

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1955



JANUARY 11, 1956

(Original release date)

JANUARY 17, 1956.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House
on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Prepared and released by the
Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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84TH CONGRESS } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { REPORT
2d Session } { No. 1648

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1955

JANUARY 17, 1956.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. WALTER, of Pennsylvania, from the Committee on Un-American Activities, submitted the following

R E P O R T

[Pursuant to H. Res. 5, 84th Cong.]



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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress (1946), chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * * 17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * * (q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American Activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 84TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 5, 1955

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

- (q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

- (a) Un-American Activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time, investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

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ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1955

FOREWORD

Investigations and hearings conducted by the Committee on Un-American Activities during 1955 unearthed important new evidence of Communist subversion in vital areas of American life.

The committee submits the following report on its work last year, in accordance with Public Law 601 (sec. 121, subsec. q (2)) and House Resolution 5 of the 84th Congress.

This legislation empowers the committee to investigate the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States. It also requires reports to the House of Representatives on the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as are deemed advisable.

Machinations of the Kremlin's conspirators in this country were revealed in the course of public hearings held in 1955 in New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Wisconsin, California, and Washington State, in addition to Washington, D. C. A total of 178 witnesses appeared at these hearings, the printed record of which comprises approximately 3,160 pages.

The committee obtained information from 36 of these witnesses. A majority of them were either one-time members of the Communist Party who had become disillusioned upon discovering the party's true purpose, or undercover agents within the party for Federal or municipal law-enforcement agencies. By their firsthand accounts of Communist efforts to undermine our most important democratic institutions, these witnesses made a major contribution to the Congress' understanding of the Communist problem and its ability to legislate wisely in the field of subversive control.

The committee regrets to report that 142 other witnesses refused to provide the committee with the valuable information they are known to possess. In all but five instances, these witnesses invoked the privilege of the fifth amendment. One of the exceptions was John T. Gojack, an official of the Communist-controlled United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, who refused to answer all committee questions on the ground that they represented an unconstitutional invasion of his right of free speech. The House of Representatives has requested the Department of Justice to institute legal proceedings against Mr. Gojack for contempt of Congress.

In accordance with the committee's rules of procedure, all investigations during the past year were instituted after approval by a majority of the members of the committee. At the opening of each public hearing, the presiding chairman clearly outlined the purpose of the investigation and hearing. At no public hearing were there fewer than two members of the committee in constant attendance. Persons identified for the first time in public hearing as having subversive affiliations were notified of the fact by registered letter, where practicable.

Wide-ranging investigations and hearings by the committee last year uncovered such evidence as the following:

• Ten hitherto-undisclosed cells of Communists were found to have operated within the executive and legislative branches of the Government at various times. Preliminary hearings held in Chicago in December centered on the testimony of individuals now living in that area who were identified as having been members of Communist cells while employed by the Government. Full-scale hearings on Communist infiltration of the Government are scheduled to begin in February 1956.

• Communists have attempted to indoctrinate and disaffect American youth by means of Communist-operated summer camps. The Communist management of six camps in New York State and another in California was exposed by committee investigations and hearings. The camp in California, which was posing as a project for "underprivileged" children, ceased to operate in the summer of 1955 after its Communist character was revealed.

• Communist activities among youth groups were exposed further when the committee subpoenaed five young men who have been leaders in the Labor Youth League or other Communist Party youth activities. Although the witnesses took refuge in the fifth amendment, evidence submitted at the hearings showed that the Communist Party considers its work among youth to be of "decisive" importance and the Labor Youth League continues to function as an ill-disguised youth section of the Communist Party.

• Members of the Communist Party are obtaining employment in New York City's entertainment industry. The reputations and financial resources they obtain in that industry are then used in part to promote the Communist conspiracy. Such facts were obtained in the course of special investigations and hearings conducted in New York. The committee also identified leaders of a Communist clique seeking to spread Communist influence within an important union for radio and television artists. Investigation of alleged "blacklisting" in the industry exposed the fraudulent nature of a Communist-backed propaganda campaign on this subject.

• The Communist Party has been spreading subversion in residential communities in the New York City area through "neighborhood" Communist clubs. The first complete picture of these ground-level Communist operations was obtained through the testimony of Mrs. Mildred Blauvelt, former undercover agent for the New York City Police Department. The witness identified 44 "neighborhood" clubs of the party in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx, as well as more than 500 individual party members in the area.

• Organized Communist conspirators have been extremely active in the Newark, N. J. area. Their machinations, particularly in labor and professional groups, were unveiled in the course of a 4-day hearing in Newark. This was the committee's first comprehensive investigation into Communist activities in that locality.

• Documented proof that a Communist-dominated union siphons off workers' dues for Communist purposes was produced in the course of committee investigations and hearings on District 9 of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America. UE District 9 supervises union locals in Indiana and Michigan from headquarters

in Fort Wayne, Ind. These hearings were printed under the title, "Fort Wayne, Ind., Area."

• Communist-front organizations in the Milwaukee, Wis., area became "stepping stones" into the Communist Party for many young people. witnesses testified at the first hearings of the committee in that locality. These youths eventually advanced into adult party work. The main emphasis of this work was the infiltration of defense industry in the area. The committee also obtained further corroboration of its view that the increased "underground" operations of the Communist Party since the Smith Act prosecutions have diminished the party's ability to propagandize and to recruit new members.

• Successes and failures of Communist strategy in the Pacific Northwest over a 16-year period were described with a wealth of documentation by Eugene Dennett, a former Communist Party official in Washington State and Oregon. The party achieved "tremendous" political influence in the area by its control of organizations such as the Washington Pension Union, according to testimony received by the committee in session in Seattle, Wash.

• Massive new evidence on Communist activities and membership in southern California from 1928 through 1954 was presented by a number of former undercover agents at committee hearings held in Los Angeles and San Diego. Former agent William Ward Kimple reviewed some 300 documents and identified more than 1,000 party members in the course of testimony on party activities in that area in the 1930's. Committee hearings also ripped away the various disguises that had been assumed by California branches of the subversive American Peace Crusade.

• National Committee To Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case and local affiliates throughout the country were exposed as Communist-front organizations. A series of hearings on the Rosenberg committee showed that it was created and directed by the Communist Party for the purpose of building party membership and finances, and providing a powerful new propaganda weapon. A separate comprehensive report on the organization and the hearings is being prepared for publication.

The foregoing investigations and hearings are described in greater detail in subsequent sections of this report. A complete list of all printed hearings and publications issued by the committee in 1955 will be found in appendix I.

The committee conducted a number of extensive investigations in 1955 which has laid the groundwork for a series of public hearings to be held in 1956.

Communist activities in the State of North Carolina and in the Rocky Mountain area were included among the subjects of investigation last year.

The committee also devoted considerable investigative effort to the field of Communist propaganda aimed at the men serving in the Armed Forces of our country, and their families. A self-styled Save Our Sons Committee was created in 1952 to carry on a Communist propaganda campaign among American prisoners of war in Korea and their families. For that purpose, the organization callously exploited the sincere desire of many persons for an end to the Korean

war and the return of American prisoners. The Save Our Sons Committee continues to operate with its propaganda keyed to more current issues. Hearings on the activities of this group are scheduled early in 1956.

Overlapping or duplication of investigations by the several congressional committees with authority in the same field was avoided in 1955 by mutual agreement of committee chairmen. This understanding was reached at a meeting held at the beginning of the 84th Congress by the chairmen of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Senate Committee on Government Operations, and the Senate Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee To Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws.

The value of this agreement was demonstrated in the course of the House committee's investigation into alleged Communist infiltration of the Government. This committee, for more than a year, had been investigating Communist cells which have operated within Government agencies, including the National Labor Relations Board. Considerable evidence had been developed by the committee staff. The Senate Committee on Government Operations, meanwhile, had also collected information regarding Communist infiltration of the National Labor Relations Board. In conformance with the agreement reached by committee chairmen, information obtained by the Senate committee was turned over to this committee, and duplicate investigations and hearings were avoided.

In the course of the past year, this committee prepared and printed a cumulative index to all hearings and reports of the committee from its inception in 1938 through 1954. Whereas earlier cumulative indexes issued by the committee were confined to the names of individuals, the new index for the first time contains not only individuals but also organizations and publications mentioned in hearings and reports from 1938 through 1954.

This mammoth project was undertaken in the belief that it would be of inestimable assistance to the work of the committee's staff, the Congress, and the various Federal, State, and municipal agencies concerned with the problem of the Communist conspiracy. The reception which the new index has already received completely justifies the undertaking. The committee would like to call attention to the warning, clearly carried in the index, that the mere listing of any person, publication, or organization in the index constitutes no evidence of derogatory information in committee hearings and reports. Anti-Communists as well as Communist individuals and organizations are frequently mentioned in committee publications and both have been listed in accordance with customary indexing procedures.

Members of Congress have continued to call upon the committee for information on subversive activities. The reference section answered more than 1,300 requests submitted by individual Members of Congress during the past year, in addition to its services for the committee staff and various agencies of the executive branch of the Government. To supply these services, the committee maintains comprehensive information files dating back many years and constantly growing in volume and value.

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF GOVERNMENT

The committee obtained evidence during the past year that 10 Communist cells, never before publicly identified, have operated within the executive and legislative branches of the Government. Members of these cells were without exception employees of the Government.

This evidence came to the committee in the course of examining allegations early last year that a Communist cell had functioned within the National Labor Relations Board. Months of painstaking investigation by the committee staff established that a Communist cell had indeed existed among employees of the NLRB and that, in all probability, more than one Communist cell functioned within that one Government agency. Continued investigation eventually produced positive information regarding a total of not less than nine Communist cells which operated at different times within various departments of the executive branch of our Government and another which had operated within the staff of a committee of the United States Senate.

Preliminary public hearings on this subject of investigation were held in Chicago December 13-15, 1955. In these sessions, the committee confined itself to taking the testimony of 7 individuals who were identified as having been members of various Communist cells in Government and who today reside in the Midwest.

These hearings were highlighted by the testimony of Herbert Fuchs, who was employed by the Federal Government from 1936 until 1948. His testimony formed the opening wedge in this new phase of the committee's investigation of Communists in the Government.

Mr. Fuchs testified that he had joined the Communist Party in New York City in 1934 and that he remained a member of the party until 1946. At that time, he said, he broke completely with communism, both as an organization and as an ideology.

Mr. Fuchs' first Government employment in 1936 was as an attorney on the staff of the "Wheeler Committee" of the United States Senate. The Wheeler Committee was the popular designation for the Subcommittee To Investigate Railroads, Holding Companies, and Related Matters of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

From 1937 until 1948, Mr. Fuchs was employed as an attorney by the National Labor Relations Board in Washington, D. C., with the exception of a 3-year period when he was assigned to the National War Labor Board.

While on the staff of the Senate subcommittee, Mr. Fuchs was a member of a Communist cell which included two other employees of the subcommittee and a fourth individual who was employed elsewhere.

When he obtained employment with the National Labor Relations Board in the next year, Mr. Fuchs was instructed by the Communist Party to join three other lawyers employed by the Board in organizing a Communist cell within that agency. This cell, according to Mr. Fuchs, eventually attained a maximum membership of 17, most of whom were attorneys. The cell later was split into separate units.

In November 1942, Mr. Fuchs was transferred to the National War Labor Board office in Washington, D. C., and from January 1943 to December 1945, he worked in that agency's regional office in Denver, Colo. Mr. Fuchs testified that he became a member of a Communist Party cell within the Denver office of the National War Labor Board and that the cell had a maximum of 13 members. The witness said

he also knew of the concurrent existence of another Communist cell within the Board's Denver office.

Mr. Fuchs resumed work with the National Labor Relations Board in Washington, D. C., in 1946, at which time he rejoined the Communist cell within that agency.

During his membership in the Communist Party group within the NLRB, Mr. Fuchs served as the group's official contact with higher Communist Party echelons in Washington, D. C. For a considerable period of time, Mr. Fuchs' contact was Victor Perlo, whose leading role in the Communist Party's program to infiltrate our Government was first revealed in the testimony of Elizabeth Bentley before this committee in 1948. Mr. Fuchs testified he was required to contact Victor Perlo whenever he needed advice or instructions from the Communist Party. Mr. Fuchs said that Arthur Stein eventually replaced Mr. Perlo as adviser to the NLRB Communist group. Mr. Stein was a Government employee who had supervised Mr. Fuchs' Communist work at the time of Mr. Fuchs' employment in the United States Senate.

During his testimony, Mr. Fuchs named as Communist Party members a total of 38 individuals who had never before been publicly identified before this committee as Communists, as well as a number of others who had been named previously. Twenty-five of the thirty-eight had been employees of various agencies of the Federal Government, and four others, Henry and Jessica Rhine and Sidney and Julia Katz, were also believed by Mr. Fuchs to have been employees of the Government at one time or another. Those named for the first time in the Chicago hearings by Mr. Fuchs were the following:

James Stasinos; Leah Robison; Arthur Stein (WPA); James Gorham* (Wheeler Committee); Samuel Koenigsberg (Wheeler Committee); Ellis Olim (ICC); Margaret Bennett Porter (Wheeler Committee; NLRB); Eleanor Nelson (Labor Department); Henry Rhine; Sidney Katz; Julia Katz; Janet Buck Gaines Stern; Jessica Rhine; Martin Kurasch (NLRB; WLB); Joseph Robison (NLRB); Lester Asher* (NLRB); David Rein (NLRB); Woodrow Sandler (NLRB); Jacob H. Krug (NLRB); Mortimer Riemer* (NLRB); Ruth Weyand (NLRB); Allen Heald* (NLRB); Harry Cooper (NLRB); Frank Donner (NLRB); Edward Scheunemann (NLRB; OPA); Bert Diamond* (NLRB); Lillian Kurasch; Cecilia Scheunemann (WLB); Gerald Matchett (WLB); Margaret Matchett; Raymond LaVallee (WLB, Denver); Corina LaVallee; Dwight Spencer (WLB); Mary Spencer; Don Plumb; Arlyne Plumb (WLB); Selma Rein, Bernard W. Stern (NLRB).

As a leader of his cell within the NLRB, Mr. Fuchs attended section meetings with leaders of other Communist cells within various Government agencies. Thus, Mr. Fuchs was in a position to ascertain the existence of a number of heretofore unknown Communist cells operating within other Government departments.

Mr. Fuchs' testimony is an invaluable contribution to the committee's investigation into Communist infiltration of Government and the committee appreciates his courageous disclosures regarding the large segment of the Communist underground in Government with which he had extensive personal contact.

At its hearings in Chicago, the committee also received testimony from Mortimer Riemer, a practicing attorney in Cleveland, Ohio, who had been employed by the National Labor Relations Board in Washington, D. C., from 1940 to 1947. Mr. Riemer confirmed Mr. Fuchs'

*These individuals have appeared before the committee and answered questions regarding their knowledge of the Communist Party and Communist Party activities.

testimony regarding Mr. Riemer's own membership in the Communist cell at the NLRB and provided important corroborating evidence regarding the membership and activities of that cell. Mr. Riemer also identified a group of lawyers with whom he had earlier been associated in the Communist Party in New York City. Most of these individuals have not previously been identified as being party members.

Another witness heard by the committee in Chicago was Ellis Olim, whom Mr. Fuchs had identified as a member of his Communist cell while both were employed by the Wheeler Committee of the United States Senate. Mr. Olim had been an employee of the Federal Government from 1937 to 1952.

Mr. Olim at first declined to answer all questions by the committee regarding Communist Party activities on the ground of possible self-incrimination. During the course of his testimony, he was asked by the committee whether or not he would answer questions regarding Communist Party activity if the committee petitioned the courts to grant him immunity from prosecution and such petition were approved. After a recess and consultation with his attorney, Mr. Olim stated that he would answer all questions put to him by the committee if he were assured of immunity from prosecution. This is the first instance in which a witness before this committee has agreed to testify under the protection of the immunity statute (Public Law 600) enacted by the 83d Congress.

