

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.

The CHAIRMAN. You were a member of the Socialist Party before you became a communist?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. From what country did you come?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Ireland; was born in Dublin.

The CHAIRMAN. You became a communist in about 1925?

Mr. HANRAHAN. That is when it changed the party, yes; 1926, some place around there.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you join them?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Seattle.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you tell the committee why you became a communist and what the Communist Party stands for?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, I seen conditions getting worse and worse all the time for workers in America; that the Republican and Democratic Parties failed to satisfy the needs and some changes should be made, and I realized the communists seemed to have the best proposition to organize and line up the workers and to do something for the workers, and from the latest reports of unemployment in the Nation—8,000,000 workers—I am more and more convinced than ever that the communists have the right position.

The CHAIRMAN. What do the communists stand for?

Mr. HANRAHAN. They stand for the mills and the factories of this country to be taken over by the workers and operated by the workers.

The CHAIRMAN. How do they propose to take them over?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, we have a ticket out in this coming campaign in this State.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not quite an answer; how do you propose to take over the mills, mines, factories, and lumber industry, and so on?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, we are running for office, and when the people give us their consent to take the thing over, we will carry out the consent of the people.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think the manufacturers and owners of this private property are going to consent to your taking it over?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Mr. Chairman. I do not think we are going to consider at all the manufacturers, because manufacturers are not a majority in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you propose to take them over?

Mr. HANRAHAN. We have candidates for office, for President all the way down, and so on. When we get the people to vote to take them over, we will take them over along with the poor farmers.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. Hanrahan, that, as you understand, is the program of the Communist Party, is it not, as you have stated it, that you will go ahead and convert as many as you can to communism?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Sure.

Mr. NELSON. And wait the time until you arrive at a day when you have elected a sufficient number of officers in order to put your program into execution?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes.

Mr. NELSON. Well, that was the program of the old Socialist Party, was it not?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, yes and no.

Mr. NELSON. The Socialist Party stood for socializing industry through the ballot, just as you have stated, did they not?

Mr. HANRAHAN. It said that, but it did not mean it. They simply used it for the purpose to catch votes.

Mr. NELSON. But does not the Communist Party stand for direct action and substituting violence, we will say, for the ballot?

Mr. HANRAHAN. No; the communists believe when the workers vote for the party we will carry out the wishes of the voters—the constituents that vote for us.

Mr. NELSON. That is the way you understand it; that is the way you are allied with it?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Sure.

Mr. NELSON. How many communists have you in Seattle?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I could not tell you.

Mr. NELSON. Could you give me any estimate?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, there is—the movement is growing so fast there is no way of checking on it. I tried to check on it myself.

Mr. NELSON. Could not you give me some estimate?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I could not; I wish I could.

Mr. NELSON. Would it be 100 or 1,000?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, I don't know. There might be 300, there might be 500 in Seattle.

Mr. NELSON. How many of them do you think pay dues?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, I am not in a position; I am not the secretary.

Mr. NELSON. How many communistic labor organizations do you have here?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Communist labor organizations?

Mr. NELSON. Yes.

Mr. HANRAHAN. I would like to know what you mean by that.

Mr. NELSON. Well, those allied with the movement?

Mr. HANRAHAN. You mean the unions?

Mr. NELSON. Yes.

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, there are no unions affiliated with the Communist Party. It is a political party.

Mr. NELSON. None at all?

Mr. HANRAHAN. None; it is a political party.

Mr. NELSON. Are there not unions here that belong to the Trade Union Unity League?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes; but that is an independent organization, organized in the United States a year ago last September, in Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. NELSON. How many organizations have you allied with the Trade Union Unity League?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I could not give you that information; I don't know. I am just a member.

Mr. NELSON. Do you belong to one of those labor organizations?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes; I also belong to the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. NELSON. To which one of the labor organizations do you belong?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I belong to the Trade Union Unity League—printing trades and industry.

Mr. NELSON. What was the last one?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, printing trades and industry come under that head; that is, anyone who works in printing, handling printing, and all that. That is printing.

