

The CHAIRMAN. What you believe is that if the importation is increased it will continue this depression here?

Mr. GREELEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And of unemployment and low wages?

Mr. GREELEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you employ many foreigners in the lumber industry here?

Mr. GREELEY. Very few.

The CHAIRMAN. Mostly American citizens?

Mr. GREELEY. Mostly American citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there many communists in the lumber industry?

Mr. GREELEY. Well, there are a few. I do not think the proportion is very great. I think Mr. Chisholm could answer that question more intelligently than I.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much for your very clear presentation.

TESTIMONY OF ANGUS D. CHISHOLM

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your full name?

Mr. CHISHOLM. Angus D. Chisholm.

The CHAIRMAN. What organization do you represent?

Mr. CHISHOLM. The Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, called the Four L.

The CHAIRMAN. What position do you hold with that organization?

Mr. CHISHOLM. District manager of the Puget Sound territory.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you held that position?

Mr. CHISHOLM. Five years.

The CHAIRMAN. What does that include?

Mr. CHISHOLM. That includes field supervision in carrying out the work the organization is designed for, which is establishing standards and regulating conditions so far as the membership applies to the lumber industry in the Northwest.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell the committee, briefly, what knowledge you have of this situation, along the lines of the testimony you have already heard?

Mr. CHISHOLM. Well, my own personal belief is that the folks interested in the communistic movement is underestimated, as it affects the lumber industry of the Northwest. It has been stated that the past two years has seen more development in that movement than any other time, and I think that is true. The development that has been witnessed almost follows along a regular ratio with the decline in working conditions—that is, standards of wages and increase in unemployment as affecting the lumber industry. At present, when unemployment is very marked and affecting at least half or better than half of the normal employees in the lumber industry, the tendency to sympathize and, to a certain extent, to foster the work of the communist organization is increasing. Normally the men in the mills and the camps, outside of those who in the past have been active in the I. W. W. organization, when employment and wages have been satisfactory, but for the most part they

have been fairly well satisfied with conditions as they have been—naturally desiring better wages and better working conditions all the time, which is one of the functions of the organization I represent. But as unemployment has increased there has been a tendency in some districts to decrease the wage; then, of course, as men are thrown out of employment and have not established any savings account—which they could not with the wages that were paid—they are potential members, at least, for any organization that can indicate to them that by changing their tactics or changing their lines of thought they can improve the conditions under which they have to work and get more livelihood.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the connection between the I. W. W. and the Communist Party?

Mr. CHISHOLM. I do not think there is any. I do not say there is not any, but I do not know if there is any. The I. W. W., which was fostered by dyed-in-the-wool radicals—that is, everything they advocated were radical activities and sabotage—I do not believe there is much of that connected with the communist organization work, and I think the communist movement is headed and the work is carried on by a group that is vastly more intellectual and have better judgment and know better how to organize and to go ahead with the work and develop sympathy than anybody connected with the I. W. W. movement. That is the case in the lumber industry.

The CHAIRMAN. Do many of the former members of the I. W. W. join the communist movement here?

Mr. CHISHOLM. I presume there were quite a few; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any other information to present in regard to the communist movement in the lumber industry?

Mr. CHISHOLM. Well, of course, when there is wage reduction, or the lengthening of hours, or temporary shut-down—particularly wage reduction, which in some cases has brought about a condition of strike on the plant in the locality where that has happened—it has given the folks in the communist movement a better opportunity to spread their gospel and thought in that particular district, and that is being done regularly in the lumber section of the northwest, particularly Grays Harbor.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that where they have had a strike?

Mr. CHISHOLM. Yes; they have two strikes in Grays Harbor.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the communists try to take over that strike?

Mr. CHISHOLM. I would not say the communists tried to take over that strike, no; but I believe, from reports and from talking with the men who have been out on strike, that a good deal of their fight, in carrying the strike out to the extent they have, has been on account of the sympathy which has been developed with the communist movement.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything else you want to tell the committee?