The committee has scheduled extensive public hearings early in 1956, at which time it intends to probe much more deeply into the activities of organized, disciplined Communists who attempted to subvert our Government from within its official ranks.

The new evidence obtained by the committee in the past year was in a sense forecast in 1948, when the testimony of Whittaker Chambers and Elizabeth Bentley before this committee gave the Congress and the American public their first insight into the Communist underground in Government.

Whittaker Chambers in the early 1930's served as a liaison between foreign Soviet espionage agents and various United States Government employees who were willing to betray classified information for the benefit of the Soviet dictatorship. The Communists in our Government with whom Mr. Chambers maintained contact have been designated as the Ware-Abt-Witt group after its leading members. Alger Hiss served a jail sentence in connection with his part in this conspiracy exposed by Mr. Chambers.

Elizabeth Bentley operated as a go-between for two other groups of Communists who were working within and against our Government in the early 1940's. She identified the members and activities of the Perlo group and the Silvermaster group, as well as certain Communists not attached to any particular cell. William Remington went to prison as a result of the information developed by her testimony.

The testimony of Mr. Chambers and Miss Bentley clearly indicated that their activities involved only a small segment of the total Soviet espionage underground in Government. The committee has continuously sought to uncover the rest of this traitorous operation. These investigative efforts scored a major success in 1955.

As the record of this type of Communist subversion continues to accumulate, the committee is aware that some critics may attempt to

dismiss the seriousness of the evidence on the ground that these particular cells no longer operate within the Government. The committee hopes it will not find these critics also joining in the clamor for the removal or reduction of security measures now designed to keep members of the Communist Party and other subversive organizations from gaining Government employment. The committee believes that a total exposure of the activities and objects of Communists within the Government in the past will contribute to a determined effort to maintain and improve the safeguards that have been erected against such conspirators. Only thus can we be confident that what has happened in the past will not happen again.

SUMMER CAMPS

The Communists' use of summer camps to indoctrinate and disaffect American youth was exposed by the committee as a result of a series of hearings held last year.

The committee focused its attention on six summer camps in New York State catering exclusively to children or to both children and adults, and on a seventh camp for "underprivileged" children in California.

Committee research and investigation over a considerable period of time had revealed that an unusual number of individuals positively identified in testimony as having been members of the Communist Party were engaged in the ownership or operation of summer camps. The committee was anxious to determine whether Communist Party purposes were being promoted through these camps, and whether the hire of a "vacation" would enlist unwary youth and adults in a cause they would not knowingly endorse.

The committee's concern was more than justified by the testimony on July 25, 1955, of Pvt. Stanley A. Wechkin. Private Wechkin is a 21-year-old New Yorker, who had vacationed at Camp Kinderland, located at Hopewell Junction, N. Y., in the summers of 1947 and 1948.

"When I came to Camp Kinderland in 1947, I was no Communist," Private Wechkin testified. "I think that primarily through the influence of Camp Kinderland and, more specifically, the influence of my counselor, Herbert Gutman, I did eventually become a Communist in succeeding years."

Private Wechkin stated that the camp accepted youngsters up to the age of 16 and that the children were fed Communist propaganda in informal "spontaneous" discussions rather than in any organized fashion. The capitalist system was constantly derided in apparently casual talks with camp counselors and other employees, the witness said, and heavy emphasis was placed on the production of political pageants and on the singing of Communist songs. Books by Communist authors were recommended to Private Wechkin by his counselor, who also enrolled the youth in his first front organization, a Youth for Wallace Club later known as the Young Progressives of America.

For years after his experiences at Camp Kinderland, Private Wechkin continued to work with sections of these Communist-front organizations located in New York City. From these groups, he "progressed" to membership in the Labor Youth League, which is the successor to the Young Communist League and American Youth for

Democracy, and which today serves as the youth section of the Communist Party. His Communist-front activities led him to enroll in classes in Marxist theory at the Communist Jefferson School of Social Science. Private Wechkin testified that he even sought membership in the Communist Party and, to that end, arranged a meeting with a local party functionary. Due to a misunderstanding as to the time and place of this meeting as well as his own misapprehensions about the party, Private Wechkin said he never actually became a member.

Herbert Gutman, Private Wechkin's counselor at Camp Kinderland and an admitted member of the Communist Party according to Wechkin, was thereafter called as a witness before the committee. He invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to answer questions regarding the camp or the Communist Party.

The committee also summoned before it 10 individuals who have been identified as members of the Communist Party and who at the time of their appearance before the committee held key positions in the operation of 7 summer camps in New York and California. Every one of these witnesses responded to questions regarding the Communist Party by invoking the fifth amendment against possible self-incrimination. The camps involved in this questioning included:

Camp Lakeland, located at Hopewell Junction, N. Y. Private Wechkin's testimony described Camp Lakeland as a summer camp for adults which held joint activities with the adjacent Camp Kinderland for children in 1947 and 1948. Committee investigation into the subsequent status of the camps showed that a "Camp Lakeland, Inc." became the owner and operator of both the adult and children's camps at Hopewell Junction in 1951. Mortgages on the property were held by the International Workers Order, a subversive organization which has since been liquidated on orders of the superintendent of insurance of the State of New York. David Green, current manager of Camp Lakeland, Inc., was questioned regarding the present operators and financial backers of the camps. He admitted that the Camp Lakeland corporation, headed by President Sol Vail, was today offering vacation accommodations to 320 children and 250 adults. A dummy holding company by the name of Sylvan Lake, Inc., holds \$90,000 in mortgages on the property, he also stated. A third of this sum, he conceded, was supplied in 1955 by a Philadelphia local of the Communist-dominated International Fur and Leather Workers Union.

Evidence in the hands of the committee shows that both David Green and Sol Vail have been active members of the Communist Party as well as of the now defunct International Workers Order. Mr. Green pleaded the fifth amendment, however, in response to all committee questions relating to the Communist Party, the IWO, and party personnel at the camps.

Wingdale Lodge, at Wingdale, N. Y. Prior to 1955 it served as a notorious Communist rendezvous under the name of Camp Unity. A total of 191 children and adults were in attendance at this summer camp at the time the committee heard testimony of its general manager, Kenneth Friedman. Mr. Friedman told the committee that he had helped to organize the new Wingdale Lodge corporation in March of 1955. However, the Loujack Camp Corp. which owned the property when it was known as Camp Unity continues as owner of the property, according to Mr. Friedman's testimony.

When questioned regarding the Communist Party affiliations of himself and various camp employees, Mr. Friedman invoked the fifth amendment. Elliott Sullivan, entertainment director at Wingdale Lodge, was then called as a witness and similarly refused to answer questions about Communist Party activities on the ground of possible self-incrimination. Both Mr. Friedman and Mr. Sullivan have been identified as Communist Party members in previous testimony before the committee. The committee is convinced that Wingdale Lodge is no less a Communist project than its predecessor, Camp Unity.

Camp Woodland, at Phoenicia, N. Y. Current attendance is 160 children under the age of 16, according to Norman Studer, director of the camp, who was subpenaed before the committee on July 28, 1955, and invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning his membership in the Communist Party.

Camp Timberline, at Jewett, N. Y., with an enrollment of 78 children between the ages of 6 and 13 at the time of the committee hearings. Mr. and Mrs. Elton Gustafson codirect this summer camp which is owned by Mrs. Gustafson. Mr. Gustafson refused to answer pertinent questions by the committee on the ground of self-incrimination.

Straight Arrow Camp, a day camp serving 85 children between the ages of 6 and 15, according to the testimony before the committee of Morris Salz, director. Prior to assuming charge of this camp at Goldens Bridge, N. Y., Mr. Salz admitted serving as an instructor at the aforementioned Camp Lakeland. He relied on the fifth amendment in refusing to affirm or deny previous testimony before the committee identifying him as a member of the Communist Party.

Briehl's Farm, near Wallkill, N. Y., advertised in the Communist *Daily Worker* as a resort center for both youth and adults. Fred Briehl, operator of the farm, invoked the fifth amendment when the committee questioned him regarding his membership on the Farm Commission of the New York State Communist Party, and on political office he has sought on a Communist Party ticket. Committee investigation reveals that this farm has also been used by the Communist Party as a training school for party leaders.

Ormsby Village for Youth, a summer camp offering rural vacations in Topanga Canyon, Calif., to "underprivileged" city children. At sessions in Los Angeles the committee took testimony from the following camp officials who also have records of Communist Party membership: Raphael Konigsberg, executive director; Jean Wilkinson, camp director; and Frank C. Davis, member of the board of directors. The three officers declined to discuss Ormsby Village or Communist Party activities on the ground of self-incrimination. Sylvia Schoenfield, an identified Communist then serving as president of the Friends of Ormsby Village, also invoked the fifth amendment when called before the committee. The organization which she heads had been active in raising funds for the support of Ormsby Village.

The permanent office address of Ormsby Village is 2936 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles—the address of the First Unitarian Church, of which the Reverend Stephen H. Fritchman is pastor. The ownership of Ormsby Village property is vested in an Ormsby Hill Trust,

which has enjoyed a tax-exempt status on the basis of its "charitable" work in behalf of underprivileged children. Trustees of the fund are George Hugh Hardyman and his wife, Susan Hardyman. The committee subpoenaed Mr. Hardyman, who admitted he had been instrumental in establishing the Ormsby Village for Youth and had made substantial financial contributions to the project. Mr. Hardyman's testimony is reported more completely in the Los Angeles section of this report; it should be noted, however, that Mr. Hardyman was questioned concerning speeches he had made in Red China and other Iron Curtain countries in which he accused the United States of conducting germ warfare in Korea. While he denied actual Communist Party membership, Mr. Hardyman betrayed himself as a stanch supporter of the party by repeating his heinous propaganda statements at committee hearings; he resorted to the fifth amendment when questioned about the Communist background of Ormsby Village personnel.

The committee hearings confirmed investigative information that the Ormsby Village for Youth was another example of an attempt by known Communists to indoctrinate and disaffect American youth. The project is even more reprehensible because of its fraudulent claims to be a charitable enterprise. The committee is gratified to announce that, as a result of its exposure of the true character of Ormsby Village for Youth, the camp failed to operate during the summer of 1955.

That many other summer camps have continued to function under the leadership of identified Communists is the subject of grave concern to the committee. The subjection of the impressionable minds of hundreds of children to Communist influence represents a danger which cannot be minimized. The danger is increased by the fact that, according to committee investigations, Communist propaganda and purposes are conveyed with much more subtlety today than they have been in the past. The committee will continue to expose the character of such Communist training centers for youth wherever they may be found. It is of equal importance, however, that parents become alert to the need for thoroughly investigating the nature of camps to which they entrust their children during the summer.

During the course of its investigation into Communist-operated summer camps, the committee was encouraged to learn of a forthcoming investigation into this field by the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Philanthropic and Charitable Agencies. The House Committee on Un-American Activities agreed to make available to the State body any information in its possession which might assist the local investigators. Subsequent to our own hearings, the New York committee held extensive public hearings regarding the operation of summer camps in New York State.

NEW YORK—YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

The committee continued its inquiry into Communist activities among youth groups with a hearing held on March 16, 1955, in Washington, D. C.

Five New York youths who have held official positions in the Labor Youth League or other Communist Party assignments involving youth groups were subpoenaed as witnesses at this hearing. They were:

Leon Wofsy, national chairman of the Labor Youth League and reputed leader of the Communist youth movement in this country today.

Joseph Bucholt, New York State chairman of the Labor Youth League until March 1955, when he was released to take another assignment. When asked by the committee whether his new assignment was with the Communist Party underground, Mr. Bucholt refused to answer on the ground of possible self-incrimination.

Robert Fogel, one-time officer of the student division of the New York Communist Party, who later served as student director for the Labor Youth League. He succeeded Joseph Bucholt as New York State chairman of the LYL last March.

Sam Engler, former educational director of the New York State Labor Youth League.

Ernie Parent, who has held the post of youth director with the Communist Party of New York City.

Evidence in the possession of the committee shows that the Labor Youth League has functioned as the youth section of the Communist Party in recent years. The organization was cited in 1950 by Attorney General J. Howard McGrath as "the organization for young Communists" which "has taken the place of the two prior organizations, Young Communist League and American Youth for Democracy." On February 15, 1955, the Subversive Activities Control Board rendered a decision declaring the Labor Youth League to be a Communist-front organization.

The committee considers it of prime importance to expose the methods by which the Communist Party seeks to influence the youth of our country and the degree of influence the party has managed to attain. The five aforementioned witnesses were subpoenaed in the sincere belief that they possessed valuable information on Communist Party tactics directed against young Americans.

For example, Witness Robert Fogel had expounded on the value of youth work to the Communist Party in an article appearing in the Communist Party organ, the *Daily Worker*, in July of 1954. In the course of this article, Mr. Fogel quoted the following revealing statement made by Robert Thompson, one of the party's national leaders:

Work among youth is not just another important field of work for our party and for the progressive forces; it is a decisive field of work. In all truth we can say that the forces that win the youth of our country will win our country.

The youths subpoenaed by the committee have not hesitated to place before the public their alien Communist ideologies. When questioned on the same subject by this committee of the Congress, however, the five witnesses exercised their constitutional privileges against self-incrimination.

The committee has maintained a standing invitation to anyone who feels that he was incorrectly identified as a member of the Communist Party by any witness before the committee, to come forward and testify in his own behalf. This invitation—which has been given at public hearings and publicized by press and radio—still stands.

NEW YORK—ENTERTAINMENT

The extent to which Communists have infiltrated the entertainment industry in New York City was the focus of committee investigations and hearings in that city last year.

Investigation sought to determine whether or not members of the Communist Party have obtained employment in entertainment media, and what methods they might use to exploit the limitless propaganda resources offered by the legitimate theater, radio, and television. The committee's investigation established that—

- (1) Communists have been successful in finding employment in the New York entertainment field;
- (2) the Communist Party is cashing in on the talent, reputation, and financial resources of these party members;
- (3) cliques of active Communists operate within the various entertainers' unions, and the committee has identified a number of the leaders of the Communist fraction within the New York local of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists;
- (4) radio and television networks continue to use the talents of Communist Party members because of inadequate information and investigative facilities; and
- (5) a Communist-supported propaganda campaign against "blacklisting" has completely falsified the true hiring policies applying to entertainers.

In the course of public hearings in New York City, the committee heard 21 witnesses connected with the entertainment field. All of them had been identified to the committee as having been members of the Communist Party and almost all of them had very recent employment by major television and radio networks.

From evidence obtained during preliminary investigations, the committee learned that these 21 witnesses had been active in propagandizing in behalf of the Communist conspiracy. All were found to have served as featured entertainers at affairs sponsored by Communist-front organizations. When they appeared before the committee, all but one refused to answer questions regarding their Communist Party membership and activities.

George Hall, the single witness courageous and patriotic enough to answer questions propounded by the committee, told how he had been recruited into the Communist Party and how the party had exploited his entertainment talents by having him appear at Communist fund-raising parties and various Communist-front affairs. The committee was shocked to learn that other possible cooperative witnesses had been effectively dissuaded from coming forward by pressure exerted by the Communists.

Sam (Zero) Mostel, another member of the entertainment industry in New York City, was called before the committee at a later date in California. He was identified as a Communist Party member in previous testimony taken by the committee. Mr. Mostel denied membership in the Communist Party at the time of his appearance as a witness but invoked the fifth amendment in response to all questions regarding past party activities, even, it is interesting to note, as recent as the very day before his appearance.

