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OF APRIL 16, 1945, CONTAINING

REPORT

JOINT FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN CALIFORNIA



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

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	Page
INTRODUCTION -----	5
Authorization -----	5
Activities of the Committee -----	5
Current Isms versus American Democracy -----	6
Protests and Denials -----	6
PART I	
HANS WILHELM ROHL -----	7
Rohl's Citizenship Status -----	8
Illegal Ownership of Yachts and Stock -----	9
Theodore Wyman, Jr. -----	11
Werner Plack, Nazi Agent -----	12
Secret Military Installations in the Hawaiian Islands -----	18
Progress of the Work in Honolulu -----	20
Naturalization -----	29
Congressional Investigation -----	30
Conclusion -----	31
PART II	
MANKIND UNITED -----	32
Christ's Church of the Golden Rule -----	33
Real Property Purchases -----	34
Testimony of Mrs. Bell -----	35
"The Voice" as a Bible Student -----	40
Mankind United Enterprises -----	43
Bell's Attitude Toward the War -----	43
PART III	
JAPANESE PROBLEMS IN CALIFORNIA -----	45
California Relocation Centers -----	45
Shinto-Kodo-Bushido -----	48
Problem of Relocation During the War -----	49
Subversive Activities -----	50
Defiance at Tulelake -----	52
The Manzanar Disturbance -----	53
Tulelake Disturbances -----	55
The Relocation Center at Poston -----	58
Communist Policy on the Japanese -----	59
American Pro-Japanese Organizations -----	62
The Japanese-American Citizens' League -----	63
Conclusion -----	64

TABLE OF CONTENTS—Continued

PART IV

	Page
COMMUNISM	66
1. Red-Baiting and Red-Baiters.....	66
2. Communist Philosophy, Sources and Background.....	68
Karl Marx	68
Liberalism	69
Democracy	69
Capitalism	70
The Utopians	70
Marxism	71
Religion	72
Communist Ethics	74
Marxian Dialectic	75
Materialistic Interpretation of History.....	77
The Class Struggle	79
The Communist Manifesto	80
The First, Second and Third Internationals.....	82
Communist Revolution by Force and Violence.....	83
Leninism or Bolshevism.....	83
3. Development of Communism in the United States.....	85
Communist Beginnings in the United States.....	88
Iron Control	89
Communist Discipline	89
Democratic Centralism	90
Support of Soviet Foreign Policy.....	90
Legal and Illegal Organizations.....	91
Report of California Peace Officers Association.....	91
The Communist Press.....	93
Hand-Book for Revolution.....	97
Communist Postwar Strategy.....	97
Schneiderman on Marxism.....	100
4. Communist Strategy in the Western Hemisphere.....	103
Address of Communist Laferte.....	105
Communist International Intrigue	106
Communist Infiltration	107
Military and Religious Opposition to Communism.....	107
Catholics Not Deceived by Communists.....	109
The United States and Catholicism to Be Attacked.....	109
Campaign Against the Catholic Church.....	110
Communist Conquest of the World.....	114
5. Writers Congress at U. C. L. A.	115
History of Communist Party Writers' Congresses.....	118
The First American Writers' Congress and the Birth of the League of American Writers.....	120
Communist Right-About-Face	128
Hollywood Writers' Mobilization.....	130
Strategy for "Window Dressing" Congress.....	130

TABLE OF CONTENTS—Continued

COMMUNISM—Continued	Page
6. People's Educational Center.....	136
7. West Coast Communist Press.....	138
The Los Angeles Unitarian Church as a Communist Meeting Place	143
8. The C.I.O. Political Action Committee.....	146
Communist Political Party a Failure.....	146
Political "Front" Technique.....	147
John L. Lewis and Sidney Hillman.....	149
Communist Inspiration and Domination.....	151
Communist Long-Range Objectives	152
Rehearsals for Revolution.....	156
Communist Control of Legislatures.....	158
Destruction of Legislative Investigating Committees	159
9. "Zoot-Suit" Riots in Southern California.....	160
Pachuco Crimes	160
Communist Agitation	172
Sleepy Lagoon Murder Case.....	174
New Communist "Front".....	182
Communist "Front" Sponsors.....	184
Waxman's Testimony	186
Communist Inspiration	193
The Sinarquistas	197
Communists versus Sinarquistas.....	198
Communist Agitation Among Negro Citizens.....	208
Findings	209
10. Conclusion	210

REPORT OF THE JOINT FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN CALIFORNIA

INTRODUCTION

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, and Members of the Legislature:

Your Joint Fact-Finding Committee Investigating Un-American Activities in California herewith submits its report on investigations conducted throughout the State during 1943 and 1944:

AUTHORIZATION

The Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California was created pursuant to Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 59, filed with the Secretary of State May 12, 1943. This committee was instructed to "investigate, ascertain, collate and appraise all facts causing or constituting interference with the National Defense Program in California or rendering the people of the State, as a part of the Nation, less fit physically, mentally, morally, economically or socially," and to "investigate the activity of groups and organizations whose membership include persons who are members of the *Communist Party*, the *Fascist Organizations*, the *German Nazi Bund*, or any other organization known or suspected to be dominated or controlled by a foreign power, which activities affect the conduct of this State for National defense, the functioning of any State agency, unemployment relief and other forms of public assistance, educational institutions of this State supported in whole or in part by State funds, or any political program." Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 59 authorized the committee to act during the 1943 Session of the Legislature, and until the convening of the Fifty-sixth Legislature in 1945 and "to meet either during sessions of this Legislature (1943) or during any recess hereof in any and all places in this State, in public or executive session," and "to file reports with the Legislature during the Fifty-fifth Session thereof or any special extraordinary session thereof, and to file its final report with the Fifty-sixth Legislature."

Pursuant to the provisions of the resolution, the Committee on Rules of the Senate appointed Senator Hugh M. Burns of Fresno County and Senator Jack B. Tenney of Los Angeles County, and the Speaker of the Assembly appointed Assemblymen Nelson S. Dilworth of Hemet, Dr. Jesse Randolph Kellems of Bel-Air, and Randal F. Dickey of Alameda, as members of the committee. In compliance with the provisions of the resolution the members of the committee, at its organizational meeting, elected Senator Jack B. Tenney as chairman.

ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMITTEE

The accumulated testimony of witnesses since the Joint Fact-Finding Committee was first organized in 1941 now consists of 5,387 typewritten pages, contained in 24 transcript volumes. Exhibits, introduced in connection with the testimony of witnesses, are voluminous. Many pamphlets, circulars, newspapers and magazines have been added to committee records.

Mr. R. E. Combs of Visalia was unanimously selected by the committee members to continue as chief investigator. Additional investigators were hired from time to time. Thomas L. Cavett did special work for the committee and Mr. W. Bruce Pine of Los Angeles continued his voluntary services in special phases of the committee's investigations. The *American Legion*, *Veterans of Foreign Wars*, the *Anti-Defamation League* and many patriotic and fraternal organizations rendered the committee, its members and its investigators, invaluable services. Many individuals, who desire to be unnamed, and many patriotic organizations, cooperated and worked with the committee, its members and investigators.

The members of the committee, following the policy laid down by the committee in 1941, were continually mindful of the sensationalism of all alleged subversive activities and endeavored in every way to conduct public hearings with dignity and restraint.

The committee, as heretofore, cooperated closely with the intelligence units of the armed forces, with the *Federal Bureau of Investigation* and with State and Federal agencies.

The press of the State of California continued to be an important adjunct to the work of the committee and, for the greater part, reported the committee's public hearings and investigations with accuracy.

CURRENT ISMS VERSUS AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

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

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

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

PROTESTS AND DENIALS

The 1943 report of the committee contained an affidavit of Rena M. Vale. Miss Vale was formerly a member of the *Communist Party* and her affidavit is a narration of her experiences as a *Communist Party* member. On pages 141 and 142 of the committee's 1943 report Miss Vale names John Sargent as a member of the *Communist Party*. On pages 143 and 144 of the same report, Miss Vale refers to a Dr. Samuel Marcus whom she designates as a "*Communist Party* 'psychiatrist'." Mr. John Sargent and Dr. Samuel Marcus filed affidavits with the committee, categorically denying each and every allegation made by Miss Vale in her affidavit. Both gentlemen specifically deny connection, affiliation or sympathy with the *Communist Party*, its activities or its objectives.

The committee is happy to have the opportunity in this report to record the vigorous and emphatic denials of both Mr. John Sargent

and Dr. Samuel Marcus. The sworn affidavits of both gentlemen have been made part of the official records of the committee and are attached to the original affidavit of Miss Rena M. Vale.

PART I

HANS WILHELM ROHL

On December 20, 1940, a contract was signed at Washington, D. C. It provided for the construction of secret military installations in the vicinity of Pearl Harbor, air fields, underground ammunition dumps, buildings, military barracks, gun emplacements, hangars, and an elaborate aircraft warning system designed to detect the approach of hostile aircraft. One of the parties to this most important document was the United States of America. The other party was a concern called "*Hawaiian Constructors.*" A substantial interest in this firm was owned by a German alien, Hans Wilhelm Rohl.

This man was a resident of Los Angeles, and although he had been in the United States for 28 years, did not apply for admission to citizenship until after he had accumulated a fortune. Three dates are of great significance in the development of this amazing and complex story: the date the alien arrived in this country, October, 1913; the date of the contract above mentioned, December 20, 1940; and the date of the alien's admission to American citizenship, September 15, 1941.

After almost a year of investigation the committee held a hearing on February 27, 1943, at Los Angeles, at which time the facts of the case were presented for the first time.

Hans Wilhelm Rohl was born in Lubeck, Germany, on September 26, 1886. For a time he worked for mining and construction concerns in South America. In October of 1913 he came to the United States from Valparaiso, Chile. Shortly thereafter he was employed by the *Nevada Consolidated Copper Mining Company* as a foreman in Ely, Nevada. He later came to Sacramento, California, and was employed in that vicinity for about nine years by various construction companies.

In November of 1924 he obtained a temporary passport from the German Consul in San Francisco and sailed on the *Deutschland* for Germany. He spent some time at his old home in Lubeck and was in Hamburg for several weeks. After visiting London and several other places, he returned to the United States aboard the Steamship *France* early in 1925. He married Floye Adams Hubert in August, 1925, and took up his residence in Los Angeles.

Rohl was engaged in the construction business for himself since 1922. There apparently was much speculation concerning his financial backing. It is reported that he stated on one occasion that his uncle was an important official in the *Hamburg-American Steamship Company*, and he intimated to yachting acquaintances that he had received financial backing from him. By 1932 his net worth was reputed to be a half million dollars. Since 1927 his firm has handled construction contracts averaging approximately \$600,000 a year.

In the spring of 1932, Thomas E. Connolly of San Francisco and Hans Wilhelm Rohl organized "*The Rohl-Connolly Company,*" hold-

ing equal interests. Virtually all of the business of this concern consisted of construction projects for the United States Army. Mr. Connolly spent most of his time in San Francisco while Rohl remained in Los Angeles, the principal place of business of the company. In addition to contracts for the *Rohl-Connolly Company*, Rohl continued to operate and do business under the fictitious firm-name of the "*H. W. Rohl Company*."

ROHL'S CITIZENSHIP STATUS

About two years following his return from Germany, Rohl acquired the yacht *Pandora*. This boat was destroyed by fire in 1933. Rohl replaced it with a larger boat, the *Ramona*. In 1937 he purchased the *Vega* at an auction in New York; a 125-foot, diesel-powered vessel, carrying a crew of 16 men.

Rohl was aboard the *Ramona* when the boat arrived at San Pedro from Acapulco, Mexico, in 1933. Immigration officials made the usual inspection, which resulted in the deportation of one member of the crew. Although there is no doubt of Rohl's presence on the boat, his name is missing from the manifest. This instance of Rohl's reluctance to reveal his alien status was, of itself, not considered particularly significant, but when similar cases were discovered, a persistent and sometimes stubborn pattern of concealment was disclosed.

During 1932 Rohl was engaged in building a road for the Mexican Government from Monterey to Mexico City. During this period he made numerous trips into Mexico and back into the United States, via Laredo, Texas, but the immigration records at Laredo contain no notation that Rohl ever left the country at that point.

On at least two occasions Rohl was compelled to make statements as to his citizenship status. On January 21, 1938, the *Vega* dropped anchor in Honolulu after having sailed through the Panama Canal. Immigration officers were aware that Rohl was aboard and questioned him concerning the place of his birth. In this connection Rohl testified in Los Angeles on February 27, 1943 (Com. Tr., Vol. XV, p. 3753), as follows:

Q. Mr. Combs: And you arrived in Honolulu on the twenty-first day of January, 1938, didn't you?

A. Mr. Rohl: Yes.

Q. At this time, for your information, the immigration manifest shows you to have been born in Iola, Kansas, on September 26, 1886. How did the immigration officials get that information?

A. I don't know.

Q. Have you seen that manifest?

A. No.

Q. Did anybody ever tell you that that information appeared in it?

A. No—yes, yes.

Q. The immigration inspector—

A. Here, after I had applied for my citizenship.

Q. They told you that on that occasion you had been manifested as having been born in Iola, Kansas?

A. That is right. They called it to my attention.

Q. As a matter of fact, that was the birthplace of your wife?

A. Yes.

Q. But she wasn't born there on September 26, 1886, was she?

A. No.

Q. You were born in 1886, were you not?

A. Yes.

Q. All right. When you went to Honolulu did you go through the Panama Canal?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And at Balboa you were examined by an immigration inspector?