Mr. CHISHOLM. I do not know whether it is proper to inject this, but the thing that the employees in the lumber industry are concerned with chiefly is not only getting a good wage, but having a reasonable security in their position. And as I have said, the average worker—and I come in contact with thousands of them in the lumber industry—when they are em-

ployed and have a good wage, feel as if the government they are getting and the conditions they are working under are very satisfactory. Anything that could be done to bring about that security of position for the men in the lumber industry means when he is working regularly he does not have much time to think of other things outside of his job, and I think this committee could well consider that, if it is ever brought up in their congressional work. And the lengthening of hours in the lumber industry has been one of the serious things from the employee's point of view. In the Northwest the 8-hour day is practically an accepted fact. The employees in the Northwest have been for years promoting or fostering a movement to get an 8-hour day established as the standard day in the lumber industry in the United States, figuring that this overproduction and the lack of market and distressed conditions which affect their livelihood would be corrected if the lumber industry of the entire United States would be put on exactly that same basis, so that we up here would not have to compete with 10, 11, and 12 hour work of the southern and other territories. And there have been resolutions from employees all over the Northwest to Congress, recommending some action be taken on that and, if that comes up, it can be understood to be wholeheartedly supported by the employees of the Northwest who want to establish the 8-hour day as the standard. I think that could be something well considered; because it would help to stabilize conditions, and, from the employees' point of view, would give them a certain sense of security in their job, if they knew the 8-hour day was actually being made effective in the lumber industry of the entire United States. And I think the employees of the Northwest are entitled to consideration on that, and they ask Congress to try to do something to try to stabilize conditions out here.

Mr. NELSON. You understand we can not do that?

Mr. CHISHOLM. I understand you can not do that.

Mr. NELSON. Under the present Constitution?

Mr. CHISHOLM. No; I do not. That is one thing the employees—and there are approximately 100,000 of them in Oregon and Washington, in the Douglas fir territory—have not been able to find out just why it could not be done. They are keenly interested in it.

Mr. NELSON. We have the same situation over in my State in New England, where we have shorter hours in the textile mills and they have longer hours in the South, and we would like the same condition remedied if we could do it.

Mr. CHISHOLM. Well, if there is anything this committee could do on that, it would certainly promote better conditions in the lumber industry in the Northwest and relieve that one condition that does help to foster any radical activity.

Mr. ESLICK. What is the membership of your organization?

Mr. CHISHOLM. At the present time it is approximately 10,000.

Mr. ESLICK. And what is your territory covered by this organization?

Mr. CHISHOLM. Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.

Mr. NELSON. It is a fine thing.

Mr. ESLICK. What percentage of your organization is now unemployed—about what percentage—if you can estimate it?

Mr. CHISHOLM. Well, I would say about one-third of our membership at the present time is unemployed.

Mr. ESLICK. You have said that one of the elements of the laboring man that you look after is stability of the employment.

Mr. CHISHOLM. Yes.

Mr. ESLICK. With the present situation and the threat of Russia putting this large amount of lumber on the world markets and the American market, does that tend to stabilize and give employment to the American lumber worker?

Mr. CHISHOLM. If there was more of a market made available for our own product out here, of course it would give more security to the position of the men in the mills here.

Mr. ESLICK. By Russia sending this lumber to the mills of America?

Mr. CHISHOLM. No; not by Russia sending lumber to the mills in America; by their not being able to export it here.

Mr. ESLICK. I do not think you understand. Will you repeat the question?

(The question referred to was read as follows:)

With the present situation and the threat of Russia putting this large amount of lumber on the world markets and the American market, does that tend to stabilize and give employment to the American lumber worker?

Mr. CHISHOLM. No, sir.

Mr. ESLICK. It threatens to take away employment from him, does it not?

Mr. CHISHOLM. Yes. It not only threatens to take away employment from him, but it also puts him in a frame of mind which is bad. If I could just tell a little bit here, in showing the frame of mind a man gets in: For the past couple of years the employee in the Northwest have been working on the short-week program, on account of not having enough orders to keep the mills going all the time. There has been no provision made for additional wages for employees, or anything to make up for the time lost, and, working with the industry, he has accepted that opportunity of regulating or curtailing production, in order to bring about a better condition in the lumber industry in the Northwest. And as he has done that more or less willingly for the past two or three years, now when a lot of lumber from Russia is threatened to be thrown on the market here, he begins to wonder just how much worse his condition is going to be as the market is decreased on account of the lumber coming in from this other territory.

Mr. ESLICK. Now, is it not true that when the laboring man is out of employment, or on part-time employment, and his position insecure, his wages fall, he is in a state of uncertainty and does not that produce a fertile field for the communist propaganda?

Mr. CHISHOLM. Certainly.

Mr. ESLICK. And that, in a measure, is the situation you have now in the Northwest in the lumber industry, is it not?

Mr. CHISHOLM. Yes, sir.

Mr. ESLICK. And you say for the past two years you have a constant upward curve in the communist movement in this section?

Mr. CHISHOLM. I think there is. There has been a very definite upward curve.

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

Mr. CHISHOLM. No.

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

Mr. ESLICK. 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. ESLICK. 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.