During its investigations in New York City, the committee determined that strong fractions of Communist Party members existed within the trade unions representing individuals employed in entertainment media. The function of these fractions was to discredit the non-Communist leadership, in the hope that the Communist Party would eventually gain control. Investigation uncovered a militant

Communist fraction within the local affiliate of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists. The committee was able to identify many of the leaders of this Communist nucleus.

The principal activity of Communists within the AFTRA local was a campaign against so-called "blacklisting." Through their propaganda, these Communists had falsely convinced many fellow entertainers that they are denied employment if they at one time innocently supported a cause sponsored by the Communist Party. This campaign was adopted by the Communist Party to trick non-Communists into supporting the efforts of party members to infiltrate the field of entertainment. The propaganda campaign also attempted to discredit the present officers of the AFTRA local because these officers could not be compromised by the Communist Party members.

Under the instructions of the committee, the investigators examined closely the question of blacklisting. They found that the major networks do have a policy of not hiring entertainers who have been identified under oath as Communist Party members, or who themselves have appeared under oath and refused to answer questions regarding party membership.

There are exceptions to the enforcement of this policy, however. For example, networks broadcast or telecast "package" shows. These are written, cast and directed under the supervision of advertising agencies. The networks have no control over the subject presented or the entertainers used. The committee found that through these package shows, Communist Party members and apologists have been sent into the living room of the American home. Investigation suggests that use of Communist entertainers has resulted from the practice of certain advertising agencies to close their eyes to the question of Communist affiliations and activities of various performers.

With respect to the networks, it should be noted that they are not equipped to make investigations which would determine the identities of entertainers who are members of or sympathetic to the Communist Party. Furthermore, information that an entertainer has been identified as a Communist or refused to answer questions on the subject, does not always come to the networks' attention. For months, a network employed an entertainer who had served a jail sentence in Washington State, resulting from his membership in the Communist Party. Another network has presented the writings of an espionage suspect who is now using an alias to cover his past activities. Most networks which have used entertainers who are members of the Communist Party have done so because they are unable to establish such membership.

Investigation shows that if an entertainer was not used by the networks, the reason lay in information which directly related to the entertainer's Communist Party membership or deliberate support of Communist causes. On the other hand, the networks properly do not deny employment to an entertainer who might have innocently become involved with a Communist-engineered activity.

The value to the Communist Party of having members in entertainment media has been adequately proved. During the committee's hearings in California, former Communists who were employed in that State's great entertainment industry, testified that the party used them as propagandists. They also stated that they were required to

make exorbitant financial contributions to the Communist Party in the form of dues and special assessments. One witness testified that his payments to the party over the period of his membership totalled as much as \$20,000.

There is no question that the Communist Party likewise levies its dues and assessments on party members employed in New York's entertainment field. The financial asset represented by these party members increases considerably in view of the party's practice of utilizing their names or talent to raise funds in other quarters.

The propagandist role of a Communist entertainer in New York may be illustrated by one of the witnesses before the committee, Peter Lawrence, who was producing an industrial show for General Motors at the time he was subpenaed. This concealed member of the Communist Party tried to influence his union to join in the Communist Party's propaganda barrage against the Government's prosecution of Communist leaders under the Smith Act in 1949. His petition to union members is reprinted below to demonstrate one of the many advantages obtained by the Communist Party from its members who have infiltrated the entertainment industry:

DEAR EQUITY MEMBER:

Last week some 25 members who were among the signers of the 7-point program petition to council met, at council's request, to select volunteers to serve on union committees.

During the course of this meeting a discussion took place and a decision reached that a question of vital, immediate importance to all union members, the trial of the 12 members of the national committee of the Communist Party, deserved serious examination and wider understanding.

The Equity members gathered that evening began to see that they had failed to understand the *direct significance* of this trial to *their union*. The question of the detention of President Derwent, for example, is linked with the trial. Equity's stand against discrimination is under examination at the trial.

The attacks against the actors in "They Shall Not Die" and the singers at Peekskill cannot be separated from the basis of the trial in Foley Square.

In the belief that as many Equity members as possible should discuss this matter, ask questions and arrive at fuller understanding through such procedure, we have undertaken to call a meeting on Thursday night, September 8, at 11:30 p. m., at the Capitol Hotel, 51st Street and 8th Avenue, to hear speakers on this subject.

Chief speaker will be Mr. David Livingston, vice president, local 65, Wholesale and Warehouse Workers Union. Mr. Livingston has a fine background in trade-union action and principles and we know you will find him an exciting speaker.

In closing, we need not remind you of the historical importance of such a meeting as regards our union. In addition to making certain that you attend, will you please make arrangements NOW to bring AT LEAST TWO EQUITY MEMBERS WITH YOU? Both Chorus and Actors Equity members should attend.

We cannot afford the luxury of an additional reminder, so we urge you to make a note now of the time, date, and place.

Respectfully yours,

PETER LAWRENCE (s)

It will be noted that this letter attempts to obtain Equity support for the Communist Party by exploiting the respect of Equity members for Equity President Clarence Derwent, the desire of Equity members to eliminate discrimination, and other interests of the unionists. When Peter Lawrence appeared as a witness before this committee, he was given an opportunity to disprove that his letter was a Communist propaganda vehicle. He refused to explain, defend, or deny his actions. Instead, he invoked the protection of the Constitution—the very instrument which he and his Communist cohorts would destroy.

NEW YORK—NEIGHBORHOOD GROUPS

Communist Party operations on a neighborhood level were revealed with unprecedented accuracy and detail as a result of the testimony of Mrs. Mildred Blauvelt last year.

Mrs. Blauvelt is a detective with the New York City Police Department, who was assigned by the department to act as undercover operative within the Communist Party. She served in this capacity from April 1943 until November 1951.

The committee held 4 full days of hearings to receive the exhaustive evidence which Mrs. Blauvelt had gathered during her many years as a member of various Communist Party clubs in Manhattan and Brooklyn. Mrs. Blauvelt had often held office in these clubs, serving at times as treasurer, financial secretary, press director, and chairman of fund drives. She also had occasion to meet with various section leaders who supervised Communist Party activities in larger areas encompassing numerous local clubs. Mrs. Blauvelt made regular reports to the New York police authorities throughout her undercover assignment. Copies of these reports, plus numerous documents obtained from the Communist Party itself, provided a solid basis of fact for her testimony before this committee.

This committee has never before received such a complete and authoritative picture of Communist activities on a community level. In the course of her testimony, Mrs. Blauvelt named and located a total of 44 neighborhood clubs of the Communist Party in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx. She also positively identified approximately 500 persons whom she had known as party members from 1943 to 1951.

A neighborhood club of the Communist Party is composed of persons who live in proximity to one another and who are not assigned to other party clubs organized on the basis of a member's place of employment or profession. The main objective of these neighborhood clubs was to sow the poisonous seed of subversion among loyal residents and organizations located in the club's vicinity.

Club members sought to influence their non-Communist neighbors by distributing Communist literature; soliciting subscriptions to open or disguised Communist publications; and collecting signatures or funds to be used in Communist propaganda campaigns. The more receptive residents of a community often were deceived into joining front organizations of the party. Many were eventually recruited into the party club itself.

Communists who operated from neighborhood clubs were instructed to join or to assist in establishing community organizations devoted to popular issues such as schools, nurseries, and rent control in order to gain a voice for the party in community affairs. Communists were specifically ordered to be active in consumer and tenant councils, parent-teacher associations, political-action committees, and the YMCA and YWCA. The Communists were particularly anxious that their members enter rightwing, conservative organizations in an effort "to influence them to think along Communist Party lines," Mrs. Blauvelt reported.

The inner workings of Communist Party clubs in regard to such matters as fund raising, party discipline, and security measures were described in unusual detail by Mrs. Blauvelt.

Members of Communist neighborhood clubs were continually contributing money as a result of annual fund drives and innumerable "emergency" fund drives which were held by the national organization of the Communist Party. The quota of a single club could run as high as \$3,000. "The comrades were just being bled," Mrs. Blauvelt said, yet there was no specific accounting to these local party members on the use of the funds. During one annual fund-raising campaign in which the Brooklyn quota was \$185,000, Mrs. Blauvelt was able to determine that 10 percent of the money would be distributed among local clubs, 10 percent would go to section leaders, 1 percent to the front organization, the Civil Rights Congress, and the remaining 79 percent to unknown quarters. Some emergency-fund drives were held to meet the expenses of a political election campaign or the legal defense of Communist leaders facing prosecution under the Smith Act.

For her outstanding services as an undercover agent, Mrs. Blauvelt has been awarded a police department citation for exceptional merit. This award is given for "an act of bravery intelligently performed involving risk of life," and Mrs. Blauvelt is the first woman in the New York City Police Department to receive such recognition.

This committee is indebted to Mrs. Blauvelt for the vast amount of information given the committee in her detailed and meticulously prepared testimony. Her services to the committee add much to the already extensive information heretofore accumulated on the Communist conspiracy. The committee commends the New York City Police Department for its foresight in taking early cognizance of the Communist menace and assigning Mrs. Blauvelt to her undercover role.

NEWARK, N. J., AREA

A detailed exposé of Communist activities in the Newark, N. J., area resulted from on-the-spot hearings held by the committee May 16 through 19, 1955.

The committee hearings spotlighted for the first time in the Newark area Communist machinations directed against labor, education, other professional groups, and the Newark community in general. Various New Jersey officials of the Communist Party, as well as representatives of the party's most powerful front organization, the Civil Rights Congress, were called as witnesses to develop a rounded picture of Communist operations in that locality.

The names of some 75 Communist Party members in Newark had been supplied to the committee by a former FBI undercover agent, who operated in the Newark area from 1942 to 1951. The identity of this operative within the Communist Party was withheld by the committee in response to a request from the executive branch of the Government. Further valuable information on the identity and designs of Communists in the Newark area was furnished in the course of public hearings by Ernst S. Pollock, Anthony DeAquino, and Julius Kolovetz, all former members of the Communist Party, who also held office in Newark locals of district 4 of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America.

Evidence of the continued Communist domination of the UE was graphically presented by these witnesses. Their testimony was bolstered by the appearance before the committee of 12 current officials,

organizers or employees of the UE in the Newark area. The 12 consistently invoked their constitutional privilege against self-incrimination in refusing to answer questions by the committee, despite previous testimony placing these individuals in the Communist Party. Top official among the 12 was James McLeish, Sr., president of UE District Council 4, who administers union affairs in southern New York and northern New Jersey from headquarters in Newark.

The now familiar pattern of a handful of Communists wielding iron control over union locals composed of hundreds of members was outlined again at the Newark hearings. Witness Pollock had joined the Communist Party with the understanding that such membership was essential to his holding the positions of international organizer and local president in the UE. He described Communist Party caucuses at which 7 or 8 Communist Party members decided what the union would do at its regular meetings. Union funds were diverted to various projects of the Communist Party and its front organizations and to subscriptions to Communist publications under the guidance of this minority, whose rule was facilitated by failure of the majority of union members to attend union meetings.

An extraordinary and courageous fight, waged by a handful of loyal American trade unionists against strongly entrenched Communist leaders of a UE local in Newark, was related to the committee by Anthony DeAquino and Julius Kolovetz. The two witnesses testified that, as members of UE Local 447 representing some 5,000 employees, they were disgusted to find that Communists "owned the union, lock, stock, and barrel and treasury" and "did anything they wanted and how they wanted to do it." Mr. DeAquino and Mr. Kolovetz decided to join the Communist Party cell within the union in order to gather evidence for a showdown fight with the Communists for control of the union. While posing as Communists, the two men obtained firsthand lessons in totalitarian methods. They observed the Communists' complete disregard for union rules whenever the interests of the Communist Party came in conflict. They saw union funds drained off for Communist Party campaigns and front organizations; they participated in a Communist-led strike involving no legitimate labor issue; and they obtained documentary evidence that worker seniority records were tampered with in order to save the jobs of Communists at the expense of loyal employees.

When this evidence was finally presented to the total membership of local 447, Communists were voted out of control. But not before the two witnesses suffered physical violence from Communist gangs as well as fantastic smear attacks. Mr. DeAquino was represented as a safe-robber to the union membership and diabolic attempts were made to break up his home. Furthermore, to circumvent Communist chicanery in the crucial union election which ousted the Communists, loyal unionists were required to go to the considerable expense of hiring the services of the Honest Ballot Association.

This aggressive action by Mr. DeAquino and Mr. Kolovetz in fighting Communist domination of their union is without comparison in the record of this committee's hearings. The committee expresses its admiration of these trade unionists and hopes that their story may prove profitable to other loyal unionists who are still victims of a ruthless Communist leadership. The extreme difficulties, and indeed

actual physical dangers, involved in the removal of Communists in control of unions, demonstrate the need for a speedy application of legislation enacted last year to curb Communist domination of unions. The legislation, which was recommended by this committee, will strip unions of bargaining rights before the National Labor Relations Board when the Subversive Activities Control Board has determined such unions to be Communist-infiltrated and controlled.

In the course of the Newark hearings, the committee also inquired into the operation of a well-organized bail fund campaign of the Civil Rights Congress of New Jersey. Investigation had revealed that solicitation was successful among well-meaning New Jersey residents who were unaware of the purposes of the bail fund. The parent organization, the Civil Rights Congress, has been raising bail money for Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act and for other party purposes. The absence of Communist court cases in New Jersey raised the logical question of whether funds raised in that State were being transmitted to New York Communists.

David Rocklin and Lewis Moroze, treasurer and assistant treasurer, respectively, of the bail fund in New Jersey, were summoned before the committee but invoked the fifth amendment when asked whether or not the funds raised by the Civil Rights Congress in New Jersey had been forwarded to other States to be used as bail money for Smith Act defendants in those States. The two witnesses also invoked their constitutional privilege when questioned about Communist Party activities, although both individuals had been previously identified before the committee as members of the Communist Party.

Evidence introduced at the hearing revealed that the bail fund campaign was patterned after a corporate financing system. In return for a substantial donation, a donor received an official certificate of deposit bearing a number and a vaguely worded promise that the funds would be used for "bail for defendants in cases involving violation of civil rights." While the donation was called a non-interest-bearing loan, there was actually no assurance that the money would be returned to the donor because the certificate stated the return was conditioned upon the "safety" of the individuals for whom bail had been posted. Both the disposition of the funds and the "safety" of returning the loan were left to the judgment of a 4-man board of trustees—3 of whom have been identified as Communist Party members before this committee.

The committee hopes that its exposure of the dubious character of the bail fund certificates and the subversive connections of fund officials will serve to curtail the ability of this Communist-front organization to reap financial support in Newark as well as other communities.

Preliminary committee investigations had revealed the existence in Newark of highly secret Communist Party clubs composed of professional persons. The committee subpoenaed Estelle Laba, Perry Zimmerman, and Robert Lowenstein, Newark public school teachers, and Frances Ormond, director of a private nursery school in Irvington, N. J., in the hope that they would provide information on the objects and success of the Communist Party among teachers. These four individuals had been identified as members of the Communist Party in Newark. All took refuge in the fifth amendment to avoid answering

questions of the committee. The teachers were subsequently suspended by the Newark Board of Education.

The committee received a similar lack of cooperation from a doctor of medicine who, the committee knew, was in a position to offer extensive information on the operation of a Communist Party club in Newark composed exclusively of members of the medical profession. Other witnesses who invoked the fifth amendment in the course of the hearings included Solomon Golat, a lawyer associated with the Civil Rights Congress of New Jersey, Charles Nusser, then executive secretary of the Communist Party of New Jersey, and Joseph Fisher, labor secretary for the New Jersey Communist Party.