A. I don't think so.

During the years when the Federal Government required taxpayers to make a declaration concerning citizenship status, Rohl was again faced with a situation that compelled him to give direct answers. During this period he falsely stated in his income tax returns, under oath, that he was a citizen of the United States. He persistently concealed his status as a German alien. He not only failed to reveal his true status when circumstances permitted, but as far as the records show, he boldly stated that he was an American citizen when no alternative, except disclosure, was open to him.

ILLEGAL OWNERSHIP OF YACHTS AND STOCK

At the committee hearing held in Los Angeles considerable conflict was noticed between the testimony of Hans Wilhelm Rohl and his wife, Mrs. Floye Rohl. When testifying concerning the ownership of stock in the *Rohl-Connolly Company*, Mr. Rohl testified as follows (Vol. XV, p. 3737):

Q. By Mr. Combs: How much stock in the Rohl-Connolly Company do you own now, Mr. Rohl?

A. 50 per cent.

Q. And have you always owned 50 per cent?

A. Yes, sir.

Mrs. Floye Rohl testified as follows (Vol. XV, pp. 3817-3818):

Q. By Mr. Combs: Did you, yourself, Mrs. Rohl, invest any of your own assets or capital in the Rohl-Connolly Company?

A. Well, no, I didn't invest any, but I have a share of the company that Mr. Rohl—it is community property, yes.

Q. You mean you have an undivided half interest?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Of whatever part he has?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. But none of the actual stock is in your name?

A. Oh, yes, there is stock in my name.

Q. How many shares?

A. Well, half of Mr. Rohl's—25 per cent I would say. Mr. Rohl owns 50 per cent—I mean Mr. Connolly owns 50 per cent and there is 50 per cent that Mr. Rohl and I own.

Q. I see. What you mean, in other words, Mr. Connolly owns 50 per cent of the stock?

A. Yes.

Q. And Mr. Rohl owns 50 per cent and under the community property law you would own an undivided half of what Mr. Rohl owns?

A. No, Mr. Rohl doesn't own 50 per cent. Mr. Rohl owns 25 per cent and I own 25 per cent.

Q. I see. 25 per cent actually stands in your name?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you pay anything for that 25 per cent of the stock?

A. No, I didn't pay anything for it, not for mine.

Q. Was that 25 per cent transferred to you by Mr. Rohl?

A. Yes.

The question of fire insurance on the yacht, *Pandora*, elicited confusion and disagreement between Mr. and Mrs. Rohl. Mr. Rohl testified as follows (Vol. XV, p. 3743):

Q. By Mr. Combs: When did you acquire the *Pandora*?

A. (No answer.)

Q. Do you recall about how long ago?

A. 1927.

Q. Did you ever sail it to Honolulu?

A. Yes.

Q. It was anchored where?

A. Anchored? Where do you mean, here?

A. Yes.

A. At the California Yacht Club anchorage.

Q. And the boat burned, did it not?

A. Yes.

Q. Was it insured?

A. Yes.

Q. And the insurance was payable to you, was it?

A. Yes.

Mrs. Rohl, questioned on the same subject, testified as follows (Vol. XV, pp. 3819-3820):

Q. By Mr. Combs: Well, the *Pandora* was insured, was it not?

A. Yes, that is right.

Q. And the insurance was payable to your husband?

A. No, it was payable to me.

Q. So, the insurance company delivered you a check, did they?

A. Yes.

Q. For the amount?

A. Yes, they did.

Q. And did you use that money for the purpose of purchasing the *Ramona*?

A. I used that, yes, and other moneys, of course.

The question of the ownership of the yachts, *Ramona* and *Vega*, provided another source of disagreement between Mr. and Mrs. Rohl. Mrs. Rohl alleged that she paid all of the expenses in connection with the maintenance and operation of the *Ramona* and the *Vega* and she stated that she gave orders to the captain concerning the operation of each vessel. Rohl, however, had previously testified that he employed the captain; that the captain hired the members of the crew, and that Rohl,

himself, paid all expenses for the maintenance and operation of the yachts. Evidence before the committee shows that Rohl always directed the movements of the vessels in question and paid all expenses for their maintenance and operation.

Rohl remembered having sailed on the *Vega* from Jacksonville, Florida, to Honolulu during the early part of 1937. The yacht was reported by immigration inspectors in the vicinity of the Panama Canal, where each member of the crew was interrogated concerning his citizenship status. Rohl had no recollection whatever of the yacht ever being inspected there. Both Rohl and his wife remembered that the vessel was boarded by immigration inspectors in Honolulu. Rohl's alleged place of birth does not appear on the immigration manifest on this occasion but, as before stated, it was falsely given as Iola, Kansas, the birthplace of his wife.

Similar disagreements between the testimony of Rohl and his wife appear in the transcript in connection with the arrival of the *Vega* in Los Angeles Harbor on its return cruise from Honolulu. Rohl admitted that he was acquainted with one E. J. Crouse, and testified that Crouse had hailed the *Vega* from his own boat, the *Marlin*, and that he came aboard the *Vega*, when it anchored inside the breakwater. Rohl further testified that there was no immigration inspection of the *Vega* at San Pedro. The testimony of Mrs. Rohl, on the contrary, was to the effect that she told Mr. Crouse that he could not come aboard the *Vega*, because the vessel had not yet cleared immigration inspection at San Pedro. She was able to distinctly recall that members of the crew and passengers aboard the *Vega* were interrogated by immigration inspectors at San Pedro, just as they had been questioned before the vessel sailed through the Panama Canal and upon its arrival in Honolulu. Rohl's name does not appear on the manifest upon the occasion of the *Vega's* arrival in San Pedro and there is no indication in the official records that he was on board. It is significant to note that Rohl, the alien, the owner of the *Vega*, was, in some manner, able to avoid embarrassment with immigration inspectors. As a result of the inspection at San Pedro, one alien aboard the *Vega* was deported.

THEODORE WYMAN, JR.

In July of 1935 a Captain Theodore Wyman, Jr., was transferred from Kansas City to Los Angeles. Rohl became acquainted with Captain Wyman some time in August of 1935. The *Rohl-Connolly Company* had opened rock quarries on Catalina Island and, on at least two occasions, Wyman sailed to Catalina on Rohl's yacht, the *Ramona*. The *Rohl-Connolly Company* was using the rock from the quarries to cap the San Pedro Breakwater, which was then nearing completion. Captain Wyman and Rohl became extraordinarily intimate companions within a matter of weeks after their first meeting.

Upon his return to California from Germany in 1925 Rohl became a lavish spender and was a frequent visitor to popular night clubs in and around Los Angeles. His arrival at certain clubs became a significant and spectacular event. His entrance was the cue for all proceedings to stop while a special musical number was rendered by the orchestra and singers in his honor.

Rohl staged a number of bacchanalian parties for Captain Wyman in his luxurious suite in a downtown Los Angeles hotel from time to time.

The affidavits of hotel employees on file with the committee indicate that Rohl, on these occasions, was most lavish in the entertainment of the captain. The two men became constant companions and they were frequently seen together in the popular night spots in Hollywood and Los Angeles. Wyman affiliated with a number of Los Angeles organizations, particularly the *Los Angeles Athletic Club*, the *Los Angeles Country Club*, the *California Club*, the *University Club*, the *Bel-Air Bay Club*, the *Hollywood Athletic Club* and *Hollywood Country Club*. He purchased a \$16,000 home in an exclusive residential district. By 1939, the captain had become Major Theodore Wyman, Jr.

According to the affidavit of Juanita Blackwell, a domestic servant in Rohl's employ, he first started speaking of Wyman in 1936, when the Rohls were living in the Talmadge Apartments. Wyman soon became a frequent visitor at the Rohl residence, and was often driven there by a soldier in an Army car. He telephoned Rohl at regular intervals. Mrs. Blackwell stated that Rohl talked to Wyman in Honolulu over the long-distance telephone on a number of occasions and that she heard Rohl speak to him of "hangars, runways, and landing fields."

Wyman had the reputation of being a heavy drinker and on nearly all occasions when he and Rohl were observed together, he appeared to be intoxicated. The following text of the affidavit of a naval officer is typical of much of the testimony concerning Wyman:

"I first met Colonel Theodore Wyman, Jr., about 1938; I have seen him on H. W. Rohl's yacht, the 'Vega,' four or five times, and on each and every occasion Wyman was so drunk that he was utterly obnoxious and incapable of transacting any business; when I was first introduced to him, Colonel Wyman criticized my appearance and was very insulting to me; he would pour whiskey on the floor and drop his burning cigarettes on the carpet.

"Mrs. Floye Rohl once stated to me that she didn't like Wyman, but that H. W. Rohl, her husband, had to tolerate him for business reasons."

WERNER PLACK, NAZI AGENT

Testimony was adduced at the Los Angeles hearing concerning Rohl's friendship with one Werner Plack, a Nazi who was formerly attached to the German Vice Consulate in Los Angeles when that office was headed by the ubiquitous Dr. Gyssling. When the German diplomatic offices were ordered closed by the United States Government Plack immediately left for *Berlin* by way of Japan. Arriving in the capital city of Hitler's *Third Reich*, he immediately was given an important position in the foreign office.

The relation between Werner Plack and Rohl is of considerable importance. Rohl's testimony concerning Plack is as follows (Vol. XV, pp. 3791-3792):

Q. By Mr. Combs: Did you ever know a man by the name of Werner Plack?

A. Who?

Q. Werner Plack.

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. You never knew Werner Plack?

A. No.

Q. Don't you remember going into the Swing Club with Werner Plack during the summer of 1938?

A. No, I don't.

Q. You have no recollection of Werner Plack at all?

A. No, I don't.

Q. Do you know where the Swing Club is or was?

A. I know where it was.

Q. 1710 North Las Palmas Avenue, Hollywood.

A. 1710 North Las Palmas, Hollywood? That was down here?

Q. Yes.

A. Down near 833 Spring, wasn't it?

Q. Well, you know it was a club that opened, usually, after 2 o'clock in the morning. Do you remember that?

A. (No answer.)

Q. A night club.

A. (No answer.)

Q. You remember the Swing Club, don't you?

A. Yes, I remember the Swing Club. Wasn't that at 833 Spring, or some place?

Q. I don't know.

A. I don't know myself.

Q. When were you last there?

A. I don't know that.

Q. Well, were you ever there?

A. I suppose I was.

While in California, Werner Plack attempted to conceal his nationality. A witness who was socially acquainted with Rohl testified (Vol. XV, pp. 3889-3890) on this point as follows:

Q. By Mr. Combs: Were you ever acquainted with an individual by the name of Werner Plack?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you first meet him?

A. '35 or '36.

Q. And how long did your acquaintanceship with him continue?

A. During that year—the first year I met him.

Q. What was his nationality, if you know?

A. He claimed to be a Holland Dutchman, but, of course, we found out later that that was not true.

Q. And what was his nationality?

A. It was German.

Mr. Combs: That is all.

The following sworn affidavit of William E. Kent is self-explanatory:

“State of California }
County of Los Angeles } ss.

WILLIAM E. KENT, first being duly sworn, deposes and says:

I reside at 1206 N. Flores Street, Los Angeles, California; I was naturalized on July 12, 1940; I am a member of West Hollywood Post 405, American Legion; I am now in the insurance business for myself; I first met Werner Plack in 1938, in Los Angeles; some time during the latter part of 1940 I became suspicious of Plack and

telephoned the German Consulate in Los Angeles to see whether he was there. I spoke German, in fact with a Russian accent, asked for Plack and inquired if he was employed by the German Consulate and he told me definitely that he was. I am absolutely certain I was speaking to Plack because I knew him well, and recognized his voice. I then merely made a casual inquiry concerning his health, gave him a fictitious Russian name and hung up the telephone.

(S) WILLIAM E. KENT

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 13th day of December, 1943.

(S) R. E. COMBS,

Counsel for State Committee on Un-American Activities, A. C. R. # 59.

Witness: BRUCE PINE.

Witness: JOHN H. WEINER.

Bruce Pine testified as follows (Vol. XV, pp. 3920-3923):

Q. By Mr. Combs: Were you here during the entire time that Mr. Hans Wilhelm Rohl testified?

A. I was.

Q. Had you ever met that man before?

A. Yes, on several occasions.

Q. When did you first make his acquaintance?—About how long ago?

A. I would say roughly, about 1933 or '34.

Q. And since the time that your acquaintance with him originated, have you met him on various occasions since?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you hear him testify specifically that he had never known a man by the name of Werner Plack?

A. I did.

Q. Did you ever know Werner Plack?

A. Yes, I knew Werner fairly well.

Q. When did your acquaintance with him commence?

A. I should say about the year 1935.

Q. What was his nationality, if you know?

A. He was German.

Q. Do you know whether or not Mr. Rohl and Mr. Plack were acquainted?

A. I know definitely they were acquainted.

Q. Did you see them together on several occasions?

A. I saw them together on one occasion, which naturally stands out in my mind, and the other occasions—so many years have gone by and I had no reason to mark the occasion, that I hesitate to testify definitely. But on one occasion I specifically saw them together because something occurred which made me remember it.

Q. Was that the occasion concerning which I questioned Mr. Rohl in your presence on Saturday?

A. That was the occasion.

Q. That was when Mr. Rohl and Mr. Plack came into the place commonly known as the Swing Club together?

A. Yes. It had been known as the Swing Club and then the name was changed to "1710 Club" which was the name of the same place.

Q. It was the same, identical place?

A. Yes, same identical place and the same identical building.

Q. About when was that? I mean when you saw them together there?

A. Well, I believe it was in the summer of either 1938 or 1939. The reason I recall that it must have been during the summer was because I had been to a baseball game earlier in the evening.

Q. Did Mr. Plack and Mr. Rohl come to that place together?

A. They came together with one other gentleman whom I did not recognize. He was a tall, distinguished looking, white haired man.