Mr. NELSON. Do you have an organization of the Young Pioneers here in Seattle?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, being past the age for the Pioneers, I guess they have such an organization. I do not know their membership.

Mr. NELSON. Do you know of an organization known as the Young Communist League?

Mr. HANRAHAN. There is such an organization; yes.

Mr. NELSON. You would not know the number in that organization?

Mr. HANRAHAN. No; because I am not eligible to that organization on account of age.

Mr. NELSON. Did you take a part in the two demonstrations that had some trouble with the police?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Demonstrations?

Mr. NELSON. Yes; parades.

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, I was arrested on the 1st of May for holding a meeting at the regular time down on Skid Road, when the I. W. W.'s were allowed to hold a meeting, and I was stopped holding a meeting at the same time.

Mr. NELSON. Did you take part in the two parades?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I can not take part in parades because I am crippled.

Mr. NELSON. I am not so much interested as to how much you can do, as I am whether you were in the two parades, or not—one of the two parades that had trouble with the police.

Mr. HANRAHAN. I was there on the corner.

Mr. NELSON. Were you arrested?

Mr. HANRAHAN. No; not the first two.

Mr. NELSON. What Russian films have you shown here in Seattle?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, the Land of the Soviet was shown here; the *Potemkin* was shown here.

Mr. NELSON. The what?

Mr. HANRAHAN. The *Potemkin*. It was the armed cruiser *Potemkin* that rebelled against the Czar in 1905, in Russia.

Mr. NELSON. Any others?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I guess that is the only two I think I remember.

Mr. NELSON. The Seeds of Freedom?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes; that picture, too; I seen that, the Seeds of Freedom.

Mr. NELSON. Where did you get those—from New York?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, I don't know how they got them at that time.

Mr. NELSON. Was Moscow of To-day shown?

Mr. HANRAHAN. No.

Mr. NELSON. The Arsenal?

Mr. HANRAHAN. No.

Mr. NELSON. The Land of the Soviet, you say, was shown?

Mr. HANRAHAN. That was shown; yes.

Mr. NELSON. You have not had any communist strikes here, have you?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, I don't understand what you mean by "communist strikes."

Mr. NELSON. I think that is all.

Mr. BACHMANN. Mr. Hanrahan, you say you were on the ballot as a presidential elector at the last election?

Mr. HANRAHAN. 1928; yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. How many votes did you get for that office?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I could not exactly tell you, because they stole a lot of my votes.

Mr. BACHMANN. I did not ask you if they stole a lot of your votes; I asked you how many you got.

Mr. HANRAHAN. I could not tell you; I don't remember.

Mr. BACHMANN. Well, did you get 10?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I must have got at least 10; I could not tell you.

Mr. BACHMANN. You do not know whether you got 10, 50, or 100?

Mr. HANRAHAN. No.

Mr. BACHMANN. And you were a candidate on the communist ticket as presidential elector?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes; I was a candidate on the communist ticket as presidential elector. I could not exactly tell you; maybe a couple of hundred, I think; I don't know, because there was a mix-up in the vote the way it was published in the newspaper. It stated about the Socialist Labor Party, but did not say much about the Communist Party.

Mr. BACHMANN. You are satisfied it was not over 200 that you got?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, maybe.

Mr. BACHMANN. That is, including the entire State of Washington?

Mr. HANRAHAN. The entire State of Washington.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do you stand for the things that the communists, generally, stand for?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, it all depends on what you mean by what the communists stand for.

Mr. BACHMANN. Well, do you indorse the things that the communists stand for?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, if you mean the communists stand for taking over industry and running it by the workers, yes, I stand for that.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do you stand for the communist doctrines?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Of the Communist Party—the platform of the United States Communist Party.

Mr. BACHMANN. Then you believe in the intermarriage of the negro with the white?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, I think that is a—I do not see what that has to do with communism.

Mr. BACHMANN. Well, you preach equality of the white and negro workers, do you not—full equality?

Mr. HANRAHAN. What we mean by equality of the workers is to give the workers, the colored, the Japanese, and the Chinese workers the same square deal with the whites.

Mr. BACHMANN. I understand that; but how about intermarriage?

