 26-28 with 980 (220 more were unable to raise the fare) delegates present representing 796 organizations. It was a mass demonstration of solidarity for the defense of the Soviet Union, but upon a united-front basis.

The Friends of the Soviet Union, in its report, claims to be setting up 200 new branches in the United States. (See p. 516, vol. 1, committee hearings.) Its 1934 national convention was attended by 1,110 delegates, representing over 2,000,000 people, who applauded the Friends of the Soviet Union. (See p. 517, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

In the 100-page edition of *Soviet Russia Today*, a special issue published on the twentieth anniversary of the "red" revolution, eulogies to the Communist regime in Russia were published. These were signed by many intellectuals in educational and social ranks, as well as by leading Communists. (See p. 518, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

International Workers Order

POSSIBLY one of the most effective and closely knitted organizations among the Communist "front" movements is the International Workers Order. It claims a membership of 150,000, bound together through an insurance and social plan. Its balance in the treasury on January 1, 1937, was \$1,015,698.90, according to its audited report. It has a number of sections, chiefly alien, and a juvenile unit. The order maintains a number of schools, camps, and meeting places. It has money invested in mortgages on real estate, bonds, etc. It has contributed large sums of money to Communist Party campaigns, and its officers are associated in other branches of the Communist movement. (See p. 577, vol. 1, committee hearings.) It claims over 2,000 branches in the United States. (See p. 579, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

It was the International Workers Order which set up the Fraternal Order Committee to win support to the C. I. O. sit-down strikes. At the organizational meeting of the "aid the C. I.

O. movement," 500 delegates of the International Workers Order were present from 17 national organizations and more than 240 locals, representing 593,085 people. (See p. 578, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The order regularly sponsors Communist Party endorsed candidates for public office. It takes part in Communist demonstrations. It has raised huge sums of money for left-wing strikes, and conducts campaigns among the foreign-born and racial elements. (See p. 578, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The International Workers Order is closely associated with the American League for Peace and Democracy and a number of other "front" movements. (See p. 579, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

American Student Union

AS A SECTION of the World Student Association for Peace, Freedom, and Culture, the American Student Union is the result of a united front gathering of young Socialists and Communists. It was formerly known as the Student League for Industrial Democracy and the National Student League. The latter was the American section of the Proletarian Youth League of Moscow. (See p. 582, vol. 1, committee hearings.) Out of the coalition convention, which was held at Columbus, Ohio, in 1937, came the American Student Union. The united front was heralded in Moscow as "one of its (communism's) greatest triumphs." (See p. 582, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The American Student Union claims to have led as many as 500,000 students out in annual April 22 student strikes in the United States. (See p. 582, vol. 1, committee hearings.) It announced that it set up the "front" movement, the United Student Peace Committee in 1938, which has brought into its front 17 national youth organizations. (See p. 583, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The Young Communist League takes credit for the creation of the American Student Union, since it was its organization, the National Student League, which issued the call and organized the convention which was held in Columbus. (See p. 584, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

In an advertisement which appeared in a Communist journal, New Masses, the Union offered free trips to Russia. In 1938 it issued a call for a "closed shop on the campus," urging a united front between its local college groups and certain teachers and professional groups. (See p. 584, vol. 1, committee hearings.) It claims credit for perfecting a united front of Communist and Social students in Europe. (See p. 584, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

National Negro Congress

THE COMMITTEE found that the Communists are making a concerted attempt to win over the Negro. Several efforts in the past have made considerable inroads in that field. The international Communist movement among Negroes throughout the world is known as the Provisional International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers. This is a section of the Red International of Labor Unions, which is a part of the Third (Communist) International which directs the activities of Communist movements in labor unions. (See p. 624, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The Communist front movement in the United States among Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress. Practically the same group of leaders directing this directed the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, which was, until 2 years ago, the name of the Communist front for Negroes. (See p. 624, vol. 1, committee hearings.) The name was later changed to the American Negro Labor Congress, and in 1936 to the National Negro Congress. (See p. 625, vol. 1, committee hearings.) The Second National Congress of the latter was held in Philadelphia, October 15 to 17, 1937, and the report of the congress states that it represented the "true spirit" of a "united front." It followed the Communist line throughout. (See p. 625, vol. 1, committee hearings.) All of the speakers at this congress were either outright Communists or close sympathizers.

The officers of the National Negro Congress are outspoken Communist sympathizers, and a majority of those on the executive board are outright Communists. The national committee is composed of a mixture of left-wingers and dupes. Under the by-laws of the organization, the control is vested in the officers and the executive board. No authority is vested in the members of the national committee. In this way the Communists and pro-Communists control the movement. (See pp. 626 and 627, vol. 1, committee hearings.) At the Philadelphia congress, 1,149 delegates, representing over a hundred national Negro organizations with a membership of a million Negroes, were present. (See p. 626, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

A southern Negro movement was later organized. This was known as the "All-Southern Negro Youth Congress," the convention of which was held in Chattanooga, in April 1938. (See p. 627, vol. 1, committee hearings.) The national secretary of this has been directly associated with several other "front" movements. In his address delivered at the "National Negro Congress" in Philadelphia, he dealt with the success of the "Communist united front." The report of the southern group indicates that 355 delegates attended the Chattanooga Congress, representing organizations with a membership of over 383,720 southern Negroes. (See p. 627, vol. 1, committee hearings.) The Workers' Alliance and the Farmers' Union were among those represented.

In his book, *People's Front*, Earl Browder, national secretary of the Communist Party of the United States of America and a member of the presidium of the Third (Communist) International, deals with the success of the "National Negro Congress" front movement. (See p. 371, vol. 1, committee hearings.) He says in part:

Significant progress has been made in building the united front of struggle for Negro liberation. The National Negro Congress, which met in Chicago in February and established a permanent organization, found the correct road to a broad unity of the varied forces among the Negro people and their friends * * *. The position won by our party among the Negro masses carries with it corresponding responsibilities.

Other Communist "front" movements among the Negroes are the Scottsboro Defense Committee (pp. 502 and 628, vol. 1) and the Committee to Defend Angelo Herndon (Atlanta, Ga.) (p. 499, vol. 1, committee hearings).

American Youth Congress

THE AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS was not originally set up by Communists, but it was penetrated by them, as shown by the reports of its first Congress, which was held in Washington, D. C. In 1934, at its second convention, it was broken up and reorganized into a "red" front. (See pp. 611 and 612, vol. 1, committee hearings:)

We defeated the enemy and turned the Youth Congress into a broad united front.

While there are many non-Communist organizations in the Youth Congress, there are over a dozen Communist front, and Communist sympathizing movements in it. (See p. 613, vol. 1, committee hearings.) The Communists, realizing the value of such an excellent camouflage, immediately set about organizing similar congresses in other countries, and they called for a Paris International Congress. (See p. 613, vol. 1, committee hearings.) Later a World Youth Congress came into being. This embraced the same organizations which were affiliated with the American Youth Congress. (See pp. 615 and 616, vol. 1, committee hearings.) Right-wing youth movements refused to attend the World Youth Congress which was held at Vassar. The organizers in the United States were leaders of Communist, Communist "front," and Communist sympathizing movements. (See pp. 615, 616, and 617, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The following are citations by official Federal Government or State or Municipal Agencies or private reliable organizations regarding the character of organizations listed, compiled by Ernie Adams, Chief Counsel for the Committee on Un-American Activities of the 79th Congress, published May 29, 1946 by the United States Government Printing Office.

Abraham Lincoln Brigade or Battalion

1. Aid to the leftist armies in Spain has been one of the major activities of all Communist organizations, particularly in the recruiting for and support of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 183).

2. Received money raised by the Communist Party of Massachusetts (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 562).

3. Cited as a Communist-front organization by Pennsylvania Commonwealth counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January 1942.

4. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

Abraham Lincoln School

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

Academic and Civil Rights Council of California

1. Predecessor of the Civil Rights Council of California. Started in 1934. "Its first activities were directed toward combating the passage of a bill in the legislature outlawing the Communist Party" (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 97).

All-American Anti-Imperialist League

1. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).

2. Cited as a "Communist-front organization" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10).

3. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

All-California Conference for Defense of Civil Rights and Aid to Labor's Prisoners

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

Allied Labor News

1. "A straight Communist news agency" (New Leader, March 3, 1945, p. 10).

Almanac Singers

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

Ambijan Committee for Emergency Aid to the Soviet Union

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

American Artists Congress

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

American Committee for the Defense of Puerto Rican Political Prisoners

1. Participating organization at the national conference of the International Labor Defense held in Washington, D. C., on June 19, 20, 21, 1937.

*American Committee for Friendship with the Soviet Union
(successor to the discontinued Friends of the Soviet Union)*

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

American Committee to Save Refugees * * * (pp. 49, 112, 129, 133, 138, 167, 180).

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

American Committee for Struggle Against War

1. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, pp. 462, 463).

2. Cited as a Communist front (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 93).

3. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 47f, 119).

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom

1. Formulated and circulated petition "to discontinue the Dies committee created by Congress for the purpose of gathering information on subversive organizations and individuals in the United States." (New York City Council committee investigating the municipal civil service commission, pt. II, p. 73).

2. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, June 25, 1942.

3. Cited as "subversive and un-American" by the special subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, report, April 21, 1943 (p. 3).

4. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 47, 49, 87).

American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign-Born

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

2. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, June 25, 1942.

3. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 40, 47 ff., 87, 97, 112, 120, 129, 155, 167, 174).

American Congress for Peace and Democracy

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 105).

American Council on Soviet Relations

1. Cited as a Communist front by Attorney General Francis Biddle (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688).
2. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.
3. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1942 (p. 174).

American Federation of Labor Trade Union Committee for Unemployment Insurance and Relief

1. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).
2. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 94).

American Federation for Political Unity

1. Cited as a Communist front (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 96).

American Friends of the Chinese People

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 40, 147).
2. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

American Friends of the Mexican People

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 153).

American Friends of Spanish Democracy

1. This was another of the Spanish-aid organizations which received Communist support" (New York City Council committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission, pt. II, p. 63).

2. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 82, 116).

American Fund for Public Service

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 75f).

American Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union

1. Cited as "a Communist organization" (Massachusetts House Committee Report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 279).

American Investors Union, Inc.

1. Cited as an organization "of Communist complexion" (New York City Council committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission, pt. II, p. 88).
2. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

American Labor Party

1. Support of the Communist Party to the above has been recognized by the appointment of a Communist to an official position in the city government (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 356).
2. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 49, 77 f., 153, 189).

American League Against War and Fascism

1. "The American League Against War and Fascism, predecessor of the American League for Peace and Democracy, both described by Earl Browder as Communist transmission belts" (New York City Council committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission, pt. II, p. 66).
2. Communist Party is a vital factor in the above (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 298).
3. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, January 3, 1940 (pp. 6, 16, 37, 47 ff., 53, 71, 82, 94, 107, 113, 116, 119f, 127 ff., 135, 159, 163, 171), March 29, 1944.
4. Cooperated with Communist Party in defense of Schappes (Rapp-Coudert committee, report, 1942, p. 293).
5. Cited as a "Communist front organization" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10).
6. "Established in the United States in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7683).
7. Hollywood unit cited as a Communist front (California Committee in Un-American Activities, report, 1943 p. 91).

American League for Peace and Democracy

1. "The American League for Peace and Democracy was a Communist 'Transmission belt' originally organized and controlled by the Communist Party, carrying out its instruc-

tions as an affiliate of the Communist International in Moscow" (New York City Council committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission, pt. II, p. 66).

2. Cited as an organization in which "Communists have controlling influence" (Massachusetts House Committee Report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 77).

3. "Choice instrument of Stalinist anti-Nazi propaganda" [Rapp-Coudert committee, report, 1942, p. 220].

4. Cited as a Communist-front organization by Pennsylvania Commonwealth Counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January 1942.

5. Cited as a Communist front (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 91).

6. Established in 1937 as successor to the American League against War and Fascism. "The American League for Peace and Democracy * * * was designed to conceal Communist control, in accordance with the new tactics of the Communist International" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7684).

7. "Established in the United States in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union." (Attorney General Francis Biddle, September 24, 1942, p. 7683).

8. Cited as "subversive and un-American" by the Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations. (April 21, 1943, report, p. 3).

9. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; March 29, 1944 (pp. 6, 16f., 37, 47 ff., 53, 81, 86, 102, 105, 107, 110 f., 113, 116, 120, 128, 137, 141, 147, 152 f., 155, 159, 163, 169, 171 f., 176, 181).

American Lithuanian Chamber of Commerce Picnic

1. Meeting of the above reported by the (Communist) Progressive Book Shop, Boston (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 282).

American Music League

1. Prints verses of 16 songs, more than half of which are exact reprints from song books published and used by the Communist Party and its affiliates (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 289).

American Negro Labor Congress

1. Cited as a "Communist-front organization" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10).

American Peace Mobilization

1. Cited as a Communist-front organization (decision in the case of Helen Miller, United States Secretary of Labor, August 1, 1941).

2. Cited as a "Communist-controlled pseudo-pacifist group" (Rapp-Coudert committee, report, 1942, p. 221).

3. "Established in the United States in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7683).

4. "The most conspicuous activity of American Peace Mobilization was the picketing of the White House, which began in April 1941, in protest against lend-lease and the entire national defense program. * * * On the afternoon of June 21, 1941, he (Frederick V. Field, national secretary) suddenly called off the picket line around the White House" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7684).

5. Cited as a Communist front by the California Report on Un-American Activities (p. 45, 1943).

6. A Communist front "organized during the Stalin-Hitler collaboration, in June 1940" (California Committee on Un-American Activities, 1943, p. 93).

7. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

American People's Meeting

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 106).

American People's Mobilization

1. "Three weeks later (after June 21, 1941) American Peace Mobilization * * * was changing its name to American People's Mobilization * * *" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7685).

American Relief Ship for Spain

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944. (pp. 82, 102, 138, 146, 160).

American Society for Race Tolerance

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 116).

American Student Union

1. Followed the same program of "peace" as the Communist Party (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 539).

2. Cited as an organization in which "Communists have controlling influence" (Massachusetts House Committee Report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 77).

3. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

4. "Sponsoring organization" of the Boston Scottsboro Defense Committee (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 209).

5. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, January 3, 1940; March 29, 1944; June 25, 1942.

6. Cited as "a subversive organization" (Rapp-Coudert committee, interim report, December 1, 1941, p. 107).

7. Cited as an organization "for transmitting the aims and program of which the Young Communist League is the initiating and projecting element" (Rapp-Coudert committee, interim report, December 1, 1941, p. 14).

8. Cooperated with Communist Party in Schappes defense campaign (Rapp-Coudert committee, report, 1942, p. 293).

9. Cited as a Communist front by the California Report on Un-American Activities, 1943 (p. 45).

10. Cited as "subversive and un-American" by the Special Committee of the House Committee on Appropriations, report, April 21, 1943 (p. 3).

American Writers Congress

1. A list of prepared papers by writers whose works are circulated chiefly from the presses of the Communist Party was presented to the above (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, pp. 285, 286).

2. Cited as a Communist front (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 91).

3. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 82).

American Youth for Democracy

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 76, 102, 122).

American Youth Congress

1. Controlled and built by the Young Communist League (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 525).

2. Communist Party playing an important part in the above (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 298).

3. Cited as an organization in which "Communists have

controlling influence" (Massachusetts House Committee Report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 77).

4. Cited as a Communist-front organization by Pennsylvania Commonwealth counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January 1942.

5. Cited as a "front organization of the Communist Party" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10).

6. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

7. "It originated in 1934 and since its inception has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7685).

8. Cited as "subversive and un-American" by the Special Committee of the House Committee on Appropriations, report, April 21, 1943 (p. 3).

9. Cited as a Communist front (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 98).

10. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities. June 25, 1942; March 29, 1944.

Armenian H. O. G.

1. Cited as a "satellite" of the Communist Party (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 154).

(1) Communists organized the above among the ERA and WPA workers (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 310).

Artists and Writers Guild. (See (1) above.)

Artists' Front to Win the War

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 96).

Artkino, Distributor of Soviet Films in the United States

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Association of American Law Students

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Association of Lithuanian Workers

1. Cited as a "satellite" of the Communist Party (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 154).

Associated Film Audiences

1. "The organization was disbanded in December 1938 and was succeeded by Film Audiences for Democracy * * * an organization with such Communist-dominated affiliates as American League Against War and Fascism, Fur Workers Joint Council, Workers Alliance, Teachers Union, Local No. 5. * * * The presence of these affiliates in the support of this organization indicates the Communist technique of either supporting or affiliating with organizations which can be used as a means of furthering the party line" (New York City Council committee investigating the municipal civil service commission, pt. II, p. 76).

Baltimore Statewide Conference on Civil Liberties

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Biro-Bidjan (ICQR)

1. Distributed by the (Communist) Progressive Book Shop, Boston (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 281).
2. "From the 1936-37 records of the (Communist) Progressive Labor School it appears that courses were given by the faculty at the 'Biro Bidjan Institute'" (Massachusetts House Committee Report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 229).

Bonus Expeditionary Forces, Rank and File of America

1. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).

Book-and-Play-of-the-Month Club

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Book Union

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.
2. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

Boston Citizens Union

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Boston School of Social Science

1. "Financially supported by the Garland Fund, which

had as its trustees the leaders of the Communist Party in America" (Massachusetts House Committee Report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 113).

California Committee for Political Unity

1. Cited as a Communist front (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 91).

California Conference for Democratic Action

1. Cited as a Communist front (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 95).

Cambridge People's Voice

1. Communist publication (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 300).

Camp Unity, Franklin, Mass.

1. Location of Young Communist League Training School (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 180).

Century Press

1. Receives much of the Communist Party's printing orders (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 353).

China Aid Council

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Champion (also known as Champion of Youth)

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, June 25, 1942; March 29, 1944.
2. Distributed by the (Communist) Progressive Book Shop, Boston (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 282).
3. Set up by the Young Communist League (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 185).

Champion Labor Monthly

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 102).

China Today

1. Distributed by the (Communist) Progressive Book Shop, Boston (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 281).

Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder

1. Cited as a Communist-front organization by Pennsylvania Commonwealth counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January 1942.
2. Cited as a Communist organization by Attorney Gen-

eral Francis Biddle (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687).

3. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 90, 94f).

Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 99).

City Action Committee Against the High Cost of Living

1. Cited as a Communist front in Los Angeles (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 103).

Civil Rights Council for Northern California

1. Cited as Communist dominated (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 97). Branch of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (ibid.).

Columbus Peace Association.

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 155).

Committee for Citizenship Rights

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 95f).

Committee for Civil Rights for Communists

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Committee for Concerted Peace Efforts

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 105).

Committee for Defense of Public Education

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 112, 127, 154).

Committee for Peace Through World Cooperation

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 105).

Committee for Spanish Children

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 96).

Committee for Technical Aid

1. International Workers Order contributed funds to the above for aid to Spanish democracy (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 395).

Committee of Professional Groups for Browder and Ford

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 48, 181).

Committee on Election Rights

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 48, 112, 166).

Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 99, 105).

Committee to Defend Free Public Education

1. Cooperated with the Teachers Union in an effort "to organize the most widespread campaign of perjury and subornation which has ever confronted a public investigating body" (Rapp-Coudert committee, report, 1942, p. 233).

Commonwealth College

1. Received extensive donations from the Communist-supporting Garland fund (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 320).

Conference on Pan-American Democracy (known also as Council for Pan-American Democracy)

1. Cited as "subversive and un-American" by the Special Committee of the House Committee on Appropriations, (report, April 21, 1943, p. 3).
2. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.
3. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944; June 25, 1942.
4. "The Council was then (December 23, 1940) attacking 'American imperialism' but has shifted its policy since the invasion of Russia by Hitler" (New York City Council committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission, pt. II, p. 83). Cited as an organization of "Communist complexion" (ibid, p. 88).

Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America

1. Held on June 7, 8, 9, 1940, National Press Club Auditorium, Washington, D. C. "Out of this conference grew the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties * * * which defended the right of Communists and Nazis to remain and to be admitted to public service in the United States Government * * *" (New York City Council committee investigating the municipal civil service commission, pt. II, p. 69).

Conference for Social Legislation

1. The set-up is strikingly similar to that laid down by

the central committee of the Communist Party (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 354).

Conference for Democratic Action

1. Cited as a Communist front succeeding the American League for Peace and Democracy (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 91).

Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 83, 102, 129, 147, 155).

Congress of American Soviet Friendship

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 94, 143).

Consumer-Farmer Milk Cooperative, Inc.

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 153).

Consumers Union

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

2. Cited as "subversive and un-American" by the Special Committee of the House Committee on Appropriations, report, April 21, 1943 (p. 3).

3. "On its labor advisory board were Ben Gold, an avowed Communist and leader of the joint board, Furriers Union, Michael Quill, Louis Weinstock, and other labor leaders" (New York City Council committee investigating the municipal civil service commission, pt. II, p. 81).

4. Cited as a Communist-front organization by Pennsylvania Commonwealth counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January 1942.

5. Cited as a Communist front (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 102).

6. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

Consumers National Federation

1. Cited as an organization "of Communist complexion" (New York City Council committee investigating the municipal civil service commission, pt. II, p. 88).

2. Created by the Communist Party and used for the purpose of spreading propaganda in schools and through women's clubs. It was first known as the Emergency Council" (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 102).

3. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 155).

Contemporary Dance Group, Boston

1. Supporters of the International Labor Defense (Massachusetts House Committee Report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 217).

Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 87, 120, 129, 138, 150).

Coordinating Committee Against Profiteering

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Council of United States Veterans

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 83).