Q. What particular incident occurred at that time and place which called your attention to the fact that Mr. Rohl and Mr. Plack were together? Of course, you knew them both, did you not?

A. Yes, I knew them both. I might say I knew Plack at that time better than Rohl because I have never known Rohl intimately, although I met him many times and talked with him.

Q. What incident occurred which called your particular attention to the fact that they were together at that time and place?

A. Well, they ran a little floor show at the Swing Club and the floor show was going on when all of a sudden the orchestra leader stopped the music. He stopped the music and he stopped the floor show. The music changed, and all the girls in the floor show, including the band, sang, "Here comes Bill, here comes Bill, here comes Bill Rohl now," so that was why it was so vividly marked in my recollection, and with him were Werner Plack and the one other man who I never remember having seen before or since.

The sworn affidavit of Juanita Blackwell, a former domestic in the Rohl household heretofore mentioned reveals that Werner Plack telephoned Rohl on several occasions. Plack would state his name without hesitation and the servant was therefore able to testify as to his identity.

The testimony of Mr. Harry W. Flannery, radio commentator and author of the book "Assignment to Berlin," follows (Vol. XV, pp. 3924-3930):

Q. By Mr. Combs: Mr. Flannery, how long have you resided in southern California?

A. A little short of a year.

Q. Prior to that time where was your residence?

A. Prior to that time my residence was in New York.

Q. And how long did you reside in New York immediately prior to coming to southern California?

A. From October, 1941, until I came here, which was in March of last year.

Q. And from where did you come when you established your last residence in New York?

A. From Berlin, Germany.

Q. And how long a time did you spend in Berlin, Germany?

A. Approximately a year.

Q. How did you happen to go there?

A. I was sent to Berlin as correspondent for the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Q. And was it your business to make broadcasts from Berlin?

A. Right.

Q. Which you did, of course?

A. Right.

Q. During the entire period you were there?

A. Yes.

Q. While there did you know a man by the name of Werner Plack?

A. I did.

Q. When did your acquaintance with him originate?

A. Early in 1941.

Q. That was when you first went to Berlin?

A. I had been there several months at that time. I arrived in 1940.

Q. How did you happen to make his acquaintance?

A. I made his acquaintance through Charlie Lanius of N. B. C.

Lanius had met Plack, who had just come to Berlin and was at the time connected with the radio department for the German Foreign Office.

Lanius brought Plack up to my room and I met him up there, and we talked afterwards. I met Plack a number of times principally because of his connections with radio for the foreign office. He was a censor and he also arranged programs. He arranged the Wodehouse release.

Q. Spell that, please.

A. P. G. Wodehouse, an English author who was released from an internment camp and then principally because of publicity he broadcast for the Germans. Plack arranged that.

Q. Plack arranged that?

A. Yes, he got the idea it would be a good stunt to release Wodehouse and make a little publicity out of it, because Wodehouse would be more listened to than some of the Germans who were on the air, and they might, thereby be able to get over their story better.

He also planned, so far as I know, to put on Luckner, the Sea Devil—Count Felix von Luckner, who is well known in this country and who has been well liked, also the Crown Prince.

Q. The Crown Prince of Germany?

A. Yes; one of the Eckeners and a number of others of that same kind, figuring that those people would get audiences in the United States and German propaganda would be more listened to.

Q. Do you know whether or not Werner Plack had any connection with Fritz Weidemann at any time?

A. Not from personal knowledge, although I understand he was connected with Fritz Weidemann before he left California.

He principally sold wines here. He came out here to go into the movies but found out that he wasn't able to get into the movies and instead made connections by selling wine, German wines, principally.

Q. Do you know whether or not Werner Plack had any connection with Dr. Gyssling, the German consul, while in the United States?

A. I know nothing of that.

Q. Now, will you please describe in detail, Mr. Flannery, just what duties Plack had to perform in connection with his position with the German Foreign Office while you were in Berlin?

A. Well, his principal duties were to arrange broadcasts to go to the United States.

Q. Yes.

A. He was not the head of that department. The head of that department was a fellow by the name of Lilyenfeldt. His first name escapes me—George von Lilyenfeldt. At times when Lilyenfeldt was away Plack had complete charge of the department for the foreign office.

For several months, three or four months after the Russian campaign had begun, Lilyenfeldt, who had been a resident of the Baltic States, was sent up there to do some work, and during that period Plack was completely in charge of the radio department.

Among his duties was to act as a censor for the foreign office for radio broadcasts to the United States.

I might mention that at least one-third of the times that he came out to do the censoring he was drunk and on a few occasions he was so tight he could not read my copy, and one night he asked me to read it to him, which was very foolish. I could have read him anything and he would have O. K.'d it, except he thought something should be changed in it, so he suggested, 'Let us change this thing up here,' and he started scratching out stuff. I had to stop him because I could not read anything after he would get through with that sort of thing.

In addition to acting as censor he was one of the contact men for us and would arrange for us to go on various trips. For instance, when Matsuoko came there he arranged the trip for me. We met Matsuoko and went down to Potsdam and he would always arrange those things, whereby we would be able to make other trips and make other contacts and so forth.

The Foreign Office Propaganda Ministry had men for that particular purpose. Their job also was trying to make us fellows feel better and thereby hoping we might be sold more on Nazi Germany.

They had men selected for that purpose to try to sell the correspondents.

Q. Was Plack one of those men?

A. Plack was one of those men. Of course Plack liked it very well because it gave him a big expense account.

Q. He was rather convivially inclined?

A. Oh, yes, he would like a job of that kind.

Q. As a matter of fact, you mentioned Plack in your book, "*Assignment to Berlin*," did you not?

A. That is right.

Q. How is the book doing?

A. Very well, thank you.

Q. A very interesting book.

A. Thank you.

Q. When did you come back from Germany?

A. I arrived back here October 14. I left Berlin September 29, 1941.

Q. Do you know at all how long it was after Werner Plack arrived in Germany that he obtained this position in the German Foreign Office?

A. As far as I know, it was immediately.

Q. Immediately upon his arriving?

A. I know of no lapse in between. Of course, there may have been, but I know of none.

Q. Do you know when he arrived there, about?

A. No. I estimate it was—that is pretty difficult for me to place, because I don't seem to be able to connect it with anything except the fact I mentioned Lanius—that Lanius did not arrive until early in 1941 and that I met him with Lanius, so I know it was early in 1941, but I can not place it more definitely than that. I can't set it as to what part of January or whenever it was.

Chairman Tenney: It was early in 1941?

The Witness: Early in 1941, yes.

Q. By Mr. Combs: Mr. Flannery, in your conversations with Werner Plack from time to time, did he ever boastfully mention any of his propaganda activities in the United States—any of his pro-German activities in the United States?

A. Yes, in a certain respect. He is a peculiar fellow. He had an article from one of the magazines over here. I think it was one of the movie magazines. I am not sure of that. I remember he had it. He had all kinds of American magazines, particularly *Vogue*, which he liked to show to the ladies, in which there was an article about German people who had operated in the United States, and accused them of espionage, and merely among the names down at the end was Werner Plack, which he seemed to be very proud of. He took it around and showed it to everybody. It did not in any way speak very respectfully of Mr. Plack but he did not seem to be bothered by that fact.

SECRET MILITARY INSTALLATIONS IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

In 1939 Major Wyman was sent to the Hawaiian Islands to take charge of the construction of certain secret installations near Pearl Harbor for the Army. These installations included gun emplacements, air fields, underground ammunition reserve storehouses, aircraft warning systems, hangars and buildings. The contract for these installations was given to Rohl's concern. Wyman talked from the islands to Rohl in Los Angeles over the long distance telephone on several occasions after the contract was signed, but before Rohl became an American citizen.

The preliminary negotiations for the contract were conducted by Rohl. Major Wyman had met with Rohl and Connolly in San Francisco prior to Wyman's departure for Hawaii and had conferred about the contracts prior to the final negotiations which were concluded in Washington, D. C., in December of 1940. The basic contract was consummated December 20, 1940, by Rohl's attorney, a Mr. Frank Martin, Jr., Thomas E. Connolly, Rohl's business associate, and a Mr. Paul Grafe, who acted on behalf of the *W. E. Callahan Construction Company* of Los Angeles. Rohl remained in Los Angeles during the Washington negotiations but he was by no means out of touch with the proceedings, as the records of the *Southern California Telephone Company* reveal that he called Grafe on the telephone December 6th and that he called Martin, his attorney, December 14th, and Connolly December 18th. Several long distance telephone conversations took place between Wyman and Rohl during

the early summer of 1941. It should be emphasized here that, throughout the negotiations for this most important contract, Hans Wilhelm Rohl was an *alien* and a subject of Hitler's *Third Reich*.

The Federal law prohibits an alien access to plans and specifications or other information concerning secret Army or Navy installations of the character called for by the contract in question. Rohl did not receive United States citizenship until September 15, 1941. The negotiations above-mentioned took place in the latter part of 1940. The records of the *Southern California Telephone Company* disclose that telephone conversations took place between Major Wyman in Honolulu and Hans Wilhelm Rohl in Los Angeles on January 4th, 9th and 17th and on February 5th, March 19th and May 22, 1941, *after* the basic contract had been signed.

Nearly eight months before Rohl became a citizen of the United States Major Wyman requested him to come to Honolulu to take part in the work. Wyman's request was as follows:

"Reference is made to secret contract # 414-ENG-602, with the Hawaiian Constructors for work in the Hawaiian Islands. As you are actively interested in this venture I desire you to proceed to Honolulu at your earliest convenience to consult with the district engineers, relative to ways and means to accomplish the purpose of this contract."

Rohl was questioned closely at the February, 1943, hearing concerning his familiarity with Federal statutes making it an offense for an alien to have *access* to information in secret military installation contracts. Rohl's testimony on this subject is as follows (Vol. XV, pp. 3807-3809):

Q. (By Mr. Combs) When you first obtained the contracts for the construction of military installations, did you tell Major Wyman that you were an alien?

A. I did on the Hawaiian Constructors.

Q. But you didn't on any other projects?

A. We don't have it—there are no restrictions—I mean on a Government contract you are not questioned as to whether you are a citizen or not, but on this particular contract, Contract 602, being a secret contract, of course, I told him—I had to tell him.

Q. Are you familiar with the provisions of the law regarding such contracts?

A. Secret contracts?

Q. Well, secret, confidential, or restricted contracts.

A. Yes.

Q. I will read the law to you and see whether or not this is your understanding of it.

"No aliens employed by a contractor in the performance of secret, confidential, or restricted government contracts shall be permitted to have access to the plans or specifications, or the work under such contracts, or to participate in the contract trials, unless the written consent of the head of the Government Department concerned has been first obtained.

"Any alien who obtains employment on secret, confidential, or restricted government contracts by wilful misrepresenta-

tion of his alien status, or who makes such wilful misrepresentation while seeking such employment, shall be penalized by a fine of \$10,000 or five years in the Federal Penitentiary.

“For the purpose of this section the term “person” shall be construed to include an individual, partnership, association, corporation or other business enterprise.”

Is that your understanding of the law?

A. Absolutely. Now, as a matter of fact, before we took this contract the War Department was told, and I didn't see the contract or the plans or specifications purposely until after I was a citizen.

PROGRESS OF THE WORK IN HONOLULU

Within a few days after being granted United States citizenship Rohl left for Honolulu to join Wyman. Evidence before the committee reveals that the entire project soon became enmeshed in a bewildering tangle of countermanded and contradictory orders resulting in an ever-mounting waste of time and material.

Mr. Ray Anderson, an electrician for the Hawaiian Constructors, testified before the committee, March 1, 1943, as follows (Vol. XV, pp. 3904-3919):

Q. Mr. Combs: Now, while you were over there, Mr. Anderson, did you ever have any occasion to see Major Wyman in an intoxicated condition?

A. Mr. Anderson: Yes.

Q. When was that?

A. During February and March and five days before Colonel Wyman left his job he lay in the hotel drunk all the time.

Q. For how long a time?

A. Five days.

Q. Do you know that of your own personal knowledge?

A. Yes, I can prove it.

Q. While you were working over there, Mr. Anderson, were there any Japanese employed by the Hawaiian Constructors in executive capacities?

A. There were Japanese in the office, Japanese superintendents—that is, superintendents over—not of an area, but superintendents over different constructors, such as carpenters and electricians, and gangs like that; the Merchant Electrical Contractors and Supply Company which Vera—

Q. Who is the head of that?

A. Vera. They employed 36 electricians. They came into our gang. When I left Honolulu, two days before I sailed, I was at their stockroom and five of our men were in this Japanese gang. They worked out of Area 10.

Q. Was a portion of the work actually supervised by Japanese?

A. Yes. The Japanese were permitted to go into every part of the island except Pearl Harbor and Diamond Head tunnels and General Emmons tunnels, where the headquarters were.

Now, I went on to Hickam Field after I was there, I think, two weeks, with a Hawaiian Constructors' badge on me. I spent three hours in there. I went all over the hangars and everywhere and I came back up to G2 and talked to the captain there about it, asking

why in the world that they permitted people with those badges to walk into a place like Hickam Field with the setup they had there, and he said he didn't know.

Q. When was that?

A. That was in the early part of March of last year.

Chairman Tenney: 1942?

The Witness: Yes.

Chairman Tenney: Let me ask a question, Mr. Combs. Is it your statement, Mr. Anderson, that these Japanese had considerable to do with the supervision of the work on the island?

The Witness: They were working in the office and in places where they have the plans of the United States Engineers. They had them in the offices with them. They were in every position there except certain places. They could not go into Diamond Head Tunnel or General Emmons Tunnel or into Pearl Harbor. You had to have special passes that were good only for that particular setup in those places. They could not go there but everywhere else that I know of on the island, including Hickam Field they could go. Last August the Japanese were working in there.