FORT WAYNE, IND., AREA

The committee's continued investigation into Communist-dominated unions last year produced documented proof that leaders of such unions have misappropriated workers' dues for Communist Party purposes.

Proof was obtained in the course of preparations for committee hearings on the activities of District 9 of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America. This district has headquarters in Fort Wayne, Ind., and supervises the affairs of local unions in both Indiana and Michigan.

The national organization of UE was expelled from the CIO in 1949 because of the union's flagrant subservience to the Communist Party line. The committee scheduled an investigation and hearing in 1955 to determine whether the district office which guides locals in two important Midwest States was continuing the discredited policies of the national UE and placing Communist Party objectives above union interests.

Investigation preceding the hearings showed that District 9 of UE was in fact operating under the control of Communists and their apologists, with workers' interests only a secondary concern when party purposes conflicted. In the course of this investigation, the committee obtained the official minutes of various meetings of the executive board of UE District 9. These documents contained incontrovertible evidence that the leadership of District 9 had diverted workers' union dues to the support of the Communist Party.

The minutes obtained by the committee covered meetings of the District 9 executive board held on December 16, 1950; February 2, 1952; March 28, 1952; September 10, 1952; and October 6, 1952. With the record of only five executive board meetings in its possession, the committee can document the appropriation of more than \$2,000 to Communist causes. The committee finds this practice particularly reprehensible in view of the fact that this money came from dues paid by workers who sincerely believed they were strengthening legitimate labor objectives. Less than 5 percent of the workers represented by Communist union leadership are members of or sympathetic to the Communist Party. Therefore, 95 percent of the membership of such unions are loyal Americans unwillingly or unwittingly forced to help finance a subversive conspiracy whose ultimate aim would destroy the very concept of a free labor movement.

Among the Communist organizations to which the district 9 executive board diverted workers' dues are the National Negro Labor Council, which has been cited as subversive by the Attorney General, and

the Prisoners' Relief Committee, which solicited financial help for Communist Party leaders arrested under the Smith Act. District 9 also "generously" gave away workers' money to such notorious individuals as Harry Bridges and Harold Christoffel. Harry Bridges had been seeking funds to fight deportation proceedings. Harold Christoffel was active with other Communists in the Allis-Chalmers strike, which attempted to sabotage war production during the Hitler-Stalin pact. He had sought funds to defend himself against a perjury conviction resulting from his appearance before the House Committee on Education and Labor. By no stretch of the imagination can these expenditures serve the interests of any worker or union.

A number of present or former leaders in the affairs of UE District 9 were summoned to appear before the committee in public hearing in order to explore more fully the Communist abuse of the concept of unionism.

Witnesses heard by the committee included: John T. Gojack, president of UE District 9; David Mates, a UE international organizer assigned to district 9; and Julia Jacobs, former secretary to John Gojack in Fort Wayne, Ind., and at the time of her appearance office secretary of UE Local 931 in St. Joseph, Mich. These witnesses refused to answer all questions put to them by the committee regarding Communist influences in their union. All but one invoked the fifth amendment when questioned concerning charges regarding their own membership in the Communist Party.

Mr. Gojack invoked the first amendment in abusive and contemptuous testimony before the committee, and the House of Representatives has formally requested the Department of Justice to institute legal proceedings against Mr. Gojack for contempt of Congress.

The attitude of Mr. Gojack before the committee belied his professions of concern for the rights of organized labor. So does his record of energetic support of the Communist Party over a period of many years.

Julia Jacobs, the office secretary of local 931, St. Joseph, Mich., is a Communist servitor whom the Communists have moved about at will. When she was identified as a Communist Party member in Ohio and her usefulness impaired, she was moved to Fort Wayne, Ind., where she became a secretary to John Gojack. When need for a militant Communist became vital in St. Joseph, Mich., she was again moved. In St. Joseph, Mich., she devoted much of her effort to deceiving workers into believing that support of the Communist Party and its members was support of the trade-union movement as a whole.

David Mates, the UE international organizer, has been a Communist Party functionary for years. Evidence in the possession of the committee indicates that he was chairman of the Labor Commission of the Communist Party for Michigan. Mr. Mates was responsible for the employment of many Communists in union local offices. In this manner, the Communist Party always had informers in the midst of the workers.

The committee has been trying to determine whether or not these informers are utilized by the Communist Party for the purpose of industrial espionage. The three aforementioned witnesses possess important knowledge which could assist the committee in its investigation of this type of Communist subversion. Their refusal to answer questions thwarted the legislative process to an extent only the witnesses themselves know. Fortunately, documents obtained during the investigation added much to the knowledge which the Congress possesses on the international Communist conspiracy as it relates to the labor movement.

MILWAUKEE, WIS., AREA

Communist strategy in infiltrating youth groups, adult community organizations, and defense industry in the Milwaukee, Wis., area was exposed by the committee in the course of public hearings which were held in that city on March 28, 29, and 30, 1955, and continued in Washington, D. C., on May 3, 1955.

Tactics used to recruit youth into the Communist Party were graphically described by James Eggleston and Michael Ondrejka. In the late 1940's, these two young witnesses had joined the youth section of the Communist Party in Milwaukee as undercover agents for the FBI. They subsequently worked with the adult leadership of the party, continuing such activity up to 1955.

Mr. Eggleston testified that the primary objective of Communist Party youth was to infiltrate and gain control of various non-Communist youth organizations in the community. Mr. Ondrejka added that this infiltration program extended to church organizations and that Communist youth were instructed to join Catholic, Jewish and Methodist groups. The young Communists operated in response to orders from adult party leaders in the area, the witnesses said.

The Communists' most effective tool for recruiting additional young people into the party was the "front organization," which was created by the Communist Party but paraded as a legitimate community activity, according to this testimony. Both Mr. Eggleston and Mr. Ondrejka held office in the Young Progressives of America, a front organization which they said became a "stepping stone" to the Communist Party for many youths. Any youth could join the YPA, which lured members by its social-activities program. Communists in control of the organization, however, watched for likely candidates for Communist Party membership and pushed such youths into increasingly closer contact with the party. Members of the YPA could "graduate" into the openly Marxist Labor Youth League and eventually into the party itself. Following is an excerpt from Mr. Eggleston's testimony on this recruitment process:

MR. EGGLESTON. To classify these organizations into, say, steppingstones, the Young Progressives of America was at the bottom of the list. They would take

in members who came in with a common interest on any subject, very broad. When you came into YPA you were just another member. You had no special qualifications whatsoever. After staying in that organization for some time you could elevate yourself to a Labor Youth League and then from the Labor Youth League you would go right into the party. It was merely a training program * * *.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of the training program that was offered?

Mr. EGGLESTON. To find out or a feeler to find out how the individual felt on certain issues, as to whether they could work on peace petitions, whether they would go and pass out leaflets and so forth. If you could do all of those things, you automatically elevate yourself to these other organizations.

The testimony of Mr. Eggleston and Mr. Ondrejka was dramatically corroborated by Merle Snyder, who bared his own tragic experience of devoting 4 years of his life to an organization which he finally realized was only destroying his ability to be a loyal citizen. Mr. Snyder told the committee that he had been recruited into the Communist Party in the exact manner described by the FBI's undercover agents. His "steppingstones," he said, were the Young Progressives of America, and its adult counterpart in Wisconsin, the People's Progressive Party.

Michael Ondrejka testified that, as he advanced in years, he also advanced into the realm of adult Communist Party activity. He emerged from the youth section in 1951, when Communist Party units were reduced to a minimum of 3 or 4 members as part of security measures then rigidly enforced by the party. Mr. Ondrejka was employed at that time with the Allen-Bradley Co., a manufacturer of electronic equipment in Milwaukee.

The Communist Party, in line with its long-standing policy of infiltrating vital defense industry, realized the value of having an active party organization within the Allen-Bradley Co. Mr. Ondrejka and John J. Killian, a fellow employee, were assigned the task of forming the nucleus of this organization. At a later time, the two were joined by Mrs. Darina Rasmussen, an officeworker with the local union holding bargaining rights for Allen-Bradley employees. Both Mr. Killian and Mrs. Rasmussen appeared before the committee and invoked their privilege under the fifth amendment when questioned concerning the activities of this Communist cell.

Testimony taken by the committee in previous years has shown that the Communist Party, as a result of the arrest and conviction of its leaders under the Smith Act, has ordered many functionaries to drop open-party activities and go "underground." The committee has been of the opinion for some time that this action of the party has served to defeat two of its major objectives: The recruitment of members and the dissemination of propaganda. A striking confirmation of this committee view was produced at the Milwaukee hearings during the testimony of Sigmund Eisenscher, present State chairman of the Communist Party of Wisconsin.

Evidence introduced in the course of his testimony showed that Mr. Eisenscher was "absent from the State on official party business" from 1951 until the summer of 1954. It was apparent that Mr. Eisenscher was actually "underground" at the direction of the Communist Party during that period. He returned to open-party work in Milwaukee in the summer of 1954, even though he ran the risk of prosecution under the Smith Act. Evidence in the hands of the committee indicated that the purpose of his return was to "bolster the

failing party organization in the State." Mr. Eisenscher invoked the fifth amendment in response to committee questions regarding his activities in the Communist Party.

LOS ANGELES AND SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

Vast new knowledge regarding the membership and activities of the Communist Party in southern California was obtained by this committee during 17 days of hearings in that State last year. A total of 38 witnesses was heard by the committee, which held its sessions in Los Angeles with the exception of a 2-day hearing in San Diego.

More than 1,000 members of the Communist Party in Los Angeles County were identified by witness William Ward Kimple, former undercover operative within the Communist Party for the Los Angeles Police Department. Mr. Kimple also verified approximately 300 documents exposing Communist Party objectives and activities in that area. This witness had worked within the Communist Party from July of 1928 until September 1939.

Documented testimony on Communist Party activities in Los Angeles County, with particular emphasis on southwest Los Angeles, was also presented in the testimony of Stephen Wereb. Mr. Wereb served as an FBI undercover agent within the Communist Party from October 1943 until the beginning of 1948. Anita Bell Schneider, who operated within the party for the FBI from August 1951 to December 1954, brought the committee up to date on Communist leadership and objectives in both Los Angeles and San Diego.

The testimony of William Ward Kimple provided the most detailed and documented evidence ever received by the committee on Communist operations in Los Angeles County during the 1930's. The committee held 9 days of hearings solely to receive the testimony of this former undercover police agent.

Mr. Kimple had access to this evidence as a result of the position he attained as assistant to the membership director of the Los Angeles County Communist Party. It was Mr. Kimple's duty to keep Communist Party membership records, to assist in the annual registration of party members and in the annual issuance of party membership books, and to facilitate the transfer of party members from one unit to another. This undercover agent was also required by the party itself to know the location of every party member and to observe whether each was properly carrying out various party assignments.

The voluminous documentary material which Mr. Kimple reviewed in the course of his appearance before the committee was, in most instances, obtained by himself or by his former wife, Clara Osvald Kimple, deceased, also an undercover agent for the Los Angeles police authorities. Some of this material had been obtained by the committee from other sources. Included among these hundreds of documents were membership lists of Communist Party cells in Los Angeles, Orange, and San Diego Counties; original membership and dues books of various individuals in the party; applications for party membership; and membership lists of Communist Party front organizations. One of the documents is the Communist Party's record of its registration of all party members in Los Angeles County in 1939. The material also involves various party directives as well as reports

by official Communist bodies such as the Los Angeles County Disciplinary Committee.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PEACE CRUSADE

In the course of its hearings in California, the committee made special inquiry into the nature and activities of the Southern California Peace Crusade, a propaganda group with headquarters in Los Angeles.

Anita Bell Schneider, undercover operative within the Communist Party for the FBI from 1951 through 1954, presented valuable testimony on the operations of this organization. Although she lived in San Diego, she traveled frequently to Los Angeles and other California communities on party business. Among the Communist Party members in Los Angeles with whom she worked was Peter Hyun, executive director of the Southern California Peace Crusade. Mrs. Schneider herself was assigned by the Communist Party to work with the peace crusade, which she clearly labeled as a party project to disseminate prevailing Soviet propaganda.

On the instructions of Peter Hyun, Mrs. Schneider was installed as chairman of the San Diego Peace Forum, a counterpart of the Los Angeles organization. While the San Diego group professed to be autonomous, Mrs. Schneider testified that she periodically visited Los Angeles to make progress reports to Mr. Hyun and receive additional directions from him on the operations of the forum. She also attended executive board meetings of the Southern California Peace Crusade.

Mrs. Schneider stated that the Southern California Peace Crusade, the Northern California Peace Crusade, and the San Diego Peace Forum were branches of a national organization known as the American Peace Crusade. The American Peace Crusade was subdivided into these ostensibly autonomous local organizations in accordance with a strategy taught by the Chinese Communist leader Mao Tse-tung, Mrs. Schneider said. The value of this subdivision lay in the fact that the whole propaganda operation would not be jeopardized by the exposure of any single unit as a Communist front.

The secretary of the Southern California Peace Crusade, Mrs. Sue Lawson, was thereafter called to testify before the committee. Mrs. Lawson has been identified as a Communist Party member by a number of witnesses in previous committee hearings. She invoked the fifth amendment, however, in response to all questions regarding the Communist Party and the peace crusade.

The Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American Peace Crusade as a front organization of the Communist Party in a report issued on April 25, 1951. From evidence obtained through investigation and testimony in 1955, the committee concludes that the same subversive intent which it found in the American Peace Crusade is inherent in its branches: the Southern California Peace Crusade, the Northern California Peace Crusade, and the San Diego Peace Forum. All of these misnamed "peace" organizations continue to have a common objective: The dissemination of Communist propaganda aimed at discrediting the United States and promoting a dangerous relaxation in the ideological and military strength of our country.

Mrs. Schneider also described the efforts of the Communists to infiltrate churches in San Diego. Mrs. Schneider herself was instructed to

infiltrate two local churches on different occasions. The purpose of this Communist effort was to obtain influence over the ministers, the members of the various congregations, and social action groups where such existed. Mrs. Schneider related that when the Communists were expelled from the San Diego First Unitarian Church by the pastor, Peter Samson, they set up a competitive organization, the Community Unitarian Fellowship. This was designed to operate as a "nonreligious" front organization, and a number of unsuspecting members of the First Unitarian Church were duped into joining it, Mrs. Schneider said. The Communist group was refused recognition both by the San Diego Unitarian Church and by the American Unitarian Association, the parent body of Unitarian churches in America.

GEORGE HUGH HARDYMAN

George Hugh Hardyman was questioned by the committee on June 28 and 29, 1955, regarding a speaking campaign which he conducted in Iron Curtain countries and in the United States under the sponsorship of the aforementioned Southern California Peace Crusade.

Mr. Hardyman is a retired citrus rancher living in Topanga, Calif. A Britisher by birth, he immigrated to the United States in the early 1920's and has since become a naturalized American citizen.

Evidence introduced at the hearing showed that Mr. Hardyman was part of a 14-member delegation from the United States to an Asian and Pacific Peace Conference held in Peking, China, in November 1952. The trip to China was sponsored by the Southern California Peace Crusade. In his passport application, which must be sworn to by the applicant, Mr. Hardyman had informed the State Department that he intended to travel to "Australia, Canton Islands, etc." for pleasure and to visit his brother. It was State Department policy at that time to stamp all passports "Not valid for travel in China."

During the month preceding the conference in China, Mr. Hardyman is known to have obtained from the Czechoslovakian Embassy in Paris a visa to enter that Iron Curtain country. By early November he had arrived in China where he was represented as being deputy director of the American delegation to the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference.