Mr. HANRAHAN. The communists are not concerned with the sex question; it is the economic question.

Mr. BACHMANN. Just give me an answer to my question; I want to know if you go to the same extent that other communists do.

Mr. HANRAHAN. I don't know whether the communist does that; it is not a sex question.

Mr. BACHMANN. You are not informed, then, as to what the communists stand for.

Mr. HANRAHAN. I am sorry.

Mr. BACHMANN. But you would not go to the extent yourself of intermarriage between the white and the negro?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, I think that is my own personal affair.

Mr. BACHMANN. I know it is, but I am asking you do you go to the extent of intermarriage between the white and the negro as a communist?

Mr. HANRAHAN. That is up to me.

Mr. BACHMANN. You do not want to answer the question, then?

Mr. HANRAHAN. No.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do you believe in a Supreme Being?

Mr. HANRAHAN. What do you mean by "Supreme Being"?

Mr. BACHMANN. Do you believe in God?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, Jefferson did not and Thomas Paine did not, neither did Bob Ingersoll, and he was a Republican.

Mr. BACHMANN. I am not asking you what they believed; I am asking you whether you believe in God?

Mr. HANRAHAN. No.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do you respect the American flag?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, every time I spoke they had an American flag at our meeting.

Mr. BACHMANN. Or do you respect the red flag?

Mr. HANRAHAN. The red flag means the blood of all the working class of all nations is red. It means brotherhood.

Mr. BACHMANN. I say, do you respect the red flag?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Sure.

Mr. BACHMANN. And you also respect the American flag?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. Is that correct?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. Would you supplant the American flag with the red flag?

Mr. HANRAHAN. That ain't up to me; that is up to the people.

Mr. BACHMANN. I am asking you, as a communist, would you join in a movement to supplant the American flag with the red flag?

Mr. HANRAHAN. That is up to the people themselves whether they want to supplant the American flag with the red flag.

Mr. BACHMANN. I am not asking you what is up to the people; I am asking you whether you would join in a movement, as a communist, with your fellow workers, to supplant the American flag with the red flag?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I will give you an answer by saying I will carry out the policies of the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. BACHMANN. That is a policy of the Communist Party of the United States, is it not?

Mr. HANRAHAN. You should know.

Mr. BACHMANN. I am asking you.

Mr. HANRAHAN. I shall carry out the policy, if that is the policy.

Mr. BACHMANN. If that is the policy, you will join in the movement? Is that correct?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I will carry out the policy of the party.

Mr. BACHMANN. I say if that is the policy, to supplant the American flag with the red flag, you will join in the movement?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I am in our party, and a member of the party has to carry out the policy, and I agree to the policy.

Mr. BACHMANN. And you would do that?

Mr. HANRAHAN. If that is their policy; yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do you believe in the abolition of property rights?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Private property in factories, mills, mines, and shops, and the people's ownership of them.

Mr. BACHMANN. You do not believe in private owners?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Not of factories, of industry, but to substitute collective ownership of the workers.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do you believe in private ownership of homes?

Mr. HANRAHAN. What do you mean by "homes"?

Mr. BACHMANN. A man's home where he lives, his house?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes; but not a building of 2,000 rooms, or 3,000 rooms—a hotel.

Mr. BACHMANN. You do not believe in the private ownership of American factories, mills, or industrial plants?

Mr. HANRAHAN. No.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do you believe in family relations?

Mr. HANRAHAN. You bet your life.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do you believe in the right of inheritance?

Mr. HANRAHAN. No.

Mr. BACHMANN. You do not think your children, if you had any, should inherit what you had?

Mr. HANRAHAN. No; I think they should get an education and grow up and go to work and not be bums and parasites.

Mr. BACHMANN. You do not believe in inheritance?

Mr. HANRAHAN. No.

Mr. BACHMANN. What would you do with the children?

Mr. HANRAHAN. When they get 18 years of age let them step out themselves and go to work and guarantee them a job.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do you believe in the present form of government in this country?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, no; because if I did, I would not be running on the communist ticket to change it.

Mr. BACHMANN. Do you believe in the form of government they have in Soviet Russia?