Chairman Tenney: Were those in the category of secret installations?

The Witness: Well, I should say that they would be because they had the Aircobras and the Boeings and all the big airplanes scattered throughout those fields.

The men had a row at Bellows Field and refused to work for one day, or a part of a day, until certain Japanese were removed from there. That was some time last April.

Chairman Tenney: 1942?

The Witness: Yes, sir.

Chairman Tenney: It is your testimony that the Japanese had considerable to do with the supervision of the work?

The Witness: They tell you there that the Japanese are 90 per cent more loyal than we are ourselves.

Chairman Tenney: That is what they tell you in Hawaii?

The Witness: They tell you that in Hawaii. They tell you that they don't like us there. There is no fooling about that.

Chairman Tenney: The Japanese you mean?

The Witness: No, the white people that live with the Japanese. There is a peculiar financial setup in the Hawaiian Islands in which the sugar interests dictate the financial set-up there. The poor man was never able to get any money there. The only place he can get money or credit is from the Japanese banks and stores and consequently he is friendly to the Japanese.

It was my firm opinion from the time I got there that they didn't particularly care whether we had the Islands or whether the Japanese had them.

Chairman Tenney: It was immaterial?

The Witness: Yes.

Chairman Tenney: Were these Japanese that you have referred to employees of the Hawaiian Constructors?

The Witness: Yes. You see, a civilian there, except a few engineers when we went there belonged to the Constructors—they were

working under the U. S. E. D. I will tell you it is a super WPA set-up.

Q. By Mr. Combs: You mean the United States Engineer Corps?

A. U. S. E. D. Just like you had with the WPA in the States. That is what they called it.

Q. What did that stand for?

A. I never did know—U. S. Engineer Department, I guess.

Q. Mr. Rohl testified, Mr. Anderson, that he was personally directing the work on the Island of Oahu and under him worked these individuals whom you have mentioned as superintendents, on the various projects. Was that the fact when you were there?

A. Mr. Woolley was considered the head.

Q. Yes.

A. He was the chairman of the executive committee which consisted of Mr. Woolley, Rohl and Benson. Now, whether Rohl—I have always believed that Ralph Woolley was the front man.

Q. A front man?

A. Yes. Ralph Woolley was the man who would do the right thing if he could. He talked very little. You could get very little out of Ralph Woolley.

Q. Who did you believe he was fronting for?

A. For the outfit that came from here. There is some connection between this gang in the States and that outfit and they wanted men from there so if there is any question raised, there is a possibility that we would get out of it.

Q. In what business was Mr. Dillingham engaged?

A. They were part of the Constructors and pulled out I think in May or June.

Q. Of 1942?

A. 1942, yes. For some reason Dillingham came out and the assistant superintendent in Area 10, I don't remember his name at the present time. He was taken from there and sent to Johnson Island with certain men that he took with him.

Q. Did the Hawaiian Constructors also do work on Johnson Island?

A. I don't know whether they did or not. They did work at Christmas and Canton. General Tinker ran them out of Christmas Island.

Q. For what reason?

A. Weren't getting any work done.

Q. After the battle of Midway did the Hawaiian Constructors do any work on Midway?

A. There were some men went over there. There was a fellow by the name of Miller here in Glendale who went there on the air conditioning. He was a Hawaiian Constructors man. He was over there 10 days. He came back in the same convoy. I don't know anything about him personally, but they had five or six men out there—shipped them somewhere where we didn't even know. Miller told men then that he had to go to Midway and what had taken place in Midway.

Now, there is another feature behind this whole thing of which I can only give you indirect evidence. If I can find the man today I will get him.

Last year, in March or April there were 180 men shipped to New Caledonia by the Hawaiian Constructors. They didn't even know where they were going. When they arrived there in New Caledonia they found out it was a French Possession and refused to land. They said, "Anywhere in American territory but not in foreign territory," so they came back. They brought them back to camp. They were shipped to sea in an open barge with an ocean-going tug pulling them for five and a half days to Suva. I saw the letter signed by the Governor of Suva to the effect that if those men crossed certain lines they were to be shot down. That was Governor Wild.

Q. When was that trip to Suva made?

A. Some time, I think, in March. I met the man in April.

Q. March, 1942?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the nature of the work that that party was to do?

A. They went out there—they were building an airfield and submarine base.

Q. Building an airfield and submarine base?

A. Yes.

Q. And that was the Hawaiian Constructors?

A. Yes.

Q. On the Island of Suva?

A. No, on the Island of Canton.

Q. Canton Island?

A. Yes. They pulled them out from there to Suva.

Q. Are you acquainted with Paul Grafe?

A. Is this the gentleman here?

Q. No, no, I am just asking you.

A. No, I don't remember, but this gentleman's face is familiar to me.

Q. Did Mr. Rohl make frequent trips away from the Island of Oahu while you were there?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you explain what you observed in that regard?

A. Well, I will tell you. When Rohl left his car—he always parked his car on the lot—Rohl parked right behind Alexandria Hall when he used to go there to eat and, of course, we could always tell when he wasn't in Honolulu.

Q. You could tell what?

A. That he was gone.

Q. Rohl was gone?

A. Yes, because it was impossible to follow him. There was a rumpus raised in San Francisco when some of the men came back in regard to their pay and the claim was filed with the Compensation Commissioner here for \$8,000 and Rohl was—he flew back here. We never saw Rohl that time for three or four weeks. He disappeared completely and finally he showed up again.

Q. Now, you are speaking about the parking space which was allocated to Mr. Rohl. Where was that parking space?

A. Exactly behind the back door of Alexandria Hall, the headquarters.

Q. Was there any marking or designation on it?

A. Yes.

Q. To show to whom each individual space was allocated?

A. Rohl, Middleton, Woolley and Benson each had a spot there.

Q. Were their names painted on the asphalt?

A. No; there was a fence rail—a one-by-three plank painted white there with their names on each one of them.

Q. In black paint?

A. Black paint.

Q. Were you familiar with the automobile commonly used by Mr. Rohl when he was on the Island?

A. Yes, he used a black car then.

Q. Of course you were able to observe at times, the car was occupying the space which was allocated to him?

A. Yes.

Chairman Tenney: Mr. Anderson, have you any further light you can throw on this matter that you think might be of interest?

The Witness: I would like to go into something about the plans. We never did, and to my knowledge to the day I left there, we never had a plan for the headquarters job that we did.

They left a hole in the tunnel six by seven foot that never was closed up.

Mr. Combs: What tunnel?

The Witness: Headquarters of the United States Army, Hawaiian Department, and things of that kind. We couldn't get material, we couldn't get anything. You couldn't get anybody to do anything.

We believed that sabotage, in the sense that they were holding up the work and blaming the men, was going on.

Q. By Mr. Combs: Who was holding up the work?

A. Whoever had charge of it.

Q. Of the Hawaiian constructors?

A. Evidently, because they were our bosses.

Q. You say this tunnel was located—the United States Army Headquarters tunnel was located where?

A. In that tunnel.

Q. Where was the tunnel on the island?

A. Right in front of Red Hill.

Q. That is what I want.

A. There is a big magazine there.

Q. And Red Hill overlooks Pearl Harbor?

A. Yes, and there is a hill in front of Red Hill towards Hickam Field. This hill lays between Hickam Field and Red Hill. There were eight tunnels there and they had lateral tunnels and they had been preparing that for a year. The soldiers had driven a vehicular tunnel through the west end of it, from one end to the other of it.

We went in there and we fixed it up so it was gas-proof and installed all kinds of equipment, including air-conditioning and stuff

like that. We did it without plans and without any help from anyone whatever.

Q. Who was in charge—who, individually, was in charge of that installation?

A. The superintendent was Charles Winstead.

Q. Did he work under the immediate direction of Mr. Rohl?

A. He was working under him—he was working under—I will think of his name in a minute—Frank Olmstead, or something like that. He was the Army superintendent.

Q. Under whom did Mr. Olmstead work?

A. Under headquarters at Alexandria Hall.

Q. And Alexandria Hall was where Mr. Rohl's car was parked?

A. Yes, that is where the Hawaiian Constructors headquarters were. They had all their equipment there except the personnel department, which was in a school—a grammar school.

Q. Mr. Anderson, how do you know Colonel Wyman was intoxicated for five days?

A. Well, I saw him up there three or four times and everyone that is in there—the place was run for that purpose, practically. Japanese girls hanging out there every night for that crowd and the ones that stay in the main part of the hotel—you see the hotel is split up into several large bungalows or dormitories outside, and then the hotel proper was occupied by some Army officers and Colonel Wyman.

Q. Including Colonel Wyman?

A. Yes.

Q. What was Colonel Wyman's general reputation among the employees of the Hawaiian Constructors for sobriety?

A. Colonel Wyman was a man who liked liquor exceptionally well. He may never get drunk, but he likes it.

Q. What do you mean, 'he may never get drunk'?

A. A lot of them can carry a lot of liquor and you don't think they are drunk.

Q. But you testified that he was drunk for five days.

A. Yes, he was.

Q. Have you seen people in an intoxicated condition before?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. And that would be your opinion of his condition during those five days?

A. Absolutely.

Mr. Combs: I think that is all unless you have something else to add that you think might be helpful to the committee.

The Witness: Well, some of the stuff wouldn't have anything on this matter, but I wish this thing could be brought to the attention of Washington.

Q. We wish so too.

A. Things are rotten out there. There is no kidding about it. I am an American 61 years old, and I went to Honolulu with the idea of helping out and I tell you honestly once I finished that job there it done no good. I tore stuff apart there five and six times and put it together. There was never any reason for it. Charlie Winstead, who I was speaking about, treated me fine but still down in a man's

heart he is not an American in any sense or form because he believes the Japanese is the right fellow and I know he is not.

There isn't a question on earth but everything has been blocked up there, either from Washington or some other position, and it is about time that somebody did something about it. Emmons is absolutely helpless now. I hear a lot of things in that tunnel because I work in those offices with them while business was going on, and we hear a lot of things that we can't talk about any place unless it goes into the place where something will be done about it.

I made three reports to G2 because I would walk right into them and talk to them. They knew of the things that happened, but there was never anything done about it.

Chairman Tenney: Was there any discussion with reference to the loyalty of these men to the United States?

The Witness: I will tell you candidly as far as our men were concerned, Senator, I don't think there was any of them—the majority of the men that went over there were men over 40 years old and the only reason they were there was because they could not take a gun. I have been quite a bit here in Southern California and worked on these defense jobs and I couldn't understand why the young men didn't want to go to war, but that gang of men that went there really wanted to go and do some good, and most of them were so disgusted after six weeks they didn't know what to do, and it was our idea that the thing was done with the purpose of making us disgusted, and they could put it down that we wouldn't work.

Now, I have been in defense work ever since December of last year with the idea of trying to help out. I am an electrician and a good one. I had a contractor's license in this State and I know what I am doing, and when you turn around and find things like that it hurts down deep because you know that certain men, either for money or for some other reason, are destroying the morale of the workers.

Chairman Tenney: What I mean, Mr. Anderson, was there reflection or opinion expressed in reference to the loyalty of the men that were in charge of all this work?

The Witness: The men out there thought Wyman and the whole gang of them ought to be shot. That is the truth.

Chairman Tenney: You know that of your own knowledge?

The Witness: Yes, I do.

Chairman Tenney: And upon what did they base that particular opinion?

The Witness: The accusations of them. We couldn't get paid. We couldn't get our overtime. We couldn't get nothing at all. We would get, "This is a new setup. This is this and that is that," and other things. One man told me out of his own mouth that we were at sea four days before they knew we were coming and they didn't know how many were coming until we actually landed.

Chairman Tenney: I am referring more specifically to the progress of the work and the way it was carried on.

The Witness: The work has dragged. They will be another year. They have moved hills and moved them back again, and they have filled holes and dug them out again; and I will swear that that

runway, from what I can hear of it, at Bellows Field, has been done a dozen times.

Chairman Tenney: Do you think that has been done intentionally?

The Witness: I do. I honestly believe it is intentional. After the Battle of Midway it was a great thing while it happened, and those planes came in and out of there for three days. We needed those fields but they weren't ready.

The work which the Hawaiian Constructors were to perform under the basic contract was on a cost, plus a fixed fee basis. This meant that Hawaiian Constructors would be paid for the actual cost of labor and materials and, in addition, a fixed fee. As work started on the various installations, supplementary contracts appeared to be necessary, each calling for new installations and additional fixed fees. Committee investigators were told that this contract was probably the first in the history of the United States War Department in which the Government acted as a disbursing agency, making payments to the contractors on the basis of the contractor's books and records. Under the terms and provisions of the contract and its supplemental agreements, based on the records and accounts of the Hawaiian Constructors, the Army issued checks as requested.

Many workmen who had been employed by the Hawaiian Constructors on the installations in question were interviewed by committee investigators upon their return to California. All of these workers told a consistent story of waste and inefficiency.

As an illustration of the confusion attendant upon the construction program, a superintendent in charge of cutting a tunnel through solid rock, stated that he had received an order from Wyman's office instructing him to neither remove the dirt and rock-debris from the tunnel nor to leave the same in the tunnel. On another occasion the superintendent received an order specifying a 30 degree turn to the left in the tunnel, and after the excavation for the turn had been properly made through solid rock according to the specification and the order, another order was issued requiring that the excavation for the left turn be filled up and another turn made 30 degrees to the right. Committee investigators were told of an administration building of reinforced concrete being constructed on a flat area. When the concrete for the floor, the walls and part of the ceiling had been poured and set, an order came from Colonel Wyman's office ordering the entire structure moved four inches. According to statements of the men who actually worked on the job, underground hangers and machine shops for Flying Fortresses lagged sadly behind schedule. This, according to the men, was, in a large part, due to the fact that when a portion of the construction neared completion, orders would be issued calling for many trivial and unnecessary changes.