Council of the Unemployed

1. Communists organizer the above among ERA and WPA workers (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 310).

Daily Worker

1. Distributed by the (Communist) Progressive Book Shop, Boston (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 282).

Daily Worker Publishing Co.

1. "Publishing agency of the Communist Party" (brief for the United States in the case of William Schneiderman, p. 143).

Defense Committee for Civil Rights

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Descendants of the American Revolution

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, June 25, 1942.
2. Cited as "subversive and un-American" by the Special Committee of the House Committee on Appropriations, report, April 21, 1943 (p. 3).
3. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Detroit Bill of Rights Defense Committee

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in col-

laboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

DOHO

1. Cited as a Communist newspaper front operating among Japanese (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 162).

Emergency Conference to Aid the Spanish Republic

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 87).

Emergency Peace Mobilization

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 105, 156, 169).

Emergency Trade-Union Conference to Aid Spanish Democracy

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 87, 180).

Esthonian Workers' Clubs

1. Cited as "satellites" of the Communist Party (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 154).

Ex-Servicemen's League

1. Composed of left-wing veterans is the creation of the Communist Party (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 310).

Farm Research

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 147).

Farmers National Committee of Action

1. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).

Farmers Union Cooperative Marketing Association

1. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).

Federated Press

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 76, 143, 147).

Federated Youth Clubs

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 155).

Federation for Political Unity

1. Cited as a Communist front in testimony before the California Committee on Un-American Activities, report (p. 68, 1943).

Fight Magazine

1. Official organ of the American League for Peace and Democracy, distributed by the (Communist) Progressive Democracy, Book Shop, Boston (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 281).
2. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 113, 128).

Film and Photo League, Boston

1. Cooperates with New England Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938 p. 141).

Films for Democracy

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 49, 150).

Film Audiences for Democracy

1. Cited as an organization "of Communist complexion" (New York City Council committee investigating the municipal civil service commission, pt. II, p. 88).
2. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.
3. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 150).

Fine Arts Theatre, Boston

1. Supporter of the International Labor Defense (Massachusetts House Committee Report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 217).

Finnish Workers' Clubs

1. Cited as "satellites" of the Communist Party (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 154).

Finnish Workers Federation

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.
2. Affiliated with the First United States Congress against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).

First Congress of the Mexican and Spanish-Speaking Peoples

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 120, 161, 163).

Freiheit Gesang Farein, Boston

1. Supporter of the International Labor Defense (Massachusetts House Committee Report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 218).

Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade

1. Cited as a Communist-front organization by Pennsylvania Commonwealth counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January 1942.
2. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 82, 125, 140, 146; January 3, 1940).
3. Meeting of the above reported by the (Communist) Progressive Book Shop, Boston (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 282).
4. Cited as a Communist front (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 162).
5. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.
6. International Workers Order contributed funds to the above for aid to Spanish democracy (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 395).

Friends of the Soviet Union

1. Corliss Lamont, ardent Communist wrote for the above (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 304).
2. Cited as an organization in which "Communists have controlling influence" (Massachusetts House Committee Report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 77). Purpose "the spreading of propaganda favorable to Russia" (ibid, p. 129).
3. Affiliated with the First United States Congress against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).
4. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; March 29, 1944.
5. "Set up by the Communist Party of the United States" (testimony of John G. Honeycombe, former member of the Communist Party in Los Angeles, California, Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 119).

Frontier Films

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.
2. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 49, 53, 147).

Galena Defense Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 166).

Garibaldi Battalion

1. International Workers Order contributed funds to the above for aid to Spanish democracy (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 395).

Garland Fund

1. "Properly known as the American Fund for Public Service, has contributed more than \$1,500,000, all to the furtherance and support of left-wing and Marxist projects" (Massachusetts House Committee Report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 204).
2. "Had as its trustee the leaders of the Communist Party in America" (Massachusetts House Committee Report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 113).

German-American Relief for Spanish Refugees

1. International Workers Order contributed funds to the above for aid to Spanish democracy (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 395).

Gesangs Verein

1. Listed in the cash receipt record of the Communist Party, Boston, 1937 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 568).

Golden Book of American Friendship

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 102).

Greater New York Committee for Employment

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 152).

Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.
2. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 96, 129).

Greek Workers Club of Springfield

1. Cooperated with Communist Party in May day, 1935, meeting (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 144).

der Hammer

1. Distributed by the (Communist) Progressive Book Shop, Boston (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 281).

Harry Bridges Defense Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 90, 94, 177).

Harry Bridges Victory Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 90, 94).

Harvard Liberal Club

1. "Absorbed into the American Student Union" (Massachusetts House Committee Report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 113). "John Reed was a patron saint. Henry W. L. Dana was a favorite lecturer" (ibid).

Hollywood Anti-Nazi League

1. Cited as a Communist front (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 162).

Hollywood League for Democratic Action

1. Cited as a Communist front (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 91).
2. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Hollywood Theatre Alliance

1. Cited as a Communist front (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 91).

Holyoke (Mass.) Book Shop

1. Nineteen Dunster Street. "A central controlling point for Communist activity in and around Cambridge, and is a recruiting center for the Young Communist League" (Massachusetts House Committee Report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 279).

Honorary Campaign Committee for the Election of Clifford T. McAvoy

1. Cited as an organization "of Communist complexion" (New York City Council committee investigating the municipal civil-service commission, pt. II, p. 88).

Hyde Park Joint Political Action Conference

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 181).

"Icor"

1. "Icor has as its purpose the colonization and support of Biro Bidjan, one of the Soviet Socialist Republics * * * Icor * * * supports the Communist Party * * *" (Massachusetts House Committee report on Un-American Activities, 1938, pp. 228, 229).

2. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).

3. Listed in the cash receipt record of the Communist Party, Boston, 1937 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 568).

Illinois People's Conference for Legislative Action

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 83, 122).

In Fact

1. Cited as a Communist-front organization by Pennsylvania Commonwealth counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January 1942.
2. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 48).

Instructional Staff Association.

1. Cooperated with Communist Party in defense of Schappes (Rapp-Coudert committee, 1942, p. 293).

International Juridical Association

1. "The bulletins of the International Juridical Association from its very inception show that it is devoted to the defense of the Communist Party, Communists, and radical agitators and that it is not limited merely to legal research but to sharp criticism of existing governmental agencies and defense of subversive groups" (New York City Council committee investigating the municipal civil service commission, pt. II, p. 55).
2. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.
3. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 48 f., 148 f.).

International Labor Defense

1. "An organization whose Communist character and international affiliation are a matter of public record" (New York City Council committee investigating the municipal civil service commission, pt. II, p. 61).
2. American section of the International Red Aid, with headquarters in Moscow (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 342).
3. "The Communist Party established the International Labor Defense in this country during the summer of 1925, as the United States section of the International Red Aid" (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 198).
4. Cited as a "subordinate" organization of the Communist Party (Massachusetts House Committee Report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 43).

5. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).

6. "Legal arm of the Communist Party" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686).

7. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

8. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, June 25, 1942; March 29, 1944.

9. Cited as a Communist front (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 98).

10. Cited as a Communist front in testimony before the California Committee on Un-American Activities, report (p. 68, 1943).

International Publishers

1. "Publishing agency of the Communist Party" (brief for the United States in the case of William Schneiderman, p. 145).

2. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

3. Chief publisher of the Communist Party, controlled by the Communist (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 289).

4. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

International Workers Order

1. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).

2. Listed in the cash-receipt record of the Communist Party, Boston, 1937 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 570).

3. Controlled by the Communists (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 308).

4. Cited as an organization "allied to the Communist Party" (Massachusetts House Committee Report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 543).

5. Affiliation between the above and the Young Communist League (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 398).

6. Cited as a Communist front in testimony before the California Committee on Un-American Activities (p. 68, 1943).

7. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in col-

laboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

8. "One of the strongest Communist organizations" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688).

9. Cited as "subversive and un-American" by the special committee of the House Committee on Appropriations, report, April 21, 1943, (p. 3).

10. "An important Communist-front organization" (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 93).

11. Cooperated with Communist Party in defense of Schappes (Rapp-Coudert committee, report, 1942, p. 293).

12. Cited as a Communist-front organization by Pennsylvania Commonwealth counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance. January 1942.

13. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, January 3, 1940, June 25, 1942.

Inter-Professional Association of Social Insurance

1. "It is described by Congressman Dies in his book *The Trojan Horse* as pro-Communist in character" (New York City Council Committee Investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission, pt. II, p. 78).

Interprofessional Association

1. "Sponsoring organization" of the Boston Scottsboro Defense Committee (Massachusetts House Committee Report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 209).

Intourist (Soviet travel agency)

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Italian Anti-Fascist Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 83).

Jefferson School of Social Science

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 89, 150, 156).

Jewish Cultural League of Springfield

1. Cooperated with Communist Party in May Day meeting, 1935 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 144).

Jewish Freiheit

1. Listed in the cash receipt record of the Communist Party, Boston, 1937 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 568).

Jewish Life (Communist International)

1. Distributed by the (Communist) Progressive Book Shop, Boston (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 281).

Jewish People's Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 40, 48 f., 116, 152 f.).
2. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Jimmy Collins Flying Club

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

John Reed Clubs of the United States

1. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).
2. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 174).

Joint Committee for Trade Union Rights

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

Karl Marx Society of Brooklyn College

1. "Branch of the Young Communist League operating under an alias" (Rapp-Coudert committee, interim report, December 1, 1941, p. 101).

King-Ramsey-Connor Defense Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 94).

Knickerbocker Village Tenants Association

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 170).

Labor Defender

1. Official organ of the International Labor Defense, distributed by the (Communist) Progressive Book Shop, Boston (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 281).

Labor Lyceum, 453 Broadway, Chelsea, Mass.

1. "Some of the directors of the Lyceum actively sup-

ported Communist candidates in the last State election" (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 158).

Labor News Bulletin

1. "Issued by the Communist Party of Massachusetts" (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 157).

Labor Notes (Labor Research Association)

1. Distributed by the (Communist) Progressive Book Shop, Boston (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 281).

Labor Sports Union

1. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).

Labor's Nonpartisan League

1. Cited as a Communist front in testimony before the California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, p. 68, 1943.

2. Plans were laid at a convention for special legislation, March 27, 1938, to build the above into a State-wide organization (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 355).

Labor Research Association

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

2. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 47, 76, 143).

3. One of the creations of the Communist Party (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 380).

Lawyers Committee for Civil Protection, Boston

1. "Sponsoring organization" of the Boston Scottsboro Defense Committee (Massachusetts House Committee Report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 209).

Lawyers Committee for Relations with Spain

1. The headquarters of the committee were at 20 Vesey Street, New York City, in the offices of a German-language Communist paper * * *. Lawyers Committee for American Relations with Spain, with Paul J. Kern as its chairman, consisted of a group of lawyers who were also members of the International Juridical Association and the National Lawyers Guild, carrying out the policy and program which had the support, the approval, and endorsement of the Communist Party, evidenced by the wide publicity and approval given

it in the *Daily Worker*, official organ of the Communist Party (New York City Council Committee investigating the municipal civil-service commission, pt. II, pp. 58, 59).

Lawyers Committee of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

1. The Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, was one of many Loyalist-aid organizations carrying out the line established by the Communist Party and received the support of that party in its activities (New York City Council Committee investigating the municipal civil-service commission, pt. II, p. 62).

Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 150, 168 f).

Lawyers Committee to Keep the United States Out of War

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 169).

League Against Yellow Journalism

1. Cited as a Communist front in New England, (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 146).

League for Democratic Control, 16 Carver Street, Boston, Mass.

1. "William Z. Foster, present-day (1937) titular leader of the Communist Party in the United States, was a frequent speaker" (Massachusetts House Committee Report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 113).

League for Mutual Aid

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944, (p. 76).

League for Protection of Minority Rights

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 152).

League of Professional Groups

1. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).

League of Women Shoppers

1. "Communist inspired and therefore Communist dominated and controlled" (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 100).

2. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

3. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 40, 48, 121, 159, 181).

4. Cited as a Communist front (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 91) (Hollywood League for Women Shoppers).

League of American Writers

1. Cooperated with Communist Party in Schappes defense campaign (Rapp-Coudert committee, 1942, p. 293).

2. In the Daily Worker, April 30, 1935, it was announced that the above was to be set up, membership limited to revolutionary writers (Massachusetts House Committee in Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 288).

3. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, June 25, 1942; March 29, 1944; January 3, 1940.

4. "The League of American Writers is generally regarded as a Communist subsidiary. Its policies, of course, always parallel those of the Communist Party" (State Department, quoted in a letter from Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, to Robert Morss Lovett, dated April 25, 1941).

5. "The League of American Writers, founded under Communist auspices in 1935. * * * The overt activities of the League of American Writers in the last 2 years leave little doubt of its Communist control" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686).

6. Cited as "subversive and un-American" by the special committee of the House Committee on Appropriations, report, April 21, 1943 (p. 3).

7. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

League of Struggle for Negro Rights

1. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).

2. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

3. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 116).

Lithuanian Societies

1. Meeting of the above reported by the (Communist) Progressive Book Shop, Boston (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 282).

Los Angeles Conference on Civil Liberties

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Manhattan Citizens Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 152).

Marxist Cultural Society of the City College of New York

1. "Branch of the Young Communist League operating under an alias" (Rapp-Coudert committee, interim report, December 1, 1941, p. 101).

Marxist Study Club of the City College of New York

1. "Branch of the Young Communist League operating under an alias" (Rapp-Coudert Committee, interim report, December 1, 1941, p. 101).

Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

1. International Workers Order contributed funds to the above for aid to Spanish democracy (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 395).
2. Cited as "subversive and un-American" by the Special Committee of the House Committee on Appropriations, report, April 21, 1943 (p. 3).
3. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 82).

Memorial Day Youth Peace Parade

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 83).

Mexican and Spanish-American Peoples Congress

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 102).

Miami League for Peace and Human Welfare

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Michigan Civil Rights Federation

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 83).
2. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.
3. Affiliate of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687).

Midwest Daily Record

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 82, 146, 177).

Milk Consumers Protective Committee

1. Cited as an organization "of Communist complexion"

(New York City Council Committee Investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission, pt. II, p. 87).

Minneapolis Civil Rights Committee

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Modesto Defense Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 94).

Mooney Defense Committee

1. Hollywood Branch, cited as a Communist front (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 91).

Morning Freiheit

1. A daily paper published by the Communist Party (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 331).
2. "Communist newspaper" (Massachusetts House Committee Report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 76).
3. (Same as 2 G, p. 199.)

Motion Picture Democratic Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front in testimony before the California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, (pp. 68, 1943).

Murray Defense Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 102).

Musicians' Democratic Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front by the California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943 (p. 79). Affiliate of the Motion Picture Democratic Committee (*ibid*, p. 82).

Naileben (ICOR)

1. Distributed by the (Communist) Progressive Book Shop, Boston (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 281).

National Emergency Committee to Stop Lynching

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 180).

National Hunger March to Washington

1. Organized by the Communist Party (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1938, pp. 121, 123).
2. The party played a definite role in organizing and leading the ex-servicemen (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 310).

National Free Browder Congress

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 17, 87, 132).

National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 94, 116).

National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism

1. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).

National Civil Rights Federation

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 48).

National Farmers Holiday Association

1. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).

National Lithuanian Youth Federation

1. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).

National Student Committee for Struggle Against War

1. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).

National Anti-War Week, March 31, to April 6, 1932

1. Set up by the Communist Party (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 126).

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 112, 120, 129, 149, 156, 167).

National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners

1. "National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners is substantially equivalent to International Labor Defense, legal arm of the Communist Party * * * caters to financially and socially prominent liberals * * *" Defended individual Communists (Herndon, Schneiderman, Browder) (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686).

2. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, June 25, 1942; March 29, 1944.

New England Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners

1. Set up by the Communist Party (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 124);

11 Beacon Street, room 412, the office of Jessica Henderson (ibid, p. 140).

National Negro Congress

1. Cited as a Communist front (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 162).
2. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; March 29, 1944.
3. Communist Party's role was of central importance in the organization of the above (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 298).
4. A. Philip Randolph, former president, charges that it was "deliberately packed with Communists and Congress of Industrial Organizations members who were either Communists or sympathizers with Communists" (April 1940). Cited by Attorney General Francis Biddle in support of the following characterization: "From the record of its activities and the composition of its governing bodies, there can be little doubt that it has served as what James W. Ford, elected to the executive committee in 1937, predicted: 'An important sector of the democratic front,' sponsored and supported by the Communist Party" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7689).

National Student League

1. "A mass revolutionary student organization"—Report filed with Wisconsin Committee on the Investigation of Charges of Communistic Teachings and Other Subversive Activities (Wisconsin State Senate Journal, September 21, 1935, p. 2415).
2. Cited as a "front organization of the Communist Party" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10).
3. Participates in Communist Party promoted "peace mobilization" (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 145).
4. "The main office of the National Students League was shared with the Red Sports Union in New York * * * and upon the walls appeared the Soviet emblem of hammer and sickle" (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 135).
5. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).
6. Created by the Communist Party (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 527).
7. Cited as a "Communist student front" (Rapp-Coudert committee, interim report, December 1, 1941, p. 14).

8. Cited as a Communist front (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 98).

9. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 48, 119).

National Lawyers Guild

1. "The late Frank P. Walsh, Comptroller Joseph D. McGoldrick, Judge Ferdinand Pecora, Hon. Adolph Berle, Assistant Secretary of State; Nathan Margold, Solicitor to the Department of the Interior, and others, have resigned from the organization on the ground that it is Communist-dominated" (New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission, pt. II, p. 55).

2. Cited as a Communist front (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 98), A. A. Berle, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State, in his letter of resignation dated June 5, 1940, stated that the leadership is not prepared "to take any stand which conflicts with the Communist Party line."

3. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 148, 149).

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, June 25, 1942; March 29, 1944.

2. "Part of what Lenin called the solar system or organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program * * *" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687). "The defenses of Communist leaders such as Sam Darcy and Robert Wood, party secretaries for Pennsylvania and Oklahoma, have been major efforts of the federation (ibid). (See Conference on Constitutional Liberties; also New York Conference on Inalienable Rights.)

National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights

1. Cited as "subversive and un-American" by the Special Committee of the House Committee on Appropriations, report, April 21, 1943 (p. 3).

2. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

3. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1942; March 29, 1944.

National Committee for People's Rights

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, June 25, 1942; March 29, 1944.

2. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

3. "In January 1938 its (National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners) name was changed to the National Committee for People's Rights" (Attorney General Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686).

4. "A former Kansas Communist State official testified before the Dies committee that the extensive correspondence between himself and various governmental agencies on silicosis in those States * * * had been prepared by the Communist Party headquarters in New York City and dispatched by him on behalf of the NCPR" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687).

Needle Workers' Council for Peace and Civil Rights

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Negro Labor Victory Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 180).

Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 180).

Newark Peace Action Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 156).

New Bedford Conference on American Democracy

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

New England Labor College

1. "Designated 'College' * * * in violation of the laws of the Commonwealth"; conducted at the Labor Lyceum (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 158).

New England Labor Research Association

1. 19 Dunster Street, Cambridge, Mass. Same address for the magazine Science and Society (Massachusetts House Committee Report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 279). Same address as Holyoke Book Shop.

2. Patterned after the Labor Research Association in New York which is printed by the Communist Party (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 283).

New Masses

1. Distributed by the (Communist) Progressive Book Shop, Boston (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 281).

2. "Communist periodical" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688).

3. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, June 24, 1942, March 29, 1944.

New Pioneer

1. Distributed by the (Communist) Progressive Book Shop, Boston (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 281).

2. "Official Organ of the Young Pioneers" (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 146).

3. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

New Theatre League

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

2. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

New Theatre Magazine

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 121).

New Theatre Player

1. Sponsored by the American League Against War and Fascism (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 477).

New York Citizens Peace Council

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

New York City Conference Against War and Fascism

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 128).

New York Committee to Aid Agricultural Workers

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

New York Conference for Inalienable Rights

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 149).

New York State Conference on National Unity

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 133).

New York State Conference on Legislation for Democracy

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 149).

New York Council on American Soviet Relations

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 174).

New York Trade-Union Committee to Free Earl Browder

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 126).

New York Tom Mooney Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 154).

New York State Conference on Legislation for Democracy

1. "An organization which was engaged in attacking the defense program of the Government of the United States, under the guise of protecting civil liberties, the rights of labor, and the health and welfare of the people" (New York City Council Committee Investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission, pt. II, p. 72).

Non-Partisan Committee for the Reelection of Vito Marcantonio

1. Cited as an organization "of Communist complexion" (New York City Council Committee Investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission, pt. II, p. 87).
2. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 122, 181).

North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

1. Received money raised by the Communist Party of Massachusetts (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 562).
2. International Workers Order contributed funds to the above for aid to Spanish democracy (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 395).
3. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.
4. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944; January 3, 1940.

Northern California Peace Mobilization Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 95).

Novy Mir

1. Official newspaper for the Russian section of the International Workers Order (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 390).

Ohio Unemployed League

1. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).

Oklahoma Committee to Defend Political Prisoners

1. "The NCDPP (National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners) * * * organized the Oklahoma Committee to Defend Political Prisoners; and solicited funds and sought to obtain as much Nation-wide publicity as possible on behalf of Robert Wood, Oklahoma State secretary of the Communist Party, and his Communist codefendants in the recent syndicalism trials in that State" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686).

Oklahoma Federation for Constitutional Rights

1. Affiliate of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687).

Open Letter in Defense of Harry Bridges

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 87, 112, 129, 166).

Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with U. S. S. R.

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, June 25, 1942; March 29, 1944.