Mr. HANRAHAN. It is not a question of what kind of government they have got over there; it is a question of the government in this country. I do not feel that the people want the government in this country, of course, and it should be changed and a better government put in its place. That is what the Communist Party platform attempts.

Mr. BACHMANN. In place of the present American Government, you would establish the soviet form of government in this country?

Mr. HANRAHAN. A workers' and farmers' government; yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. That is what you are working for?

Mr. HANRAHAN. You bet you.

Mr. BACHMANN. So you would establish here in this country the same kind of government they have in Russia?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes; where they get 7 hours a day, 4 days a week, and 5 and 6 days' pay.

Mr. HANRAHAN. To bring that about, you are seeking now, you and your workers, to overthrow this Government?

Mr. HANRAHAN. We are officially on the ballot.

Mr. BACHMANN. I did not ask you about the ballot; I asked you if you and your workers were seeking to overthrow this Government?

Mr. HANRAHAN. We are seeking to change this Government.

Mr. BACHMANN. Would you go to the extent of using force and violence to bring that about?

Mr. HANRAHAN. That all depends.

Mr. BACHMANN. Depends on what?

Mr. HANRAHAN. That depends on the people; if the people want a change and if a few politicians get in the way, just shove the politicians aside.

Mr. BACHMANN. How?

Mr. HANRAHAN. The people will answer that themselves when the time comes.

Mr. BACHMANN. Would you use force of arms to accomplish that?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I can not answer that, because I could not answer for the people; I can only answer for myself.

Mr. BACHMANN. As far as you are concerned and those you are connected with, would you go to the extent of using force and violence?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I will carry out the orders of my constituents.

Mr. BACHMANN. As I understand you, then, you would proceed along orderly lines?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Sure.

Mr. BACHMANN. You would proceed along the line of using the ballot to accomplish your purpose in this country; is that correct?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Sure.

Mr. BACHMANN. That is what you believe in?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. Changing this form of government in an orderly way, by the use of the ballot?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. And you would do that in preference to using force and violence to accomplish your end?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes. The way I look at the violence proposition is, if there is violence it will be committed by the people who lose out; that is, the bosses. Then, of course, the people have a right to defend themselves against the bosses, just the same as Lincoln did against the Southerners.

Mr. BACHMANN. Does the Communist Party of America advocate changing this form of government through the orderly process of the ballot, or do they advocate changing it by revolution?

Mr. HANRAHAN. What do you mean by revolution?

Mr. BACHMANN. Force and violence.

Mr. HANRAHAN. Revolution does not necessarily mean force and violence.

Mr. BACHMANN. What does it mean?

Mr. HANRAHAN. It means a complete change.

Mr. BACHMANN. Without force and violence?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, that all depends. That depends on the fellows, who do not want to lose out, getting out. If they do not get out they are kicked out.

Mr. BACHMANN. If you could not change the form of government through the people using the ballot, would you resort to the force of arms and revolution in order to bring it about?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, that is what Lincoln done.

Mr. BACHMANN. I did not ask you what Lincoln did; I asked you if that is what you and your workers expected to accomplish.

Mr. HANRAHAN. If the people of the country make up their minds to do that and a few get in the way, we will brush them aside; that is all.

Mr. BACHMANN. I am asking you this question, if you succeed through the use of the ballot in changing this form of government, would you and you coworkers use force and violence to bring that about, if necessary?

Mr. HANRAHAN. No; we would have to establish our government and the result would be that if your people would interfere and if anybody starts to interfere—

Mr. BACHMANN. If anybody interfered, then you would go ahead and use force and violence?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, we would not stand for a few men to run the country. This is no one-man's country.

Mr. BACHMANN. And you would take over all the lumber mills?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Everything.

Mr. BACHMANN. All the manufacturing plants?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. Coal mines?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. Factories, and so forth?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. What would you do with them?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Why, cut the hours of labor down and put everybody to work, including the bosses.

Mr. BACHMANN. In other words, you would make the bosses work in their own plants?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Sure; if they were qualified.

Mr. BACHMANN. You said awhile ago that the movement was growing so fast up here that you could not keep in touch with it.