Mr. Hardyman delivered a speech in China which was recorded for rebroadcast to other parts of the world. In it, he callously accused the United States of perpetrating a crime against mankind by waging germ warfare in Korea, among other charges. Typical of his speech is the following excerpt:

The Conference condemned vigorously the actions by our Government, especially the use of biological warfare for the spreading of disease in Korea and northeast China. A careful study of the report of the International Scientific Commission and the extensive collection of evidence on exhibition here, including the handwritten testimony of four of our pilots and the tape records of their voices, have left not the slightest doubt in the minds of any delegates to this Conference, including the 14 delegates from the United States, that our Government has used this revolting method of warfare on a wide scale, but the blame for this crime against mankind was never once placed on us, the American people.

A similar speech was delivered later by Mr. Hardyman in Warsaw, Poland. Upon his return to the United States, he was utilized exten-

sively by the Southern California Peace Crusade for the purpose of propagating similar Communist lies in this country.

In his appearance as a witness before the committee in June, Mr. Hardyman refused to answer all questions regarding his trip behind the Iron Curtain and his activities in Communist "peace" projects on the ground of possible self-incrimination. The witness has never been identified before the committee as a member of the Communist Party, and he denied at the hearing that he has ever held such membership. Unfortunately, Mr. Hardyman at the same time took the opportunity to repeat his heinous and utterly ridiculous charge that the United States waged germ warfare during the Korean war.

This committee was greatly disturbed to learn that our enemies obtained freely from Mr. Hardyman the same treasonous statements which they were simultaneously trying to force from American prisoners of war by brainwashings and other tortures. It is unfortunate that American soldiers can be prosecuted for cooperating with the enemy in such circumstances while persons like Mr. Hardyman escape punishment.

The committee has submitted a record of Mr. Hardyman's testimony to the Department of Justice, with the request that the Department analyze the evidence and determine whether or not this witness can be prosecuted for his treasonable activities behind the Iron Curtain. The committee has also asked the Department of Justice to institute immediate legal proceedings against Mr. Hardyman for falsifying a sworn passport application.

KOREAN INDEPENDENCE

The *Korean Independence*, a bilingual Korean-English newspaper, has been published in Los Angeles since approximately 1943. Investigation conducted prior to the committee hearings in the past year established that the *Korean Independence* is exclusively a vehicle for Communist Party propaganda. The newspaper is circulated among persons of Korean descent for the purpose of popularizing the policies of the Soviet Union, the North Korean Government, and the Communist conspiracy in America. The Southern California Peace Crusade and similar Communist fronts have received strong support in the columns of this publication.

The editor of the publication is Kim Kang, also known as Kim Diamond, an alien born in North Korea. Party documents in the committee's possession indicate that the west-coast Communists of Korean descent consider Mr. Kim's publication an "organ" of the Communist Party and that Mr. Kim's address has been used as a mail drop for communications between the Communist Government of North Korea and west-coast Communists. The documents also indicate that Mr. Kim himself has been in communication with the Government of North Korea. When questioned regarding this evidence, Mr. Kim invoked the fifth amendment to the United States Constitution, to which he neither owes nor has pledged allegiance and for which he cares naught. Mr. Kim was ordered deported as long ago as April 1943. Through a variety of legal maneuvers, however, he has been able to remain in this country up to the present time.

The committee's hearings in Los Angeles and San Diego heard a number of other witnesses who were called in connection with a continuing inquiry into Communist activities within the motion-picture industry, education, labor, and such front organizations as the Independent Progressive Party. The committee developed extensive information on a Communist-operated summer camp near Los Angeles known as the Ormsby Village for Youth. This investigation is described in detail in a special section of this report dealing with summer camps.

SEATTLE, WASH., AREA

Communist objectives and accomplishments in the Pacific Northwest were the subject of continued committee inquiry in 1955.

The committee held sessions in Seattle, Wash., on March 17, 18, and 19, 1955, to take testimony of witnesses who could not be heard when the committee held its first hearings in that area in 1954. The committee also desired to explore additional evidence of Communist Party activities obtained through continuing staff investigations.

Eugene Dennett, who rose to responsible posts in the party organization of the Pacific Northwest during the period from 1931 to 1947, gave the committee comprehensive, documented evidence regarding the successes and failures of Communist strategy in Washington and Oregon. Communist activities in both States were supervised by a district bureau of the Communist Party and a smaller secretariat within the bureau; Mr. Dennett had been a member of each of these important Communist units. Throughout his membership in the party Mr. Dennett collected Communist directives and literature in such volume that the committee staff has not yet been able to complete an evaluation of the material.

The testimony of Mr. Dennett bared 16 years of Communist duplicity directed against the population of the Pacific Northwest. He described the strategy and accomplishments of the party in using such front organizations as the Unemployed Councils and the Trade Union Unity League in the very early 1930's, the Workers' Alliance and the Washington Commonwealth Federation which appeared later, and the Washington Pension Union still operating in that locality today.

How Communists seize and corrupt worthy organizations for their own unscrupulous purposes was illustrated by Mr. Dennett's testimony regarding the Washington Pension Union. Corroborating and elaborating on evidence produced at the 1954 hearings of the committee, Mr. Dennett stated that this Communist front developed out of a sincere movement by retired persons for improved pension benefits. The Communist Party concentrated on getting its members into positions of leadership in the Old Age Pension Union, as the movement was then designated. Although anti-Communists had headed the union, Mr. Dennett said that Communists obtained control by carrying on "a relentless struggle for better and more welfare assistance to the aged people so as to insure their loyalty and support" to Communist leaders. The purpose of this Communist control, however, was "to be certain that a large body of people became ardent supporters and friends of the Soviet Union so that it would be possible to defend the political policies of the Communist Party in that respect and to give assistance to the Communist program in this area." Mr. Dennett testi-

fied that the Communist Party considered the pension organization to be a special prize because of the political influence it could wield. He said.

* * * here was a potential group of people capable of doing enormous amounts of political work. Remember, please, their situation: They were retired; they had ceased working daily on a job. Therefore, they had the leisure time to do what they wanted to do in most instances * * *. The result was that some of these people could go out and peddle leaflets and knock on doors. They constituted an enormous political strength. And the Communist Party conceived the idea that these people certainly would be the most able people to carry on political programs if they could be won to support such a program * * *.

Subsequent testimony taken by the committee in Seattle showed that the Washington Pension Union, under Communist control, did achieve a "tremendous" influence with political parties in the State.

Communist miscalculations in the struggle for political influence were also related by Mr. Dennett. For example, in an effort to capitalize on a certain popular issue, the Communists committed themselves to support a legislative measure which was submitted to the voters in a statewide election. The Communists thereafter decided it "would be smarter politically" if the measure were not adopted. To resolve this predicament, the Communists embarked on a vigorous preelection campaign, in which they represented themselves to the voters as being in favor of the legislation but explained the measure in such a way as to convince listeners they should vote against it. The measure was defeated as a result of these tactics, Mr. Dennett said.

An unusually important document which Mr. Dennett submitted into the record of the hearing exposes the Communist theory of organization in a detail rarely seen by this committee. This document, entitled "How the Communist International Formulates at Present the Problem of Organization," was written by a Russian Communist, but it became law for local Communist Party leaders such as Mr. Dennett. Although the words were originally written in 1930, the committee observes a startling parallel between the theory laid down in this document and the current practices of the Communist Party in America. The Soviet writer outlined a system of secret organization and communications for Communist parties in countries where such activities are considered illegal; the system is applicable to the party in this country today. Methods of infiltrating industry and various community organizations were set down step by step in the document; they match the actual experiences related by many former Communists who have appeared before this committee.

This document deserves close study by anyone who seeks to understand the motivations and operations of the Communist Party. Therefore, extensive excerpts from the document have been reprinted as appendix II to this report.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE IN THE ROSENBERG CASE

Hearings on the National Committee To Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, and its affiliates, held in Washington, D. C., August 2-5, 1955, clearly established the fact that the organizations were created and directed by the Communist Party.

Testimony relating to the major areas where the Rosenberg campaign was conducted disclosed that the leadership was tightly in the hands of Communist Party members, working through the party or through its auxiliaries such as the Civil Rights Congress. The national committee had a concealed Communist as president, Louis Harap, editor of the Communist magazine *Jewish Life*. Leaders of the Rosenberg organizations in Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, D. C., Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Los Angeles were all identified as Communist Party members.

The testimony of various witnesses disclosed that the primary purposes of the organization—nominally created to “defend” the convicted spies, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg—were actually: (1) to revitalize the Communist rank-and-file organization by recruiting countless new dupes into the Communist conspiracy; (2) to provide a new source of funds for subversive activities; and (3) to discredit the United States and its system of justice, and to cloak purges and other excesses in process behind the Iron Curtain.

The current campaign—aiming at the vindication of the Rosenbergs and the release of coconspirator Morton Sobell, now serving a 30-year prison term—is being conducted by the National Committee To Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in the Rosenberg Case. This new name for the Rosenberg organization was adopted at a national conference in Chicago in October 1953. The Sobell committee has requested the Senate Judiciary Committee to investigate the supposed “injustices” in both the Rosenberg and Sobell cases.

The purpose of the committee's hearings on the Rosenberg organizations was clearly enunciated by Chairman Walter at the opening session:

The committee has received numerous inquiries from Members of Congress and private citizens as to whether organizations established throughout the United States known by various names such as “The Committee To Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case,” “To Secure Clemency for the Rosenbergs,” and “To Secure Justice for Morton Sobell” are being exploited by the Communist Party for ideological purposes as distinguished from humane purposes, and inquiring as to the extent of Communist Party control or influence in the establishment and operation of such organizations. In response to these inquiries, and in discharge of the legislative duties placed upon this committee, the Committee on Un-American Activities has decided to hold hearings beginning today for the purpose of investigating the extent, character, and objects of Communist Party propaganda activities within such organizations.

Analyzed as a whole, the hearings unmasked the Rosenberg campaign as one of the most fraudulent ventures ever foisted by the Communist Party upon the American people. Throughout the Nation, the national committee itself was able to collect some \$300,000. With the funds raised by the various local organizations—numbering more than 40 at the peak of the campaign—a total can be estimated at least at a half million dollars. (The Internal Revenue Bureau has made a determination that the Rosenberg committee owes \$124,121.96 in back taxes and penalties. The organization is charged with deducting as operating expenses sums actually spent for propaganda purposes, and failing to prove its income was the result of “gifts.”) Although these funds were spent for such specific purposes as fees for the lawyers of the condemned pair, the money in general served to finance the single Communist objective of discrediting America and its institutions in the eyes of the world, and disseminating the lie at

home and abroad that the United States is a nation ruled by "depraved Fascists," bent on the annihilation of minority groups and the very idea of democracy itself.

One of the most significant disclosures of the hearings concerned confidential memoranda in the handwriting of David Greenglass—a coconspirator and Ethel Rosenberg's brother—whose testimony provided the overwhelming evidence of the Rosenbergs' guilt. In an affidavit given to this committee, Greenglass' lawyer, O. John Rogge, stated that the documents had been filched from his files.

The documents were first published in the French press by the French Rosenberg committee on April 18, 1953, just after Joseph Brainin, chairman of the American Rosenberg committee, had made a stopoff in Paris in the course of a 10-day trip to confer with leaders of European Rosenberg organizations. (Mr. Brainin was excused from appearing before the committee on his physician's certification of illness.) The documents were subsequently widely disseminated by the Rosenberg organization in the United States.

When asked whether he or other members of the national committee were involved in the theft of the documents, David Alman, national committee executive secretary, refused to answer on the ground of possible self-incrimination.

James Glatis, a volunteer FBI undercover member of the Communist Party from 1949 until 1954, testified that the Boston Rosenberg organization was created by the Communist Party of Boston and met initially at the home of Herman Tamsky, the regular meeting place of the East Boston section of the party to which Mr. Glatis belonged. Mr. Glatis identified both Herman Tamsky and his wife, Florence, as members of the party. Mr. Tamsky functioned as chairman of the Boston Rosenberg organization. The executive secretary was Sue Koritz, also identified by Mr. Glatis as a Communist Party member. Her husband, Philip Koritz, also named by Mr. Glatis as a party member, aided the Rosenberg campaign in his capacity as chairman of the Boston Civil Rights Congress. A former organizer for various Communist-dominated unions in the South, Mr. Koritz was described by Mr. Glatis as being completely subject to Communist Party discipline. Other Communist Party members identified by Mr. Glatis as active in the Rosenberg campaign were Herbert Zimmerman, the party's educational director; and Edith Abber, another functionary, both of whom were indicted by the State of Massachusetts for teaching and advocating the overthrow of the Government by force and violence; and one Sid Rayden. Mr. Glatis said that he participated in the Rosenberg campaign on the orders of Ann Burlak, a member of the national committee of the American Communist Party and a ranking official of the party's New England apparatus.

The purposes of the campaign, he testified, were these:

First, the securing of financial assistance, or securing funds for the Communist Party, and, secondly, there was the necessity of using this particular issue on a basis of propagandizing the fact that one of the reasons why the Rosenbergs were being executed was because they were Jewish. In other words, giving them a foundational basis for preaching there was anti-Semitism in the United States; and, third, and most important to the Communist Party, was the fact that there were anti-Semitic programs taking place within the Soviet Union.

The Rosenberg organization, like all Communist-front groups, Mr. Glatis testified, further served "the basic purposes" of recruiting new

members for the party and providing additional finances for general party work.

As for the Rosenbergs themselves, the witness declared, "the Communist Party didn't give a hoot about [them] or about any of the individuals whom they allegedly supported * * * and milked to the extent of whatever they could financially and from a propaganda viewpoint."

Herman Tamsky and Philip Koritz, in their appearance before this committee, refused to answer any questions concerning the activities of the Rosenberg organization or about their Communist Party membership.

The pattern of Communist organization described by Mr. Glatis was corroborated by the testimony of Herman E. Thomas, an undercover member of the Lehigh Valley Communist Party apparatus; Anzelm A. Czarnowski, of Chicago; and Milton J. Santwire, of Detroit.

Mr. Thomas testified that the Rosenberg campaign in the vital Lehigh Valley area was supervised directly from the Communist Party district headquarters in Philadelphia and was carried out by party members locally. Rosenberg literature was brought from Communist sources in Philadelphia by local Communists and occasionally by district functionaries from the Philadelphia headquarters. "The Communist Party in Allentown," Mr. Thomas testified, "undertook the responsibility of dissemination of that material." He identified the following as Communist Party members who were active in the Rosenberg activities in the Allentown area; Irving Riskin, Adelaide Riskin, Michael Freedland, Sylvia Freedland, Harriet Karol, Billie Jane Lipsett, Ted Norton, and Maude and Scott Nichol. Ted Norton, a former librarian of Lafayette College, and Miss Lipsett were in charge of the campaign in Easton, Pa. Mr. Thomas also described some of the techniques of Communist finances whereby funds raised by and for front organizations were in reality turned over directly to the party. Sylvia Freedland and Adelaide Riskin, from Allentown; Ted Norton, and Jean D. Frantjis, chairman of the Philadelphia Rosenberg Committee, who was also identified by Mr. Thomas as a Communist Party member, took refuge in the fifth amendment to avoid answering questions concerning Rosenberg activities and Communist Party affiliations.