Open Letter to American Liberals

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, June 25, 1942.

Pan-American Conference on Democratic Rights

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Party Organizer

1. A magazine for active Communists (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 315).

People's World

1. Cited as a Communist paper by the California Report on Un-American Activities, p. 62.

Pen and Hammer Club

1. "Has contacts in Government research offices, military as well as civil." Aim to send information to the Soviet Union (Rapp-Coudert committee, report, 1942, p. 131, testimony).
2. Cited as a Communist front (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 91).

Photo-History (Communist International)

1. Distributed by the (Communist) Progressive Book Shop, Boston (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 281).

Progressive Book Shop, Boston

1. Cited as "Communist" (Massachusetts House Committee report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 43).

Progressive Committee to Rebuild American Labor Party

1. "Communist faction" of the American Labor Party of New York (New York City Council committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission, pt. II, p. 33). "Leaders denounced as Communists by members of the State executive committee of their own party" (ibid, p. 36).

2. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 48, 102, 127, 153, 160, 180).

Progressive Labor School, Boston

1. Cited as an organization "allied to the Communist Party" (Massachusetts House Committee Report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 54). Successor to the Workers School (ibid, p. 274).

Progressive Women's Council

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 153).

2. Cited as a Communist Party transmission belt (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 103).

Protestant Digest

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 40, 48).

Public Use of Arts Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

Red International of Labor Unions

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 116).

Refugee Scholarship and Peace Campaign

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 87).

Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 17, 112, 156).

Revolutionary Writers Federation

1. American section of the Soviet International Union of Revolutionary Writers, or the International Bureau of Revolu-

tionary Literature (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 444).

Robotnik Polski

1. Cited as a "satellite" of the Communist Party (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 154).

Russian-American Industrial Corporation

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 74, 76).

Russian Mutual Aid Society of Springfield

1. Cooperated with Communist Party in May Day meeting, 1935; license denied by State Commissioner of Insurance (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report 1938, p. 144).

Russian Reconstruction Farms

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 76).

San Francisco Academic and Civil Rights Council

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Schappes Defense Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 7, 49, 71, 102, 112, 120, 155, 179).

Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 17, 95).

2. "Created early in 1940 for the defense of William Schneiderman, California State secretary of the Communist Party, and Sam Darcy, the former district organizer of the Communist Party in California" (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 97).

School for Democracy

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 49, 89, 150, 156, 168).

Science and Society

1. A Marxian quarterly distributed by the (Communist) Progressive Book Shop, Boston (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 281).

2. Managing editor: William T. Parry, director of the Communist Progressive Labor School, Boston (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 284).

3. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 96).

Scottsboro Defense Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 177).

Second Annual California Model Legislature

1. "A Communist-inspired youth movement" (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 91).

Sharecroppers' Aid Committee

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Simon J. Lubin Society

1. Cited as a Communist front engaged in "California agrarian penetration" (California Committee on Un-American Activities, p. 86, 1943).

Social Work Today

1. Cited as a Communist-front organization by Pennsylvania Commonwealth counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January 1942.

Society for Cultural Relations with Soviet Russia

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 129).

Southern Conference for Human Welfare

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 48, 148).

Southern Negro Youth Congress

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.
2. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, January 3, 1940.

Soviet Russia Today

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, June 25, 1942; March 29, 1944.
2. Distributed by the (Communist) Progressive Book Shop, Boston (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 281).

Spanish Aid Organizations of the Communist Party

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, June 25, 1942.

Spanish Anti-Fascist Committee

1. International Workers Order contributed funds to the above for aid to Spanish democracy (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 395).

Spanish Intellectual Aid

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, January 3, 1940.

2. "This organization suffered a split because of the charge of Communist domination. * * * This organization likewise received Communist approval and support and was part of the network of organizations fostered by the Communist Party in its Spanish campaign" (New York City Council Committee Investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission, pt. II, p. 63).

3. Cited as a Communist-front organization by Pennsylvania Commonwealth counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January 1942.

Spanish-Speaking People's Congress

1. Cited as a Communist front operating among Mexicans (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 162).

Springfield Citizens' Protective Association

1. Cooperates with Communist Party in May Day meeting, 1935 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 145).

Student Congress Against War

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 119).

Student Rights Association

1. Cited as a Communist front (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 99).

Student Vigilance Committee (Boston)

1. Participates in Communist Party-promoted "peace mobilization" (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 145).

Teacher-Worker

1. Calls upon readers to uphold the revolutionary tradition of May Day and to "defend the Soviet Union" (Rapp-Coudert Committee, report, 1942, p. 298).

Third Congress Against War and Fascism

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 135).

Theatre Arts Committee (TAC)

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Town Meeting of Youth

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 167).

Trade Union Advisory Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 89).

Trade-Union Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

1. Received money raised by the Communist Party of Massachusetts (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 562).

Trade-Union Committee on Industrial Espionage

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 154).

Trade-Union Committee to Put America Back to Work

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 140).

Trade-Union Educational League

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 127).
2. "Affiliate of the Red International of Labor Unions, which was the trade-union bureau of the Comintern * * *. In 1929 the Trade-Union Educational League became the Trade-Union Unity League" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re Harry Bridges, May 29, 1942, p. 10).

Trade-Union Unity League

1. The above union was created at the order of the Comintern (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 306).
2. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 127).
3. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).
4. "The federation of the Communist Party's own labor unions" (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 121).
5. "In 1929 the Trade-Union Educational League became the Trade-Union Unity League * * *. The T. U. U. L., as it was called, openly supported and was dominated by the Communist Party" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10).
6. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 47, 155).

Ukrainian Daily News

1. Communist newspaper (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 391).

Unemployed Councils, National Committee

1. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).

Unemployed Councils Committee

1. "A branch of the Trade-Union Unity League" (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 121).

Union of Concerted Peace Efforts

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944, (p. 154).

United American Artists

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 129).

United American Spanish Aid Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 82, 112, 133, 138, 167, 180).

United Farmers League

1. Cited as a Communist front in the California report on Un-American activities, 1943 (p. 38).
2. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).

United Farmers Protective Association

1. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).

United States Congress Against War

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 119f, 181).
2. "The Congress from the beginning was led by our party quite openly." Quoted from *The Communist*, January 1934 issue (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 466).
3. Cited as a Communist front (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 93).
4. "The American League Against War and Fascism was formally organized at the First United States Congress Against War and Fascism held in New York City, September 29 — October 1, 1933" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7683).
5. Cited as a united-front organization of the Communist Party (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 132).

U. S. Week

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 148).

United Student Peace Committee

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

United Youth Committee Against Lynching

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (p. 155).

Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade

1. Cited as a Communist-front organization by Pennsylvania Commonwealth counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January 1942.

2. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (pp. 82, 146).

Veterans' National Rank and File Committee

1. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 462).

Voice of China

1. Distributed by the (Communist) Progressive Book Shop, Boston (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 281).

Washington Book Shop (Washington Cooperative Book Shop)

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

2. "Evidence of Communist penetration or control is reflected in the following: Among its stock the establishment has offered prominently for sale, books and literature identified with the Communist Party, and certain of its affiliates and front organizations * * *" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688).

Washington C. I. O. Committee to Reinstate Helen Miller

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

Washington Committee for Aid to China

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

Washington Committee for Democratic Action

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, June 25, 1942; March 29, 1944.

2. Affiliate of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, Sept, 24, 1942, p. 7687).

3. "National Communist leaders have addressed its meetings, and conferences sponsored by it have been attended by representatives of prominent Communist-front organizations" (Ibid., p. 7689).

Washington Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

Washington Council for Democratic Rights

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Washington Friends of Spanish Democracy

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

Washington Peace League

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

Washington Peace Mobilization

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

Waterfront Worker

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

2. "A mimeographed sheet published in San Francisco from December 1932 until 1936. It was first issued by the Marine Workers' Industrial Union, identified as an affiliate of the Communist Party" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10).

West Virginia North American Committee

1. International Workers Order contributed funds to the above for aid to Spanish democracy (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 395).

Western Writers Congress

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

West Side Council for Race Tolerance

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Wholesale Book Corporation

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Worcester Worker

1. Published by the Communist Party of Worcester, Mass. (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 360).

Workers Alliance

1. "Cited as "Communist dominated" by the New York City Council Committee investigating the municipal civil service commission (pt. II, p. 76).
2. Cited as a Communist front organization by Pennsylvania Commonwealth counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January 1942.
3. Communists organized the above among the ERA and WPA workers (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 310).
4. Cited as a Communist front by the California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943 (p. 69).
5. "Creation of and controlled by the Communist Party" (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 78).
6. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.
7. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, June 25, 1942; January 3, 1940; March 29, 1944.
8. "Communist-penetrated organization" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7684, c. 2).

Workers and Farmers Cooperative Unity Alliance

1. Affiliated with the First United States Congress against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 463).

Workers Bookshop (a native chain, some branches called Progressive Bookshops)

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Workers Cultural Federation

1. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Workers Ex-Servicemen's League

1. Affiliated with the First United States Congress against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 463).
2. "Which marched on Washington during these different

years. This league is a Communist organization" (Massachusetts House Committee report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 244).

Workers International Relief

1. Affiliated with the First United States Congress against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 463).

2. "Controlled by 'fraction' leaders, who, according to article 1, section 7, of the Communist International Constitution, were responsible directly to the Comintern at Moscow (Massachusetts House Committee report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 122).

3. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

Workers Library Publishers

1. Cited as "Communist" (Massachusetts House Committee report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 43).

2. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

3. Chief publisher of the Communist Party, controlled by the Communists (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 289).

4. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

Workers School of Boston

1. "Was conducted as the headquarters of the Communist Party" (Massachusetts House Committee report on Un-American Activities, 1938, p. 234).

2. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

3. Listed in the cash-receipt record of the Communist Party, Boston, 1937 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 568).

Working Woman

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

Working Women's Councils of New England

1. Cited as a Communist front to protest the high cost of living (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 137).

Workmen's Educational Association

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

World Committee Against War

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1943, p. 93).

World Congress Against War

1. "On the American Committee for the World Congress Against War were at least 19 members of the Communist Party" (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 137).

2. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

World Tourists, Inc.

1. Cited as a Communist front organization by Pennsylvania Commonwealth Counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January 1942.

2. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in collaboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

World Youth Congress

1. Cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944.

Yankee Organizer

1. "Published by the Boston headquarters of the Communist Party" (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, p. 156).

Yanks Are Not Coming Committee

1. Cited as a Communist front organization by Pennsylvania Commonwealth Counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January 1942.

Young Communist League

1. Cited as a Communist front organization by Pennsylvania Commonwealth Counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January 1942.

Young Communist Review

1. Successor to the Young Worker, magazine of the Young Communist League (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 185).

Young Worker

1. "Nation-wide magazine of the Young Communist League" (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 183).

Young Pioneers of America

1. "A Communist youth organization for girls and boys of grade-school age" (California Report on Un-American Activities, 1943, p. 66).

2. Cited as under Communist control, influence, or in col-

laboration with the Communist Party by the Committee for Cultural Freedom, Prof. John Dewey, chairman, April 1940.

3. "Class-hatred training organization of the Communist Party, of the International Workers Order, and of various language groups supporting the Communist Party" (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 146).

4. Affiliated with the First United States Congress Against War, 1932 (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 463).

Youth Publishers

1. Publishers for the Young Communist League (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 184).

Zero Hour Parade

1. Cited as an organization "of Communist complexion" (New York City Council Committee investigating the Municipal Civil Service Commission, pt. II, p. 88).

Special Supplement

from the

1947 Report

of the

California Joint Fact Finding Committee on Un-American Activities

THE RECONVERSION OF LAW ENFORCEMENT

Address of J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, delivered at the 52nd Annual Meeting of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, Auditorium, Municipal Pier, Miami Beach, Florida, 12 noon Eastern Time, December 10, 1945.

ROLE OF THE FBI AND THE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

Statement of J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, before The Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 3:45 P. M., March 26, 1947, Washington, D. C.

The Party Line

THE COMMITTEE finds that most important Communists, while thoroughly under the discipline of the Communist hierarchy in America, are rarely carried on Communist Party books as such. Guided by Communist lawyers, such as Aubrey Grossman, Leo Gallagher and others, the party functionaries are instructed to keep their records in such a manner that they are of little value within the strict rules of the laws of evidence. The legal-lights of the Communist Party have seen to it that exposure of important comrades is almost impossible, at least, as far as the courts are concerned. Committee investigators have had access to recent Communist Party membership records and realize the futility involved in attempting to prove anything by them. One well known Communist is carried on one such list as "John 4-X." The Communist Party legal staff, versed in American jurisprudence, has arranged matters so that such records will never constitute evidence in the legal sense.

Every investigating body has been faced with this problem of evidence. Exposure of Communists such as Herbert K. Sorrell through his application for membership in the Communist Party and his dues-book have put the party particularly on guard.

Outstanding functionaries, such as William Schneiderman, Dorothy Healy and Aubrey Grossman, necessarily avow their Communist affiliation and will do so as long as the party remains partially above ground.

The committee, throughout its more than six years of investigation, has attempted carefully to distinguish between American *liberals* and American *Communists*. Experience has convinced the Committee that this is not a very difficult task. An American Socialist is probably the most anti-Communist individual in the country. Contrary to the generally accepted public belief, the Labor Party of England constitutes a real substantial bulwark against Communism in the British Isles. The *New Leader*, published in New York by American Social Democrats, is probably one of the most effective periodicals in the United States fighting Communism. The contributors to this weekly are all liberals and progressives in the true sense of the word. They fight for trade unionism and vigorously oppose discrimination because of race, color or creed and stand squarely for the rights of minority groups, whether in the political or economic fields. While advocating socialistic reforms in the field of economy they wage an effective and telling fight against Stalin abroad and the Stalinites at home.

The liberal American will rarely become indignant when accused of being a Communist. He will set you right and join with you in a vigorous condemnation of everything Communistic. On the other hand, nothing makes an undercover Communist more angry than to be called a "Communist." He will circumvent every question and demand that you "define your terms."

Indicative of the attitude of a real American liberal is the case of Benjamin Stolberg, noted American journalist and outstanding fighter against Communism.

In the Committee's 1945 Report, at page 150, R. E. Combs, Committee counsel, in his report on the *CIO Political Action Committee*, wrote the following:

Benjamin Stolberg, once having been a member of the *National Committee of the Communist Party*, was able to shrewdly predict a liquidation of Mr. Lewis when he stated in his article, "*Communist Wreckers in American Labor*," which appeared in the September 2, 1939, issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*. * * *

The statement that Mr. Stolberg had once been a member of the *National Committee of the Communist Party* was, of course, an error. The mistake was made in the rush of proofreading and the phrase "once having been a member of the *National Committee of the Communist Party*" was a line that became misplaced in the process. The error was not discovered until the reports were bound and distributed.

Benjamin Stolberg's attitude is not only interesting, but illustrative of both his character and his Americanism. The chairman received the following letter from Mr. Stolberg under date of June 27, 1945:

DEAR SENATOR TENNEY: The other day I called on Mr. Herbert Hoover, who gave me a copy of your Second Report on Un-American Activities, which he suggested that I read.

That night it was steamingly hot, sleep was out of the question and I spent most of it reading your fascinating report, which is not only learned and sound but clever.

But, when I got to page 150, I fell out of bed from sheer shock, broke my ankle and passed out, for which I shall of course sue the State of California for a couple of millions. For there, black and white. I was quoted—quite approvingly—as an expert on Communism on the ground that I once was "a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party."

Now, I never was a member of the Communist Party, let alone its national committee. I never was a member even of the Socialist Party. In fact, I never was a member of any political party until last November when I joined the Republican Party.

I pride myself that way back in 1922, Earl Browder wrote an entire little pamphlet, showing that I was nothing but a miserable "Bourgeois" progressive and capitalist "apologist." Of course, that was very mild criticism of my spiritual corruption, for 10 years later the *Daily Worker* called me a "street-walker," a very low-priced one at that. Naturally, I feel very honored by this evolution-in-depravity in communist

eyes—and correspondingly humiliated by being mistakenly called a former high functionary of the C. P. racket.

More seriously: If there is another edition of your report, can you make the correction? And if there is no other edition, can you correct the statement in your next hearings?

I expect to be in your city within a month or so and I shall take great pleasure in looking you up.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed)

BENJAMIN STOLBERG.

The committee is happy for this opportunity to correct its error of 1945 and humbly apologizes to Benjamin Stolberg. If there were more journalists with the vigorous wit and the powers of analysis exemplified in the outstanding work of such men as Benjamin Stolberg, Eugene Lyons and George E. Sokolsky there would be a lot less muddle-headed thinking in these United States.

The Party Line

AN INDEPENDENT thinking American, no matter how radical his views may be, follows his *own* particular convictions. All views on political and economic subjects change from time-to-time as long as the mind is free to develop. Many people are led to believe, through Communist propaganda, that similarity between an individual's political and economic beliefs with the Communist Party program is merely incidental. Some people will usually argue that because the Communist Party advocates a certain reform espoused by the individual that the objective must not be abandoned merely because it has Communist support. What such individuals *do not know* is that through the processes of Marxian dialectic the Communist Party program has been evolved to *fit the thinking of the non-Communist individual*. The important difference is that, while the non-Communist may advocate the advance reforms with the intent to *strengthen* the economic or social structure, the Communist utilizes the program for the purpose of creating dissension, chaos and collapse.

The application of Marxian dialectic and the materialistic interpretation of history to current events, crusades and reforms, with Soviet foreign policy in the forefront and carried forward without rhyme or reason for American interests, brands any individual continually following the "line" with the hammer-and-sickle.

It is the mark of Cain and, whether the individual carries a Communist Party book or not, his regimented thinking and acting marks him for what he is. At this point the non-Communist independent thinker parts company with the Communist Party.

The Imperialist War !

ONE of the most amazing twists in the Communist Party line occurred during the Hitler-Stalin Pact, as has been so often stated. The committee, in order to make the record complete, reproduces the text of one of the many thousand pamphlets distributed by the Communist Party during the period between August 22, 1939, and June 22, 1941—the 22 months of Communist-Nazi collaboration.

THIS IS NOT OUR WAR!

WE MUST STAY OUT

We Americans were suckers in 1917.

Let's be wise in 1940 and stay out of this war.

We can stay out only by a policy of strict neutrality!

No loans, no arms, no aid to either side.

Feed America and starve the war.

Be American—and help save America from war!

MOTHERS!

FATHERS!

YOUNG PEOPLE!

A terrible fear is spreading among our people and throughout our land. It is the fear of getting into war. With every passing day the propaganda and steps for involvement become more open and bolder.

But we the people—at least 95 percent of us—are absolutely opposed to going to war. We don't want any part of the mass butchery that is taking place in Europe.

It is the Wall Street bankers, the big industrialists and the high politicians that want to drag us in. They made over five billion dollars in clear profit out of the last war. Now again, by getting us into war they hope to make huge profits, to secure new markets, to extend American imperialist power.

President Roosevelt is leading the way for the war plans of the economic royalists—the very people who used to fight him, but who now rally around him. Even Hoover and the Republicans and the big newspapers—the worst enemies of the common people — are whooping it up for Roosevelt's actions.

Roosevelt's so-called national defense speech was in reality a war speech. He tries to stampede us into a war spirit by talk of invasion of our shores. But even Lindbergh says that talk of invasion is hysteria and propaganda. Roosevelt's speeches and actions are exactly parallel to President Wilson's in 1917.

In 1916 Wilson said he was for peace. In 1917 when war was declared he said it was a war for Democracy. He gave loans and help to the allies. He suppressed civil liberties in a great "red hunt."

And today, in 1940, Roosevelt is doing exactly the same. He, too, says he is for peace. He says the war in Europe is



a war for civilization. He has completely abandoned neutrality and is lining us up to fight for England and France. He is launching a great Red Hunt—a campaign to suppress civil liberties and freedom of speech to intimidate and suppress anti-war sentiment and organization.

We the common people are opposed to war.

But too many of us are saying, "Well, I guess there isn't anything we can do about it. We're going to get in anyway." That's exactly the way the war makers want us to think and act.

But WE are the majority. WE have the power, if WE speak up, if WE get together, to

KEEP AMERICA OUT OF THE IMPERIALISTIC WAR! ✓

(Read Other Side)

The reverse side of this leaflet reads as follows:

WHAT YOU AS ONE INDIVIDUAL CAN DO
To Help

KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR!

Here are a few things you can do!

- (1) Pass this leaflet around to your friends, relatives and neighbors. This is the first and simplest thing to do.
- (2) Talk to people everywhere you meet them about the ideas put forth in this leaflet. Let your antiwar opinions get around.
- (3) Send letters to your congressman and to President Roosevelt expressing your antiwar views. We must let them know that the people are against going to war. Urge your friends to write letters, also.
- (4) *Send letters and resolutions of support* to all Union leaders and progressives who stand up against war!
- (5) Write letters—make phone calls—to newspapers, radio stations, making known your antiwar sentiments.
- (6) Get resolutions passed in your organization against war.
- (7) Don't be timid, don't be bashful about talking to your grocer, your milkman, your fellow travelers on the street car or train.

These are only a few suggestions. Many more things can be done if you will only set about doing them.

Speak up against the war mongers!

Then the other fellow will also speak up!

Remember it will be your son, your brother, your sweetheart or yourself that will have to fight and die if we get into war.

If you and the 95 percent speak up and act we can stay out of this war.

Let's tell everybody: This is not our war!

This time * * * the Yanks are not coming!

Issued by the Communist Party,
Los Angeles County,
124 West Sixth Street.