Mr. HANRAHAN. That is correct, too.

Mr. BACHMANN. Did I understand you correctly?

Mr. HANRAHAN. That is correct.

Mr. BACHMANN. Did you mean the membership in your organization?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Membership and sympathy, throughout not only this country, but throughout the whole world. The German elections was proof of that.

Mr. BACHMANN. Well, how many communists do you have here?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, I could not exactly tell you.

Mr. BACHMANN. How many did you have two years ago?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Not as many as we have got now.

Mr. BACHMANN. How many more do you have now?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I could not tell you.

Mr. BACHMANN. Well, has it doubled?

Mr. HANRAHAN. More.

Mr. BACHMANN. Trebled?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. How many did you have two years ago?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, maybe 25 or 30, or 40.

Mr. BACHMANN. Twenty-five or 30, and it has increased about three times; so you have 75 now?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Oh, no. It is more than that. Not being secretary, I can not give you any exact figures on that.

Mr. BACHMANN. But you are one of the leaders in the movement here.

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, we are all leaders in the Communist Party.

Mr. BACHMANN. Every member?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Every member is a leader, because they advocate and organize for the masses.

Mr. BACHMANN. Were you an I. W. W. after you became a socialist?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I never belonged to the I. W. W., that is, the organization as it is known to-day. I used to belong to the old original organization, in 1905, that Bill Haywood belonged to.

Mr. BACHMANN. You were a socialist at that time?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. How long did you belong to the I. W. W. organization?

Mr. HANRAHAN. From about 1905 to about 1908, when we had a split there, cutting out the political clause for the preamble of the I. W. W.

Mr. BACHMANN. What is your occupation now?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Cigar store clerk and newsboy.

Mr. BACHMANN. Cigar store clerk and newsboy?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. What formerly was your occupation?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Newspaper mailer.

Mr. BACHMANN. You have followed newspaper work all your life?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. I thought you said you belonged to the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. HANRAHAN. I do.

Mr. BACHMANN. In what branch?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Right now, you mean?

Mr. BACHMANN. Yes.

Mr. HANRAHAN. I belong to the newsboys union.

Mr. BACHMANN. You belong to the newsboys union?

Mr. HANRAHAN. The newsboys union of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. BACHMANN. Are you opposed to the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I am opposed to the fakers in there, yes—Green and company, and Matthew Woll.

Mr. BACHMANN. You have been making a number of communist speeches up here in this section, have you not?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes; for a good many years.

Mr. BACHMANN. Did you make a speech on June 25, 1930, at Occidental and Washington Street?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I don't remember whether I did or not, because I make speeches practically every night.

Mr. BACHMANN. In those speeches do you advocate the use of arms against the Government?

Mr. HANRAHAN. No.

Mr. BACHMANN. Let me ask you, in one of your speeches, if you made this statement. The exact date was Wednesday, August 20, 1930. I will ask you whether you made this statement in one of your speeches: "Chinese communists are forging ahead"?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes.

Mr. BACHMANN (reading):

They have 3,000,000 members of the red trade-union there who are willing to lay down their lives for their cause. If we had that many here, and were as militant as the Chinese workers, this rotten system would not last 24 hours.

Mr. HANRAHAN. I said it; yes.

Mr. BACHMANN. Did you make another statement in one of your speeches, in which you said, "Turn the guns and the gases on the bosses and armed thugs"?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I said, in case war breaks out, instead of going out to fight the war, to turn the guns on the war makers.

Mr. BACHMANN. Who did you mean by "thugs"? The police department?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I said "people who advocated war."

Mr. BACHMANN. Whom did you mean when you said "armed thugs"?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I referred to the people who started war, to let them turn them on them if they wanted war.

Mr. BACHMANN. Then you did not mean the police department?

Mr. HANRAHAN. If the police department want war, that is their look out.

Mr. BACHMANN. I asked you whether you meant the police department?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I said the war makers. That is the only thing I meant and that is what I said—the war makers.

Mr. BACHMANN. What do you expect to gain for yourself and your workers in following a movement of this kind?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, to bring around not only a 7-hour day, like they have in the Soviet Union, but a 3-hour day like they have in the United States.