Mr. Czarnowski, another volunteer FBI member of the Communist Party, testified that Rosenberg literature in Chicago was obtained from the Communist Party bookstore. Some of it was published by the National Rosenberg Committee and some by the Communist Party itself.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were you told to do with this material which you got from the Communist Party bookstore dealing with the Rosenberg matter?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. We were supposed to distribute that to the public. Each member of the Communist Party was responsible to purchase many copies and then distribute them to the public.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that done in Chicago?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. Santwire testified that it was through the Communist Party circles with which he was in contact, that he first heard of the prospective Rosenberg activity in Detroit. Mr. Santwire's testimony disclosed that the Rosenberg organization in Detroit was almost

exclusively in the hands of party members and officials. One of these, identified by Mr. Santwire as an active Communist Party member, was Anne Shore, director of organization of the Michigan Civil Rights Congress. Others were Ethel Jacobowitz, Gert Schatz, Philip Halper, Sol Grossman, Nelson Davis, Tom Crow, Art McPhaul, executive secretary of the Michigan Civil Rights Congress, Helen Travis, and Lydia Mates. The head of the Detroit Rosenberg organization was Mrs. Leo (Pat) Rush, who has been identified by Mrs. Bereniece Baldwin, in another hearing before this committee, as the former chairman of the North Dexter Communist Party Club in Detroit. Investigations by the committee have revealed that another leader of the Detroit Rosenberg organization was Eve Neidelman, who was employed at the time of her appearance before the committee by the United Automobile Workers in Detroit. Wrappers on Rosenberg literature found at meetings in Detroit show that the material was addressed by the national committee to Miss Neidelman. Mrs. Baldwin has identified Miss Neidelman as former chairman of the Detroit 12th Street Communist Club. Other information available to the committee indicates that Miss Neidelman was the private secretary to Elmer Johnson, State secretary of the Communist Party for District 7 in 1943. In her appearance before this committee, Miss Neidelman refused to affirm or deny Communist Party membership and similarly refused to answer all questions concerning Rosenberg activities.

Other witnesses at the committee's hearings were Don Rothenberg, Washington representative of the national committee; his wife, Mildred Rothenberg, executive secretary of the Cleveland Rosenberg Committee; John B. Stone, and Ethel Weichbrod, leaders of the Washington, D. C., Rosenberg organization; Josephine Granat, executive secretary of the Chicago Rosenberg Committee; David Alman, executive secretary of the National Rosenberg Committee; his wife, Emily Alman, treasurer of the national committee and later executive secretary of the National Rosenberg-Sobell Committee—the name given the organization following the execution of the spies: Ruth Belmont of the Chicago Rosenberg-Sobell Committee; Louis Harap, and John Gilman of the Milwaukee Rosenberg Committee.

Don Rothenberg, John Gilman, John Stone, Ethel Weichbrod, and Louis Harap have all been identified in sworn testimony as members of the Communist Party. All refused to divulge any information on the nature and activities of that organization and on their own status as Communist Party members. Unanimously, they exhibited the same contempt and defiance that sealed the fate of the spies whom they championed so vociferously.

REFERENCE SERVICE

The committee maintains a large collection of information on the subject of subversive activities covering, in general, the years 1938 to date, although there is a wealth of even older material on file.

This valuable collection is maintained in order to furnish reference service not only to the committee's own members and staff for use as background material and actual exhibits in investigations and hearings but to every Member of Congress who submits a written request for information in this field.

This reference service goes far beyond the ordinary type which simply points out the best sources of information to the person making inquiry. Whenever references to the subject under consideration are found in public source material, a written report of that information is furnished setting forth, point by point, what appears and where it appears, together with any pertinent citations by this committee or the Attorney General on every organization involved.

Although the usefulness of this service cannot be judged entirely by statistics, the following figures do indicate that there is great interest in and need for the information. During 1955, more than 1,300 requests were received from the Members of Congress, necessitating a check of source material in the committee's public records, files, and publications for information on 4,325 individuals and 911 organizations, publications, and more general subjects. In 3,181 instances, information was found in committee records and was compiled into detailed reports sometimes as long as 12 to 15 pages on a single subject.

The constant use of the collection by the committee's own employees can be only partially described by statistics. However, the reference section staff has supplied to other staff members written reports on 1,272 individuals and 58 organizations over the past 12 months, has given verbal answers on 2,072 persons and 1,011 organizations, and has searched out and supplied copies of 800 or more exhibits for use in investigations and hearings.

Still another service of the reference section is furnished to designated representatives from various agencies of the executive branch of the Government, who are permitted, 4 days each week, to use the resources available here in making security checks. It has been necessary, because of comparatively limited space and facilities, to restrict the number of agents accredited for admission as well as the amount and type of reference service provided for them. However, the reference section staff has continued to point out sources of information and to answer their questions concerning committee records on an average of 12 or more times daily. A total of 3,500 visits by properly accredited Government agents has been recorded for 1955, which in 37 percent of the cases extended over the entire working day.

While the use of this collection grows continually, so does its usefulness increase by proper maintenance and the careful processing and indexing of new additions. The care of such an extensive and varied amount of material is within itself a task, for such material does not become obsolete and available for discard or storage, but tends to become more valuable and to require more careful handling as it increases in age and volume.

New material, in order to be properly incorporated into the collection, available for immediate use in a variety of circumstances, and properly reported, must be exactly classified, thoroughly cross-referenced, and minutely indexed. Many thousands of original and microfilm or photostatic copies of periodicals, clippings, books, pamphlets, and other printed matter have been so processed and added to files in the past year. Among these, perhaps the most valuable were 215 rolls of microfilm which have for the first time provided a complete file of the issues of the Communist papers, *Daily Worker*, *Daily People's World*, *Midwest Record*, and *Western Worker*, as well as a number of other publications new to the com-

mittee's periodical files. The acquisition of microfilm has, moreover, released a small but important amount of space for other records, affording some temporary relief in the critical problem of housing a voluminous and ever-growing collection of material on a vitally important subject.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The vast majority of the recommendations made by the Committee on Un-American Activities have been adopted or enacted into law. The committee notes, however, that no legislation in this field was completed during the first session of the present Congress despite certain measures which the committee believes deserve immediate attention and action.

Until the courts have rendered a final determination on the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act of 1950, the committee does not believe it advisable for the Congress to undertake any broad new legislative action against the functioning of the Communist Party. The committee also prefers to observe the operation of the immunity statute enacted by the last Congress before making any further recommendations along this line.

Nevertheless there are certain legislative and administrative steps which should be taken immediately in order to strengthen the hand of our Government in dealing with the Soviet conspiracy. Four of these measures have been previously recommended by the committee and are resubmitted with the urgent request that decisive action be taken before the conclusion of the 84th Congress:

1. Information obtained through surveillance by technical devices should be permitted as evidence in matters affecting the national security, with the provision that adequate safeguards are adopted to prevent any abuse of civil liberties.

2. The unauthorized transportation in interstate commerce of Government documents falling within a top secret, secret, or confidential classification should be made a criminal action.

3. Persons bidding for a Government contract should be required to file an affidavit stating he is not now and has not been within the past 10 years a member of any organization advocating overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

4. The statute of limitations on treason, espionage, sabotage, and other subversive activities should be amended. Bills introduced in the House and the Senate would amend the statute to permit prosecutions up to 15 years from the time of commission of a crime, instead of the 5 years now provided for.

In addition, the committee urges the following legislative and administrative action in 1956:

5. The statute of limitations for violation of section 1001 or section 1621 of title 18, United States Code, dealing with false statements in regard to subversive activities and connections, should be extended to 10 years from commission of the offense by employees of the United States or any department or agency thereof, or any applicant for such employment.

6. The maximum penalty for seditious conspiracy, advocating overthrow of the Government, and conspiracy to so advocate, should be increased to \$20,000 in fines and 20 years imprisonment, in order to provide a more realistic punishment for crimes of such gravity.

This change is embodied in H. R. 2854, which was passed by the House in 1955 at the recommendation of the House Judiciary Committee and now awaits action by the Senate.

7. There is a need for prompt enactment of H. R. 3882, revising existing law to require the registration of persons with knowledge of or training in espionage, counterespionage, or sabotage tactics of a foreign government. The House approved this bill last year but Senate action on the measure is still needed.

8. Procedures by which congressional committees seek legal redress against contemptuous witnesses should be streamlined in the manner proposed by H. R. 780. Court action frequently takes 1 to 2 years under the present cumbersome process which involves: Committee vote, a House resolution, formal application to the United States district attorney; grand jury indictment, and trial. Not only does the committee fail to obtain the information desired of the witness, but the witness often escapes punishment altogether. H. R. 780 permits congressional committees, by majority vote, to refer a defiant witness directly to the courts. If the court determines that a witness has been in contempt and he so continues, the witness may then be adjudged in contempt of the court itself. H. R. 780 has already been approved by the House and requires action by the Senate.

9. Willfully contradictory statements made by a witness before Federal grand juries, Federal courts, or congressional bodies should be punishable as perjury without the present requirement that the Government prove which of the statements is false. Although when two contradictory statements are made, one of them is obviously false, the Government must now prove the falsity by testimony of 2 independent witnesses or by the testimony of 1 witness and corroborative evidence. Bills introduced in the House and the Senate would remedy this situation by requiring the Government to prove only that the statements of a witness are themselves contradictory—provided that they are willful, concern material matters, and are made within 3 years of one another.

10. Recommendation is hereby made that the Attorney General continue his efforts for stricter enforcement of section 242 of the Walter-McCarren Immigration and Nationality Act providing for the detention of aliens whose deportation has not been effected. Such action would prevent the anomaly of deportable Communists, such as Kim Diamond and David Hyun, continuing to remain at liberty and to engage in subversive activities while doing all in their power to obstruct the processes of law designed to rid the Nation of their presence.

APPENDIX I

Following is a complete list of committee hearings and publications for the 1st session of the 84th Congress:

- Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York Area—Part 1 (Testimony of Jean Muir), June 15, 1953. (Released by committee May 25, 1955.)
Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York Area—Part 2 (Youth Organizations), March 16, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York Area—Part 3 (Testimony of Mildred Blauvelt), May 3 and 4, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York Area—Part 4 (Testimony of Mildred Blauvelt), May 5 and 6, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York Area—Part 5 (Summer Camps), July 25, 28, 29, and August 1, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York Area—Part 6 (Entertainment), August 15 and 16, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York Area—Part 7 (Entertainment), August 17 and 18, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York Area—Part 8 (Entertainment), October 14, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities in the Fort Wayne, Ind., Area, February 28, March 1, and April 25, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities in the Milwaukee, Wis., Area—Part 1, March 28 and 29, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities in the Milwaukee, Wis., Area—Part 2, March 29, 30, and May 3, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities in the Seattle, Wash., Area—Part 1, March 17 and 18, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities in the Seattle, Wash., Area—Part 2, March 18 and 19, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities in the Seattle, Wash., Area—Part 3, June 1 and 2, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities in the Newark, N. J., Area—Part 1, May 16 and 17, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities in the Newark, N. J., Area—Part 2, May 18, 19 and July 13, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities in the Ohio Area (Testimony of Keve Bray) July 13, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities—Part 1 (The Committee To Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case and Affiliates) August 2 and 3, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities—Part 2 (The Committee To Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case and Affiliates) August 4 and 5, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities in the Los Angeles, Calif., Area—Part 1, June 27 and 28, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities in the Los Angeles, Calif., Area—Part 2, June 29, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities in the Los Angeles, Calif., Area—Part 3, June 30, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities in the Los Angeles, Calif., Area—Part 4, July 1 and 2, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities in the Los Angeles, Calif., Area—Part 5, October 13, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities in the Los Angeles, Calif., Area—Part 6 (Testimony of William Ward Kimple), April 18–21, 25–29, 1955
Investigation of Communist Activities in the San Diego, Calif., Area—July 5 and 6, 1955
Investigation of Communist Infiltration of Government—Part 1, December 13, 1955

Investigation of Communist Infiltration of Government—Part 2, December 14 and 15, 1955

Cumulative Index to Publications of the Committee on Un-American Activities 1938-54

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APPENDIX II

HOW THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL FORMULATES AT PRESENT THE PROBLEM OF ORGANIZATION

(By B. Vassiliev)

The Enlarged Presidium of the E. C. C. I. (February 1930), summing up the international situation, called upon all Communist Parties to fundamentally change the methods and pace of their work by concentrating their chief attention on the problems of the preparation and the carrying out of mass REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS OF THE PROLETARIAT—strikes, demonstrations, etc., while at the same time continuing as far as possible to promote their agitational and propaganda work. Consequently, in the present conditions, the Party apparatus, in response to the demands which the direction of the Comintern puts forward, should in the first place be fitted for the organization of demonstrations, strikes and other mass actions of the proletariat. Party leaders who are not capable of organizing demonstrations and strikes do not answer to the demands which the circumstances of the class struggle are now placing before the Communist Parties, and therefore should be replaced by others who have shown these qualities in the course of the class battles of the most recent period.

Why did the Enlarged Presidium put the question in this way? The political resolution of the Enlarged Presidium states that the growing new economic crisis is hastening the process of upsetting capitalist stabilization (it has already led to the beginning of the collapse of capitalist stabilization) and the growth of class contradictions, thus accelerating the rise of a new revolutionary wave. The resolution further states that the working class movement in the period since the 10th Plenum of the E. C. C. I. had been raised to a higher stage. The revolutionary activity of the proletarian masses has grown stronger, the fighting capabilities of the Communist Parties have been heightened. The whole position of the class struggle has placed before the Communist Parties and the Communist International as a whole, a number of new fighting tasks. In the process of the growth of a new revolutionary upsurge there are present already in certain capitalist countries elements of a gathering political crisis and of a revolutionary situation, as for example, in Poland, Italy, Spain, partly in Rumania, in Yugoslavia, and in Greece. A deep political crisis is present in China and India, being the starting point of a revolutionary situation. In Germany the process of the radicalization of the masses of the working class is proceeding at a swift pace. In France, another country of powerful capitalism, the number of strikers grew from 222,000 in 1928 to 431,000 in 1929, whilst these strikes assumed a more and more clearly expressed political character and were characterized by the growing tenacity of the workers. In England, in spite of extraordinary difficult conditions for the growth of a revolutionary movement, in spite of the extraordinary weakness of the Communist Party (on the 1st January 1930, 2,800 Party members and 120 members in the Y. C. L.), the number of strikers in 1929 compared with 1928 grew from 124,000 to 534,000 comprising the most important sections of industry, such as mining and textiles.

At the same time, the gigantic successes of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. are sharpening in the most extreme way the contradictions between U. S. S. R. and the entire capitalist world and are forcing the leaders of the capitalist world to strengthen and hasten to the highest degree their military preparations of a new armed attack on the U. S. S. R. The 10th Plenum of the E. C. C. I. showed that the danger of new Imperialist wars and of new attacks of the imperialists on the U. S. S. R. never was so imminent from the time of the imperialist war of 1914-18 as it was at the moment of the 10th Plenum. By March 1930 that danger had increased still more.

In these conditions of growing economic crisis and heightened threat of war against the U. S. S. R. all measures will be taken by the ruling classes of the capitalist countries to guarantee their rear before declaring war, that is, every-

thing will be done by them to weaken, disorganize and, as far as possible, liquidate completely all revolutionary proletarian organizations, and in the first place the Communist Parties * * *

Moreover, the elections themselves in illegal Parties must, as a rule, take place in such a way that even the members of the conference do not know who is elected on to the Party Committee. At the present time two methods of electing leading organs in illegal Parties are practised. The first method. The Party Conference elects a special commission for counting the votes cast for candidates for members of the Party Committee. Then the candidates are named and the election of the Party Committee proceeds by secret vote. The commission checks the results of the voting, whilst it does not report to the conference as to the personnel elected. Another method of election. The conference elects a narrow commission in which a representative of the higher Party Committee takes part and this narrow committee elects the new Party Committee. In strictly illegal Parties, as for example, the Italian Communist Party, the latter method of election is the only one which more or less guarantees strict conspirative conditions.

Self-criticism of the mistakes of the Party direction in illegal Parties must also be organized through narrow conferences and must take place in such a way that the names of the Party leaders and the functioning of the Party apparatus, do not lose their conspirative character.

