

Mr. ESCLICK. It has been continuous, you think, during the two years?

Mr. CHISHOLM. Yes; it has been continuous during the two years. I think it is growing a little faster now than it has at any time during the past two years.

Mr. ESCLICK. And you attribute that, do you not, to the present working or laboring conditions?

Mr. CHISHOLM. A good deal to the present conditions and, to a large extent, to the more intelligent leadership that is being furnished that movement.

Mr. ESCLICK. Where does this leadership come from: is it local or is it furnished you from outside areas?

Mr. CHISHOLM. I have no idea, sir; I could not say.

Mr. ESCLICK. You do not know how that is?

Mr. CHISHOLM. No.

Mr. ESCLICK. Of the recognized and outspoken communist element in your territory, what part of it is foreign and what part native; about what percentage?

Mr. ESCLICK. Well, I think there has been too high an estimate placed on the foreign element, probably, interested in the movement. I think from men in the mills whom I have actually come in contact with—that have told me they are in sympathy with the movement and a good many of them affiliated—I would say there are 40, in some cases 50, per cent of the folks that are following that work that are American citizens, most of them native-born, natural citizens here.

Mr. ESCLICK. Now, is it not true, in addition to the avowed or outspoken communists, there is quite a larger following of sympathizers?

Mr. CHISHOLM. Very largely. I find, particularly in Grays Harbor, where these two strikes have been in effect, one for about three months and the other for about six weeks, that not only the folks affected by these strikes but dozens of men in town, whose income has been greatly reduced on account of the lumber business being down there, are in sympathy with almost anything that at least promises to bring about a better condition. It is surprising the number of stable citizens in business and professional life that are greatly in sympathy with the communist movement.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you say this existed, where these business men were in sympathy with the communist campaign?

Mr. CHISHOLM. In Grays Harbor territory; that is Aberdeen and Hoquiam, down south to Olympia.

The CHAIRMAN. American citizens?

Mr. CHISHOLM. A great many of them; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why are they in sympathy with it?

Mr. CHISHOLM. Well, because they have not a great deal of information on what the communist movement is and the men who work in the mills are responsible for the trade that keeps their business going, and they hold out the idea to them that if they get sufficient strength in this new organization, things will be better in their particular district. And without going deeply into the thing, they figure, "Well, that is a good thing, and we will at least give it our moral support."

The CHAIRMAN. Do they know what the Communist Party stands for—the business men?

Mr. CHISHOLM. Not so many of them; no. They do not attend very many meetings; it is very few of them that attend any of the meetings there to know what the actual teachings are.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

TESTIMONY OF F. LESLEY PHELPS

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Give your full name.

Mr. PHELPS. F. Lesley Phelps.

The CHAIRMAN. What organization do you represent, Mr. Phelps?

Mr. PHELPS. I am just a publisher—writer. I own magazines.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you editor of a magazine?

Mr. PHELPS. Yes; the Pacific Coast Mechanic.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is it published?

Mr. PHELPS. Here, for 25 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been the editor for 25 years?

Mr. PHELPS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you know about the activities of the communists?

Mr. PHELPS. Well, I have been to Russia twice. I was there in 1927 and spent two months, and I was back there—

The CHAIRMAN. You were in Russia twice?

Mr. PHELPS. I have been there twice. I was there in 1927 and spent two months thoroughly investigating the economic, the political, and labor situation. I went back in 1929; I spent three weeks in 1929, and I went over an additional part of the territory and especially over all of that part I went the first time, in order that I might get a comparison as to what had happened in two years.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell the committee just what you want to put before us?

Mr. PHELPS. It will be an awfully long story.

The CHAIRMAN. We do not want the whole story.

Mr. PHELPS. If you will ask questions, probably you will do a whole lot better. I have listened to a great deal of the testimony here this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we are not really concerned with the government in Russia; we are concerned with the activities of the communists in this country and their propaganda; also concerned in finding out, if you know, anything about the prison camps and the use of convict labor.

Mr. PHELPS. I believe I can answer any question you ask.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about those convict prison camps and the use of convict labor to cut timber?

Mr. PHELPS. To cut lumber convict labor is mostly used inside of the prison walls.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been to any of those prisons?