The contract called for an elaborate system of aircraft warning devices. This had not been completed according to schedule when the Japanese struck Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Commenting on this phase of the work, the House Military Affairs Committee charged mismanagement of the construction work in Hawaii, and stated that much of the element of surprise of the Japanese sneak attack could have been averted if the aircraft warning system had been completed on schedule.

Although there were other contracting companies in the islands which, prior to the Japanese attack, had been doing work for the Army, their contracts were canceled and Hawaiian Constructors granted the exclusive contracts to perform the task of repair and reconstruction. This not only applied to the Hawaiian Islands, but to the entire Pacific area.

The following affidavit of H. J. King is characteristic of similar affidavits, statements and testimony of other men who had been employed in the islands by Hawaiian Constructors:

State of California }
 County of Los Angeles } ss.

H. J. KING who resides at 904 South Oakland St., Pasadena, first being duly sworn, deposes and says:

I was on active service in the Army Engineers from December, 1917, to September, 1919, with the rank of Major, when I resigned in 1929. I studied engineering at Northwestern University, where my son is now a professor.

About January 15th, 1942, I had completed a project at San Luis Obispo and learned that a tunnel man was needed at the Hawaiian Islands and was eventually employed by Paul Grafe for Hawaiian Constructors Company and arrived in Honolulu on February 16, 1942, and lived in the President Hotel, until January 25th, 1943.

I met Hans W. Rohl a day or two after I arrived. He was drunk when we met, and although I saw him many times thereafter, I never did see him when he was fully sober; and he was never in full possession of his faculties during the time I saw him.

The work being done during the period when Col. Theodore Wyman, Jr. was in charge was quite muddled. This was due to a variety of causes, some being the fact that there was a natural state of confusion following the attack on Pearl Harbor, and a constantly changing tactical situation throughout the Pacific Theatre. Among the business people who came in contact with Wyman, there was a general impression that he was extremely arbitrary.

After Col. Wyman left, the situation began to improve; more equipment began to arrive and our program was much more definite.

I was there when Rohl's yacht, the *Vega*, arrived in February, 1942, and I used to see it tied to the dock from time to time. The United States Engineers Department took over the *Vega* upon her arrival, but so far as I know they never used the boat, because she just remained tied up and was never sailed at all.

When I arrived, I laid around about 30 days before Rohl got sufficiently sober to put me to work. On about March 15th, 1942, I commenced work as area superintendent for Area 14, which included the Ewa Area. After a little time, two weeks had elapsed, I was appointed General Superintendent for Hawaiian Constructors, April 3, 1943, and thenceforth until I left, I had complete supervision over all field work.

Generally speaking, the work that had been accomplished under the supervision of Col. Wyman prior to December 7th, 1941, was pretty lousy; and when the people of the Hawaiian Islands who were familiar with this work—officers and civilians alike—learned that Col. Wyman had been awarded the Distinguished Service

Medal for exceptionally meritorious and distinguished service in the performance of duty of great responsibility as district engineer, Honolulu (T.H.) Engineer District, from October 14, 1941 to March 15, 1942, it was a source of considerable amusement.

(S) H. J. KING,
Signed and notarized on
December 18th, 1943."

NATURALIZATION

Rohl applied for United States citizenship in 1941 and the application was filed in Los Angeles. Agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service proceeded to examine Rohl's background and to look into his past activities. The result of this investigation revealed that Rohl's name was peculiarly missing from the manifests of the *Romona* and *Vega* on the occasions already referred to. It was learned, on word from United States immigration officials stationed at Laredo, Texas, that it would have been impossible for anyone to have entered the United States and Mexico at that point without being closely questioned concerning citizenship status. Federal agents learned that Rohl had been employed in mining and construction projects in South America but that his certificate of entry at New York stated that he was a merchant on his way to see a Mr. W. P. Walker in San Francisco. It was learned that he had claimed American citizenship when he applied for a radio telephone for the yacht *Vega* and that this statement constituted a violation of Section 30, Paragraph 1A of the Communications Act of 1934. It was learned that Rohl's name did not appear on the manifest of the *Vega* when the yacht returned from Honolulu in 1938, although Rohl was on board. The *Rohl-Connolly Company* paid a \$25,000 fine to the Federal Government September 4, 1941, because more than 25 per cent of the stock in the company was held by the alien Rohl in violation of Federal law.

When the immigration investigators had completed their work they recommended that Rohl's application for citizenship be denied and that he be prosecuted for violation of the Federal law. The report and recommendation of the investigators was made to the Chief of the Naturalization Bureau. In spite of the report and recommendation no objection was raised by the Department of Justice in the memorandum handed the Federal District Judge in the naturalization proceedings. Rohl was granted citizenship September 15, 1941, in the Federal District Court in Los Angeles by Judge J. F. T. O'Connor.

It should be stated here that no implication of any kind is raised against Judge J. F. T. O'Connor. The chairman of the committee and its investigators have carefully examined the records of Judge O'Connor's court for September 15, 1941, and find no irregularities whatsoever in connection with the granting of citizenship to Rohl. The file of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the recommendation of the Federal agents were not before Judge O'Connor at the time naturalization was granted. The memorandum before the judge at the time of Rohl's hearing stated that "No objection will be made to the granting of this petition," and concluded with the statement that the petitioner, as president of the *Rohl-Connolly Contracting Company* had "been awarded a secret contract in connection with a defense construction project in Honolulu" and that "his participation in this project is

being held up until he has been naturalized." With this memorandum before him, and no legal objection having been raised in the hearing, the judge could do nothing less than grant Rohl naturalization. The memorandum had been prepared by the Department of Justice and handed to the court, and fully justified the decision of the judge in granting Rohl citizenship. If the Government of the United States was satisfied to award a German alien an important "secret contract in connection with a defense construction project," certainly a judge of the United States District Court could not refuse to grant citizenship under the circumstances. To do anything else would, in addition to a reversal by the circuit court, have subjected the judge to serious criticism, particularly in view of the disaster that occurred at Pearl Harbor two and one-half months later.

The committee has learned that the procedure in the Rohl naturalization incident was the routine generally followed. Comment has been made that the Rohl proceeding was a "special" proceeding, but the record reveals that about 27 applicants were heard by Judge O'Connor on that day. There were no circumstances before the court that would have tended to put Judge O'Connor on inquiry and the committee finds that he acted with full integrity and patriotism.

Although Judge O'Connor was not aware of the fact, an attempt *had* been made to give the Rohl application preferential treatment. A letter, written on the stationery of the United States Department of Justice, is evidence of the insistence of someone that Rohl's application for citizenship be made "a special case." This letter was dated February 4, 1941 and marked "Special." It was directed to the District Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Los Angeles, California, and signed "Lemuel B. Schofield, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, by: P. B. Shoemaker, Deputy Commissioner." It reads as follows:

"It is understood that one (Hans or John) Wilhelm Rohl made application for the certificate of arrival in your office on the third instant.

"The services of this alien will be used in connection with the defense program. Please make it a special case. It is meant by this that the application for certificate of arrival should be made special, the filing of a petition also, and the hearing, if it can be immediately disposed of, after the 30 days after its filing.

"Report in connection in this case when it has been finally disposed of will be appreciated."

When asked on the witness stand why he had not made an application for admission to citizenship at an earlier date, Rohl merely shrugged his shoulders and stated: "Negligence—busy traveling—never gave it a thought." (Vol. XV, p. 3807.)

CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION

During November of 1942 the Chairman of the Committee, Senator Jack B. Tenney, conferred with United States Attorney General Francis Biddle in Washington, D. C. The Attorney General was immediately interested in the *Rohl* case and asked the chairman of the committee to prepare an outline of the findings of the committee, together with such other information as might be available, and to send it to him marked

“Personal.” This was done immediately upon Senator Tenney’s return to Los Angeles.

In February of 1943 the committee learned that Rohl had been awarded a contract on the *Alcan* Project in Alaska. Some time later Rohl received a new contract on the *Canol* Project in Canada.

During the summer of 1943, Fulton Lewis, Jr., National radio commentator, became interested in the *Canol* and *Alcan* projects. Mr. Lewis made an independent investigation of these projects and made a number of radio broadcasts concerning alleged waste and inefficiency in connection therewith. Through Bruce Pine, investigator for the committee, Mr. Lewis became interested in the Rohl-Wyman combination and in the preliminary work of the committee in investigating their activities in connection with the Honolulu installations. As a result, Mr. Lewis telephoned the chairman of the committee and, being assured of cooperation, came immediately to Los Angeles.

After going thoroughly into the transcripts of testimony, consulting with Pine and R. E. Combs, counsel and chief investigator for the committee, Mr. Lewis began a series of daily broadcasts from Los Angeles in which he unfolded for National consumption the salient facts in the *Rohl* case as uncovered by the committee. As a result of these broadcasts, the *Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives* dispatched John Weiner, one of its investigators, to Los Angeles. The chairman of the committee assigned R. E. Combs and Bruce Pine to work with Mr. Weiner. By the time the joint work of these investigators was finished it was learned that the aggregate value of installations on which Rohl and Wyman had been associated for the Army, had reached the staggering total of more than \$250,000,000.

The *House Military Affairs Committee* made a thorough-going investigation and published its findings and recommendations June 14, 1944.

After testifying before the California Committee February 23, 1943, Rohl disposed of his interest in the *Rohl-Connolly Company* to Thomas E. Connolly.

The *Army-Pearl Harbor Board of Inquiry*, headed by Lieutenant General Grunert, met at the Presidio in San Francisco in September of 1944. The Chief Investigator of the Committee, R. E. Combs, testified before this board on September 4, 1944.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing is a brief outline of the findings of the committee in the *Rohl* case. The fact that an alien, a subject of Hitler’s *Third Reich*, was awarded such an important contract is nothing short of amazing. The fact that Rohl, the alien, was merely a large stockholder in the organization that was to construct the installations, presents little mitigation. The findings of the committee hereinabove reported clearly reveal that Rohl, through his intimacy with Wyman, was a moving force in negotiation of the contracts. There is no doubt in the minds of the members of the committee as to the alien Rohl’s accessibility to the plans and specifications covered by the basic contract of December 20, 1940.

Hans Wilhelm Rohl is *still* a citizen of the United States. Although the facts of the case are known to officialdom the Committee is unaware of any action on the part of the Department of Justice, the Immigration

and Naturalization Service, the Court or any other agency of government to cancel Rohl's citizenship.

The question has been frequently asked whether or not the Japanese Government had any detailed information of the plans and specifications of the installations which were built under the contracts of December 20, 1940. If the Japanese Government had such information it would reasonably follow that its agents had access to the work called for in the 1940 contract. In this connection it should be stated that on March 16, 1941, a known Nazi agent by the name of Von Der Osten arrived in New York City from Japan. He was killed in a taxi-cab accident. Among his possessions, special agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation found plans and specifications of the Pearl Harbor defense installations at Hickam Field, built under the provisions of the contract of December 20, 1940. On these plans and specifications was written a notation to the effect that the information contained therein would be of interest "to our yellow friends."

PART II

MANKIND UNITED OR "CHRIST'S CHURCH OF THE GOLDEN RULE"

The results of the committee's 1941-1942 investigations of *Mankind United* are set forth in the committee's 1943 Report under that title. Arthur L. Bell was the creator and guiding genius of the entire organization. In fact he *was* the organization. He dwelt in a twilight realm of mysticism and was known only as "*The Voice*" to his credulous followers. A charlatan of unusual magnetism, he is adept in the cultivation of credulity. He organized a network of "*Bureaus*" throughout the State and channeled a golden stream into his headquarters in San Francisco. He mixed a brew of occultism and economics, metaphysics and science, religion and voodooism, stirred it well in his wizard's cauldron and found ready buyers for the bottled product. Needless to say it has been a paying business for Bell.

It is estimated that about 14,000 persons in California had become interested in *Mankind United* by the beginning of December, 1941.

The heterogeneous compound brewed by Bell produced activities and statements that were decidedly unAmerican and subversive. After several months of investigation by committee representatives, the committee held a hearing in San Francisco in 1941. The publicity attendant upon this hearing brought to committee members many people who, having become completely disillusioned with "*The Voice*" and the movement, were willing to tell the committee what they knew of the organization, its "*Bureaus*" and managers.

It appears incredible to the committee that approximately 14,000 individuals living in California under an enlightened educational system could be so gullible as to believe the fantastic claims disseminated by "*The Voice*." Many of the disillusioned were chagrined and embarrassed when admitting that they had been credulous enough to swallow the entire fantasy. Many of these erstwhile followers of *Mankind United* still believe that some of the alleged miracles *might* be true; that perhaps there was, in fact, a race of strange little individuals with large metallic heads living in the center of the earth controlling floods and

earthquakes. The modern miracles produced by science were once believed impossible and fantastic. Who could say, with certainty, that the scientists and research experts of *Mankind United* had not developed devices for preventing bombs and ammunition from exploding, for paralyzing internal combustion engines so that airplanes would drop from the sky, and for melting steel by a mysterious ray at a distance of 30 miles? Who really knew that these things were impossible?

It is difficult to believe that Bell was actually able to convince many of his followers, particularly his bureau managers, that he possessed the miraculous power of suddenly and instantaneously transporting himself from San Francisco to a distant foreign land. The Committee Transcript of Testimony clearly indicates that Bell's followers believed that he *did* possess such miraculous power. They regarded him with reverential awe.