Hear Earl Browder on National Hook-Up Sunday, June 2nd,
9.30 to 10 a.m.—Stations KFI, KHJ, KECA

Browder Establishes the "Line"

The Communist Party issued a four-page tabloid newspaper for Monday, September 2, 1940, entitled *Challenge*. It purported to be a Labor Day edition. John Polkki, member of the ILWU, Local 1-13, and a candidate for the State Assembly from the Sixty-eighth District on the Communist ticket, writes an article entitled "Why I Joined the Communist Party." Paul Cline, Communist alien, writes on Labor, Capital and Socialism, under the general title of "Let's Talk it Over." Pettis Perry is writing about Negroes in trade unions and Celeste Strack writes on "Young America." George Ashby, Communist Party candidate for Congress from the Eighteenth District, is given quite a write-up. This article reveals the usual deception employed by the Communist Party in pointing out that George Ashby was "elected to the Democratic County Central Committee with the highest vote of any candidate for that office," from which he resigned to join the Communist Party when it became apparent to him that Roosevelt was "leading the country into the imperialist war." Communist Henry Steinberg, James C. McLean, Albert Lane Lewis and George Sandy are advertised as speakers over Radio Station KFAC for the Communist Party candidates. The Progressive Book Shop at 226½ South Spring Street is given space, and Ezra Bailey presents a squib in favor of Browder for President over both Roosevelt and Willkie, the "war-mongers."

Browder's radio campaign rates a half page plug on his scheduled programs on "Why Conscription?", "Who Is the Real Fifth Column?", "How Can We Defend America?", "Willkie and Roosevelt," and "A Program for Peace and Security."

The editorial page carries the legend "Official Publication of the Communist Party Los Angeles County" under the masthead. The leading editorial is as follows:

The Traitors' Counsel

"We weren't suckers to get into the war of 1917! The time to fight is *now* while we have Britain as our ally! The best defense is a timely offensive! Let's get right into the war!"

This is the counsel of John Perry Wood, Chairman of the Local Committee to Drag America Into the War by Aiding the Allies. It is contained in a long article in the Los Angeles

Times of August 17th. Once before, Mr. Wood, at a meeting in the Philharmonic Auditorium, said we ought to give "every cent, every gun, ships, *men* if necessary" to the imperialist slaughter.

At that meeting he waved a Communist leaflet and shouted that the Communists were "Fifth Columnists" because we urge the American people to stay at peace. In the *Times* article Mr. Wood repeats the slander. But this time it is not only the Communists, but also Senator Wheeler of Montana, who is, "either a fool * * * or is himself leading the "Fifth Columnists'," because the Senator opposes the war plans of Wall Street.

The War mongers are still trying to mask themselves behind the "save Democracy" slogan. They are still trying to pull the wool over our eyes and drag us into the war. The counsel of Mr. Wood is the same as that of Roosevelt, his stooge, former Ambassador Bullitt, and Wendell Willkie. All have the same brand—get into the war by aiding the British Empire. This is truly the *counsel of traitors*.

The American people will have nothing of this.

It is to be noted that Charles A. Lindberg and Senator Burton Wheeler were Communist Party heroes during the Hitler-Stalin Pact.

Communist Party Conventions

EARL BROWDER was repudiated by the annual State Conventions of the Communist Party held in San Francisco and Los Angeles, July 15, 1945. It is said that 600 delegates attended these conventions.

The Communist Party clubs elected 354 American Communists as delegates to the convention in Los Angeles and advocated a "Soviet America."

The Northern California Convention in San Francisco elected John Hughes, William Schneiderman, Steve Nelson, John Morgan, Ray Thompson and Mickey Lima as delegates to the National Convention in New York, July 26, 1945. Alternate delegates were Aubrey Grossman and Walter Stack.

"Nemmy" (Ned) Sparks, Dorothy Healy, David Buckman and Bill O'Neal were elected as delegates to the National Convention by the Southern California Convention.

It is reported that the National Convention was attended by 93 hand-picked delegates all of whom were obligated in advance to insist on the reinstatement of the Communist Party and the ouster of Browder, in conformity with the Duclos letter. As has been pointed out in this report, William Z. Foster replaced Earl Browder. A national board of 11 members and a secretariat of four were elected as predetermined. The members of the secretariat are William Z. Foster, Eugene Dennis, John Williamson and Robert Thompson. These four members of the secretariat

are also members of the national board which, in addition, is composed of Benjamin J. Davis, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Jack Stachel, Lewis Weinstock, Irving Potash, Steve Nelson and Josh Lawrence. Nelson is said to be a resident of California.

Representatives of the non-Communist press were refused admittance to the convention.

Present Communist Party Line

The *Hollywood Citizen News* for October 24, 1946, quotes *Political Affairs* (the ideological publication of the Communist Party, formerly *The Communist*) setting forth the current Communist Party line. The editorial is as follows:

The September issue of "Political Affairs" provides valuable information for one who seeks to understand the Communists.

"Political Affairs" describes itself as, "A magazine devoted to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism." It quotes the speeches and prints the writings of William Z. Foster and other leaders in the Communist Party of the United States of America. The magazine is purchasable at bookstores handling Communist publications.

In the magazine, the American people are divided into two groups by the Communist Party leaders. On the one hand are the "progressives." They include members of the Communist Party, the CIO, the PAC, the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, and 150 organizations "charged with being 'front' organizations."

On the other hand are the "Fascists." The "Fascists" include all Republicans, "Tory" Democrats, reactionaries, Big Business, imperialists, monopolists and war mongers. Anyone who doesn't accept the Communist program is a "Fascist." He is also a war monger. He is also an imperialist. He is also a reactionary. And he is either a Republican or a "Tory" Democrat.

Some of the aims of the Communist Party are set forth in the following language:

"To strengthen and broaden the people's struggle against the war-mongers, reactionaries and profiteers, labor and all anti-fascist forces must now display far greater political and organizing initiative in developing and leading mass movements and struggles in behalf of the most immediate and pressing economic and political demands of the workers, veterans, Negro people, farmers and city middle class. These demands include * * * the withdrawal of American troops from China and the Philippines * * * outlawing the atom bomb as a weapon of war * * * honoring America's commitments at Potsdam, Moscow and Yalta.

"High priority in the building of the progressive mass or-

ganizations must also be given to strengthen and expand the National Negro Congress * * * determinedly build the American Veterans Committee * * * aid the growth of the militant, anti-imperialist American Youth for Democracy * * * extend the base and mass activities of the Win-the-Peace movement.

Paul
HOFFMAN

"The growth of these progressive organizations * * * will increase the fighting capacity and political strength of the entire camp of Democracy and peace.

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"Everything possible must be done to cement the unity and strength of the CIO * * * our attitude toward the progressive policies of the CIO * * * are based on a long-range perspective of friendly collaboration.

"There are other democratic circles, represented by the Peppers, Kennys and Sabaths, who genuinely desire to implement Roosevelt's program.

"The election struggle must be waged so as to mobilize full resistance to the imperialist policy of the Truman Administration which is carrying out the program of Big Business.

"The Truman Administration * * * steers a bellicose, anti-Soviet policy and increasingly reneges on the Big Three agreements entered into by Roosevelt.

"The developing third party movement should be consolidated under working class leadership, and developed as a potent and integral part of the labor-democratic coalition now working for victory in the congressional elections.

No genuine progressive anywhere will question the fact that the GOP is owned, lock, stock and barrel, by the most extreme reactionaries, by the Hearsts, duPonts and McCormicks. * * * These reactionaries * * * are seeking to present a liberal front, using for this purpose the Warrens, Stassens and LaFollettes.

"Authoritative centers should be established to carry on mass educational work * * * to help direct the mass movement toward a third, a people's mass party.

"We must increase our vigilance and fortify our Marxist-Leninist struggle * * * so as to reach and convince millions of workers and progressives and set them in motion.

"A national campaign must be set in motion to break diplomatic relations with Franco-Spain.

"Serious steps must be taken to thwart and nullify the current offensive of American imperialism against Latin-American democracy * * * against the adoption of the so-called Inter-American Military Defense Act.

"Above all, concrete measures must be taken to strengthen American-Soviet friendship * * *. The opponents of American-Soviet collaboration, especially the Hoover-Vandenberg-Earle-Bullitt clique, as well as Byrnes and Dulles, must be

condemned. * * * The Roosevelt policy for postwar peace based upon closest cooperation of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition must be restored.

"In their Red-baiting crusade the men of the trusts * * * are bringing into full play the hierarchy of the Catholic Church and the top officialdom of the A. F. of L., the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars * * * against the militant trade unions, the Communist Party and some 150 progressive organizations which are charged with being 'front-organizations.'

"The potentially powerful American-Win-the-Peace movement has mapped out a sound united front program of action which can help check the drive toward imperialist expansion and war.

"The Goebbels-like issue of anti-Communism, brought forward by the monopolies, has not yet been squarely met within the ranks of labor and progressives.

"Every encroachment on labor's rights, every attack on the Negro and the Jewish peoples, and every repressive move against the Communists, must be seen and combatted * * * as a dangerous assault upon the camp of Democracy and peace.

"We have also just concluded a general membership campaign that brought in over 15,000 members. * * * A third of all our recruits are Negro men and women.

"We are also undertaking to build the *Daily Worker* and the *People's World* * * * and to increase their circulation substantially. * * * The example of California is well worth examining. There, a great feeling of love for the *People's World* is demonstrated. * * * A close relation also exists between the *People's World* and the trade union movement. * * * The editors of the *People's World* manage to participate actively in party work."

Thanks to "Political Affairs," there need be no misunderstanding of the communist program.

The Communist Party line, therefore, may be summarized as follows:

1. Praise everyone who does not adversely criticize the Communist Party.
2. All Communists and fellow-travelers are to be referred to as "Progressives."
3. All Republicans and anti-Communist Democrats are to be smeared as "Fascists," "Reactionaries," "Imperialists," "Monopolists," "War-Mongers," etc.
4. Everyone who is anti-Communist is to be "smeared" as a "War-Monger" and a Fascist, etc.
5. Demand the withdrawal of American troops from China so that the Chinese Communists will have a better opportunity against the Nationalist Government.

6. The Army must be demobilized.
7. The atomic bomb must be given to Russia.
8. Strengthen such Communist dominated mass organizations as the *National Negro Congress*, the *American Veterans Committee* and *American Youth for Democracy* (formerly the *Young Communist League*), etc.
9. Intensify the so-called "Win-the-Peace" movement.
10. Work within the CIO and strengthen it as a Communist dominated organization.
11. Support such Communist and Soviet appeasers as Wallace, Pepper, etc.
12. Smear the Truman administration, because of its anti-Soviet policy.
13. Work in favor of a Third Party Political movement.
14. The Soviet policy in Eastern Europe, in China and the Middle East must be defended and supported at all costs.
15. Agitate for a diplomatic break with Franco's Spain.
16. Work against the adoption of an Inter-American Military Defense Pact. Smear support of such a Pact as United States Capitalist imperialism against Latin-American democracies.
17. Byrnes (Marshall), Truman and Vandenberg are to be denounced as "war-mongers" and "imperialists."
18. Strengthen American-Soviet friendship and smear the opponents of American-Soviet collaboration, such as Hoover Vandenberg, Earle, Bullitt, Byrnes, Dulles, etc.
19. South America must be saved from the imperialist designs of American monopoly capital.
20. The colonialism of Great Britain and the United States is to be attacked and smashed.
21. The *American Federation of Labor* unions must be continually attacked and "smeared" as "company unions," etc.
22. The *Catholic Church*, the *American Legion* and the *Veterans of Foreign Wars* must be continually attacked and "smeared" as "Fascist," etc.
23. The Win-the-Peace movement and similar front organizations are to be expanded and utilized to demobilize the Army and to weaken United States military power.
24. Exploit all grievances arising out of Congress' failure to extend OPA and other wartime measures.
25. Exaggerate and exploit every incident in which the Negro and Jewish people are involved to the detriment of the United States and the Constitution.
26. Expand front organizations in the racial field for the purpose of intensifying and sharpening "class-consciousness."
27. Agitate for services by the State and Federal Government by which taxes are inevitably increased.

28. Raise continuous protests against the high cost of living and the burdensome taxes imposed by State and Federal Governments.

29. Support all legislative measures designed to regiment the people.

30. Sacrifice every issue, if necessary, to defend and support the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

31. All alleged progressive or liberal organizations that do not follow the Communist Party line must be disrupted and destroyed, particularly the American Socialists and Social Democrats.

32. *Moral Rearmament*, *Youth for Christ*, etc., are to be smeared as "Pollyanna" organizations created by the Fascists to divert the working-class mind from the revolution.

Communists in Veterans Organizations

COMMITTEE INVESTIGATORS have, for several months, been investigating reports concerning Communist activities in organized veterans' groups. The charge of Communism has been leveled against one organization of World War II veterans, the *American Veterans Committee*. Preliminary reports indicate that this group is under Communist influence. The committee is in possession of a report stating that a member of the organization was expelled for "red-baiting."

In this connection an editorial from the *Hollywood Citizen News* for Friday, January 17, 1947, under the title "Uncovering Commies" is significantly interesting. The editorial is as follows:

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., is finding out about the influence of the Communists in the American Veterans Committee, just as his brother, James, found out about the influence of the Communists in the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, and just as his father and mother eventually found out about the influence of Communists in the Democratic Party and in bureaus of the Federal Government.

Though the American Veterans Committee was a conception of the Communists and though they got young Roosevelt into it for window dressing purposes, he says that he is going to stay in and fight the Communists who have made the organization into one that is "tattered and torn and factionalized."

Because of similarity of names, it should be pointed out that American Veterans Committee has no connection with American Veterans of World War II who call themselves "AMVETS."

"We are now bewildered and confused," Roosevelt told his group, "by the lies and tactics thrown at us by people who would not admit they were Commies but who at every turn of the road hew to the *Daily Worker* (Communist newspaper) line." There's a thought for the benefit of others who

may try to size up people who deny they are Communists but who follow the Communist program in every detail.

Brother James Roosevelt abandoned his lucrative job of window dressing for the ICCASP when he came to the conclusion that even a Roosevelt might be misled. He didn't fight the organization but in switching his activities to the Democratic Party organization in California he announced that he was going to keep that organization out of the hands of the Communists.

At the time that James Roosevelt joined ICCASP he declared that he had investigated and held numerous conferences regarding the organization's aims and causes and decided that it was his duty to support them.

Since it is apparent now that Roosevelts will admit that they can be taken in by Communists, other people shouldn't feel so badly if a legislative or congressional investigating committee should present findings that certain organizations, which they have been duped into joining are in fact Communist fronts.

The fact that the Roosevelts would walk unsuspectingly into organizations manipulated by Communists should convince other people that they themselves might not be so bright that they wouldn't be misled into joining a group whose front looked all right but whose manipulators are not known to them.

Nor should innocent members of the Communist-front groups be opposed to investigating committees that provide information about such groups.

The best material the Communists have had to work on in this Country has consisted of the sincere progressives who would not knowingly support a dictatorship of Communism nor destroy any of the democratic privileges which citizens of this Country possess.

By declaring themselves to be "progressives," and announcing their wholehearted support of causes in which real progressives believe, the Communists have in the past found it very easy to deceive many, including even the late President Roosevelt, whom they now declare was their ideal.

Today Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt, Sr., is participating in an Eastern Democratic group which intends to keep the Communists out, while other "progressive" groups are being formed under the guiding hand of Communists who claim that they are working for the same things for which Mrs. Roosevelt is working.

The Communist-front leaders in this country are constantly schooled in the methods of controlling the action of groups in which they may be a small minority.

They demonstrate their capabilities in labor unions as well

as in political groups and speak in the name of people who are opposed to the Communism for which they stand.

They believe that as they stir up race, religious and class prejudices they can eventually come into control of this Country of ours.

They will never do it if sincere progressives will do their own thinking and not be fooled into accepting the leadership of any persons who hide their real motives behind the "progressive" label.

Congressional and legislative investigations aren't hurting anyone whose motives are good. They are helping those who have been misled into joining organizations about which they were not fully informed.

Congressional and legislative investigations are helping people who want to be as well informed as possible about what the Communists in this Country are up to.

Communist Third Party Movement

IT WILL HAVE BEEN NOTED that the Communist magazine Political Affairs advocates, as part of the current Communist Party line, a third movement. "The developing third party movement," says the magazine, "should be consolidated under working class leadership and developed as a potent and integral part of the labor-democratic coalition. * * * Authoritative centers should be established to carry on mass educational work. * * * to help direct the mass movement for the third, a people's mass party."

That the Communist Party has already put this part of the "line" into action is indicated by a news item in the San Francisco Call-Bulletin for December 30, 1946. The item is from New York and reads as follows:

The possibility of a third party on the American political scene was raised today in the wake of speeches by Henry Wallace and others at a meeting called to organize a new political action group, the Progressive Citizens of America.

Formation of the new organization was voted yesterday by 300 delegates from 21 states, representing ten groups with a claimed membership of 15,000. Included were the National Citizens Political Action Committee, the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions and eight smaller groups.

Wallace, who was not elected to any position by the delegates, attacked the records of both major parties and asserted: "Progressives want a genuine two-party country and not a country operated by a fake one-party system under the guise of a bipartisan bloc."

Frank Kingdon, former President of the NCPAC, and Joe Davidson, former Chairman of the ICCASP, were chosen co-chairmen of the new group. Vice chairmen named were

Fiorello H. LaGuardia, former Mayor of New York; Phillip Murray, President of the CIO; Paul Robeson, a singer; Alexander F. Whitney, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen; Elmer A. Benson, former Governor of Minnesota, and Fredric March, actor.

An item from the Los Angeles *Herald-Express* for February 4, 1947, indicates rapid development in the Communist movement for a third party. The item is as follows:

Southern California organization of the *Progressive Citizens of America* was put under way today with the arrival of Jo Davidson, the sculptor, in Los Angeles.

The new group is a "merger" of the *Political Action Committee* and the *Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions*.

It was the new PCA that Will Rogers, Jr., Democratic candidate for Senator and Beverly Hills publisher, charged last week is a reshuffling of the same old Communist line-following organizations. // *will Rogers, Jr.*

And about that, the bearded Davidson said:

"As for those Communist charges, I suppose every organization has some Communists in it and we are no exception. But our by-laws say we are for democratic reform under the Constitution."

Rogers refused to become a sponsor of the group.

Meeting with Davidson upon the sculptor's arrival here was Robert W. Kenney, former Attorney General, who is a member of the national organizing committee.

Arrangements were made for a mass meeting February 11 at the Embassy Auditorium, when organization of the group will more formally get under way. Davidson and Kenney will be speakers.

"We are out for mass membership," said Davidson. "We are for fair employment practice laws and against poll tax."

Communist Coalition Party Starts Organizing in California

THE ARRIVAL of Jo Davidson in Los Angeles marked the launching of the program in California for the new "mass movement" coalition third party. Communist strategists had laid the groundwork and the personnel of the organizing committee had already been selected.

Two important spring-boards were prepared by the Communist steering committees late in December. A two-pronged agitational drive was set in motion in February. Both columns were started from 1515 Crossroads of the World in Hollywood. The first was an organizational drive for the Progressive Citizens of

America held at the Embassy Auditorium in Los Angeles on February 11th and the second was a Communist-inspired Second Legislative Conference held in Sacramento February 15, 16, 1947.

The folder announcing the organization meeting of the *Progressive Citizens of America* is as follows:

Yes, we've had enough...

that's why we're organizing the...

PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA

The Eightieth Congress has been in session four weeks...

We've had enough!

Business recession and unemployment is already starting...

We've had enough!

Still no houses—and no housing plan...

We've had enough!

Industrial peace is jeopardized by repressive labor legislation,

We've had enough!

Minorities are denied basic American rights...

We've had enough!

The seeds of a new atomic war are being sown...

We've had enough!

Already Organized in 21 States, the

PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA

Calls on You to Join With...

Brig. Gen. Evans F. Carlson

Norman Corwin

John Cromwell

Bartley C. Crum

Joe Davidson

Albert Dekker

Mrs. William Dieterle

Augustus Hawkins

Lena Horne

Gene Kelly

Robert W. Kenny

Dr. Frank Kingdon

Jack Kroll

Thomas Mann

Fredric March

Carey McWilliams

Edward Mosk

Seniel Ostrow

Dr. Linus Pauling

Gregory Peck

Dr. John P. Peters

Paul Robeson

Edward G. Robinson

Dr. Harlow Shapley

A. F. Whitney

Bishop R. R. Wright

In a Southern California Chapter of the
PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA

*To organize the brass tacks of politics in every precinct
and in every assembly district! To organize every pro-
fession, talent, skill, craft, occupation—to fight for a
program of peace, prosperity, and freedom in one world!*

Let's Start Together...

Tuesday Evening, February 11th, 8 p.m.—

Embassy Auditorium (Ninth and Grand)

Hear Jo Davidson, National Co-chairman, PCA... Robert
Kenny... Dr. Linus Pauling... Gene Kelly... Carey Mc-
Williams.

Admission Free

Come Early

Nearly all of the organizers of the *Progressive Citizens of America* listed above have been affiliated with Communist Party activities through one or more of the myriad of Communist Party fronts. Evans F. Carlson has been associated with pro-Communist and pro-Soviet movements since appearing on the West Coast. The members of the Legislature do not have to be informed of the pro-Communist and pro-Soviet activities of Albert Dekker or Augustus F. Hawkins. Robert W. Kenny, former Attorney General of California and member of the State Senate, has been the Communist lead-off man for several years past.

The Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities has listed the Communist front affiliations of a number of nationally known Communist fellow-travelers. Dr. Frank Kingdon is listed as being affiliated with two such fronts; Carey McWilliams with 25; Edward G. Robinson with two; Paul Robeson with 34 and A. F. Whitney with 17.