Mr. PHELPS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What prisons?

Mr. PHELPS. To two in Moscow and two in Leningrad.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not ask that at all. Have you ever been to any prison outside of a city?

Mr. PHELPS. Yes; and took a considerable trip into the peasant country, and spent several days there.

The CHAIRMAN. That does not answer my question; if you will just answer the question. To what prisons have you been outside of Moscow and Leningrad?

Mr. PHELPS. Well, I don't know that I can say any to amount to anything.

The CHAIRMAN. Therefore you have not been to any?

Mr. PHELPS. I have been in lots of camps.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not been in any prison camp in the northern part of Russia?

Mr. PHELPS. Lots of lumber camps.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been to lots of them?

Mr. PHELPS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mr. PHELPS. Up toward the Ural Mountains, northeast of Moscow and east of Leningrad; quite a bit up in there, especially coming from Moscow towards Riga, out through that part of the country. There is an enormous lot of lumber in that vicinity.

The CHAIRMAN. Were those prison camps?

Mr. PHELPS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. They won't let any foreigner in any prison camp I know of, in Russia. Those were not prison camps?

Mr. PHELPS. No; but I have never seen any trouble in getting in any prison camp.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been to any prison camps?

Mr. PHELPS. In the cities I have.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean outside of the cities. Do you know anything about the activities of the communists in this country? What do you know; what facts can you furnish the committee in regard to communist activities in this country?

Mr. PHELPS. Well, they are evidently very active in this country, both in circulating propaganda, making speeches, holding secret organizations, and so on.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you live in Seattle?

Mr. PHELPS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived in Seattle?

Mr. PHELPS. Twenty-five years.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you know about the activities of the communists here in this city?

Mr. PHELPS. Practically everything that went on and goes on.

The CHAIRMAN. What facts have you to tell the committee about it?

Mr. PHELPS. It just depends on what you want to know.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to know any facts you have in your possession.

Mr. PHELPS. They have held a lot of meetings; I have attended meetings and heard them make all kinds of speeches, the worst type you can think of. The extreme radical ones wanted to tear the country to pieces. The more conservative fellow, not of that type, who follows the lead of communism, he believes that some day he can work it out thoroughly in this country, and he goes at it entirely different from the radical.

The CHAIRMAN. I assume you know something about communism and I assume you know what the communist party stands for.

Mr. PHELPS. Sure.

The CHAIRMAN. It stands for the same thing here, does it not, that it does in Russia?

Mr. PHELPS. Yes; that is, they attempt the same thing here, but they understand they can not do here in this country what they do in Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. It stands for the same thing in Russia as it does all over the world—in England, Germany, and all over the world?

Mr. PHELPS. I think it does; there is not much difference in it.

The CHAIRMAN. What do they advocate?

Mr. PHELPS. They advocate the elimination of capitalism and of capital entirely handled excepting through the government.

The CHAIRMAN. What do they mean by that?

Mr. PHELPS. They want capital and can use capital the same as any country, but the government uses it, provides for it, and handles it, but no capitalist of any kind.

The CHAIRMAN. What else do they recommend?

Mr. PHELPS. I think I could answer that better by stating there is nothing they do not recommend, as long as it will tear up the capitalist government.

The CHAIRMAN. How do they propose to do it?

Mr. PHELPS. Practically by evolution entirely. I do not think there is very much intention of revolution.

Mr. ESLICK. Do not you know that the Communist Party stands for the overthrow of all existing forms of government, and their overthrow by revolution?

Mr. PHELPS. Well, that is very true; that is the climax, but this propaganda spreading does not teach that very much, sir.

Mr. ESLICK. But is not that the very yardstick and basis of communism?

Mr. PHELPS. That is their intention; yes, absolutely.

Mr. ESLICK. And you have heard the public speakers in your own city advocate that time and again?

Mr. PHELPS. Oh, yes; lots of them.

Mr. ESLICK. That if necessary they will destroy existing society and governments by force?

Mr. PHELPS. They tried it in 1919 right here in this city.

Mr. ESLICK. Now, is communism here in your city and in your section on the increase or not?

Mr. PHELPS. Well, it is really apparently on the increase since the depression came.