Most of the members were either elderly persons, or individuals who had suffered severe economic reverses. The committee was impressed with the sincerity of many of the people who belonged to the movement. The committee was equally impressed with the huge sums of money that poured into the organization's treasury, which, so far as the committee ever ascertained, was synonymous with "*The Voice*."

The committee made its evidence, exhibits and sworn testimony in the *Mankind United* investigation available to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. As a result Bell and a number of his bureau managers were arrested, charged with conspiracy to commit sedition, tried in the United States District Court in Los Angeles, found guilty and sentenced to serve terms in the Federal penitentiary. The case is on appeal and, at this writing, has not yet been decided.

CHRIST'S CHURCH OF THE GOLDEN RULE

The committee believed that the supernatural exploits of Arthur Bell had been brought to an end. The trials had scarcely been terminated and appeals perfected, however, before reports of new activities on the part of Bell were reported to the committee.

A new religious organization was being launched and, through committee investigators, it was learned that its presiding genius was none other than "*The Voice*," Arthur L. Bell. The initial investigation was undertaken by Senator Hugh M. Burns of Fresno and the Committee's Counsel and Chief Investigator, R. E. Combs. It was soon learned that Bell had employed an attorney in the City of Fresno, Harrison M. Dunham, who had drawn up articles of incorporation for the new organization which was to be known as *Christ's Church of the Golden Rule*. Harrison M. Dunham, when questioned by the committee, stated that he maintained his offices in the Mattei Building in Fresno and that his father-in-law, R. G. Carroll, a Los Angeles real estate broker, had introduced him to a man by the name of "Jackson," who, in fact, was Arthur L. Bell. Dunham prepared a draft of the articles for Bell's approval and several weeks were consumed in making changes at Bell's direction. Dunham prevailed upon three of his acquaintances to act as incorporators, but admitted that, as far as he could learn, only Bell was interested in the organization. He presented his bill for legal services to *Christ's Church of the Golden Rule* and Bell eventually paid him in cash.

REAL PROPERTY PURCHASES

The committee learned that Bell was traveling up and down the State purchasing, or contracting for the purchase of, office buildings, hotels, agricultural property, athletic clubs, laundries, lumber mills, miscellaneous businesses and projects. The property was being bought in the name of Ruby V. Chapman. Several real estate transactions were handled in Los Angeles through R. G. Carroll, attorney Harrison M. Dunham's father-in-law.

The committee held its first hearing on the subject in Los Angeles March 20, 1944. R. G. Carroll testified that he had met Arthur L. Bell about the middle of July, 1943, on an occasion when Bell had contacted him regarding a piece of property which Carroll had advertised for sale. Bell represented himself to be a "J. J. Jackson." Carroll testified that Bell told him he was interested in purchasing several properties in order to give a great many people economic security. Carroll ventured the opinion that he believed the cause to be a worthy one. He had no knowledge of *Mankind United* and did not know "J. J. Jackson" had had anything to do with that organization. After several conferences with "Jackson" Carroll sold him a 30-room house situated at 3131 South Figueroa Street in Los Angeles on a 123 by 308 foot lot. "Jackson" agreed to pay \$12,500 in cash for the real estate, \$5,000 for the furniture and to put up a \$2,500 deposit. He instructed Carroll that the deed was to be made to Ruby V. Chapman. Carroll later was introduced to a woman who represented herself to be Ruby V. Chapman, and was told that she represented a religious organization.

On or about August 14, 1943, Bell, still posing as "J. J. Jackson," negotiated with Carroll for the purchase of the Wavecrest Beach Club in Santa Monica for \$40,000. He agreed to pay \$8,000 cash and the balance at the rate of \$356 a month, including 5 per cent interest. The deed, like the first one, was to be in the name of Ruby V. Chapman. Early in September of 1943, Carroll entered into negotiations with "Jackson" for the purchase of certain bank property located at 163 Marine Street in Ocean Park. The price was \$25,000, \$5,000 of which was to be paid in cash and the balance at the rate of \$255 per month. The deed to this property was to be made in the name of Ruby V. Chapman.

On October 8, 1943, Carroll entered into negotiations with "Jackson" for the purchase of property located at 331-337 South Hill Street in the City of Los Angeles. This property consisted of a store-building containing six storage rooms and offices on the second floor. The sale price was \$35,000, of which 20 per cent was to be paid in cash and the balance at the rate of \$350 a month. This property, like the others, was to be deeded to Ruby V. Chapman. A sale of six beach lots at \$45,000 followed, "Jackson" agreeing to pay \$10,000 in cash and \$400 per month, all, of course, in the name of Ruby V. Chapman. On December 9, 1943, "Jackson" agreed to buy a vacant lot on Hill Street, just north of Third, in Los Angeles, for \$16,000 cash. On December 12, 1943, Carroll agreed to sell "Jackson" business and income property situated at 3101 Marine Street in Ocean Park for \$13,500, 20 per cent in cash and the balance at the rate of \$100 per month. On December 20, 1943, "Jackson" agreed to buy property situated at 258 South Los Angeles Street in the City of Los Angeles for \$15,000, \$1,500 of which was to be paid in cash and the

balance at the rate of \$350 a month. This property, as in the other transactions, was to be in the name of Ruby V. Chapman.

Carroll testified that he was not aware that "Ruby V. Chapman" was Mrs. Arthur L. Bell, and that throughout all of the transactions he believed he was dealing with a man by the name of "J. J. Jackson." He stated that he accidentally discovered "Jackson's" true identity through the newspapers. He said that the mysterious "Mr. Jackson" had intimated on one occasion that his name might not be "Jackson." All of the negotiations had been on a strict business basis and "Jackson" appeared to be a good judge of real estate values. The agreements were fulfilled according to contract and Carroll stated that he received commissions of about \$16,425. Carroll appeared to be under the impression that Mrs. Ruby V. Chapman was acting in the capacity of trustee for some church or eleemosynary organization, although the deeds were to be made to her as an individual, and not as trustee.

It was thus established that Bell, in possession of vast sums of money secured from some mysterious source, had been traveling up and down the State of California under the name of "Jackson," buying property of various kinds in the name of his wife as an individual. It is obvious that the property, when paid for, would be owned by "Ruby V. Chapman" who is Mrs. Ruby Bell, Arthur's wife.

The committee held a hearing at Fresno and subpoenaed Harrison M. Dunham. Arthur L. Bell and his wife, Ruby, were examined at the San Francisco hearing.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. BELL

Mrs. Bell was a very unwilling witness and in spite of nervousness was adroit in evading embarrassing questions. She admitted that her married name was Bell and insisted that she had a right to use her former name, Ruby V. Chapman. She gave her occupation as housewife and stated that she was a Christian Science practitioner. She married Bell in 1934 and has resided, since that time, at the Cathedral Apartments, located at 1201 California Street in the City of San Francisco. She admitted that she had read the book "*Mankind United*," several times and that she had attended several meetings of the organization. She declared she did not know who wrote the book and had no further information concerning the organization. Her testimony concerning the acquisition of properties throughout the State of California was, in part, as follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XXII, pp. 26-30):

Q. By Mr. Combs: . . . Did he ever use the name of Lobner?

A. I don't know.

Q. Brown?

A. The only name I know is Jackson, and he used that in securing these properties, these church properties; that's how I happened to know it—

Q. (Interrupting) Yes.

A. (Continuing) —particularly the hotel properties in Southern California, the holdings that are now in my name, he used the name of Jackson.

Q. Did he buy them for you?

A. What do you mean, buy them for me?

Q. Did he get these properties under the name of Jackson?

A. I have no properties. Nobody bought any properties for me.

Q. You have no properties?

A. I have no properties; I simply lent my name to hold these properties, and acted as trustee only until the arrangements were made and they could be turned over to Christ's Church of the Golden Rule, who are the actual owners. I'm not, and my husband is not.

Q. I would prefer to run this in my own way in sequence.

A. I'm sure I would rather tell it like an intelligent woman—I'm telling the truth.

Q. Unfortunately, we have to develop this thing for the records, that's—

A. (Interrupting) That's right. Only one captain to a ship, isn't that true?

Q. That's right. We'll go into all those matters in detail if you will bear with me, and then if you want to make a statement for the record, you may make as much of a statement as you would like.

Did you and Mr. Bell ever own a Lincoln automobile?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you still own it?

A. I don't know.

Q. When did you have such a car, to your knowledge?

A. We had it when the Government agents came in and stole our things.

Q. That was about 1939?

A. That was in the fall of 1939.

Q. Thank you. And do you know in whose name that car was registered?

A. No, I don't.

Q. You don't know whether it was registered in the name of Robert Bell?

A. I don't know. Those are things my husband can tell you. He knows.

Q. Did you have a Cord automobile?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you have that in 1939?

A. Yes.

Q. And was that registered in the name of Ralph Brown, or do you know?

A. I don't know.

Q. Now, Mrs. Bell, how long have you been a Christian Science practitioner?

A. I have been a Christian Science practitioner for many, many years; since—

Q. (Interrupting) Well, prior to your marriage to Mr Bell?

A. (Continuing)—since 1920.

Q. Thank you. And your legal residence, I think you said a while ago, was 1201 California Street?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you spend considerable time in Southern California?

A. We have spent some time there since this litigation against my husband.

Q. The sedition trial?

A. Yes, we have to be there, and we also kept our apartment; we have to be in both places.

Q. Where do you stay when you are in Southern California?

A. We stay at the Arcady.

Q. Hotel?

A. No, it is an apartment.

Q. Have you ever been to Ontario, California?

A. Yes.

Q. When were you last there?

A. I think it was sometime last year. That is one of the three properties I have seen.

Q. One of the three properties you have seen?

A. Yes, one of the three properties.

Q. What properties?

A. The properties held in my name prior to the transfer to the church I just spoke to you about.

Q. When you say one of the three properties, what properties are you referring to?

A. I'll wait until you ask me a question. I'm sorry. I am used to dealing with things intelligently; I am not used to being asked questions this way.

Q. If you don't remember just say so.

A. After all, I'm not under indictment, I'm not under a dark cloud.

Q. Now, Mrs. Bell, did you ever hear of a hotel called the Stratford at Rampart and 8th Streets in Los Angeles?

A. Yes, I have heard of it.

Q. Have you ever stayed in the hotel?

A. No, I never have.

Q. Is that one of the properties which was held by you?

A. Yes.

Q. And now, you started to tell me about a piece of property when—

A. (Interrupting) You asked about Ontario.

Q. Yes. Will you describe in your own way for the record what piece of property you had reference to?

A. It was a hotel—what was the name of the place?

Q. Casa Blanca Hotel in Ontario.

A. Yes, that's it. All these holdings that have been purchased for the church and purchased in my name, I lent my name for that purpose. May I —

Q. (Interrupting) Well—

A. (Continuing)—may I say that now?

Q. Go ahead and let's get it in the records.

A. That is one of them, and I went down there one time with my husband and the real estate man, and we were there several hours and I saw that property, and I have seen two or three of the others—

Q. (Interrupting) Yes.

A. (Continuing)—and that's all. I have driven by the Stratford Hotel, and I had seen a building on Third and Spring, I think it is. I haven't been in the inside, but I have seen it as I passed by

because, as I say, all I have done is lent my name for the purpose of holding; I have no proprietary, no personal interest, no interest of any kind in them; and, therefore, I wasn't interested in looking at them or knowing anything about them. I'm sorry if what I'm saying is at the wrong time, because I really don't want to seem out of order.

Q. You are doing very fine, Mrs. Bell. You haven't any objection if I ask you specifically about each one of those transactions?

A. Of course I haven't.

Q. And you will endeavor to answer the questions?

A. Of course, I'll try my very best."

It developed that Mrs. Bell apparently knew little or nothing concerning the financial details of the real estate purchases made by her husband as "J. J. Jackson." Although she was obligated to pay several million dollars for various properties, she insisted that she acted merely as a trustee for *Christ's Church of the Golden Rule*.

Bell had testified under oath before the committee in San Francisco in December of 1941 that on one occasion he had lost consciousness in San Francisco and when he again became conscious he was aboard an ocean liner en route to the Orient with 16 pieces of luggage. Mrs. Bell's testimony, on this subject, is interesting (Com. Tr., Vol. XXII, pp. 49-50):

Q. By Mr. Combs: . . . Did your husband go to the Orient in 1939?

A. I don't know.

Q. Where were you in 1939?

A. I was in San Francisco the latter part of 1939.

Q. Was he here with you?

A. Yes.

Q. During the entire year?

A. My husband is away from me so much that I can't possibly say the dates.

Q. Would you know?

A. I wouldn't know, because I wouldn't guess.

Q. Would you know if he was in China or Japan in 1939?

A. I wouldn't know anything about it; I wouldn't dare to guess about my husband —

Q. (Interrupting) No.

A. (Continuing) — he has suffered too much for his own wife to start in guessing about things.

Q. I'm just asking of your own knowledge, do you know whether or not he went to the Orient in 1939?

A. No, I do not.

Q. Is it possible he may have gone without your knowledge?

A. I don't know.

Q. You don't know whether he could have gone without your knowing it?

A. I don't know.

Q. Do you know whether or not he moved 16 pieces of luggage out of 1201 California Street in 1939—would you know that?

A. No.

Q. You wouldn't know whether he had moved 16 pieces of luggage out or not?

A. No, I don't.

Q. Where does he keep his luggage in the apartment?

A. I don't know."

Bell testified that he was the only person on the Pacific Coast responsible for *Mankind United* and the recently created religious organization, *Christ's Church of the Golden Rule*. He declared that vast sums of money were constantly being made available to him by persons who were interested in both movements. He admitted carrying large sums of money on his person. He declared that one of the chief objectives of *Mankind United* was to establish, as one of its branches, a church structure. This was now being accomplished with the creation of *Christ's Church of the Golden Rule*. The movement of *Mankind United* was based, for the greater part, on the book by the same name. He had personally corrected the manuscript and the printer's proof. He had sold the finished product among his followers throughout the State for prices ranging from \$1.50 to \$100 per copy. The copyright on the book was in his name. He had testified in December of 1941 that he had received the sum of \$115,000 for the 1939 edition of "*Mankind United*." The book has now gone through many editions. Bell stated that he was the only person connected with the organization who had the authority to appoint or remove a bureau manager. He admitted having made all of the arrangements for the drafting of the articles of incorporation for *Christ's Church of the Golden Rule* and that he had personally conducted the negotiations for the purchase of various pieces of real estate throughout California. He declared that *Mankind United* and *Christ's Church of the Golden Rule* were religious cooperative movements.