15. QUESTIONS OF COMMUNICATIONS

The most important element of successful working of the Party Committee—the one on which during the checking of its work the most serious attention must be concentrated—is the question of connections of the Party Committee with the higher and lower Party organizations, especially with the factory cells and the fractions of the mass non-Party organizations. This question now has a decisive importance, especially in the legal and semi-legal Communist Parties. The illegal Communist Parties have already worked out a whole number of measures and methods in order to keep their communications with the lower organizations and with separate members of the Party, in spite of the severest police repression. But with the legal and semi-legal Parties there is bad work all the time along this line. In Austria during the last Fascist rising, the C. C. lost connection with the Vienna Committee, and the Vienna Committee lost connection with the enterprises. In Paris on the 6th March 1930, the C. C. lost connection with the Paris organization for six days. Such a state of affairs is absolutely impossible and the most important task of each of our Party organizers, of every instructor going to the locals to check the work of the Party Committee is above all to check how the connections between the Party Committee and other Party organizations are organized, and especially these with the lower Party organizations, and the factory cells. It is perfectly clear that the Communist Parties will not be in a position to organize any mass actions of the Proletariat or mass strikes, or mass street demonstrations, if the Party Committees at sharp moments of struggle lose connection with the factory cells and mass non-Party organizations.

Which are the most important methods of communication it is essential to foresee? It is essentially important to have a well-laid out live communication. Live communication is kept going by the help of the system of so-called appearing or reporting places. What is a reporting point. A reporting point is this: the Party Committee establishes special addresses of flats or other places where on certain days and at certain times representatives of the cells and fractions of the mass organizations must appear. There also representatives of the Party Committees appear. The representative of the cells and fractions makes reports on what has happened in the factory, what the cell has done, what it proposes to do and so on, and the representatives of the Party Committee, having received the report, advises the cell how it should act, passes on to it the directions of the higher Party organs and so on. This system of appearing places must without fail be established in all Parties without exception, legal and illegal whilst in the legal Parties a double system of reporting places must without fail be established—a system of legal and illegal appearing points. Legal reporting places in the legal premises at the Party Committee and illegal appearing places in case the legal premises of the Party Committee are closed, or a police ambush is sitting there, in order quickly to re-establish connection with the lower Party cell in another way through the illegal reporting place. For the latter, appearing points should therefore be prepared beforehand. In Germany, in Belgium, in France, Party meetings in cafes were at one time very widespread. This is a very bad habit because there are always spies in cafes in countless numbers and it

is difficult to get rid of them. It is necessary to go over more quickly to the establishment of appearing places in safer localities. If the Party has already more or less seriously and fundamentally gone over to underground positions, and the shadowing of leading active Party members has begun, and Party members are being arrested in the streets, then it is very important that special signals should be established for the appearing flats, showing; in the first place, the safety of the flat, second, showing that exactly those people have come who were expected and that these comrades who have come are talking with exactly those comrades whom the observer is coming to see. In order to show that the reporting places are in working order, in Russian conditions, for example, a flowerpot was placed in the window, the comrade came, saw that the flowers are there, knew that it is safe, and entered. It is necessary to say that these reception signals were very quickly learned by the police and that they therefore, when visiting any flat, carefully searched for signals before fixing an ambush. If they saw that flowers are in the window and the person whom they have come to arrest has tried by all means possible to take these flowers away, the police insisted on putting them back in the place where they were. So, when arranging safety signals for reporting places, it is necessary to arrange them in such a way that they don't strike the eyes of the police and that they can be taken away without being noticed by the police.

For verifying those who come to the reporting places, a system of passwords is established. The comrade comes to the reporting place, and he says some agreed-upon sentence. They answer to that agreed-on sentence by some other agreed-on sentence. So both comrades check each other. In Russian underground conditions very complicated passwords were sometimes used in the central appearing places. This was called forth by the circumstances that different workers passed through such reporting places; rank and file workers from the cells, district and Central Party workers. Accordingly, one password was fixed for the rank and file worker, a more complicated one for the district worker and still more complicated one for the central worker. Why was this necessary? It was necessary for conspirative reasons, since only certain things could be said to the rank and file worker while perhaps other things could be said to the district worker, whilst you could speak with full frankness about the whole work of the illegal organization to the representative of the Central Committee. Therefore, passwords were, as they used to say at that time of "three degrees of trust." This was done in this way. The first degree of trust: a comrade comes and says an agreed-upon sentence and is replied to by an agreed-upon sentence. The second stage; the comrade who has come in reply to the agreed-upon sentence spoken to him, says another agreed-upon sentence, in reply to which yet another agreed-upon sentence is spoken to him. The third stage of trust: to the second agreed-upon sentence the comrade replies by a third agreed-upon sentence. Then the keeper of the appearing place also replies to the third agreed-upon sentence.

Besides flats for reporting points, connecting link flats are also needed for communication by letter, and these flats must in no case coincide. And finally, there must be flats for the sheltering of illegal comrades, comrades whom the police are looking for; comrades who have escaped from prison, etc., etc. For all our legal Communist Parties the question of addresses and flats now plays a role of the first importance. Last year, on the eve of the 1st August, when it was clear that the leading workers would be arrested in a number of countries, comrades did not know where to go, there were no flats. In any case, when it was necessary to shelter comrades hiding from the police in Germany, Czechoslovakia and France very great difficulties occurred, especially in the provinces. It is essential for all Parties to occupy themselves now in the most serious way with the solution of the "housing" problem.

Concerning communications by letter. It is also necessary to give the most serious attention to the problem of the organization of letter communications. In checking the work of the Party Committee it is necessary to consider this question specially: Does the Party Committee have addresses for communicating by letter with the higher and lower Party organizations, and how are these communications put into practice? Now, even for the legal Parties, the firmest rule must be established that all correspondence concerning the functioning of the Party apparatus, must without fail go by special routes guaranteeing letters from being copied in the post. All kinds of general circulars, general information reports on the condition of the Party in legal parties can go through the ordinary post to legal Party addresses, but everything concerning the functioning of the Party Committee even in legal Parties, must now without fail go by special routes. In the first place, the use of special couriers must be foreseen,

who will personally carry letters, not trusting these letters to the State post. Here the Parties must make use of the connections which they have with post and telegraph and railway servants, connections with all kinds of commercial travellers for trading firms and so on. All these connections must be used in order that without extra expense responsible Party documents can be transported. Further, every Party should take care that every letter, apart from whether it goes through the State post or by courier should be written in such a way that in case it falls into the hands of the police it should not give the police a basis for any kind of arrest or repression against the Party organization.

This makes the following three requisites. The first requisite: the letter must be in code, i. e., all aspects of illegal work are referred to by some special phrase or other. For example, the illegal printing press is called "aunti"; "type" is called "sugar" and so on. A comrade writes: "auntie asks you without fail to send her 20-lbs. of sugar;" that will mean that the press is in need of 20-lbs. of type or a comrade writes: "we are experiencing great difficulty in finding a suitable flat for our aunt." That means that it is a question of finding a flat for the illegal printing press.

Second requisite: besides a code, as above, ciphers are used, illegal parts of letters being put not only into code but also into cipher. There are many different systems of cipher. The simplest and at the same time most reliable system of cipher is the system of cipher by the help of a book. Some book or other is agreed upon beforehand and then the cipher is made in this way: simple fractions or decimals are ciphered. The first figure of the first fraction shows the page of the book. Then further comes the actual cipher. For the numerator of the fraction we must take a line counting from above or below; for the denominator that counting from the left or from the right which it is necessary to put into cipher. For example, we need to put into cipher the letter "A". We look in the book and we see that this letter is in the third line from the top, the fourth letter from the left to the right. Then we cipher 3 over 4 ($\frac{3}{4}$), that is the third line from the top, fourth letter from left to right. You can agree also on this method; for example, counting the line not from above but from below, then the 3 will not be the third line from above but the third line from below. You can agree to count the letter in the line not from left to right but from right to left. Finally, for greater complexity in order to keep the sense from the police, you can also add to the fraction some figure or other. Let us say the numerator is increased by 3 and the denominator by 4. In this case in order to decipher, it will be necessary first to subtract in the numerator and denominator of every fraction. A whole number of similar complications can be thought out in order to complicate the cipher. The advantage of such a cipher is that it is not only very simple but also that each letter can be designated by a great number of different signs and in such a way that the cipher designation of the letters are not repeated. The book cipher can be used without a book. In place of a book some poem or other can be chosen, learned by heart and the ciphering done according to it. When it is necessary to cipher or decipher, the poem must be written out in verses and then the ciphering or deciphering done and the poem destroyed.

The third requisite which is also recommended should be observed in correspondence, is writing in chemical inks, that is, with such inks that it is impossible to read them with special adaptations. If a secret Party letter falls into the hands of the police written in invisible ink they must first of all guess that it is written in invisible ink; the open text of such letters must be made perfectly blameless, for example, a son is writing to his mother that he is alive and well and of the good things he wishes her. Not a word about revolution. The police must guess first of all that under this apparent innocent text there is a hidden text. Having discovered this secret the police stumble against the cipher. If they succeed in deciphering the cipher, they stumble up against a code and they have still to decipher that code. But all this takes time in the course of which the police can do nothing. If the police succeed in reading it in the course of two or three weeks, then by that time the Party organization has been able to cover up all the consequences of the question which was written about in the letter.

What kind of invisible ink should be used? Invisible inks exist in a very great number. They can be bought in any chemist's shop. Finally, comrades must use the latest inventions of chemistry in this direction. The simplest invisible ink which can be recommended and which can be found everywhere, is, for example, onion juice and pure water.

16. PLAN OF WORK OF THE PARTY COMMITTEE

Every Party Committee must have a definite plan of work for the period immediately ahead. In the conditions of the capitalist countries Party Committees cannot work out the same complicated calendar plans as the Party organizations of the C. P. S. U. The C. P. S. U. is a Party in power. The plans of the C. P. S. U. regulate the whole social and political life of the country. In capitalist countries the Communist Parties are the parties of an oppressed class. The bourgeoisie in power uses the whole apparatus of the State power and the full help of the Social-Fascist and other reactionary organizations in order to smash the plans of the Communist Parties. In these conditions the committees of the Communist Parties must systematically reconsider and reconstruct the plans of their work; accordingly, these plans must be very pliable. But plans there must be, without fail. Every Party Committee must have an approximate plan of its work for the period immediately ahead and must group the forces of the Party organization according to that plan, fit the forms of the Party structure to it and also the methods of Party work. The essence of the plan of work of the Party Committee is the adequate catering for the needs of the masses in the largest enterprises, playing a more important role in the territory of the given Party organization. The structure of the local Party organization must be such that the organizations can above all serve these big enterprises. That is to say, that in the first place the Party Committee must interest itself in questions of the work of the factory cells at these big enterprises, must help in the work of these factors cells, seeking to attain that these Party cells should become really strong political and organizational organs of the Party, that they should be in practice connecting organs between the Party and the masses of workers at these enterprises. This idea can best of all be made clear by a concrete example, say as follows: in a town there are two or three big enterprises; railway workshops, a metal factory, a textile factory. Besides these three big enterprises there are two or three dozen small enterprises, and in addition scattered Party members, individual workers, artisans, representatives of the so-called liberal professions,—lawyers, writers, a doctor and so on, as well as a few students. The Party Committee of this town should interest itself above all in what is happening in the big enterprises—in the railway workshops, in the metal factory and the textile factory, how the factory cells are working there and in the first place help the factory cells of these enterprises by all and every means possible, concentrating all their attention and all their forces on this task. In the lawyer's office and the doctor's surgery there are no masses which the Party must win over and organize for revolutionary struggle. It is another matter with the big enterprises. Therefore the central question in the work of every Party Committee is the question of systematically coming to the assistance of the factory cells in the big enterprises. A Party Committee which cannot provide serious daily help to such factory cells, a Party Committee which cannot organize factory cells capable of working in the enterprises, is a bad Party Committee and the leading organs of the Party and the mass of Party members should hasten to draw from this state of affairs the necessary conclusions and as quickly as possible make a change so far as such a Party Committee is concerned.

17. MOBILIZATION OF THE FORCES OF FACTORY CELLS

We must bear in mind with regard to the internal organization of the work of factory cells that in all countries some members of the Party working in the enterprises, do not wish to be members of factory cells and do not wish to carry on Party work in the factory. For example, in the documents of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovakian Party on the preparation for the campaign for the 6th March 1930 there is information from all districts that when practical questions of the preparation for the demonstration for the 6th March were put before the meetings of factory cells, in many factory cells voices were raised to the effect that it was impossible to do any work in the factory, and at a place called Laza in Moravia, one responsible worker of a factory cell even put the question in this way: "If the Party will guarantee material help after I have been thrown out of the factory for taking part in the demonstration, but if the Party cannot guarantee my family and myself then I will not carry on Party work in the factory." Such moods among Communists working in the factory are to be observed on all sides. There are Party members who agree to pay membership dues, agree to come to a meeting once every fortnight or once a month, in order to hear a report on the world proletarian revolution, and vote

for the platform of the Comintern against the liquidators, the Trotskyists and all other renegades, but are not willing to carry on recruiting work among the workers of their enterprise, do not wish to prepare strikes in their own enterprises, do not wish to call out the workers of their enterprises to demonstrations, and so on. Every Party Committee has to fight with such Party members in their enterprises. What should we do with them? The most important task of the Party committee consists in organizing all Party members working in enterprises into factory cells and drawing them into the day to day work of the factory. With regard to Party members who do not wish to take part in the work of factory cells, the most attentive and stubborn explanatory work must be carried out. But if somebody or other all the same, categorically refuses to work in a factory cell, that comrade must be told that nobody is keeping him in the party. The Communist Party is a voluntary organization, but every worker who voluntarily joins the ranks of the Communist Party accepts iron party discipline. If that discipline seems very hard to him, even unbearable, then the Party should not shut its doors upon him. In this regard we must bear in mind that Party members who do not wish to work in factory cells are not necessarily traitors to the working class. In some organizations Party workers, proletarians, who have refused to carry out difficult tasks in their enterprises, have been cleaned out of the Party as alien elements. There are alien elements in the ranks of the Communist Party, including direct provocateurs, agents of the police and the employers, who specially creep into the Party for the purpose of carrying on disruptive work in the ranks of the Party. The Party must strictly observe each one of its members, verify in the most careful way every suspicious Party member, and if it is established that he is an alien element and even more a provocative agent, then of course, there is absolutely no reason to beat about the bush with him. But in the ranks of the Communist Parties there are a large number of proletarians who sincerely sympathize with Communism but who at the same time are not strong enough to fulfill all the demands of Communist discipline. With regard to such proletarians, if they are not capable of being members of the Communist Party there is no need to keep them in the Communist Party, but at the same time there is no need to throw them out of the Party like a dirty rag: they must be organized round the Party as sympathizers as members of non-Party mass organizations, in the Red Trade Unions, in the I. L. D., the W. I. R. and so on. In these organizations no such discipline is demanded as in the ranks of the Communist Party and they can work here in a suitable manner. At the present stage of development of the Communist movement, when the Communist Parties are ceasing to be organizations for propaganda and agitation of the Communist idea, and are turning into fighting organizations, preparing and leading revolutionary actions of the proletarian masses against the organized forces of the employers, police, State and Social-Fascists, some members of the Party are showing themselves incapable of fulfilling the new fighting tasks of the Communist Party. But without doubt such Party members can be useful to the Party as sympathetic elements, and even as leading active elements in different mass organizations, as for example, in the ILD, Tenants' Organizations, W. I. R., and so on. Factory cells must be composed of proletarians who are really the advance guard of the workers of a given enterprise, devoted to the cause of Communism, ready to carry out the directions of the Party, grudging neither health nor strength, nor life, not being afraid if Party interests demand it to carry out such work in the enterprise as may cause the employer to throw them out of the factory, perhaps the police to arrest them, and the courts to condemn them to heavy punishment. In fact, only factory cells composed of such proletarians can do great revolutionary work even though they be very small. In one of the mining districts of Czechoslovakia in 1930 there was such a case. The Social-Democrats organized a meeting of miners. Only one Communist took part in the meeting. Different questions which the Social Democrats brought forward were considered. After a discussion in which the Party member present at the meeting took the most active part, the meeting decided to join up in the Red Trade Union. The Czechoslovakian comrades will remember another case which took place in 1930 in Prague. When the famous social traitor Vandervelde came there, the Social-Democrats organized a big meeting at which about 30 active Party members were present. Vandervelde delivered a long speech pouring dirty water on the Communist International, the U. S. S. R., and the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, nevertheless, not one of the 30 Party members present at the meeting and there were members of the C. C. amongst them, opened his mouth in protest against the counter-revolutionary speech of the Social-Fascist leader. It is perfectly clear

that with activists like the "activists" of the Prague organization, who were present at Vandervelde's meeting, the Czechoslovakian proletariat will not win power but the Communist Party will be a shameful laughing stock in the eyes of the proletariat and the proletariat, quite rightly, will not listen to such "activists" and will not support Party organizations which keep such "activists" in leading Party work.