Mr. ESLICK. Do you see more activity among the communists?

Mr. PHELPS. I think quite a little more; yes, sir.

Mr. ESLICK. Mr. Phelps, are you an American citizen, born in America?

Mr. PHELPS. Yes, sir—ancestry for 300 years.

Mr. ESLICK. What nationality?

Mr. PHELPS. Welsh.

Mr. ESLICK. Where did you live before you came to Seattle?

Mr. PHELPS. Illinois; born there.

Mr. ESLICK. What part of the State?

Mr. PHELPS. Southern part—around Jackson County.

Mr. ESLICK. You have been an editor and publisher since you have been here?

Mr. PHELPS. About 40 years.

Mr. NELSON. Most of your knowledge is confined to conditions in Russia as you found them when you were there?

Mr. PHELPS. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. And, you see, our task is to determine what activities are going on in this country.

Mr. PHELPS. Of course, the idea was to show how they applied it here. Like Mr. Trotsky told me, "Once we had 26,000,000 automobiles and he could not sell us communism; but," he said, "you have a depression and I will sell it."

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN SPEED SMITH

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give your name?

Mr. SMITH. John Speed Smith.

The CHAIRMAN. Your official position?

Mr. SMITH. District director of naturalization.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you held that position?

Mr. SMITH. Twenty-three years next month.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any knowledge either of the activities of the communists in Seattle or as to the admission of communists into this country?

Mr. SMITH. No; I have not. I know, I feel sure, there are none that have been admitted as far as I could determine. I have never had them to admit, anyone coming into my office for citizenship, to reply or any witness admit that the applicant was a communist. Whether or not they have gotten in, I can not say. I do not think many, if any, have gotten in.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, how does the law work? Under the law, can you determine easily whether a man is a communist or not?

Mr. SMITH. No; you can not. We conduct preliminary examinations in each case as it is filed, examining the petitioners under oath and questioning him along all lines material to naturalization, then calling witnesses in and likewise examining them under oath. We try to cover every inquiry that would tend to develop any feeling or any belief in other than a representative government as we have it here. I can not recall any communist admitting he was a communist; that is, in his application.

The CHAIRMAN. But under the law it is very difficult to tell, unless they admit it themselves, is it not?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; unless you can get it out of them by cross-examination.

The CHAIRMAN. Therefore the law is not helpful at all?

Mr. SMITH. No. The law simply says these applicants shall do certain things with reference to proof of residence, jurisdictional requirements, and must be attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States. My examination is to ascertain if they know what the principles of the Constitution are; if so, whether they are attached. I always propound further inquiries to ascertain whether they are connected with or affiliated with any organization which has for its purpose the overthrow or change of our Government by force or violence.

Mr. NELSON. If a man said he was a member of the Communist Party, would you admit him to citizenship?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir. You understand an administrative officer does not have that authority; it is the court; the court finally decides.

Mr. NELSON. Would you recommend it?

Mr. SMITH. I would certainly object as strenuously as I know how.

Mr. BACHMANN. If a man admitted he did not believe in a Supreme Being, would you recommend that he be naturalized?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir; I would not. I do not think the oath would be binding on him.

Mr. BACHMANN. What position does the court take on a matter of that kind?

Mr. SMITH. Well, I have never had that point in question ever to come up.

Mr. BACHMANN. The real communist does not believe in a Supreme Being?

Mr. SMITH. I understand not. I recall a very few cases of the I. W. W. I do not think either one would be admitted in either of our courts here.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE DAVID HANRAHAN

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Mr. HANRAHAN. George David Hanrahan.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a member of the Communist party?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been a communist?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I am a member of the party about four years.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you hold any position in the party?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I am just a member of the party.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not on any of the committees of the party?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I was nominated for the State senate in this district, in this coming election.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever run for any other political office?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes, sir; I was presidential elector on the Communist Party ticket in the national election that nominated Foster.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you hold any position in the party, or on any committees, or any executive committees?

Mr. HANRAHAN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you an American citizen?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Sure.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you naturalized or native born?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Naturalized.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you come to this country?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Oh, quite a few years ago, when a boy, a young kid.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a socialist before you became a communist?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes; a member of the old Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party.