Under the close questioning of Mrs. Bell by Assemblyman Randal F. Dickey of Alameda, it was clearly demonstrated that she had not acted as trustee for any religious organization or for any person, but that all the transactions made by her husband would result in her outright ownership of the properties under the name of Ruby V. Chapman.

Her testimony, in this regard, in part, is as follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XXII, pp. 57-59) :

Q. . . . Did you buy each and all of these pieces of property concerning which I have questioned you for the church?

A. Yes.

Q. You did?

A. Yes, as trustee.

Q. At whose suggestion?

A. My husband's.

Q. In each instance?

A. In each instance.

Q. And who arranged for the purchase of each and every piece of the property?

A. My husband.

Q. In each and every instance?

A. Yes.

Q. Who decided whether or not you should pay cash for a piece of property or whether or not you should make a down payment and pay the rest of the purchase price by the month?

A. My husband took care of all the financial—

Q. (Interrupting) financial details?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever make any payment on any of these pieces of property by check?

A. I don't know how the payments were made; I know nothing about the financial arrangements.

Q. Whose money was used to make the payments on the properties?

A. I don't know anything about that; I have told you the truth.

Q. You don't know whether your money was used or not?

A. My money wasn't used.

Q. Was not used?

A. My name was used; my name was lent.

Q. Your name only?

A. My name only.

Q. You didn't invest any of your own private funds in these —

A. (Interrupting) No. I have given lots of money, as I have told you before, to my husband, and he has assured me it has been used for Mankind United activities. I have no reason to doubt him. I know what he tells me is true. But this other was as trustee; that's the only part of it I know; I don't know any more about the rest of it than you do.

Q. No, I understand.

A. I haven't a particle of interest in any of them, monetary or personal in any of them, any interest whatever, any more than you have."

"THE VOICE" AS A BIBLE STUDENT

Assemblyman Nelson S. Dilworth, now senator from Riverside County, was interested in the Biblical knowledge, or lack of it, of Bell, as the founder of a new Christian religious cult. Bell's answers to questions propounded by Assemblyman Dilworth in this connection elicited amusement on the part of spectators attending the hearing and established Bell's superficial knowledge of the *New Testament*. Assemblyman Dilworth's examination of Bell follows, in part. (Com. Tr., Vol. XXII, pp. 174-175):

Q. (By Assemblyman Dilworth): Mr. Bell, there are many and varied kinds of organizations that claim to be founded on Christ's teachings, and I would like to ask you — I think you have stated that Mankind United is based upon the teachings of Christ, particularly his economic teachings?

A. That is true.

Q. And also on his spiritual teachings?

A. That is true also.

In reference to *Christ's Church of the Golden Rule*, newly organized by Bell, Assemblyman Dilworth continued his examination:

Q. Who is the spiritual leader of this church? Would it be yourself?

A. It depends on what you mean by spiritual leader, sir. We believe that the ideals which constitute the cornerstone of this church must act as the leadership, not persons. People are here today, gone tomorrow; building up today and somebody tearing them

down tomorrow gives no stability to any leadership. We take as our leadership the ideals we are founding the church on.

Q. You have a published creed?

A. If you will read the charter, you will see we have expressed what we believe to be the major purposes of that church in the charter.

Q. That is substantially the creed of the church in the charter?

A. You might consider it so; it would come very close to it.

Q. You take those objectives; you believe, from the Bible?

A. We do, from Christ Jesus' Sermon on the Mountain.

Q. Primarily from the New Testament rather than the Old Testament?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you read the Bible, Mr. Bell?

A. As regularly as I can, working 20 to 22 hours a day. I enjoy the Bible, as to me it is the greatest source of inspiration I have in my life, outside of the writings of Mrs. Eddy, which I believe describe the intent—describe the major intent of Christ Jesus—between the two I read as much as I can.

Q. Do you give some time to the study of the Bible?

A. As much time as it is possible, sir. However, I believe it is not so much a question of hours of study as it is of hours of effort to bring back the hour of Christ Jesus' ministry. I have devoted many years of my life to act out by development the purposes of that ministry.

Q. For instance, Mr. Bell, when did you last read the Bible?

A. Within the last 48 hours, sir.

Q. I take it from your testimony that your church is also a business organization, that it will also engage in business for the benefit of the members, will it not?

A. We think that Christ Jesus' teachings were basically economic. They must be lived, not just preached, and the church will engage in trying to fulfill the ideal of brotherhood in every way.

* * * * *

Q. When did he set forth the golden rule, near the end of his ministry?

A. Yes, sir.

After having secured an admission from Bell that *Christ's Church of the Golden Rule* was based directly upon the teachings of Christ as set forth in the New Testament, Assemblyman Dilworth proceeded to probe Bell's knowledge on the subject. (Com. Tr., Vol. XXII, pp. 177-180):

Q. (By Assemblyman Dilworth): How many books are there in the Bible?

A. I think I have been more concerned over the truths than I have the number of chapters or books —

Q. (Interrupting) How many are —

A. (Continuing) — in other words, I never had the opportunity that most children have of attending Sunday School long enough to learn, and I have never taken time to memorize the books of the Bible in sequence, or to count the number of books. In fact, the general theological idea of religious instruction has never appealed very much to my thought. The truths, the basic truths of those

teachings have seemed so important it has kept me very busy trying to find some way to apply them in human relationship instead of talking about them from pulpits in sermons. I felt there has been enough talk, and I have never taken the time to memorize any great part of the Bible or count its books or learn them in their order.

Q. How many authors in the New Testament? Are you familiar with Matthew, John and Paul?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, how many do you recall?

A. Well, I have read the writings — oh, I should say the basic beliefs of many of Christ Jesus' disciples, all of the New Testament.

Q. Well, how many?

A. Matthew, John, Luke, Paul.

Q. How many authors are there in the New Testament?

A. Senator, I have had no time to try to learn by memory any of the general church teachings. I have been only concerned over the import of the truths expounded by the prophets, by Christ Jesus. It kept me very busy trying to do something about that in what little way that I might.

Q. What does the word Bible mean?

A. I do not know.

* * * * *

Q. Did Jesus pay tribute to the Roman government?

A. He at one time took some money out of a fish's mouth and expressed the thought that he should 'render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's.'

Q. On only that one occasion?

A. I do not know how often he did so.

Q. On what accusation was Christ put to death?

A. That he was engaged in uttering — in making seditious utterances and conspiring to overthrow the government. Very much the same accusation as is used against us at this time.

Q. How was Christ put to death?

A. He was crucified, sir.

Q. How long was he on the cross?

A. I do not know how long it took, sir.

Q. How long did he remain in the tomb?

A. Three days.

Q. On what sea did Christ still the tempest?

A. I believe it was — well, I don't know whether it was the Red Sea or the Sea of Galilee, sir; I don't recall.

Q. Who, if you know, was Christ's sister?

A. I do not recall any.

Q. Well, what relation was Martha to Christ?

A. I do not recall the relationship; I know that she was very dear to Him.

Q. Do you recall if Christ had sisters or brothers?

A. I do not recall, sir.

* * * * *

Q. Did Christ teach in the Sanhedrin?

A. I do not know to what extent he might have conducted his ministry in the Sanhedrin.

Q. Well, from the record that we have of his daily life in the New Testament, is it your opinion that he observed the commandment to keep the Sabbath day holy?

A. I think he observed the commandment to keep *every* day holy, and I can not conceive of him considering one day holier than the other.

MANKIND UNITED ENTERPRISES

Further examination of Bell disclosed that at the time of his marriage to Mrs. Ruby V. Chapman he was out of funds and that all of the money since accumulated by him had been either furnished by Mrs. Bell as loans or had been secured from persons affiliated with *Mankind United* or his followers.

Committee investigators visited many of the hotels, farms and other properties purchased by Bell in the name of Ruby V. Chapman and learned that all such properties were being operated by persons who were affiliated with *Mankind United*. A typical example is the Casa Blanca Hotel, located in the City of Ontario. Bell paid for this property in cash and immediately put one of his representatives in charge of the enterprise. The hotel was soon staffed with *Mankind United* affiliates. It was learned that the work was to be done by these enthusiasts without compensation and before being accepted for such "employment" they had been persuaded to transfer their money and properties to the movement. At the Casa Blanca Hotel in Ontario committee investigators found a staff of chamber maids, cooks, waitresses, elevator-operators, janitors, gardeners, bell-boys, dish-washers and miscellaneous "employees" carrying on the operation of the hotel for their board and room. The hotel apparently was doing a good business. Other hotel and business properties purchased by Bell were being operated on the same basis. As a result, Bell found himself in difficulties with labor unions.

The material needs of the working members of the alleged "cooperative" or "collective" enterprises are decided by whoever happens to be in charge of the particular enterprise. Such matters as dental work, medical attention, recreational needs, transportation for the purpose of visiting relatives at distant points in the State, are considered, and when found worthy and necessary, the member applicant is furnished with money supplied from a common general fund. When the decision is adverse the moneyless member must go without.

BELL'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE WAR

Bell's attitude toward the war is strongly indicated in an affidavit secured by R. E. Combs, as follows:

"State of California }
"County of San Bernardino } ss

"Samuel N. Ebb, of 200 E. 4th Street, City of Ontario, in said County and State, first being duly sworn, deposes and says:

"I met a man introduced to me as Mr. J. J. Jackson. He was introduced to me by a real estate broker, Mr. Coppage of 1046 or 1036 Wilshire, on July 8th, 1943. Jackson wanted to buy the Casa Blanca Hotel, which I sold him for \$33,000 cash, but title was taken in the name of Ruby V. Chapman, whom I met twice.

"During the negotiations, Jackson's actions aroused my suspicions, and I told him I didn't believe his name was really Jackson,

because he looked like a Frenchman or an Italian. Among other things, he said he wanted to buy ten or fifteen thousand feet of screen wire to partition the hotel roof, but he later forgot ever having said anything about it. He then admitted that his name was Robert Fontaine, and wanted me to swear that I would never divulge the fact that his name was really Fontaine and not Jackson. He showed me a Masonic ring and said he was a Mason.

"He told me that about 90% of the funds donated to the Red Cross and the USO weren't used for the purposes intended, but were spent by the officials in charge of these organizations, the promoters. He said it was just a racket.

"On October 24th, 1943, Walter Nigey was brought to town by Jackson to run the hotel. A great number of boxes were trucked into town and stored in the hotel. This Nigey has earned a local reputation as a drunk. I saw him drunk on one occasion.

"I had patriotic posters sent to me by the Office of War Information in my hotel, and as soon as Bell acquired the hotel, he tore all the posters down, including one urging people to buy war bonds and stamps, which was displayed in the lobby.

"Nigey told my wife that the war was just a racket being run by President Roosevelt and Winston Churchill for their own selfish reasons; they were just racketeers.

"I asked Bell if Ruby Chapman wasn't his wife, because the week before they were both out and acted more like husband and wife than business associates. He asked me why she should be his wife, and asked me if she might not be his sister. He never admitted she was his wife and inferred that she was not.

"Bell never even checked the inventory on the hotel, and so far as I know, he only saw my room and the lobby. I told him I wanted \$35,000 but he said he would have to take the matter up with his Board of Directors, and we ultimately closed the deal for \$33,000 cash. I never saw a check. Bell usually handled the money in \$100 bills, ten clipped together in a bunch.

"Bell would never give me an address or telephone number so I couldn't contact him.

"He told me that Christ's Church of the Golden Rule was very similar to the Christian Science Church, but that there was no connection between the two institutions. His statements were generally wild, unreasonable, were contradictory and naturally aroused my suspicions.

"I am absolutely positive that the man who told me his name was Jackson, then Fontaine, was actually Arthur L. Bell, whose picture I have just seen in the newspapers.

"He was constantly quoting the Bible, but when I asked him specific questions, I discovered that he didn't know anything about it at all. Then he told me he was a political economist, but his conversation indicated that he was one of the most conceited, vain and stubborn men I ever had any contact with, and that he knew virtually nothing about either the Bible or political economy.

"Bell once told me that his project was really an experiment, and that if they ever took a licking it would be in connection with lands

in Imperial Valley. I mentioned this subject the following week, but he didn't even remember our conversation.

(Signed) "SAMUEL EBB,

"Subscribed and sworn to before me this 21st day of March, 1944.

R. E. COMBS, Counsel and Chief Investigator
for the California Joint Fact-Finding Committee
on Un-American Activities, pursuant to Assembly
Concurrent Resolution, No. 59."

A Mr. R. G. Austin of San Fernando requested the assistance of the committee in locating his wife. She had been interested in *Mankind United* since 1939 and had at one time been assigned to making maps of various critical areas in Southern California. Part of her assignment was determining the time it took to drive from one designated point on the map to another. Austin was never able to secure a satisfactory explanation from his wife concerning her map-making activity. When Bell and his associates were convicted of conspiracy to commit sedition, Austin found that his wife was more enthusiastic over the organization than ever and spent much of her time soliciting funds for the purpose of defraying legal expenses incurred in connection with the trial. In December of 1943 a truck was backed up to the Austin residence and bureau managers of *Mankind United* loaded Mrs. Austin's personal property on the truck and drove away. Austin had not seen his wife since. He believed that she had been persuaded to leave him, that she had given her worldly possessions to the organization and was being used in the operation of one of the enterprises recently acquired by Bell.