Mr. BACHMANN. A 3-hour day?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes; and make everybody happy and cut out the struggle going on for work and wages and destroy all classes and have nothing else but the producing class.

Mr. BACHMANN. In other words, you would only have to sell your newspapers three hours a day?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Sure. That would be enough. Nine hours out in the cold weather is pretty tough on some people.

Mr. ESICK. If war is declared by the Congress of the United States and approved by the President, they are the bunch on whom you would turn the guns, are they not?

Mr. HANRAHAN. What is that question, now?

Mr. ESICK. If war is declared by the Congress of the United States and approved by the President, that is the group on whom you would turn the guns, is it not?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, I am opposed to war makers.

Mr. ESICK. You said you would turn the guns on the parties who declared war, the officials who declared war, the war makers?

Mr. HANRAHAN. The war makers; yes.

Mr. ESICK. If Congress and the President are the war makers, they are the ones on whom you would turn the guns?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Do you think Congress—

Mr. ESICK. I am not asking you to debate it; I just ask for an answer; yes or not.

Mr. HANRAHAN. I am not going to answer that question.

Mr. ESICK. You decline?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I answered I would turn it on the war makers.

Mr. ESICK. You were how old when you came to the United States?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Pretty young.

Mr. ESICK. Where were you naturalized?

Mr. HANRAHAN. In San Francisco.

Mr. ESICK. When?

Mr. HANRAHAN. In 1904, I think—I guess; some place around there.

Mr. ESICK. Now, you do not like the present form of government here, do you?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Not at this time.

Mr. ESICK. You do like the soviet form, the communist government of Russia?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, I think that is quite an improvement.

Mr. ESICK. Well, why do you not leave this country and go to Russia?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Because I think more of America; I want to see the conditions get better in this country.

Mr. ESICK. You want to improve this country?

Mr. HANRAHAN. That is it. There is always room for improvement.

Mr. ESICK. When the communists come into power, as you think they will, are you going to take the farms away from the farmers?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Sure; and make them great big government farms, like to-day in the Soviet Union.

Mr. ESICK. And you are going to take the mines, the mills, the factories, the merchants' stocks, the great buildings in the cities—you are going to take all of that away from their owners?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes.

Mr. ESICK. Are you going to pay them anything for it?

Mr. HANRAHAN. This is the answer I would like to give you: We did not pay nothing to King George in 1776.

Mr. ESICK. But we are living in another age. Are you going to pay for those things, or not?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Are we going to pay for those things?

Mr. ESICK. Yes.

Mr. HANRAHAN. No; we are not going to pay for those things. They were taken away from the workers in the first place, and we are going to restore them to the workers.

Mr. ESICK. From what workers were they taken?

Mr. HANRAHAN. The working class of America; not the working class of Russia.

Mr. ESICK. We took this country away from the English people, did we not?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Sure.

Mr. ESICK. Which was a different government?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes.

Mr. ESICK. But you are going to take this away from this Government and the people of your own country, are you not?

Mr. HANRAHAN. No.

Mr. ESICK. Now, you say you are going to do this by the ballot. In order to utilize these properties you have got to take physical possession of them, have you not—the farms and the stores and the mills?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes.

Mr. ESICK. And the factories?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes.

Mr. ESICK. Let us take one of your mills and suppose the owner locked himself up in there and refused to turn it over to you fellows: How are you going to get possession?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I will answer that, if you will let me answer in my own way. If a man out in the country has a big industry like that, some big mill or something, and locks himself up and won't pay the taxes and won't recognize the Government, the Government goes in there and takes it in payment of the debt.

Mr. ESICK. How would you get in there, if he refused to let you come in there?

Mr. HANRAHAN. We would do the same thing as your Government does right now, just as the Government does.

Mr. ESICK. The question is how would you get in there? Would you break in, or blow it up?

Mr. HANRAHAN. We will starve him out. There are lots of ways you could get him out.

Mr. ESICK. You would starve him out?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes.

Mr. ESICK. But suppose he took his gun and said to you fellows, "You can not come in here"?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Then we would defend ourselves as the government against that outlaw.