18. STREET CELLS

The organization of a factory cell in a big enterprise in the present conditions is a very difficult affair, demanding very long and stubborn work by the Party members, both those working in the enterprise as well as those who are employed elsewhere. It is the business of the Party Committee to secure the essential co-ordination of the work of the Communists who are working inside the enterprise, with that of the Communists who are outside the boundaries of the enterprise. And here a very important question presents itself with regard to the form of organization of Party members who are not workers in enterprises; artisans, housewives, etc. According to the decisions of the International Organizational Consultations, and according to the constitution of the Communist Parties, such Party members are organized in street cells. But how should these street cells be organized? The practice of the Parties of the different countries shows that the street cells are often organized without any plan. Street cells are organized according to place of residence, those Party members who live in the territory of a definite district or around some street or other, being brought into the street cells. But what should these street cells do? The practice of street cells in many countries shows that as a rule they meet from time to time, discuss various general questions, but do not carry on any practical day to day work. Street cells as a rule come to life only during big campaigns at the time of various elections, etc., when they are called upon to distribute leaflets, collect signatures, canvass flats, etc.

In future Party Committees must see to it that street cells are constructed so that in their day to day work they should help the Party Committee to strengthen its connection with the workers in big enterprises, strengthen the work of factory cells and so on. This should be the fundamental practical rule for the organization and work of street cells. At the same time it must be firmly borne in mind that along with the development of the class struggle Party Committees must not fail to carry out changes in the composition and structure of the street cells which may become necessary, make a re-grouping of the forces of the members of street cells, in order at a given moment to have a concentration of forces on the most important sectors of the front of the class struggle. For example, if some unrest should arise in a textile factory, the Party Committee must at once consider the possibility of developing that unrest into a strike inside the factory. But a strike can only be organized provided good preparatory work has been carried out. Who must carry it out? In the first place Party members and sympathizers working in the textile factory, but on the other hand, the Party Committee must organize the maximum assistance for these comrades, drawing on Party members working in other factories, and also members of street cells. There can be all kinds of combinations here. For example, it might be advisable and practicable that a Party member working as a fitter in a metal factory, a member of the factory cell of the metal factory should apply for a job in the textile factory where a fitter may be needed. Everything must be done in order by such means to strengthen the cell of the textile factory from within. Further, let us suppose that near the textile factory a street cell is working and that in this street cell there are, let us say, five more or less weak comrades living in the district. It is essential to strengthen this street cell by including in it a number of other comrades who live nearby, or even at the other end of the town, in order with the help of this street cell to strengthen the agitation among the workers of the textile factory on their way to and from work, to strengthen through this street cell the distribution among the workers of a textile factory paper, leaflets, and other literature which may be issued by the Party with the aim of preparing and organizing a strike, in this textile factory. Let us suppose that after the strike is finished a movement begins in another factory; the Party Committee must at once regroup its forces in order to concentrate them again on another fighting sector of the Party work. And so all the time. It is impossible to regard the Party structure or any local organization as something unshakably firm and not liable to undergo changes. The Party Committee must systematically check the distribution of members between different cells, check the expediency of the organization of

the cell, carry out regrouping of the members of the cell in order in each separate case and at each concrete moment, to concentrate the best forces of the Party round the most important sectors of the front of the class struggle. In this lies the fundamental art of the Party organizer. His general task consists in seeing that every Party member as well as sympathizer should be constantly drawn into day to day work, attention being concentrated upon the most important sectors of the class struggle.

19. SHOCK GROUPS

The practice of the T. C. L. has recently given rise to the method of so-called shock groups or brigades. This method of shock brigades could be usefully carried over into the practice of the Party. The term "shock brigade" is not in itself very good. Shock brigades are organized in the factories in the U. S. S. R., the Communists working in the factories organizing shock groups around which non-Party workers are gathered. But the Communist Party is the advance guard of the working class, i. e., it is in itself *the* shock group of the working class; to create within this shock advance guard of the working class yet other shock brigades is of course at bottom not correct. But this is what IS correct. In the Party organizations of capitalist countries, numbers of Party members are not drawn into the everyday work. Every Party member belongs to a cell, which meets once a fortnight or once a month, and in between these meetings Party members do not perform much Party work, in many cases, in fact, have no Party tasks at all. This happens because in the given cells at the given time, there is not much internal work, while other sectors of Party work may at the same moment have important militant tasks before them. It is for the Party Committee to keep on combining Party members into different groups for the concentration of forces upon the most important sectors. Having performed a given task such groups or brigades are broken up or reconstructed into other groups for taking up new work. The general aim in creating such groups should be the strengthening of Party work in the big enterprises of the most important sections of industry. Here, on this problem the full attention of the leading Party organs must be sharply directed in the near future.

20. WORK OF THE FACTORY CELLS IN THE ENTERPRISES

When we approach the study of the work of the factory cells in capitalist countries we are often struck by the great passivity of the members of the cell. A further examination of the reasons for this passivity will reveal, as a rule, a complete ignorance on the part of the Party members as to what they should do in the factory in their everyday work. The task of the Party organizer, his most important task, consists in teaching every Party member working in the factory what he should do every day. Every Party member working in the factory should begin with workshop in which he is working, organizing the Party work there. He should first of all find out who his fellow workers in the shop are. That is his first Party duty. He should establish who is the Fascist agent in order to know whom to avoid, and in his presence not talk about Party affairs or carry on Communist agitation; next he should find out which workers are so narrow-minded that they are not interested in politics at all, either Communist or Social-Democratic: he should know which of his neighbors in the shop is a member of the Social Democratic Party, but still an honest proletarian, capable of fighting for the interests of the working class even though against his Party leaders. Finally, what is specially important, every member of a factory cell should know which of his neighbors at the bench is revolutionary minded even though non-Party, and ready to take or has already taken, active part in strikes and revolutionary demonstrations. When a Party member working in a workshop has a clear picture of what each worker there represents, it will be much easier for him to carry on his everyday work. He will then know whom he is to avoid, whom he will have to fight, with whom to become acquainted and establish closer relations with the aim of bringing them into active revolutionary work. As to the latter, he must have systematic chats with them in the intervals of work, preferably during working hours, also on the way to and from work, or arrange special walks with them in the town on holidays; he must patiently, unceasingly, from day to day, using every hour, every minute, agitate them into the spirit of Communism, of course not in a general abstract way, but on questions of everyday struggle in the given enterprise and in the given workshop, organizing them around himself and thus creating a revolutionary kernel in the shop, and in consequence a workshop

factory cell. Next, the most important everyday task of the comrade in the workshop is to carry on discussions with the Social-Democratic workers, winning over the Social-Democratic workers to his side, bringing the more revolutionary minded of them and members of reformist trade unions into every kind of action against the employer, against the Social-Democratic and reformist leaders. His third task should consist of getting the Fascist agents, police spies, etc., driven out of the shop and factory. This last task is forgotten most often of all. However, it is evident that so long as there are among the workers in the shop police agents who are following every movement of the revolutionary minded workers, and informing the boss about their actions every day, it will be very difficult to organize work in that shop. But if by pressure of the workers he should succeed in ridding the shop of these agents, Party work will be greatly facilitated. Among those who should be thrown out it will now be necessary to include individual Social-Democrats who show themselves Fascist police agents, but the general line in relation to Social-Democratic workers must remain, i. e., they must be drawn into the general class channel of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat by means of the organization of the united front from below.

Thus the foundation of the factory cell must definitely be the workshop or dept. cell. The general factory cell can work well only when it has strong support points in the workshops and separate departments.

21. THE SHOP CELL

The most important task of the shop cell is to concentrate the non-Party active workers in the shop compactly around itself. To organize the shop, the dept.—this is the task of the shop cell, so that every shop of a factory may act as an organized force. How can this be done? It can be done only provided the shop cell works on the foundation of the defense of the everyday interests of the working class, that every Communist in every shop organizes the mass of the workers of that shop around every question of everyday struggle of the working class. For example, there is a foreman in the shop who behaves very roughly to the workers. The cell must organize the whole mass of the workers around the demand that this foreman should be dismissed. The cell should create a committee of action, organize elections of shop stewards who should be delegate-representatives of all the workers in the shop, in order to effect the driving out of the foreman. Active Communists among these shop stewards should form the leading core, but non-Party workers who are respected by the mass of the workers, should also be drawn in, including even individual Social-Democratic workers who have declared their readiness to fight for the removal of this foreman, in spite of all orders and threats from their leaders. If the shop cells succeeds in creating such a directing center around concrete tasks affecting the interests of all the workers of the factory, then we can say that this shop cell has worked well: it has become the revolutionary leader of the workers of a given shop. A cell which is every day closely bound up with the working masses on questions of the defense of their closest interests and which enjoys the full confidence of the workers in the cause of the defense of their interest, will retain that confidence in the future, in more responsible actions and at most responsible moments of the struggle for power.

The question of the creation of such support points for revolutionary class struggle in the shops and also on a general factory scale in the most important question in the work of our factory cells. In the first place the question of the so-called revolutionary shop stewards is bound up with this. This slogan was issued by the Communist Party of Germany in 1929. At present it is extremely real for all capitalist countries. Revolutionary shop stewards—that means those workers elected by the revolutionary section of the workers of the factory at their workshop of general factory meetings, who are the organizers of the united front from below in the struggle for the defense of the closest interests of the workers of the given factory against the attacks of the employers and against the leaders of the Social Democratic and reformist trade unions.

So the factory cell can only become a strong Party organization capable of acting efficiently, and connected with the masses, when it operated on the basis of strong shop cells. Therefore the strong shop cell is the most important organizational guarantee for the good working of the general factory cell. The shop cell in its turn will only work well when it is able to organize the whole mass of the workers of its shop around the issues of the class struggle, which are near to and understood by all the workers of the shop, including non-Party workers and

members of the reformist unions and members of the Social-Democratic Party. Shop cells should carry on their mass work within the shop on the basis of the tactic of the united front from below through revolutionary shop stewards. Revolutionary shop stewards in their turn must include among their number the most active Communists, members of the shop cells, but in addition individual revolutionary-minded Social-Democratic workers and non-Party advanced workers must be drawn into this work who are ready not to listen to their leaders in the struggle against the employers and their agents. When the shop cell succeeds in creating the institution of revolutionary shop stewards leading their everyday struggle, then no police can drive the Party organization from the factory, then, in order to drive the Party organization out of the factory it will be necessary to shut the factory down, to dismiss all the workers and recruit a new staff of workers.

22. ON WORK IN THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS

Mass organizations must be divided into two large groups: mass organizations supporting the Communist parties and other mass organizations fighting the Communist Parties. To the first category belong the revolutionary trade unions, ILD, WIR, etc. Organizations of the second kind are in their turn divided into two groups: 1) formerly non-Party mass organizations like reformist christian and other reactionary trade unions, sport organizations, etc. and 2) all kinds of organizations politically hostile to us, such as the Social-Democratic Party, various Fasclist political unions, etc.

In all non-Party mass proletarian organizations, such as trade unions, sport organizations, tenants' organizations, etc. the Party should form fractions embracing all Communists and sympathizers. There are thousands of decisions about fractions in mass organizations, but up to now the position in all Parties with regard to fractions is bad. In the first place fractions are far from being organized everywhere. In the second place, organized fractions in the majority of cases work without the direction of the Party Committee. So, the Party Committees should before all find out whether fractions exist everywhere, where they should be established, and in the second place it is essential that Party Committees should direct the work of the fractions and that the fractions should in the strictest way carry out all the directions of the corresponding Party Committees. In the constitution of the Communist Party it is laid down that a fraction has the right to appeal against the decision of a Party Committee. A Party Committee is bound to examine the protest of a fraction against its decision in the presence of a representative of a fraction. The decision of a Party Committee is binding on a fraction and there is no appeal against it: it should be accepted without argument and put into life without delay. At present in practice directions of the Party Committees are frequently not carried out by fractions. The task of the Party is to see that every fraction carries out these directions in the strictest way. With regard to fraction members who avoid carrying out directions, the most serious explanatory work must essentially be undertaken and in case of necessity, the strictest Party measures should be taken even up to expulsion from the Party, for otherwise the Party will be completely unable to direct the work of a fraction. There may be cases when swift interference of the Party Committee is called for, while it may be impossible to convene a full meeting of the Party Committee to give out such a new direction. For example, some trade union Congress or other is being held. Before the congress the fraction meets, called together by the Party Committee and jointly works out instructions. But during the Congress questions may come up which have not been foreseen in the directions of the Party Committee. What is to be done? Should the committee meet immediately? And how can this be arranged, when questions may arise at any moment which are absolutely unexpected and which must be reacted to at once? For such cases the Party Committee must nominate a special group of three comrades or a plenipotentiary representative, who should decide in the name of the Party Committee. At the meeting of the fraction it should be explained that for the leadership of the work of the fraction the Party Committee has nominated a group of three comrades consisting of such and such comrades, or such a plenipotentiary, and that the intervention of these comrades, their propositions, should be looked upon by all fraction members as official directions of the Party Committee and carried out without any argument. In this way uninterrupted guidance of the Party Committee is guaranteed in the work of the fraction * * *

APPENDIX III

The following is a copy of an affidavit which has been submitted to the committee by Ralph Vernon Long for the purpose of correcting an error in his testimony before the committee on November 30, 1954. The error is located on page 7363 of the committee's printed hearings titled "Investigation of Communist Activities in the State of Florida, Part 1."

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA,

County of Durham, ss:

I, Ralph Vernon Long, being first duly sworn, depose and state that I appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives in Miami, Fla., on November 30, 1954, in response to a subpoena;

That I did at the time and place above designated, testify concerning my experiences in the Communist Party and of my knowledge concerning the operations of the Communist Party;

That I did at the time and place above indicated, identify one Grace Livingston as being from New Orleans and connected with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in that city as being known to me as having been a member of the Communist Party and as having attended a Communist Party school in Poughkeepsie, N. Y., in June 1947;

That some time subsequent to the date I so testified I realized I had made an error in the identification of Grace Livingston and that the name of the person I intended to identify and do so now identify is that of Grace Tillman;

That I make this affidavit solely for the purpose of correcting the error in identification and in order that the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives may correct their record accordingly.

(s) RALPH V. LONG, *Affiant.*

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 24th day of September 1955

[SEAL]

RICHARD McDONALD,

Notary Public in and for the County of Durham, State of North Carolina.

My commission expires July 31, 1957.

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