First Meeting Progressive Citizens of America

ALPHABETIC designations of Communist fronts are equally as interesting as the alphabetic designations of bureaus, boards and commissions. The *Communist Party of the United States of America* long ago was reduced to "CPA." By a slight rearrangement of these letters we get "PAC"—*Political Action Committee* which became part and parcel of the *CIO Political Action Committee* and the *National Citizens Political Action Committee*. A further rearrangement gives us "PCA"—*Progressive Citizens of America*.

It is significant to note that no matter how these letters are rearranged the meaning remains the same—the Communist Party of the United States of America. X

The initial meeting of the *Progressive Citizens of America* at the Embassy Auditorium in the City of Los Angeles on the evening of February 11, 1947, was, actually, a consolidation of the Communist fronts, the *National Citizens Political Action Committee* and the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions*. Committee investigators were on hand as observers. ✓

Seven girls occupied tables in the lobby of the auditorium. Each person entering the building was asked to sign a card and was given a numbered ballot containing 133 names from which an executive board for the proposed organization was to be elected. The list was allegedly prepared by Edward Mosk, chairman of the steering committee for the organization, Ben Margolis and others.

Albert Dekker, former Assemblyman, acted as an official greeter. Oscar Fuss of *Workers' Alliance* fame, was actively engaged in some business or other in the lobby. Ben Margolis, within the auditorium, appeared busily at work among those there gathered.

Edward Mosk opened the meeting. A motion picture on the atomic bomb followed. Exterior scenes of the plant where the first bombs were manufactured were shown, followed by scenes within the plant indicating the activity in the actual bomb manufacturing. The City of Hiroshima, prior to the dropping of the first bomb, was immediately flashed on the screen, succeeded by Hiroshima after the bomb had exploded. Then came the dead and the maimed—the makeshift hospitals at Hiroshima.

Thus the theme for the meeting was established.

An individual, believed to be Dr. Linus Pauling, was then introduced. His address was devoted to the atomic bomb and atomic energy. He stated that all nations must now forego individual sovereignty and join in a "one world" organization. He declared that the alternative to this proposal was the destruction of all mankind in the next war. A "one-world" overtone was thus added to the original theme.

John Cromwell, retiring chairman of HICCASP, followed with a short address.

Jo Davidson was introduced and spoke on the purposes of the meeting and the proposed organization of the *Progressive Citizens of America*. He stated that the Democratic Party had sold everyone down the river and had irretrievably strayed from the path blazed by Franklin D. Roosevelt. He admitted that the proposed new organization, the *Progressive Citizens of America*, was already being criticized because of known Communists among its members. He brushed this criticism aside by stating, "We liberals cannot waste time kicking out the Communists. If we did, we would not have time to put over constructive policies." He was not in favor of ousting the Communists.

Bert Witt, of the *Political Action Committee*, made the collection speech. With his war record as a back-drop he drew a picture of the horrors of atomic warfare and what the people of the United States might expect in the next war. He contended that the proposed new organization, the *Progressive Citizens of America*, was designed to protect the people from such a war and that it was the people's only hope. He delineated the proposed political structure for the new organization and stated that it would be broken down into neighborhood groups, door-bell ringing brigades, assembly and congressional district groups and squads, and declared that meetings would be held during the next two years in every available place in all the communities throughout the State. He stressed the economic advantage of merging the NCPAC and HICCASP under the banner of the *Progressive Citizens of America*, stating that the new organization will be able to accomplish more with less money.

He announced that Yip Harburg, left-wing song-writer and member of the National Committee of the *Progressive Citizens of America*, had sent a check for \$500 to help start the organization on its way. He said that Seniel Ostrow, member of the 1946

County Grand Jury and a Los Angeles manufacturer, had discussed a donation of \$500, but he did not make it clear whether or not Ostrow had actually contributed the money. He then called upon a group of young girls, already provided with blank checks and cigar boxes, to pass through the audience for the collection. As the money came in, Witt announced the amount and the name of the contributor. Albert Dekker was in the forefront with \$100. Final amount collected was announced as \$2,038. (There were approximately 1,400 people in the auditorium.)

Edward Mosk, chairman of the evening, then explained that the ballots already distributed were for the election of an executive board. In addition, nominations were made from the floor and these included the names of Ellis E. Patterson, Father George Dunne, Councilman John R. Roden and Norman Corwin, CBS broadcaster.

This was followed by the introduction of Gene Kelly, who delivered a short harangue on the reasons why people should join the *Progressive Citizens of America*. He then presented Edward Mosk and John Cromwell with a scroll in appreciation of the work that they had accomplished for their respective organizations, *NCPAC* and *HICCASP*.

What was intended as the "big surprise" of the evening followed. Robert W. Kenny's name was placed in nomination for chairman. The nomination was immediately seconded, whereupon, without further ado, Albert Dekker called upon the entire audience to rise signifying that the nomination of the "Great Liberal Leader" was seconded by the entire meeting. He was declared elected.

The former Attorney General came coyly to the stage and appeared surprised and somewhat speechless over his sudden and unexpected elevation to the chairmanship of the new organization. He then read his acceptance speech.

Before the meeting adjourned the audience was asked to stand and sing *The Star Spangled Banner*. The National Anthem rang out with a lusty roar for about two lines and died down to an incoherent murmur. *The audience did not know the words.*

This meeting adjourned at 10:45 p.m.

Literature for World Federalists, U. S. A. was distributed in the lobby. This literature was apparently furnished by the *World Federalists of Southern California*, located at 568 Chamber of Commerce Building in the City of Los Angeles, as indicated by the impression left by a rubber-stamp on the face of the leaflet. The propaganda is entitled "Demand Your Rights as a World Citizen!" and a note at the bottom of the page states that it is "Reprinted through the courtesy of Campaign for World Government."

The Executive Board of the *Progressive Citizens of America* for the Southern California Chapter is apparently to be composed of 133 members, the number of candidates printed on the ballot.

AF.3.C
It is to be noted that this list was hand-picked by the steering committee, apparently chairmanned by Edward Mosk and Ben Margolis. The Board of Education of Los Angeles will be interested in learning that Mrs. Blanche Bettington, teacher at Canoga Park High School, is one of the candidates.

The official ballot is hereafter reproduced.

OFFICIAL BALLOT

FEBRUARY 11, 1947

ELECTION OF EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBERS

for

PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA CHAPTER

NOTE: Make no marks on this ballot until official voting procedure has been discussed and adopted.



A MARK IN THIS BOX CONSTITUTES A VOTE FOR THE ENTIRE SLATE AS OFFICIALLY PROPOSED BY THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE.

Dr. Murray Abowitz
Mrs. Mary Aidlin
Gregory Ain
Sam Albert
Robert Alexander
Mrs. Charlotte Bass
Howard Bey
George S. Behrendt
Margaret Bennett
Jack Y. Berman
Mrs. Blanche Bettington
Edward Biberman
Henry Blankfort
Michael Blankfort
Julian Blaustein
True Boardman
Helen Boardman
Humphrey Bogart
Reuben Borough
Harry Beaverman
Irving Brecher
Dr. Arthur Brower
Abe Burrows
Clarence C. Carlson
Dr. Harold Haskell
Augustus Hawkins
Harold Hecht
Paul Henreid
Rose Hobart
Lena Horne
Mrs. Marie Hughes
Richard Ibanez
Alvin Jackson
Dr. Glen Carlson
Dr. Helen Christensen
Mrs. Margarete Clark
George Colouris
Philip M. Connelly
John Cromwell
Howard De Silva
Albert Dekker
Irwin DeShetler

Mrs. Armand Deutsch
Mrs. William Dieterle
Paul Dodd
Melvyn Douglas
Philip Dunne
Dr. Welles Forde
Kenneth Fulton
John Garfield
Clarence Gibson
Nat Goldstone
Francis Goodrich
Bob Grissell
Harry Grobstein
M. A. Halprin
Lou Harris
Nat Perrin
Irving Pichel
Anne Revere
Fred Rinaldo
Earl Robinson
Edward G. Robinson
Oliver Schwab
Adrian Scott
Jack Shapiro
Mrs. Jean Sieroty
Max Silverstein
Reginald D. Johnson
Charles Jones
Dr. Maurice Kamins
Mrs. Joseph Kaplan
Charles Katz
Robert W. Kenny
Gene Kelly
Howard Koch
Raphael Konigsberg
Emmet Lavery
Simon Lazarus
John Howard Lawson
Mendel H. Liberman
Mrs. Leah Lovell
Betty McCandless
Mrs. George Slaff

PASA,

Percy Soloty
 Milton Sperling
 Mrs. Milton Sperling
 Mrs. Fraser McDonald
 Aline McMahan
 Dr. Don MacQueen
 Carey McWilliams
 Paul Magana
 Margo
 Ben Margolis
 Dean H. E. Marsh
 Daniel Marshall
 Mrs. Max Mason
 Loren Miller
 Frances Millington
 Sam Moore
 Robert Morris
 Mrs. Edna Mosk
 Edward Mosk
 Carlton Moss
 Mrs. Esther Nasatir
 Dr. Harold Orr
 Seniel Ostrow

Judge Isaac Pacht
 Mrs. Betty Paine
 Oscar Pattiz
 Dr. Linus Pauling
 Gregory Peck
 Marian Spitzer
 Mrs. Summer Spaulding
 Lionel Stone
 A. H. Sturtevant
 Louis Tabak
 Shepard Traube
 Dalton Trombo
 Frank Tuttle
 Dr. Chester Van Atta
 Mrs. Charles Vidor
 Bob Wachsmann
 Clore Warne
 Franz Waxman
 Larry Weingarten
 Mrs. Wm. Wyler
 Keenan Wynn
 Jakob Zeitlin
 Paul Ziffren

Note: There will be an opportunity for additional nominations from the floor.

Second Communist Inspired Legislative Conference

IN AN EFFORT to influence the current session of the Legislature and to attract innocents to the Communist party program for the organization of its third party, *Progressive Citizens of America*, a *Second State-wide Legislative Conference* was called for February 15, 16, 1947, at the California Junior High School Auditorium in Sacramento. The letter inviting participation for this Conference is as follows:

January 11, 1947

Dear FELLOW CALIFORNIAN: No more important message to the people of California was ever published than the enclosed Call to the second State-wide Legislative Conference, February 15th and 16th in Sacramento. Will you read it and spread its content far and wide? Will you help us mobilize the progressive forces of the State to their greatest and most vital rally in history?

America's great leader, Franklin D. Roosevelt, is gone. The Nation's progressives can no longer be followers. In the critical years ahead they must chart their own course. They must think together and act together in organizing the people for victory.

There should be not less than 1,000 responsible citizen and delegates at the coming Sacramento conference. Will you, as an authorized delegate of your organization, or as an indi-

vidual, assure us at once that you will be there and, in the meantime, give us the fullest measure of your support?

Fraternally yours,

(S) G. F. Irvine, San Francisco;

(S) Reuben W. Borough, Los Angeles.

Co-chairmen, Committee on Arrangements.

This invitation is on the letterhead of the *State-wide Legislative Conference*, located at 1515 Cross Roads of the World, Hollywood, 28, California. C. C. Carlson is listed as treasurer.

A pamphlet allegedly describing the purpose of the Conference states, in part, as follows:

The most powerful and reactionary financial interests of this nation have launched an all-out offensive against the living standards of the American people. Their main drive is to weaken and destroy the trade union movement. The progress of many years of struggle, the enlightened social and labor legislation won under the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt is in peril of being wiped out. There is an immediate threat that the Eightieth Congress and the Fifty-seventh Session of the California State Legislature will steam-roller into law repressive anti-labor legislation.

This entire drive of monopoly is designed to create more super-profits at the expense of the purchasing power of the people. High prices, inflated prices have already so reduced the people's purchasing power that the preconditions have been established for a new and more terrible depression, a depression that would make more imminent the threat of another war.

The results of the November 1946 elections have been interpreted by many of the elected representatives of both major parties as a repudiation by the people of the progressive social legislation enacted since 1932. Such officials do not reflect the sentiments of the people. On the contrary, they are echoing the program of America's most reactionary monopoly interests.

The American people must answer the challenge of reaction with a program for continued progress: expanded health services, better education, a more adequate system of pensions for our senior citizens, a tax program putting the burden on those best able to pay, a decent housing program, and protection of veterans' rights.

In issuing this call, the sponsors recognize that there is an imperative need for a state-wide legislative conference and that such conference should also set up a continuations committee to lead the fight for the program adopted. Through such a coordinating committee it will be possible to develop intensive campaigns in every district in California.

The foregoing is signed by G. F. Irvine, Chairman of the Legislative Board of the *Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and*

Enginemen; Mervyn Rathborne, Secretary of the C. I. O. State Council; John Cromwell, Chairman, Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; Noah Griffin, Regional Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Edward Mosk, Chairman, National Citizens Political Action Committee of Southern California; Frank Green, Executive Secretary of the Progressive A. F. L. Committee for Political and Legislative Action, and Wilford Howard, Legislative Chairman, Townsend Clubs of California.

And, according to the best Communist practices there are the usual number of "sponsors." When a substantial number of Communists and Communist fellow-travelers are found in "sponsors" lists there is little doubt of the Communist inspiration and domination of the organization. The list is as follows:

Ellepore Abowitz, Los Angeles
 E. F. Benedict, Crescent City
 Reuben W. Borough, Los Angeles
 George Campbell, Los Angeles
 Rabbi Elliot M. Burstein, San Francisco
 C. C. Carlson, Los Angeles
 Dr. Glen E. Carlson, Redlands
 Irwin De Shetler, Los Angeles
 Benjamin Dreyfus, San Francisco
 Mrs. Henry E. Erdman, Berkeley
 C. M. Gibbens, Los Angeles
 Richard Goggin, San Francisco
 Daniel Harris, Bakersfield
 Augustus F. Hawkins, Los Angeles
 Myron Herrell, Hayward
 Norris Helferd, Los Angeles
 Willis Hill, Los Angeles
 Lena Horne, Los Angeles
 Maurice Howard, Los Angeles
 Dr. Claude Hudson, Los Angeles
 Edwin Jobe, Covina
 Rev. Andrew Juvinall, Stockton
 John Howard Lawson, San Fernando
 Robert W. Kenny, Los Angeles
 Wendell B. Kramer, Modesto
 Kenneth Macgowan, Los Angeles
 Dr. Don MacQueen, Los Angeles
 Mrs. Elizabeth McCalmont, Los Angeles
 Professor C. C. McCown, Berkeley
 John McTernan, Los Angeles
 Rev. Don M. Chase, Redding
 Philip M. Connelly, Los Angeles

Cooks, Pastry Cooks and Assistants Union, Local 44, San Francisco
 John Cromwell, Los Angeles
 Richard S. Otto, Van Nuys
 Louise Darby, San Diego
 Albert Dekker, Canoga Park
 Carey McWilliams, Los Angeles
 Ray Morkowski, San Diego
 Harold Orr, Los Angeles
 Pauline Lauber Finn, Los Angeles
 Bishop Edward L. Parsons, San Francisco
 Ellis E. Patterson, Los Angeles
 Dr. Norman W. Pendleton, San Francisco
 George Pepper, Los Angeles
 Professor Hubert Phillips, Fresno
 Ed Reite, San Francisco
 Dr. Frederick Reynolds, Los Angeles
 Mrs. Myrtle Rohrer, Los Angeles
 Lester M. Ryan, Tiburon
 Paul Schliff, Oakland
 Paul Schnur, San Francisco
 Roy Sturtevant, Contra Costa
 Albee Slade, Los Angeles
 Rev. Franklin M. Toothaker, Oakland
 Rev. Dillon Wesley Throckmorton, Modesto
 Mrs. Lois Tuchler, San Francisco
 Western Cooperative Dairymen's Union, Fresno
 Mrs. John Whedon, Los Angeles
 Bert Witt, Los Angeles
 Helen Wheeler, San Francisco

Communist Inspired March on the Capitol

OUT OF THE COMMUNIST *State-wide Legislative Conference* held in Sacramento came the inspiration for a march on the Capitol. California veterans and veterans' organizations were totally unaware of the Communist agitation to be launched in their names. The following letter, addressed to sympathetic Communist dom-

inated front organizations, made its appearance early in March:

Dear Friend:

At the State-wide Legislative Conference held in Sacramento on February 15 and 16, the delegates formulated and adopted a housing program. Major points of the report are: (1) A one hundred million dollar State Housing Program to construct permanent rental units to rent for from \$25 to \$30 per month; (2) A thirty-five million dollar appropriation for immediate conversion and construction of temporary veteran housing; and (3) A program against discrimination and restrictive covenants.

The conference further recommended that a State-wide Motor Caravan be organized to meet in Sacramento and press for the passage of this program. At the meeting of the Continuations Committee on Sunday, sponsorship of the caravan and the date for the caravan were decided upon. The Southern California Continuations Committee has appointed a Housing Caravan Committee to promote and coordinate the work of the caravan. Mr. Harper Poulson was elected chairman and Bill Belton was elected secretary.

We are enclosing the brochure prepared by this committee. Your attention is drawn to the meeting to be held on this Saturday, March 8, at 1 p.m., at the Royal Palms Hotel, 360 S. Westlake Avenue. This meeting is called by the Housing Caravan Committee to further plan and coordinate and give assistance to all participating organizations.

Your attention is drawn also to the date of the caravan—Sunday, and Monday, March 23 and 24. This means that each organization must begin to act immediately if this trip is to be a real success.

Sincerely yours,

(S) Reuben W. Borough
Reuben W. Borough, Chairman

A green mimeographed leaflet accompanied the letter. It is addressed to "Veterans! Labor! Citizens!" Under the heading "Here's How You Can Help Make This Caravan a Success" is the following:

- "1. Drum up interest in your organizations.
2. Sign up cars *now* and start signing up riders.
Get each guy or gal that's going to get five more people.
3. Make it cheap. Your fellow vets, neighbors, and shop-mates want you to tell their assemblymen and senators a few things!—They will help . . . get them to contribute . . . a dollar . . . fifty cents . . . a quarter . . . to finance your part of the caravan."

Under the heading "Next on the Program" is the following:

- "(1) Find out who your assemblymen and senators are.
- (2) Let them know that you are coming to Sacramento and you expect them to give you a hearing.

- (3) Bring sleeping bags, cots, and blankets... we hope to use the Fair Grounds barns... (If you must have comfort and hot water—better make hotel reservations.)

- (4) Elect a caravan committee and let's go!

Send a representative to a preparations meeting:

SATURDAY, MARCH 8, 1 P.M.
ROYAL PALMS HOTEL
360 S. Westlake Avenue

Further preparations:

Keep in touch with Housing Caravan Committee, 625 N. Broadway, MAdison 6-3419."

Committee investigators secured a photostatic copy of a letter addressed to Bill Belton (referred to in Reuben Borough's letter as secretary of the Housing Caravan Committee), c/o Harry Brown at the CIO Building, 5851 So. Avalon Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, under date of November 19, 1946. The return address on the envelope was "FTA-CIO, 160 Grand Avenue, Oakland 12, California. Across the envelope was written the following:

"Forward to: Veteran's Service Center, 3d and Broadway, Los Angeles 12."

The letter is as follows:

"Dear Friend:

In your work of organizing during the recent cannery drive you made some contacts with some workers in the steel mill at Niles.

It is very important to the CP that we get the names and addresses of those you contacted in that plant.

It is *very urgent* that these be in to Angie Goularte, FTA office, 160 Grand Avenue, Oakland, Monday, November 25.
Fraternally,

(S) Angie
Angie Goularte"

ANTI-SEMITISM

THIS CHAPTER is taken from the 1947 Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California:

The platform of Gerald L. K. Smith's *America First Party* asked the following questions:

"Is it true that 95 percent of the founders of Communism were apostate Jews?"

"Is it true that the New Deal is heavily staffed with a certain type of Jewish bureaucrats?"

"Is it true that the movies and radio industries are largely in the hands of certain Jews?"

"Is it true that the policy of newspapers is directed or obstructed by the fact that the big department store advertisers are reputedly 75 percent Jews?"

Anti-Semitism feeds upon such innuendo. Prejudice is born of ignorance. The same psychological sense of frustration and guilt found in every Communist spurs the ignorant non-Communist to seek a scapegoat.

Character assassins in search of evidence for vicious smear-material have little compunction to resorting to invention. Generations of character assassins have built a vicious series of libels against the Jews to which antiquity attaches a semblance of authority. Sinister men in contemporary life have not hesitated to supply libels allegedly from another age in order to bolster their vicious attacks on the Jewish people.

The committee, in its 1943 report, listed organizations in California and in the United States which sought to advance their causes on the basis of anti-Semitism. The committee has unequivocally, in all of its reports, condemned such organizations and their mouthpieces. The committee has unequivocally condemned Gerald L. K. Smith in his attack upon the Jews. He states that he is not anti-Semitic. The committee contends that such statements, even though in question form, as listed above, are designed for the purpose of stirring up hatred and antagonism toward the Jewish citizens of America. The committee believes that these questions are deliberately designed for that purpose. The implications are false and the propounder of the questions knows it. A well intentioned, honest and intelligent person might accurately answer these questions in the negative after a half-hour research in any public library in America.

Communism attacks the Jewish faith with the same viciousness as it attacks the Christian faith. American Jews are notorious in their fervent patriotism, their devotion to the Constitution of the United States, to its institutions and traditions. There are few non-Jews in the United States who are so effective in their fight against Communism as Eugene Lyons, George E. Sokolsky and Benjamin Stolberg.