Mr. ESICK. What would you do to him, if necessary?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Well, we would not hit him with an ice-cream cone.

Mr. ESICK. Would you shoot him, if necessary?

Mr. HANRAHAN. We would be the government.

Mr. ESICK. You would use a gun on him?

Mr. HANRAHAN. It might be the present Government was—

Mr. ESICK. I am not arguing this with you; I am asking you to answer the question.

Mr. HANRAHAN. I am answering the question.

Mr. ESICK. If he defended his property, you would shoot to get him out of there, would you not?

Mr. HANRAHAN. He is not bigger than the government.

Mr. ESICK. You would use whatever force was necessary?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Yes; we would use whatever force was necessary to establish the new government.

Mr. ESICK. Then you stand for force?

Mr. HANRAHAN. No; he stands for force; he won't obey the law of the new government.

Mr. ESICK. And you are taking his property away from him without paying for it?

Mr. HANRAHAN. We are going to give him a life job.

Mr. ESICK. And not pay him for that?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Give him good pay.

Mr. ESICK. What pay?

Mr. HANRAHAN. Henry Ford says that 20 years from now they will be getting \$27 a day.

Mr. ESICK. I am not asking you what Henry Ford says. Would you give him black bread and sweetened water?

Mr. HANRAHAN. No.

Mr. ESICK. That is what they give in Russia.

Mr. HANRAHAN. You were not in Russia, and I do not think you are sure of what they are doing.

Mr. ESICK. Have you ever been in Russia?

Mr. HANRAHAN. No; I have not. I would like to take a trip there some day. I hope to do better than Mr. Phelps did.

Mr. ESICK. How long have you lived here in this State?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I came here about—since 1906.

Mr. ESICK. Where did you first live in the United States?

Mr. HANRAHAN. I lived—when I first came into old Castle Garden, we landed and we went through to Los Angeles and lived there a little while in Los Angeles and then came to San Francisco and lived there and learned my trade as a mailer.

Mr. ESICK. Were you naturalized there?

Mr. HANRAHAN. In 1924.

Mr. ESICK. In 1924?

Mr. HANRAHAN. In 1904, I mean—excuse me—some place around there, in San Francisco.

Mr. ESICK. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. Now is Mr. Scott here?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF LEO SCOTT

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Are you an American citizen?

Mr. SCOTT. No.

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

Mr. SCOTT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SCOTT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any other name except Scott?

Mr. SCOTT. Kanesky.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Kanesky your last name?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So you have two names?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes; they call me Scotty.

The CHAIRMAN. But Kanesky is your real name?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. From what country did you come?

Mr. SCOTT. Canada.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you reach Canada?

Mr. SCOTT. I was born there.

The CHAIRMAN. You were born in Canada?

Mr. SCOTT. All our family.

The CHAIRMAN. And what nationality was your family?

Mr. SCOTT. I am kind of mixed—German.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did your father come from, what country?

Mr. SCOTT. Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. Kanesky?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That was your father's name—Kanesky?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in this country?

Mr. SCOTT. Since 1923.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are not a citizen?

Mr. SCOTT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. And are you connected with the Communist Party?

Mr. SCOTT. Just an agent for the paper.

The CHAIRMAN. You are an agent for the paper?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What paper?

Mr. SCOTT. The Daily Worker.

The CHAIRMAN. What are your duties as agent?

Mr. SCOTT. Well, to get the papers out to the newstands.

The CHAIRMAN. The Daily Worker is published in New York, is it not?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And it is sent out here?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And do you receive the papers yourself as they come out here?

Mr. SCOTT. No; not necessarily.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you distribute them; from where do you get them?

Mr. SCOTT. Well, largely, boys take care of that.

The CHAIRMAN. But who gets them when they come on from New York? Do you receive the papers?

Mr. SCOTT. No; I don't receive them; I don't get them.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, from whom do you get them here?

Mr. SCOTT. The post office here; the boy goes down and gets it.

The CHAIRMAN. He goes to the post office?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you send the boy to the post office?

Mr. SCOTT. No.