The questions quoted above are designed to influence the uninformed by stirring latent prejudices against the Jews. The noninquiring mind, after having read the questions, is led to believe that 95 percent of the founders of Communism were apostate Jews; that the New Deal was heavily staffed with Jewish bureaucrats; that the movie and radio industries are in the hands of Jews and that the policy of American newspapers is directed by Jewish department store advertisers. The propounders of such questions are asking for *hatred*. They are not interested in *facts*.

Gerald L. K. Smith and his type of rabble-inciting crusader do more good for the Communist cause in one week than the Communists would be able to accomplish in a year. The average patriotic American Jew is offended and insulted in the attack upon the Jewish citizen even though the attack may be generally directed against Communism. It is the technique of a Hitler in mobilizing uniformed masses to a Nazi standard. The social aspects of such rabble-rousing are appalling.

An ideological war against Communism is not a Christian or a Jewish crusade. It is simply an *American* campaign and includes every citizen of these United States who believes in the Constitution, in the Bill of Rights and in our existing form of government, regardless of race, color or creed.

World War I and II were fought successfully by American whites and blacks, Christians and Jews. The morale of the American armed forces is found in its unified devotion to American freedom and traditions. Jews and Christians, blacks and whites, fell impartially on the beach-heads of Europe and in the jungles of the South Seas.

The committee believes that an attack upon any segment of American citizenry, even though purportedly part of an over-all attack upon such a subversive organization as the Communist Party, is, in itself, subversive *per se*. Any organized attack upon the Jews of America, or any other ethnic group, violates the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States, creates domestic discord and disunity and is detrimental to the public welfare. Gerald L. K. Smith merits the most severe public criticism and condemnation for his contribution to racial agitation.

Jewish Communism

HITLER was probably the first to coin the term "Jewish Communism." This vicious connotation has been used with telling effect in many quarters by anti-Semites. It would be somewhat amusing, if it were not so serious, to note that the anti-Semites on the one hand charge that Jews are "Communists" and, on the other hand, continually charge that they are the "big department store advertisers and the most oppressive of capitalists." It probably depends upon whom the anti-Semites desire to influence. Nearly everyone has heard the terms "the Jewish international bankers," and the "Jewish money lenders." A thinking person might stop long enough to analyze these sundry charges. The Jews can't very well be both capitalists and Communists.

Sigmund Livingston in his book "*Must Men Hate?*" tells of an interview he once had with the editor of a certain metropolitan newspaper who believe that the Jews of Germany had espoused Communism and hence helped Hitler rise to power. (p. 61):

"I asked whether he knew the size of the Communist vote of Germany immediately prior to Hitler's rise to power. He answered in the negative, and I informed him that in 1932 the total Communistic vote of Germany was 5,960,240. He was then asked if he knew how many Jews had lived in Germany. Again he replied in the negative and he was told that there were then only 550,000 Jews in all Germany, including men, women and children. He agreed that of this entire Jewish population certainly not more than 200,000 were voters. Thus if the entire Jewish vote were subtracted from the total Communistic vote, it would still leave 5,760,240

votes. He was informed that the majority of Jews had voted the Social-Democrat ticket and that the number who voted for Communistic ticket was a very small percentage of the entire 200,000 votes, and certainly a negligible amount of the total Communist vote. This editor was quite gracious in his appreciation of the facts and frankly acknowledged his error."

Karl Marx, the founder of Communism, was born of Jewish parents. At the age of six he was baptized in the Christian faith. He was educated as a Christian. Frederick Engels, who collaborated with and supported Karl Marx during most of his adult life, was a German of the pure Teutonic variety.

Official records of 1918 show a total Bolshevik party membership in Russia of 124,000. 75 percent of the members were Russians, 10.5 percent were Latvians, 6.3 were Poles, 3.7 were Estonians and 2.6 were Jews. The majority of Russian-Jews opposed Bolshevism. They supported the provisional government of Alexander Kerensky, which was overthrown by the Bolshevik revolution under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. The three great Jewish workers' organizations of Russia publicly declared their opposition to Bolshevism. Sigmund Livingston, above referred to, points out on page 63 of his book that Lenin's government issued a manifesto on March 15, 1918 attacking the Jewish workers for their anti-Bolshevist attitude. Mr. Livingston makes the following statement:

"In 1918 the Jewish workers had made common cause with the Jewish bourgeois in the Ukraine, and opposed Bolshevism with armed resistance. At that time two-fifths of Russia's Jews were tradesmen, one-third were employed in handicraft, and the Communist movement meant a greater catastrophe for the Jews than for any other group of the Russian people. The establishment of Bolshevism declassed 25 percent of the Russian Jews, but only 5 percent to 6 percent of the non-Jews. The declassed received no bread cards, were denied the right to hold office, to work in factories or to send their children to industrial schools. The distress among the Russian Jews was so great that they would have died of starvation had it not been for the American Jewish relief agencies.

"The Russian Bolshevik government dealt blow after blow at Jewry. Synagogues were converted into workmen's clubs. Jewish religious philanthropic organizations were liquidated. Hebrew schools were forbidden and the teaching of the Hebrew language was proscribed. No person under eighteen years of age could be taught religion."

In 1944 there was only one Jew, Lazar Kaganovich, on the Politburo, the supreme directing body in Russia.

There were four Jews among the 19 Commissars.

Anti-Semitic Canards

A FAVORITE HOAX of anti-Semites is to label those whom they wish to smear as Jews. This technique is one of the most amazing of all and is particularly designed to move the most ignorant of the masses. The long list of outstanding Jews in the field of science, medicine, art and music constitutes a substantial portion of the real contributors to modern civilization. Most educated men and women are aware of this fact and it is inconceivable that the mere labeling of a non-Jew as a Jew would in any way detract from the person's ability, integrity or general character. Nevertheless the anti-Semitic propagandist continues to label those whom they dislike as Jews. Sigmund Livingston in his book mentioned above lists several pages of such canards.

Among the most notorious of these hoaxes may be mentioned President Roosevelt and the Roosevelt family. The anti-Semites went to considerable trouble and expense to label Roosevelt and his family as Jews and stated that the original family name was *Rosenfeld*. Even William Randolph Hearst has been labeled a Jew, as has J. P. Morgan whose real name, the anti-Semites allege, is *Morganstern*. In support of the anti-Semitic myth that all the Jews are Communists, Nikolai Lenin, the father of the Bolshevik revolution, has been labeled a Jew. Even General Dwight David Eisenhower has been called a Jew.

Many further illustrations might be given. The interested reader is referred to "*Must Men Hate?*" by Sigmund Livingston, pages 97 to 101.

During the 1942 election campaign the chairman of this committee was called on the telephone by a woman who said she was seeking pertinent information to guide her in her selection of candidates. She stated that she had been reliably informed that the chairman's name was actually "Jacob Tennenbaum" and that he was born in Russia. She stated that she could not bring herself to vote for a Jew and if her information was correct she would be compelled to withdraw her support. She further stated that, in order to deceive the people, "Jacob Tennenbaum" had changed his name to "Jack Tenney." Although the candidate came from many generations of American Scotch-Irish forebears he emphatically informed the woman that he was not interested in her support.

Miscellaneous Anti-Semitic Libels

THIS PART of the report might be extended to great length if the committee were to list, examine and analyze the thousands of libels directed against the Jews by the anti-Semites in America. It should be sufficient to state that all of these libels, without a single exception, have been proved, time and time again, to be vicious fictions, fabricated by twisted minds for the purpose of discrediting a peace-loving race of people whose greatest desire

is to live at peace with their neighbors. Among these libels should be mentioned the "Ritual Blood Accusation," the perennial libels concerning the *Talmud*, and the so-called "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." Any interested person can ascertain the falsity of these accusations by a little research.

During the past decade there has appeared from time to time a reproduction of a document the substance of which is attributed to Benjamin Franklin. It is generally known as the "Benjamin Franklin Prophecy." Its original appearance is said to be on February 3, 1934 in a pro-Nazi publication called *The Liberation*, published by William Dudley Pelley, the notorious leader of the *Silver Shirts*. This "prophecy" is from a speech supposedly made by Benjamin Franklin before the Constitutional Convention in 1787, warning the Convention against the immigration of Jews into the United States. Each time this "prophecy" is reproduced and distributed it is claimed that the original is to be found in a diary kept by Charles Pinckney of South Carolina in possession of the *Franklin Institute* at Philadelphia.

This alleged "document" has been thoroughly investigated and the hoax completely exploded. Charles A. Beard, an authority on Benjamin Franklin, in a public statement, charged that the quotation was fictitious and clearly a literary forgery, invented for the purpose of encouraging anti-Semitism in this country. It should be needless to say that the *Franklin Institute* at Philadelphia does not possess the Pinckney diary, never did possess it, and has been unable to find any record of such a diary.

James F. Jamison, Chief of the Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, made the following statement:

"It is practically certain that the diary alleged to have been kept by Charles Pinckney during the sessions of the Philadelphia Convention in 1787 does not exist and never did exist. That chit-chat is almost certainly imaginary. Anyhow, it is absolutely certain that the speech against the Jews, said to have been delivered by Franklin at that Convention, is a clumsy, impudent, and vicious forgery. It is incredible that James Madison, taking notes on every speech, should have failed to show an important speech by Franklin. It is incredible that a man of Franklin's disposition should have made such a speech."

In a letter dated August 12, 1938, by Alfred Ringling, Librarian of the *Franklin Institute*, we find the following:

"Neither the original nor any copy of it, is in the possession of the Franklin Institute. Historians and Historical Societies have endeavored to locate the Pinckney work, but without success. There is no copy in the Library of Congress, or the New York Public Library. Our State Historical Society has made careful investigation and fails to find any information concerning it. On the evening of July 16, a broadcaster from Germany read this fictitious statement, and we have reason to believe now that this is foreign propaganda."

It is almost incredible that any normal person possessing a modicum of decency would have perpetrated such a vicious hoax. The sad fact, however, is that it has been done and it is evidenced by copies of the alleged "prophesy," picked up in the City of Los Angeles, now in the files of the committee. In addition to its miserable design and intent, the document is a libel on one of America's greatest citizens, Benjamin Franklin. He was a friend and an admirer of the Jews. When the Hebrew Society of Philadelphia desired to build a synagogue in Philadelphia, Benjamin Franklin not only contributed to the fund, but signed a petition addressed to the citizens of every religious denomination in Philadelphia, asking for contributions.

Every libel against the Jews has about the same substance in fact as that contained in the Benjamin Franklin "prophesy" myth.

Jews in the Motion Picture and Radio Industries

PART of the anti-Semitic propaganda declares that the motion picture and radio industries are in the hands of the Jews. Were it not for the insidious implication contained in such a statement the average citizen and, certainly the members of this committee, would be inclined to shrug their shoulders and say "So what?" The very statement, however, is designed to carry with it a sinister connotation. Certainly the Jewish citizens of the United States have a constitutional right to be in the motion picture and radio industries as in any other legitimate business. But even this propaganda, like other anti-Semitic insinuations, is baseless.

The facts are simple. Two out of nineteen directors of Radio-Keith-Orpheum Pictures, Inc., are Jews; only four out of nineteen directors of United Artists Corporation are Jews; only two out of thirteen directors of Universal Pictures, Inc., are Jews; nine out of twenty-one directors of Warner Brothers are Jews; five out of fifteen directors of Paramount Pictures, Inc., and one out of eighteen directors of Twentieth Century Fox are Jews. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Inc., and Columbia Pictures have a slight majority of Jews in the directorate.

The same situation prevails in the radio industry. The board of directors of several radio networks contain Jews and non-Jews in the following proportion:

National Broadcasting Company, one Jew out of thirteen; Columbia Broadcasting Company, eight Jews out of thirteen; Mutual Broadcasting Company, one Jew out of nine.

The executive of radio networks number the following:

National Broadcasting Company, one Jew out of twenty; Columbia Broadcasting Company, six Jews out of sixteen; Mutual Broadcasting Company, one Jew out of eight; Blue Network, no Jew out of four.

It should be noted that for every well-to-do Jew there are at least a thousand poor Jews. It has been pointed out on many occasions that the families of the Rockefellers, Fords, Morgans, Harknesses, Mellons, Vanderbilts, Whitneys and Du Ponts possess in the aggregate more wealth than all the combined resources of all the Jewish bankers and industrialists of this country; and perhaps the world.

Anti-Semitism Is Un-American

THE COMMITTEE has heretofore stated, and again reiterates, that anti-Semitism is fully as un-American as any other subversive *ism* examined. The Ku Klux Klan and similar organizations, including that of Gerald L. K. Smith, are unequivocally condemned in their attack upon the Jews, whether that attack be direct or by way of innuendo. A Communist is an atheist and therefore is neither Jew nor Christian. Regardless of his ethnic category he is an enemy of the United States of America and of every citizen in it, Jew and Christian alike.

The United States has needed its Jewish citizens in every war it has so successfully fought. In the war for the preservation of American liberties the United States will need every citizen, regardless of race, color or creed.

The members of the committee are convinced that in the struggle against Communism, patriotic Americans, black and white, Jew and Christian, will again fight successfully shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy.

Summary of Findings

of the

California Joint Fact Finding Committee on Un-American Activities

THE FOLLOWING is not intended to be a complete summarization of all committee findings contained in the foregoing text. The conclusions listed hereafter are concerned only with the broad outline of Communist activity in the State of California.

1. Communism may be briefly summarized as an economic system characterized by government ownership of all property used in production and marketing. The government is a police state, unrestrained and all-powerful, subject to the will of a ruthless dictator. It is distinguished by economic planning, wage and price-fixing, forced labor, militarism and imperialism. It permits but one political party, the *Communist Party*, to exist. Complete loss of individual liberty goes hand in hand with Communism.

2. Both Fascism and Communism are distinguished by complete government control over production; the means, quantity, quality; the when and where, of production and distribution. Both types of government are totalitarian, one-party systems, featuring planned economy under bureaucratic control. The single party creates a preferred *elite* protected against the regimented and enslaved masses by a brutal secret police. Militarism and imperialism constitute the hard core of both systems of government.

Hence, Communism may be properly termed *Red-Fascism*.

3. Force and violence are inseparable from the Communist program and, no matter how fervently the Communist attempts to deny this fact during periods of retreat, he knows that the ultimate use of force and violence are inevitable. The announced Communist objective to capture and destroy the state, as now constituted, together with the determination to expropriate private property, cannot be accomplished without the employment of force and violence.

4. The *Communist Party* is a small, compact group of professional revolutionists. It does not seek large membership. Through the instrumentality of psychological agitation it proposes to move the masses of non-Communists toward what it terms a "revolutionary situation."

5. The *Communist Party* infiltrates every conceivable mass organization in the country—"in trade unions, in farm organiza-

tions, in ladies clubs, in Harlem, in the deep south, among the intellectuals." It inspires the creation of mass organizations, to which non-Communists are attracted because of publicized purported "liberal" objectives. This Communist work is everywhere efficiently centralized, correlated, directed and organized.

6. William Z. Foster, current General Secretary of the *Communist Party of the United States*, owes his allegiance to the Soviet Government. He believes, and has so stated, that when a Communist heads the government of the United States that that government will be a Soviet government backed by a Red army ready to enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat. He has stated that his flag, and the flag of his followers, is the Red flag adorned with the hammer-and-sickle of Soviet Russia.

7. All Communists believe themselves to be in a state of perpetual warfare with capitalist governments. The over-all strategy of the *Communist Party* is designed to bring about the destruction of all democratic governments. The ultimate objective is the establishment of the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat. Every Communist fanatically believes that world Capitalism and Communism must come to a decisive struggle in which one or the other will conquer. Every Communist is thoroughly convinced that Communism will emerge triumphant. Both Lenin and Stalin have declared that a war-to-the-death conflict between Capitalism and Communism is inevitable.

8. The "day-to-day" struggle constitutes part of Communist tactics. It is concerned with sabotaging and weakening the democratic governments in which the Communists work.

9. All Communists firmly believe that the Soviet Union is the Red Fatherland of the proletariat everywhere, and, as such, it must be protected in its development at any cost because it is the arsenal for world conquest. Meanwhile the Communists in all countries work for revolution, taking Stalin at his word when he said that "in the event of necessity (Soviet Russia will) come out even with armed forces against the exploiting classes in their states." Thus, every Communist in the United States is a potential traitor, saboteur and espionage agent of Soviet Russia.

10. Communism is a world revolutionary movement. The respective parties in each country are motivated by the political philosophies of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, plus directives from the Kremlin itself. The so-called Communist "Party Line" invariably follows Soviet foreign policy. Stalin has sold the Communist Parties of the world on the promise that Soviet Russia is "the base of the world revolution" and, consequently, every Communist has transferred his sense of loyalty and allegiance from his native land to the government of Soviet Russia.

11. The part played by Earl Browder during the war in apparently "collaborating with Capitalism" was a deceptive tactic utilized for the purpose of securing needed aid for Soviet Russia.

His ouster from the *Communist Party*, followed by the restoration of the militant revolutionary character of the party, ended the Sixth Era of Communist strategy in the United States.

12. The American people are now facing the greatest agitational activity on the part of the Communists in the history of the *Communist Party in the United States*. This activity will be intensified with increasing rapidity as the international situation becomes more acute. Acts of sabotage and violence, terror and assassination may be expected if diplomatic relations between the United States and Soviet Russia become strained.

The committee is firmly convinced that this current period—the Seventh Period of Communist Strategy in the United States—is the most critical period of all. The American people must be awakened to the fact that every member of the *American Communist Party* is a potential espionage and sabotage agent for the Soviet government. Our people must realize, now more than ever before, that it is the admitted and avowed purpose of Moscow to create and foster a Communist revolution in every Capitalist democracy in the world.

13. *Mobilization for Democracy* and the *Hollywood Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions* are two of the key Communist fronts in California. The mailing lists and facilities of these two organizations are being used by Communist fronts in the State.

14. The Communist dominated *National Citizens Political Action Committee* failed as a radical coalition political organization in carrying the *Communist Party* line into government. Communist steering committees have directed this organization and the *Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions* into a new and broader Communist front for the entire United States. The *Progressive Citizens of America* is the result.

15. *Mobilization for Democracy* deliberately manufactured *Ku Klux Klan* acts of terrorism for political purposes. The Communist plan to utilize this front for agitational purposes in California was thwarted by the investigations of the *Los Angeles Central Labor Council of the American Federation of Labor* and this Committee which exposed the true purposes behind the organization.

16. The *People's Educational Center* and the *California Labor Schools* are expanded *Communist Party* institutions for the purpose of disseminating Communist propaganda.

17. *American Youth for Democracy* is the successor to the *Young Communist League*.

18. University professors, for the greater part, permitted their names to be used in connection with the above mentioned institutions, without knowledge of the true character or purpose

of the schools. In other cases it appears that the professors involved permitted their names to be used by the institutions with knowledge of their Communist character.

19. The *University of California Press* is being used to publish a quarterly edited by California's outstanding Communist, John Howard Lawson. This former associate editor of the *Daily World* is currently one of the editors of a Communist quarterly, *Mainstream*, launched in January of 1944.

20. The *Young Women's Christian Association* and the *Young Men's Christian Association* at Berkeley permitted Communist meetings and known Communist speakers to use their building facilities. Both of these organizations use the name of the *University of California* in connection with their own associations, giving the impression that both are connected with the university itself.

21. While the great majority of the teachers in the California public school system are patriotic Americans there are Communists and Communist fellow-travelers teaching in the system. The Committee finds that at least two teachers at *Canoga Park High School* were indoctrinating students with Communism. Both teachers are connected with Communist organizations. The Committee finds that Mrs. Frances Eisenberg and Mrs. Blanche Bettington slanted their teachings and discussions at *Canoga Park High School* for the purpose of indoctrinating the students with Communist philosophy, disrespect for the Capitalist system of government of the United States and for the further purpose of building respect and reverence for the cruel dictatorship of Soviet Russia.

22. The C.I.O. Maritime Unions, particularly the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Union* in San Francisco, are Communist dominated. The Committee finds that anti-Communist members of the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Union* are being expelled for criticizing Communism and the Communist clique in the organization.

23. Herbert K. Sorrell is a secret member of the *Communist Party*. The *Conference of Studio Unions*, headed by Sorrell, on strike for over a year, is Communist dominated, inspired and directed for the purpose of capturing the *American Federation of Labor* unions in the motion picture industry.

24. The *Communist Party* has made strenuous efforts to capture radio through the use of Communist news commentators and analysts. The *Hollywood Community Radio Group, Inc.*, is Communist inspired and directed. Its immediate objective is the establishment of a radio station in Los Angeles County.

25. The *International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians* of the C.I.O. is a Communist front. Chapter 25 of this group met secretly during the war and dis-

cussed the atomic and radiation research work at the *University of California*. It is a potential espionage organization owing its first allegiance to Soviet Russia.

26. The Committee finds that when an individual is an habitual subscriber to the *Communist Party* press, is a member of Communist front organizations, follows the *Communist Party* line without deviation, generally associates with known members of the *Communist Party* and is willing to condemn Fascism while vehemently refusing to criticize Communism, it may be properly assumed that such an individual is something more than a mere Communist fellow-traveler.

27. "*Land of the Soviets*" is a booklet used for school children in Glendale. The book was written by Marguerite N. Stewart and edited by Maxwell S. Stewart. The Committee finds that Maxwell S. Stewart is pro-Communist and pro-Soviet and that the book is slanted to glamorize the Soviet Union and Communism. By way of comparison the dictatorship of the proletariat under Joseph Stalin is made to appear as a socialist Utopia.

The Committee finds that the booklet "*Land of the Soviets*" is pure pro-Soviet, pro-Communist propaganda and that the use of the book for school children has a sinister objective. The booklet is a "cooperative project between American Council, *Institute of Pacific Relations* and *Webster Publishing Company*." Marguerite N. Stewart is the secretary of this organization. While the Committee has not made sufficient investigation of the *Institute of Pacific Relations* to determine its true character, its participation in the production of "*Land of the Soviets*" plus the fact that the author of the book, Marguerite N. Stewart, is the institute's secretary, raises a serious question as to its true character.

28. The Committee finds that certain sex books included in a proposed course in the *Chico High School* follow or parallel the *Communist Party* line for the destruction of the moral fibre of American youth. Disrespect for parents, religion and law is subtly interwoven throughout the context of the books in question. The Committee finds the books pornographic in content, immoral in many respects and totally unfit for high school students.

The Reconversion of Law Enforcement

Address of J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, delivered at the 52nd Annual Meeting of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, Auditorium, Municipal Pier, Miami Beach, Florida, 12 noon Eastern Time, December 10, 1945.

THERE is a marked similarity between our meeting six years ago, as war was spreading in Europe, and our first peacetime meeting today. The firing has stopped on the battlefronts, but it is being resumed on the homefront. We had a big job to do then, but a bigger one faces us today.

At our last peacetime meeting, it was my duty to convey to you the President's Directive calling upon all law enforcement to protect our internal security, and to call upon you for assistance. The manner in which you answered your country's call to duty is a tribute to your love for America. Never in our national history have brighter pages been written by men working together for a common purpose.

Already, I have expressed my gratitude to many of you and today I want publicly to extend to all of law enforcement my heartfelt appreciation for your assistance in keeping our homefront secure. It is also my privilege to extend to you the personal greetings and commendation of the Attorney General of the United States, Honorable Tom C. Clark. As the chief law enforcement officer of the nation, he has asked me to convey his congratulations for a job well done.

The ability of all branches of law enforcement to cooperate and to pool their facilities proves once and for all that we need no unified agency to insure the discharge of our responsibilities. I have said before, and I say again, that there is no place in our American way of life for a National Police. Our first line of defense in peace or war is the local police agency. It is on the scene and can strike at lawlessness at its source. The role of the Federal Bureau of Investigation shall continue to be that of a service agency to augment and bolster your efforts and to handle those matters which are nation wide in scope and beyond the reach of hometown protectors.

As we look to the future, we should also consolidate our gains. At the very inception of hostilities, we were all apprehen-

sive of what might happen. That these fears did not materialize is a tribute to the forces assigned to maintain the peace at home.

In every period of national emergency, it is normal and natural for human beings to become panicky and hysterical. There is not an experienced law enforcement administrator in the land who was not criticized for seeming inaction. We could not publicly proclaim what we were doing and why. But in no civilized land in time of war were civil rights and personal liberties abridged less than here in the United States. The civil rights which we preserved then must be preserved in the future. The dragnets of World War I were unheard of in this war. The slacker raids did not recur. The lynchings and character assassins of World War I were checked. On the other hand, the sabotage which everyone said would occur did not take place.

Early in the war, skeptics proclaimed that we were wide open to espionage. They held that nothing was secure and nothing was being done. The record is exactly to the contrary. We knew from the very outbreak of the war that espionage was under control. I do not mean that the enemy was not active. He was. Foreign powers tried to steal not only the atomic bomb, but other military secrets. For years, Nazi Germany had built an espionage machine and an army of Fifth Columnists, which proved to be the downfall of once proud nations. They spent money with reckless abandon and were constantly on the alert to train, develop and unleash spies and saboteurs, not only in the United States, but throughout the entire Western Hemisphere. The counter-espionage program which we developed did more than encircle spies and render them harmless. It enabled us to learn of their weaknesses and their aims.

There is a universality to law enforcement in democratic countries. I am happy to report that the integrity and devotion to duty of peace officers in the United States has been matched by our neighbors in the North, in the South, and by our British Allies. It was our happy privilege to be closely associated with the security and intelligence authorities in the British Isles, with that sterling organization in Canada which has captured the imagination of all Americans — The Royal Canadian Mounted Police — and with similar agencies in all of the countries in the South from Mexico to Chile.

There were few espionage cases which came to our attention which did not have worldwide ramifications; and FBI liaison Agents, stationed from Canada to the tip of South America, received the highest degree of aggressive cooperation.

It can truly be said that so far as subversion is concerned there is no such thing as a domestic field. It is international. Japanism manifested in this country had its origin in Japan, Nazism in Germany, and Fascism in Italy, and without the wholehearted spirit of mutual assistance of all law enforcement agencies,

domestic and foreign, the FBI could not point to the proud record we have today. Let me illustrate. Germany, lacking an ever necessary supply of platinum, turned to the black market of South America. One arch platinum smuggler was arrested in California. His trail led through several South American countries. In each, the facts were communicated by the FBI to the established law enforcement agencies in those countries and the holes were plugged. In one espionage case which centered in New York, shipping information was getting out of the country. Contacts of the enemy were spotted in faraway Brazil and Chile. There, the authorities quickly moved into action. Twenty-four clandestine radio stations were put out of business, thirty short-wave transmitters were seized, and in all, 335 espionage agents were arrested in South America alone through the fine cooperation of the countries of that continent.

More than 23,000 enemy aliens throughout the Western Hemisphere were identified, interned, deported or moved from strategic areas through the joint efforts of local law enforcement agencies and the FBI. We not only thwarted enemy sabotage at home—none occurred in the entire Western Hemisphere throughout the entire period of World War II. We of law enforcement can be very proud of this record.

The wartime associations of law enforcement officers of the different countries have brought about a spirit of understanding and friendship which will inure to our mutual advantage in the peacetime years which lie ahead. I cannot commend too highly all of the officers with whom we have been privileged to work, and I sincerely hope that the spirit of mutual assistance and understanding will continue.

We have faced many problems, burdened as we were with added duties, untrained personnel, and acute manpower shortages. The salaries paid to law enforcement officers are scandalously low. Community leaders should hang their heads in shame when they condemn their local police without first facing the fact that the average officer could command a much higher salary in the industries he protects.

In replenishing our ranks, we should enlist the aid of the public in improving conditions, in providing better facilities and in securing the modern implements of law enforcement. A community can have no better investment than in an alert, well trained police department. It is false economy and a flagrant disregard of society's rightful protection to reduce essential enforcement services.

Our greatest advances have come through concentrated training programs. But we have scarcely begun to scratch the surface. Like every other popular movement, leeches and parasites have already tried to attach themselves to the field of police training. Here is a job that belongs in the hands of law enforce-

ment. It is no place for professional promoters with quack nostrums to sell nor for stratosphere thinkers disseminating mists of error and confusion. Yet, I know of instances where ex-convicts with glib tongues have actually succeeded in taking part in training police and in surveying police needs. The International Association of Chiefs of Police can embark on no more important program in the postwar years than a widespread campaign to lift police standards through well established training activities conducted by professional men of law enforcement who have dealt in the realities of the problem.

The need for increased effectiveness and the marshalling of whole communities on the crime prevention front becomes more important each day. Lawlessness has taken on such proportions as to even startle the imagination. The crime waves proclaimed in the daily press are not imaginary. They are real. They are bloody. If anything, the press is guilty of understatement rather than overstatement. Let me be specific. In October of this year serious crime increased 19% over the same month last year. Of the more serious crimes, the increases reflect 32% more murders, 38% more auto thefts, 38% more robberies, 11% more larcenies, and 26% more burglaries. Crime rates are continuing to rise rapidly throughout the entire nation.

The fingerprint files of the FBI reveal a criminal army of six million individuals who have been arrested and fingerprinted—one out of every 23 inhabitants in the United States! You know only too well the constant recurrence of arrests.

After every great war or period of acute national emergency there has been a recession of moral fortitude. This one will be no exception. I hope as you do that the racketeers, the overlords, the desperadoes and the criminal scum who characterized the roaring twenties will not come back to the American scene. I fear, however, that this is wishful thinking. Once they get a start and find they can succeed, we shall face very serious trouble.

Crime springs not alone from a state of mind. There are many factors that must be considered in discussing crime causation, such as the matter of economics, moral standards, and social conditions. To combat the rising tide of serious criminality which is sweeping the country, we need a revival of old-fashioned discipline and courage.

The abuses and maladministration of our penal systems which release murders, sex-crazed degenerates, outlaws and bandits on parole or on "leave of absence" from our correctional institutions to commit serious crimes against our citizens is constituting again a national disgrace. A large percentage of the fugitives being sought by law enforcement officers throughout the country have been the recipients of ill-advised clemency.

The inefficient and careless manner in which convicted criminals are guarded in our jails and penal institutions is shocking

and in many cases represents criminal malfeasance upon the part of those charged with the proper safekeeping of these enemies of society. Almost daily we note hardened criminals escaping from confinement to endanger the lives of our citizens. The taxpayer has every right to demand that convicted criminals be guarded by men of high character, integrity and intelligence. Law enforcement agencies exist for but one purpose, namely, the protection of society. We of law enforcement must be alert to take advantage of every opportunity to focus the spotlight of public opinion upon the evil conditions which presently exist. In this, we must enlist the aid of a sympathetic press and a civic-spirited screen and radio.

The responsibilities of law enforcement are ever broadening. Not only must we marshal our forces on the front of crime detection and apprehension — but there is an ever broadening front dominated by the subverter and purveyor of alien isms who seek to transform the America we know and love to a land of class struggle. The fight against Fascism continues. The shooting was has stopped, but these espousers of dictatorships still exist and they have been too well entrenched to become converts to Democracy overnight. The evidences of Fascist survival are too plain to ignore.

To the Fascist foe must be added another, the American Communist. These panderers of diabolic distrust already are concentrating their efforts to confuse and divide by applying the Fascist smear to progressive police departments, the FBI and other American institutions to conceal their own sinister purposes.

The Godless, truthless way of life that American Communists would force on America can mean only tyranny and oppression if they succeed. They are against the liberty which is America — they are for the license of their own. When they raise their false cry of unity, remember there can be no unity with the enemies of our way of life who are attempting to undermine our democratic institutions. The Fascist-minded tyrant whom we conquered on the battlefields is no different from the American Communistic corruptionist who now uses the tricks of the confidence man until his forces are sufficiently strong to rise with arms in revolt.

America cannot exist half democratic and half Communist or Fascist. If we want to improve upon our American form of government we will do it in our own way, in our own time and with our own blueprint. Therefore, it behooves us to be on guard for an enemy that brazenly and openly has advocated the corruption of America, that spends sleepless nights working one propaganda line after another, that poses behind a dozen fronts, that squirms and twists his way into those great American forces such as the church, schools, and the ranks of labor.

As I speak to you today, the big guns of the Communist Party in the United States are aimed at returning veterans, openly

boasting that here is a new front behind which they can hide. They have selected a worthy foe, for the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars are too experienced in fighting America's enemies to be hoodwinked by these Communist swindlers.

Lest I be misunderstood, I do not for one minute detract from the heroic fight Russia waged against the invading Nazi hordes, to emerge as one of the great powers of the World. We must not let the antics of the American Communist prejudice us against this great nation which has the right to any form of government she desires, nor must we judge the great Russian people by the lunatic fringe which represents the great majority of American Communists.

Yes, we have a right and a duty to know what is going on in America. Law enforcement in the peacetime era must determine to do its best to prevent home-grown or imported Fascists and Nazis from reorganizing or regrouping under some other high-sounding, misleading name.

The rising trend in crime once again directs its attention to the home and the youth problem. More and more, I am convinced that the fault lies directly in the home. Parental responsibility is no longer in style. This causes me to suggest that a new approach is necessary. In the past when a youngster committed crime, he alone was held responsible and went to reform school, a foster home, or was put on probation. The time has come when parents should be held responsible not only to their own conscience but to society. Juvenile delinquency does not occur until adults first become delinquent. Law enforcement must find a way to do more to alleviate this problem. A widespread return of officers to the beat, concentrated efforts through crime prevention bureaus, and a closer contact with community facilities will make it a more potent force for social betterment.

There is a need for more realism in meeting the crime problem. It is not pleasant, but the fact remains that it is the delinquent youngster of the war years who is now graduating into the ranks of seasoned criminals. The most recent figures reveal that 21% of all arrests are of persons under 21. More persons aged 17 are arrested than in any other age group. Those under 21 years of age represent 15% of all murderers, 36% of all robbers, 51% of all burglars, 34% of all thieves, 26% of all arsonists, 62% of all car thieves, and 30% of all rapists.

The whole problem becomes more serious when we observe the shocking spectacle of the rise in youth offenders during the war years. They are the ones who are now becoming the post-graduates of crime and are committing the more despicable offenses. The arrests of girls under 18 years of age have increased

198% since the last peacetime year of 1939, while arrests of boys under 18 years of age have increased 48% for homicide, 70% for rape, 39% for robbery, 72% for assault, 55% for auto theft, and 101% for drunkenness and driving while intoxicated.

These figures do not mean that all youth has failed; on the other hand, the generation ahead of them has failed. The best we can do to correct our mistakes is to aid the youngsters who have never had a chance in recapturing their rightful places and removing those forces which have contributed to their delinquency. The home, the church, and the school must be united in a common purpose. We need new altitudes of respect, both for the parent and for law. We need a rebuilding of the foundations which made this nation the greatest in all history, bulwarks formed of more staple materials than those of apathy, selfishness, or indulgence. Our boys and our girls are the foundation of America, to grow as their parents and their surroundings direct.

We have a potent ally in the returning veterans. Fathers, older brothers, and even mothers and sisters freed from defense plants can do much to restore the home to its rightful place.

The average veteran will come home a better citizen. He knows what America means. He has fought and sacrificed the best years of his life in order that democracy might survive.

I resent the libel that has been placed on the returning veteran by those who would lay the postwar crime waves at his doorstep. This misapprehension regarding servicemen stems from the fact that many weapons used in crimes of violence are either service pistols or other souvenir weapons the returning soldiers were allowed to bring home because of lax regulations. Many of these inevitably find their way into the hands of unscrupulous black marketeers who resell them to hoodlums and criminals.

Hundreds of thousands of such souvenirs have been brought into the country by returning war veterans. Consequently every community and all civic groups should start a campaign to keep dangerous souvenir war weapons out of the reach of killers and bandits. Naturally the Federal Firearms Statute should be strengthened so as to serve more adequately to protect society and make more difficult armed depredations upon law-abiding citizens by thugs.

At the very outbreak of war, in addressing you, I pointed out that oppression would help crystallize a fifth column. We singled out the guilty then and protected the innocent. Here was a practical lesson in Americanism which worked. The same principle should be applied to the veteran. Give him the understanding, friendship, and help he deserves while he faces a period of adjustment. Those few who take the law in their own hands

must be treated firmly and be made to understand that neither they nor anyone else can be immune when they do as they please and fail to respect the rights of others.

As we face the new era that lies ahead, let us do so with the determination that the people we serve shall have our best efforts and the utmost of our protection. Let us realize our responsibilities to those who have fought and died that democracy might live, by dedicating every fibre of our being to the preservation of the America we love. Let us forever pledge that we shall keep here in America a way of life that is wholesomely democratic, where citizens walk consciously and fearlessly as free men.

I know of no greater cause; I know of no cause more entitled to receive the enthusiastic support of every American interested in the preservation of our country's institutions.

Role of the FBI and the Un-American Activities Committee

Statement of J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, before The Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 3:45 P. M., March 26, 1947, Washington, D. C.

THE AIMS AND RESPONSIBILITIES of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Federal Bureau of Investigation are the same — the protection of the internal security of this Nation. The methods whereby this goal may be accomplished differ, however.

I have always felt that the greatest contribution this Committee could make is the public disclosure of the forces that menace America — Communist and Fascist. That is why the venom of the American Communist and the now defunct German-American Bund has been directed at this Committee as it has also been directed at the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This Committee renders a distinct service when it publicly reveals the diabolic machinations of sinister figures engaged in un-American activities.

The Role of the FBI

The FBI has great responsibilities to the Nation. In addition to being charged "with the duty of investigating violations of the laws of the United States, collecting evidence in cases in which the United States is or may be a party in interest and performing other duties imposed . . . by law," the FBI has been charged by Presidential Directive dated September 6, 1939, "to take charge of investigative work in matters relating to espionage, sabotage . . ." In implementing this charge the President called upon all law enforcement officers to promptly "turn over to the nearest representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation any information obtained by them relating to espionage, counterespionage, sabotage, subversive activities . . ."

The FBI is essentially an investigative agency. It is our duty to get the facts. We do not establish policies — that is the responsibility of higher authority. We do not make decisions as to prosecutions — that is the responsibility of the Attorney General, his assistants and the various United States Attorneys.

To the end that our responsibilities may be discharged it is necessary not to lose sight of the fact that our chief responsibility is the duty to obtain information and to protect confidence. Thus, when a citizen furnishes information on a confidential basis his confidence must be respected. In any intelligence operation, security of information is of primary concern. I recall in the pre-war years that the FBI was criticized on the ill-founded premise that nothing was being done to meet the Nazi-Fascist-Japanism threat to our internal security. The real facts are now a matter of record. What was being done, and done successfully, could not then be discussed and publicized. When the time came to act the FBI was fully prepared to carry out its responsibilities. There was not one successful enemy-directed act of sabotage during the war and the enemy espionage was kept under complete control.

In one of our espionage cases, a spy ring was kept under close surveillance for over 18 months. The arrests when made broke the backbone of the Nazi spy system in America. I shudder at what might have happened had there been a disclosure of our operations and our sources of information in the initial days of that investigation. That was the very time we were most criticized for inaction. I hope this Committee will understand our situation and I know you will readily agree that there are many questions that you might like to raise which I would for obvious reasons be unable to answer in a public hearing.

The Communist Party

My feelings concerning the Communist Party of the United States are well known. I have not hesitated over the years to express my concern and apprehension. As a consequence, its professional smear brigades have conducted a relentless assault against the FBI. You who have been members of this Committee also know the fury with which the Party, its sympathizers and fellow travelers can launch an assault. I do not mind such attacks. What has been disillusioning is the manner in which they have been able to enlist support often from apparently well-meaning but thoroughly duped persons.

Anyone who opposes the American Communist is at once branded as a "disrupter," a "Fascist," a "Red baiter," or a "Hitlerite," and becomes the object of a systematic campaign of character assassination. This is easily understood because the basic tactics of the Communist Party are deceit and trickery.

The great god of the American Communists, Comrade Lenin — whose writings are their Bible — in various speeches and writings urged the use of deceit and trickery and his converts live by his injunction:

"The strictest loyalty to the ideas of Communism must be combined with the ability to make all necessary practical compromises, to maneuver, to make agreements, zig-zags, re-

treats and so on, so as to accelerate the coming to power . . ." ("Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder" pp. 75-76. V. I. Lenin, International Publishers Co., Inc. 1940).

Lenin's views were incorporated in the "Thesis on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International" and the following provision is familiar to all American Communists:

"In all countries, even the freest, 'legal and peaceful' in the sense that the class struggle is less acute in them, the time has fully matured when it is absolutely necessary for every Communist Party systematically to combine legal with illegal work, legal with illegal organization . . . It is necessary, immediately for all legal Communist Parties to form illegal organizations . . . Illegal work is particularly necessary in the Army, the Navy and police . . ."

Continuing, the Thesis states:

"The absolute necessity in principle of combining illegal with legal work is determined, not only by the sum total of the specific features of the present period, the period of the eve of the proletarian dictatorship, but also by the necessity of proving to the bourgeoisie that there is not, nor can there be, a sphere or field of work that cannot be won by the Communists." (Volume X, Selected Works of Lenin, Page 172-173; International Publishers Company, Inc., 1943).

The Communist movement in the United States began to manifest itself in 1919. Since then it has changed its name and its Party line whenever expedient and tactical. But always it comes back to fundamentals and bills itself as the party of "Marxism-Leninism." As such, it stands for the destruction of our American form of government; it stands for the destruction of American Democracy; it stands for the destruction of free enterprise; and it stands for the creation of a "Soviet of the United States" and ultimate world revolution.

The Historic Mission

The Preamble of the latest Constitution of the Communist Party of the United States, filled with Marxian "double talk," proclaims that the Party "educates the working class, in the course of its day to day struggles, for *its historic mission*, the establishment of socialism."

The phrase "Historic Mission" has a sinister meaning. To the uninformed person it bespeaks tradition, but to the Communist, using his own words, it is "achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat"; "to throw off the yoke of imperialism and establish the proletarian dictatorship"; "to raise these revolutionary forces

to the surface and hurl them like a devastating avalanche upon the united forces of bourgeois reaction, frenzied at the presentiment of their rapidly approaching doom."

In recent years, the Communists have been very cautious about using such phrases as "force and violence"; nevertheless, it is the subject of much discussion in their schools and in Party caucus where they readily admit that the only way in which they can defeat the present ruling class is by world revolution.

The Communist, once he is fully trained and indoctrinated, realizes that he can create his order in the United States only by "bloody revolution."

Their chief textbook, "The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," is used as a basis for planning their revolution. Their tactics require that to be successful they must have:

1. The will and sympathy of the people
2. Military aid and assistance
3. Plenty of guns and ammunition
4. A program of extermination of the police as they are the most important enemy and are termed trained fascists
5. Seizure of all communications, buses, railroads, radio stations and other forms of communications and transportation.

They evade the question of force and violence publicly. They hold that when Marxists speak of force and violence they will not be responsible — that force and violence will be the responsibility of their enemies. They adopt the novel premise that they do not advocate force and violence publicly but that when their class resists to defend themselves then they are thus accused of using force and violence.

Party Found Illegal

On May 28, 1942, Honorable Francis Biddle, then Attorney General, in reviewing the deportation proceedings of Harry Bridges, found that the Communist Party from the time of its inception in 1919 believes in, advises, advocates and teaches the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States.

Since then, much has happened. In 1944, the Party dissolved and became the Communist Political Association. The Constitution of the New CPA in 1944 omitted references to "Leninism" and the "Historic Mission." That was the era when Browder was preaching a Second Front and all-out production. But, even then, they secretly held to their historic mission, for in an injunction to Party members, Eugene Dennis, now General Secretary of the Party, said:

"Irrespective of name, we are and shall continue to be an American working class political organization, guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism."

But that era was short-lived. Immediately after Jacques Duclos, the French Communist leader, blasted the American Communists as deserting the Marxian cause, Browder was repudiated, the CPA was relegated to oblivion and the present Communist Party of the United States was reborn. A new Constitution adopted in July, 1945, as I have already indicated, referred to the Party as basing itself "upon the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism" and reincorporated the reference to the Party's "historic mission."

In establishing the Party's illegal character in 1942, the then Attorney General Biddle based his findings on the contents of the same Communist publications which today are being sold and circulated in Party circles. The American Communist, like the leopard, cannot change his spots.

The Party Line

The Communist Party line changes from day to day. The one cardinal rule that can always be applied to what the Party line is or will be is found in the fundamental principle of Communist teachings that the support of Soviet Russia is the duty of Communists of all countries.

One thing is certain. The American progress which all good citizens seek, such as old age security, houses for veterans, child assistance and a host of others is being adopted as window dressing by the Communists to conceal their true aims and entrap gullible followers.

The record of the American Communists conclusively proves their true feelings. In the prewar days, when they were allied with Hitler, they marched on Washington protesting Selective Service, Lend-Lease, shouting "The Yanks are not coming." The American Peace Mobilization picketed the White House until the day before the Nazis marched into Russia and then within less than a month reconverted it into the American People's Mobilization, demanded all-out production, and started the chant for the Second Front.

We are witnessing the same tactics today. Since Secretary Schwollenbach advocated outlawing the Communist Party, and President Truman called for aid to Greece and Turkey, the Communists have been mobilizing, promoting mass meetings, sending telegrams and letters to exert pressure on Congress. The American Communists fail to realize that already they have outlawed themselves in the minds and hearts of loyal Americans.

The mad march of Red Fascism is a cause for concern in America. But the deceit, the trickery and the lies of the American

Communists are catching up with them. Whenever the spotlight of truth is focused upon them they cry, "Red baiting." Now that their aims and objectives are being exposed they are creating a Committee for the Constitutional Rights of Communists, and are feverishly working to build up what they term a quarter million dollar defense fund to place ads in papers, to publish pamphlets, to buy radio time. They know that today it is a fight to the finish and that their backs will soon be to the wall.

Strength of the Party

A few days ago word leaked out that the annual Communist convention scheduled to be held in Chicago had been shifted from July to September in order that they might carry on their campaign of obstruction to American Foreign Policy and increase their membership. They have been conducting an active membership campaign as the leadership is concerned over the manner in which membership has slipped.

The numerical strength of the Party's enrolled membership is insignificant. But it is well known that there are many actual members who because of their position are not carried on Party rolls.

New York leads in the number of enrolled Party members (30,000), followed by California (8,553); Illinois (6,500); Ohio (3,838); Oregon (3,654); New Jersey (2,487) and Michigan (2,135). The Daily Worker boasts of 74,000 members on the rolls.

What is important is the claim of the Communists themselves that for every Party member there are ten others ready, willing and able to do the Party's work. Herein lies the greatest menace of Communism. For these are the people who infiltrate and corrupt various spheres of American life. So rather than the size of the Communist Party the way to weigh its true importance is by testing its influence, its ability to infiltrate.

The size of the Party is relatively unimportant because of the enthusiasm and iron-clad discipline under which they operate. In this connection, it might be of interest to observe that in 1917 when the Communists overthrew the Russian Government there was one Communist for every 2,277 persons in Russia. In the United States today there is one Communist for every 1,814 persons in the country.

One who accepts the aims, principles, and program of the Party, who attends meetings, who reads the Party press and literature, who pays dues and who is active on behalf of the Party "shall be considered a member." The open, avowed Communist who carries a card and pays dues is no different from a security standpoint than the person who does the Party's work but pays no dues, carries no card and is not on the Party rolls. In fact, the latter is a greater menace because of his opportunity to work in stealth.

Identifying Undercover Communists, Fellow Travelers and Sympathizers

The burden of proof should be placed upon those who consistently follow the ever-changing, twisting Party line. Fellow travelers and sympathizers can deny Party membership but they can never escape the undeniable fact that they have played into the Communist hands, thus furthering the Communist cause by playing the role of innocent, gullible or wilful allies.

Propaganda Activities

The Communists have developed one of the greatest propaganda machines the world has ever known. They have been able to penetrate and infiltrate many respectable and reputable public opinion mediums.

They capitalize upon ill-founded charges associating known honest progressive liberals with left wing causes. I have always entertained the view that there are few appellations more degrading than "Communist" and hence it should be reserved for those justly deserving the degradation.

The Communist propaganda technique is designed to promote emotional response with the hope that the victim will be attracted by what he is told the Communist way of life holds in store for him. The objective, of course, is to develop discontent and hasten the day when the Communists can gather sufficient support and following to overthrow the American way of life.

Communist propaganda is always slanted in the hope that the Communist may be aligned with liberal progressive causes. The honest liberal and progressive should be alert to this and I believe the Communists' most effective foes can be the real liberals and progressives who understand their devious machinations.

The deceptiveness of Communist "double talk" fulfills the useful propaganda technique of confusion. In fact, Lenin referred to their peculiar brand of phraseology as, "... that cursed Aesopian language ... which ... compelled all revolutionaries to have recourse, whenever they took up their pens to write a 'legal' work." Lenin used it for the purpose of avoiding "censorship." Communists today use it to mislead the public.

The use of the term "democracy" by the Communists, we have learned to our sorrow, does not have the meaning to them that it does to us. To them it means Communism and totalitarianism and our understanding of the term is regarded by them as imperialistic and Fascist.

The Daily Worker on Independence Day last year, for example, proclaimed: "It is a dramatic fact that on July 4, 1946, the independence of other countries is menaced by the United States in the grip of trusts and Tories."

Correspondence Campaigns

Communists and their followers are prolific letter writers and some of the more energetic ones follow the practice of directing numerous letters of protest to editors but signing a different name to each.

Members of Congress are well aware of Communists starting their pressure campaigns by an avalanche of mail which follows the Party line.

Radio

The Party has departed from depending upon the printed word as its medium of propaganda and has taken to the air. Its members and sympathizers have not only infiltrated the airways but they are now persistently seeking radio channels.

Motion Pictures

The American Communists launched a furtive attack on Hollywood in 1935 by the issuance of a directive calling for a concentration in Hollywood. The orders called for action on two fronts: 1) An effort to infiltrate the labor unions; 2) To infiltrate the so-called intellectual and creative fields.

In movie circles, Communists developed an effective defense a few years ago in meeting criticism. They would counter with the question, "After all, what is the matter with Communism?" It was effective because many persons did not possess adequate knowledge of the subject to give an intelligent answer.

Some producers and studio heads realize the possibility that the entire industry faces serious embarrassment because it could become a springboard for Communist activities. Communist activity in Hollywood is effective and is furthered by Communists and sympathizers using the prestige of prominent persons to serve, often unwittingly, the Communist cause.

The Party is content and highly pleased if it is possible to have inserted in a picture a line, a scene, a sequence, conveying the Communist lesson and more particularly, if they can keep out anti-Communist lessons.

Infiltration

The Communist tactic of infiltrating labor unions stems from the earliest teachings of Marx, which have been reiterated by Party spokesmen down through the years. They resort to all means to gain their point and often succeed in penetrating and literally taking over labor unions before the rank and file of members are aware of what has occurred.

With few exceptions the following admonitions of Lenin have been followed:

"It is necessary to be able to withstand all this, to agree

to any and every sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to all sorts of devices, maneuvers, and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge, in order to penetrate into the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs."

(P. 38, "Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder," V. I. Lenin, 1934, International Publishers Co., Inc.)

I am convinced that the great masses of union men and women are patriotic American citizens interested chiefly in security for their families and themselves. They have no use for the American Communists but in those instances where Communists have taken control of unions, it has been because too many union men and women have been outwitted, out-maneuvered and outwaited by Communists.

The Communists have never relied on numerical strength to dominate a labor organization. Through infiltration tactics they have in too many instances captured positions of authority. Communists have boasted that with 5% of the membership the Communists, with their militancy, superior organizational ability and discipline, could control the union.

They regard as political every movement of the working class which seeks to gain concessions by exerting pressure from without as a political movement. Thus, as Lenin puts it: "The economic strike develops into a political strike and the latter develops into insurrection." (P. 12, "Left-Wing Communism..." V. I. Lenin, 1934, International Publishers Co., Inc.)

That the Communists feel themselves ordained for a special mission in penetrating labor is revealed by the statement made by Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party of U. S. A., as a recent Party meeting, "No trade union or people's organization," he said, "not even the great C.I.O. could long remain progressive if it were to exclude or attack Communists."

The Communists have long viewed with envy the A. F. of L. They admit they play a very small role with only a handful of Communists active in the A. F. of L. locals. Recently there has been agitation in the Party to reorganize to influence the A.F. of L.

A few months ago a Party functionary said it was imperative that 3,000 Party members be infiltrated into the A.F. of L. without publicizing this fact. They say this action is necessary because of the danger of a Third World War and the need to fulfill the Communist Plan of creating a Third Party.

If more union members took a more active role and asserted themselves it would become increasingly difficult for Communists to gain control. Patriotic union members can easily spot sympathizers and Party members in conventions and union meetings because invariably the latter strive to establish the Party line instead of serving the best interests of the union and the country.

Foreign League Groups

The Party for the past 18 months has been giving special attention to foreign language groups and has called for a sweeping self-critical examination of its work in this field. As long ago as 1945, in urging the importance of penetrating these groups, Party leaders said, "We need only mention the Polish, Italian, Yugoslav and Greek questions," and in characteristic Party double talk observed that they occupied an important relationship "to the entire democratic camp and to the broader peoples movement." In other words, the Communists now seek strength from foreign groups who may have relatives in countries which Russia seeks to influence.

Government

The recent Canadian spy trials revealed the necessity of alertness in keeping Communists and sympathizers out of government services. In fact, the high command of the Communist Party regards such assignments of sufficient importance to demand that Party members not contact fellow members in the government and if such government employees are carried on Party rolls at all they are assigned an alias. Last fall a high-ranking Party leader instructed that all Party membership cards of government employees be destroyed and that Party organizational meetings in government circles be discontinued although informal social or union gatherings which could not be identified as Communist meetings could be continued. The dangers of permitting Communists or sympathizers to work in government circles are too obvious to mention.

There has developed, however, as a result of Communist propaganda, some fanciful feeling among Communists that no distinction should be drawn and that Communists have a right to government jobs.

Since July 1, 1941, the FBI has investigated 6,193 cases under the Hatch Act, which forbids membership upon the part of any government employee in any organization advocating the overthrow of the government of the United States.

For the purposes of investigation the Attorney General has ruled that a number of organizations in addition to the Communist Party are subversive under the Hatch Act because of Communist influence.

One hundred one federal employees were discharged as a result of our investigation, 21 resigned during the investigation, and in 75 cases administrative action was taken by the departments. A total of 1,906 individuals are no longer employed in the government while 122 cases are presently pending consideration in the various government agencies.

The FBI does not make recommendations; it merely reports

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facts and it is up to the interested government department to make a decision. Almost invariably, of course, subjects of investigations deny affiliation with subversive groups, often despite strong evidence to the contrary.

The following is a case in point:

The FBI submitted a 57-page report to the Federal Security Agency on March 7, 1942, on Doxey Wilkerson. The investigation recorded interviews with persons who stated he was a member of the Communist Party. Following the submission of the report we were advised by the Federal Security Agency that further investigation failed to show that Wilkerson was subversive or "disloyal to our government." Wilkerson subsequently transferred to O.P.A. and resigned on June 19, 1943. Within less than 24 hours he announced his new job as "a Communist Party organizer." He was subsequently appointed a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party. To be eligible for service in the National Committee one "must have been a member of the Party in continuous good standing for at least four years."

Mass and Front Organizations

The United Front Program of the Communist Party was launched at the 7th World Congress of the Communist International in 1935. The Communist Party in the United States immediately took up the program and a systematic plan was worked out of infiltrating existing organizations with Communists.

For the most part, front organizations assumed the character of either a mass or membership organization or a paper organization. Both solicited and used names of prominent persons. Literally hundreds of groups and organizations have either been infiltrated or organized primarily to accomplish the purposes of promoting the interests of the Soviet Union in the United States, the promotion of Soviet war and peace aims, the exploitation of Negroes in the United States, work among foreign language groups, and to secure a favorable viewpoint toward the Communists in domestic, political, social, and economic issues.

The first requisite for a front organization is an idealistic sounding title. Hundreds of such organizations have come into being and have gone out of existence when their true purposes have become known or exposed while others with high sounding names are continually springing up.

The American Youth for Democracy

Illustrative of how the Communists bury one organization and conceive another is the Young Communist League. In convention assembled in New York City, the Young Communist League was dissolved on October 16, 1943, and the next day The American Youth for Democracy was born.

At first the Communists denied paternity for the AYD, but in April of 1946 the Party's National Board indicated that the AYD was the successor to the YCL. William Z. Foster, the Communist Party head, at the AYD National Intercollegiate Conference in New York City in 1945, told the delegates in the concluding session that, "The atomic age is the age of socialism, of Communism. This is the greatest lesson that the youth of America has to learn." This new front set up youth centers ostensibly to combat juvenile delinquency. More properly, these centers could be termed Communist youth recruiting centers.

The Test of a Front Organization

I feel that this Committee could render a great service to the Nation through its power of exposure in quickly spotlighting existing front organizations and those which will be created in the future.

There are easy tests to establish the real character of such organizations:

1. Does the group espouse the cause of Americanism or the cause of Soviet Russia?
2. Does the organization feature as speakers at its meetings known Communists, sympathizers or fellow travelers?
3. Does the organization shift when the Party line shifts?
4. Does the organization sponsor causes, campaigns, literature, petitions or other activities sponsored by the Party or other front organizations?
5. Is the organization used as a sounding board by or is it endorsed by Communist controlled labor unions?
6. Does its literature follow the Communist line or is it printed by the Communist press?
7. Does the organization receive consistent favorable mention in Communist publications?
8. Does the organization represent itself to be nonpartisan yet engage in political activities and consistently advocate causes favored by the Communists?
9. Does the organization denounce American and British foreign policy while always lauding Soviet policy?
10. Does the organization utilize Communist "double talk" by referring to Soviet dominated countries as democracies, complaining that the United States is imperialistic and constantly denouncing monopoly-capital?
11. Have outstanding leaders in public life openly renounced affiliation with the organization?
12. Does the organization, if espousing liberal progressive

causes, attract well-known honest patriotic liberals or does it denounce well-known liberals?

13. Does the organization have a consistent record of supporting the American viewpoint over the years?
14. Does the organization consider matters not directly related to its avowed purposes and objectives?

National Defense

The Communist Party of the United States is a Fifth Column if there ever was one. It is far better organized than were the Nazis in occupied countries prior to their capitulation.

They are seeking to weaken America just as they did in their era of obstruction when they were aligned with the Nazis. Their goal is the overthrow of our government.

There is no doubt as to where a real Communist's loyalty rests. Their allegiance is to Russia, not the United States.

A top functionary of the Communist Party recently said, "A war by the United States against the USSR would be an unjust war, which is why it must be fought against, but that if it should come the Communist Party in the United States would be with Russia, and make no mistake about that."

In another section of the country another Communist leader made the following statement, "I believe that everyone should know that we are for Russia and if need be we will die for the cause. I don't mean that war with Russia is coming soon; I hope not, so that Russia will be better prepared."

What to Do

What can we do? And what should be our course of action? The best antidote to Communism is vigorous, intelligent, old-fashioned Americanism with eternal vigilance. I do not favor any course of action which would give the Communists cause to portray and pity themselves as martyrs. I do favor unrelenting prosecution wherever they are found to be violating our country's laws.

As Americans, our most effective defense is a workable democracy that guarantees and preserves our cherished freedoms.

I would have no fears if more Americans possessed the zeal, the fervor, the persistence and the industry to learn about this menace of Red Fascism. I do fear for the liberal and progressive who has been hoodwinked and duped into joining hands with the Communists. I confess to a real apprehension so long as Communists are able to secure ministers of the gospel to promote their evil work and espouse a cause that is alien to the religion of Christ and Judaism. I do fear so long as school boards and

parents tolerate conditions whereby Communists and fellow travelers under the guise of academic freedom can teach our youth a way of life that eventually will destroy the sanctity of the home, that undermines faith in God, that causes them to scorn respect for constituted authority and sabotage our revered Constitution.

I do fear so long as American labor groups are infiltrated, dominated or saturated with the virus of Communism. I do fear the palliation and weasel-worded gestures against Communism indulged in by some of our labor leaders who should know better but who have become pawns in the hands of sinister but astute manipulators for the Communist cause.

I fear for ignorance on the part of all our people who may take the poisonous pills of Communist propaganda.

I am deeply concerned whenever I think of the words of an oldtime Communist. Disillusioned, disgusted and frightened he came to us with his story and concluded:

"God help America or any other country if the Communist Party ever gets strong enough to control labor and politics. God help us all!"

The Communists have been, still are and always will be a menace to freedom, to democratic ideals, to the worship of God and to America's way of life.

I feel that once public opinion is thoroughly aroused as it is today, the fight against Communism is well on its way. Victory will be assured once Communists are identified and exposed, because the public will take the first step of quarantining them so they can do no harm. Communism, in reality, is not a political Party. It is a way of life—an evil and malignant way of life. It reveals a condition akin to disease that spreads like an epidemic and like an epidemic a quarantine is necessary to keep it from infecting the Nation.

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Can You Answer These Questions?

- 1. RELIGION:** IN the text book "Teachings of Marx for girls and boys, religion is called a dope and opium for the people. (Question) "WHAT does Marxism replace in the child's mind as a substitute for his belief in God?"
- 2. LABOR:** UNDER the guise of "Progressive Trade Unions" "Workers Guilds" the communists use these false union labels as transmission belts to capture union leadership. These minorities are then in a position to create strike issues for disruption between labor and management. (Question) "What is the history of trade unions under Fascism and Communism?"
- 3. EDUCATION:** STUDENTS in State schools, in colleges and Universities are being inoculated with communist teachings that Marx-Stalinism as a form of government is superior to Americanism. (Question) "WHAT did the California Senate investigation of un-American Activities prove concerning faculty professors' leftist teachings, and student groups quitting classes and joining picket lines in labor disputes?"
- 4. FRONT ORGANIZATIONS:** TO engage in communist planned activities innocent people who would not knowingly associate themselves with disruptive plans, "front organizations", "peoples' protective guilds" or "Anti-Fascist" groups are formed. (Question) "CAN you give the full names of the below initialed groups that have been cited as being communist dominated?"
A.L.N., A.I.U., A.L.P.D., A.N.L.C., A.W.C., A.Y.D., B.C.U., C.C.P.U., C.T., C.C.T.-F.E.B., C.E.R., C.D.A., F.A.D., F.S.U., I.L.D., I.W.O., L.R.A., M.P.O.C., N.H.M.W., N.L.G., P.O., P.W., T.U.A.C., V. of A.L.B., W.P.M., W.A., W.Y.C., Y.C.L.
- 5. MINORITY GROUPS:** RACIAL and class differences are emotionally emphasized among good Americans of Negro, Mexican, and Jewish descent to incite them against American democracy, and create disruption through the communist plot to overthrow our American form of government. (Question) "HOW is the low standard of living and chain-gang brotherhood of the Soviet State concealed?"
- 6. PARTY LINE:** (a) (Question) NAME three wartime communist party lines which, if followed, would have disrupted the U. S. war effort. (b) (Question) TODAY what leader of U. S. foreign policy have the communists attempted to discredit because he will make no further concessions to Stalin?"
- 7. CRIME:** (Question) "WHEN Governor Earl Warren was Attorney General in 1941, what three communists in the maritime union did he have reference to when he said, 'The release of K—, C—, and R— is an outrage to public decency ... These murderers are free today not because they are rehabilitated criminals, but because they are powerful political communist radicals.'?"
- 8. ATTACK ON THE PRESIDENT OF U. S.:** (a) (Question) WHY did the communist party in 1941 adopt such slogans as "The Yanks are not coming," "Britain's imperialistic war" and "Roosevelt is a war monger?" (b) LATER, Hitler surprised Stalin with invasion. (Question) "HOW did the Communist party in the United States bury their fascist collaboration and over night appear "all out" for Pres. Roosevelt's war program?"
- 9. FASCIST-COMMUNIST COLLABORATION:** WHEN it was expedient for Stalin to join Hitler to strengthen the totalitarian rule of Europe, (a) (Question) "WHAT did Stalin say about the friendship and close and similar objectives of Fascism and Communism?" (b) (Question) "IN addition to Fascism and Communism both being totalitarian under a dictator, what other parallels do these forms of government have?"

THE ANSWER TO THESE AND OTHER QUESTIONS concerning communist strategy to overthrow our American way of life and replace it with Marxleninism are clearly stated in this great book, unlike any other book in that it answers questions not with opinion but with volumes of state records documented by committee hearings. A book no truly well informed American can be without.