PART III

JAPANESE PROBLEMS IN CALIFORNIA

Since submitting its report to the Legislature in 1943 the committee has continued its investigation of Japanese subversive activities as far as such activities were evident in the various relocation centers in California. On March 5, 1942, Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt issued an order for the evacuation of all persons of Japanese descent from the area of the Western Defense Command. Temporary Reception Centers were quickly erected under the supervision of Army engineers and, shortly thereafter, construction was commenced on the two relocation centers for California, Manzanar and Tulelake. On March 21, 1942, the first contingent of evacuees, 61 men and 21 women, arrived at Manzanar. By midsummer of that year there were nearly 10,000 evacuees at Manzanar and 14,000 at Tulelake.

CALIFORNIA RELOCATION CENTERS

Manzanar is located near Independence in Inyo County. Tulelake is located in Modoc County near the Oregon State line. The physical appearance of the two relocation centers presents much the same aspect. Each is sprawled over a flat, barren plain, partly surrounded by mountains. The summer winds constantly blow clouds of fine dust across these plains and during the winter months there is much rain and snow.

The barracks are long, narrow, board and batten structures with black tar-paper roofs. Wooden partitions divide these barracks into small compartments, each of which is theoretically occupied by an evacuee family. The mess halls are replicas of the barracks without the partitions.

Each center maintains an agricultural project. A program of vocational training and adult education is provided in both camps. The State law for compulsory education of children of school age is enforced. Internal security and fire-fighting departments are organized and maintained. Each center has cooperative stores where evacuees may purchase a wide variety of general merchandise, none of which carries ration-point requirements.

Each administrative project and department is headed by a Caucasian supervisor. Virtually all of the work is done by the evacuees, on a voluntary basis. They are compensated for their labors at a monthly rate which has a maximum of \$19. The rate is considered entirely inadequate by the evacuees and, as a consequence, the work done is accomplished more by sheer weight of numbers than by individual endeavor. Labor strikes occur sporadically and there is a constant stream of labor complaints. Attempts at beautification of the camps have been made by the evacuees and a lovely landscaped Japanese garden was noted near a mess hall at Manzanar.

The agricultural project at Manzanar presented many difficulties. The first crew started work on April 15, 1942, grubbing out the rocks and sage-brush, and preparing the soil for planting. During the latter part of May of that year the crops were planted. When the first green shoots appeared they were promptly nibbled back level to the earth by rabbits, until the vegetable garden resembled, from a distance, an extensive and closely-clipped lawn. This annoyance was solved by the use of dogs that were trained to chase the rabbits away. Several hundred acres are now under cultivation. The crops raised at Manzanar during the past season had a market value estimated at \$43,000. Surplus crops are shipped to other centers.

There are about 4,000 acres under cultivation at Tulelake. The season in Modoc County is comparatively short because of early frost and snow, but during the spring and summer months the crops are easily and abundantly produced. The total commercial value of the current crop is estimated at \$1,500,000. The surplus, like the surplus at Manzanar, is shipped to other centers. Hogs and chickens are also raised at Tulelake on an extensive scale.

Each center has a detachment of military police. Until a short time ago these men were charged with the duty of quelling serious disturbances, keeping the evacuees within the confines of the center, and, generally, in maintaining order. They are not permitted, however, within the boundaries of the centers. This force of military police is supplemented by the Department of Internal Security, or center police force, which is headed by a Caucasian with prior police experience, and a staff of evacuee enforcement officers. The center directors have exclusive jurisdiction over infractions of center rules and regulations and may impose reasonable and legal penalties for violations. Violators of State and Federal laws are turned over to the proper authorities.

National food rationing released a flood of rumors concerning the food served the Japanese in the relocation centers. It was frequently

charged that the evacuees were receiving food of an exceptionally high quality and of high ration-point value. Investigation of these charges by representatives of the committee disclosed that the basic menus of all relocation centers were prepared by the Quartermaster's Corps of the United States Army and that each center was allowed a maximum expenditure of 45 cents per day for each evacuee. The average expenditure for the two centers in California runs around 37 cents per day per evacuee.

The committee representatives selected mess halls at random in each center and ate several meals with the evacuees. They found the food well cooked, nourishing and plentiful. The following sample menus are typical of the meals served at Manzanar and Tulelake:

MONDAY

Breakfast

Stewed dried fruit,
Farina—hot milk,
French toast, syrup,
Cocoa, milk.

Lunch

Baked macaroni and
cheese,
Steamed rice,
Tsukemono,
Boiled fresh vegetables,
Head lettuce salad,
One orange,
Bread,
Tea.

Dinner

Fresh fried fish,
Stewed corn,
Steamed rice,
Pickled fresh beets,
Butterscotch dessert.

TUESDAY

Breakfast

One-half grapefruit,
Rolled oats—milk,
Hot cakes—syrup,
Cocoa—coffee—milk.

Lunch

Boiled beef, Spanish
Steamed rice,
Tsukemono,
Head lettuce salad,
One fresh apple,
Tea.

Dinner

Beef Sukiyaki,
Steamed rice,
Tsukemono,
Potato salad,
Spice cake,
Tea.

WEDNESDAY

Breakfast

Stewed dried fruit,
Dry cereal—milk,
French toast—syrup,
Coffee—tea—milk.

Lunch

Boston baked beans,
Boiled fresh vegetables,
Steamed rice,
Tsukemono,
Head lettuce salad,
One orange,
Bread,
Tea.

Dinner

Fried fresh fish,
Steamed rice,
Tsukemono,
Cole slaw salad,
Fruit jello,
Tea.

It will be noted that the relocation center diet consists mainly of rice, vegetables, fish, bread, oleomargarine (no butter), with such occasional Japanese dishes as Tsukemono (pickled vegetables) and Sukiyaki (a sort of Japanese chop suey).

Choice of food is a source of constant evacuee complaint and grievance. The American-born Japanese are accustomed to American food while most of the alien Japanese are accustomed to native dishes. It is manifestly impossible to please both groups, although, as will be seen from the sample menus, certain native dishes are prepared and served. The evacuees are permitted to buy additional food at the cooperative stores, but, as has been mentioned heretofore, they are not permitted to purchase anything which requires ration points.

Until about January 1, 1943, the administration of the centers was very lax. The evacuees were permitted to wander unattended practically at will, all over the adjacent countryside. This practice was bitterly resented by residents in the vicinity of the centers and this resentment toward the administration still exists to some extent. The laxity of early administration manifested itself in what appeared to be a pampering of the evacuees and an apathy toward their subversive activities. An example of this lax attitude was seen in the practice of permitting

evacuees at Tulalake to use Government cars as free taxis within the area of the Center, and in the use of Government trucks to take groups of evacuees on picnics outside the Center. No attempt was made to separate the obviously subversive and disloyal from the obviously loyal. After January 1, 1943, the situation changed considerably and the Centers in California were administered with a firmer hand.

Optional courses in Americanism are offered as part of the adult educational program but they might as well be discontinued for they are very poorly attended. There are no compulsory Americanism courses. It was learned that the evacuees are not particularly encouraged to speak English. Many who spoke good English when they first arrived at the centers now speak it poorly, because, since arriving, they have spoken mostly in their native tongue.

For a time, all out-going and in-coming mail was censored by the military police. This practice was discontinued, and in 1943 it was possible for express packages, letters and parcel-post packages to be sent into the relocation centers without inspection. Telephone conversations between the evacuees and persons outside the Centers were not censored at all. Manzanar appeared to be the lone exception in telephone censorship.

SHINTO-KODO-BUSHIDO

The Japanese terms, *Issei*, *Nisei* and *Kebei*, are defined and explained in the Committee's 1943 Report at page 322. Briefly re-stated, the *Issei* are alien Japanese, virtually all of whom are loyal to Japan and Hirohito. Fanatical in their belief in the *Shinto-Kodo-Bushido* dogmas, they keep pretty much to themselves in the relocation centers. The *Nisei* are second-generation, American-born sons and daughters of Japanese alien parents, and, therefore, citizens of the United States. The greater part of the *Nisei* have attended the public schools on the west coast, and the majority of them attended Japanese language schools. The *Kebei* are *Nisei* (second-generation, American born Japanese) who have been sent to Japan, allegedly for educational purposes. During their stay in Japan the *Kebei* were indoctrinated with the *Shinto-Kodo-Bushido* virus and, as a general rule, feel a deep loyalty to everything Japanese. The ideology of *Kodoism*, like the doctrine of race-superiority of the German Nazis, dominates the minds of the present generation of alien Japanese and the *Kebeis*. Until Pearl Harbor the *Issei*, holding the purse strings, exerted considerable influence over the *Nisei* and *Kebei* and kept them pretty much in "*Kodo*" ("*the way of the Emperor*").

Shintoism is Japan's most ancient religious faith. In its primitive form it exalted the deities of nature and fertility and emphasized the sacredness of the family. Animistic in character, *Shintoism* created a multitude of local gods and taught that they were embedded in the mountains, trees and stones. Worship of the Emperor, the sacredness of the family, and the exaltation of the military were closely identified with the ceremonies of *Shintoism* from its inception. The ancient rice culture of the people was closely interwoven in ancient *Shintoism*. Obedience to authority and devotion to the Emperor are sternly emphasized. The *Shinto* creed has been merged with the State since the "restoration" of the Emperor in 1868, and is now particularly characterized by its aggressive nationalism, its authoritarianism, and its militaristic faith.

It is taught and believed that the Japanese islands were begotten of the gods, that the Emperor of Japan is a direct descendant of the Goddess of the Sun. It is believed that the present Japanese race, as the descendants of a single tribe of *Yamato*, are destined to inhabit these God-begotten islands forever. The rest of the world is to feel the benevolence of this divine *Yamato* race. Because the islands were literally begotten of the gods, the land is "holy," and will endure forever. A Japanese soldier who dies for the Emperor and his "holy" country, immediately becomes one with the gods, regardless of how badly he may have lived. The outside world can only be redeemed through Japanese intervention. The great *Shinto* virtues for the Japanese people are blind and undying loyalty and unquestioning obedience. All people, other than the Japanese, are considered corrupt and inferior.

Shintoism has become the State religion of Japan. Doctor Shunzo Sakamaki, assistant professor of history at the University of Hawaii, pointed out that the Japanese Imperial Government had issued an edict declaring that all *Shinto* priests in the United States and Hawaii, and all Japanese language school teachers were, from January of 1941, to be considered as officials of the Japanese Government. "Basically," said Doctor Sakamaki, "the reason is that the Japanese Government has seen in *Shinto* a political tool of the greatest potency for keeping the fires of nationalism burning at white heat and making the doctrine of political absolutism in Japan virtually inviolable."

General Araki, the leader of the Manchurian conquest, gave life and emphasis to Japanese Imperialism by popularizing *Kodo*, "the way of the Emperor," in the program of "*Asia for Asiatics*" and the "*Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere*". Thus, *Kodo*, as an extension of *Shintoism*, provides the justification of Japanese world conquest. "*The way of the Emperor*", since the first Emperor, Jimmu Tenno, who descended directly from the Goddess of the Sun, is the plan to carry out the "divine destiny" of the Japanese people in extending their "culture" to all of the people of the earth. This "benevolence" is first to be extended to the colored peoples of Asia by freeing them from the domination of the white races.

Bushido is the unwritten code of conduct of the *Samurai*. *Bushido* demands loyalty to superiors only, simplicity of living and military valor. Complete allegiance to superiors is demanded, while deceit and dishonor is to be honorably practiced against all others. Treachery and brutality against one's enemies, and self-sacrifice, blind loyalty and unquestioning obedience to one's superiors are the cardinal characteristics of the code of *Bushido*.

PROBLEM OF RELOCATION DURING THE WAR

It is generally believed that the Japanese are a stoical and phlegmatic people. Expert opinion, on the contrary, holds that they are a highly emotional and temperamental people. It is interesting to note in this connection that the clinical records of the two relocation centers indicate that the most common evacuee ailment is peptic ulcers, caused by worry and fear. The loyal, or potentially loyal, *Nisei*, read accounts in the daily newspapers of the action of many and sundry organizations passing resolutions to the effect that no persons of Japanese descent, citizen or alien, will ever be tolerated again in California. Leaflets and pam-

phlets find their way into the centers and are read by the American-born Japanese. Many are firmly convinced that they will not be welcome or wanted in California and, for this reason, have been, and are, refusing to apply for relocation because of the fear of physical injury to themselves and their families no matter where they may go. The recent order of Dillon Myer for the closing of all relocation centers by December 31, 1945, was received with alarm by most Japanese evacuees. The committee has learned from authentic sources that delegations of Japanese have called on the center directors, requesting that some action be taken for the continuation and maintenance of the centers for the duration of the war with Japan. Japanese evacuee spokesmen base their request on several grounds. First, they fear physical injury if they are returned to their former communities while the war with Japan is in progress. Secondly, nearly all leases on evacuee property are for "the duration of the war with Japan," and, thirdly, the housing problem for some 60,000 to 80,000 Japanese in their former communities is fraught with insurmountable difficulty and hardship.

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES

The Japanese very rarely entered into the life of the American community in which they resided. "Little Tokyos" invariably mushroomed into existence wherever a substantial Japanese population existed. More than 240 Japanese language schools were established and maintained in California alone.

The committee is convinced that it was not merely coincidental that the Japanese population settled along the West Coast near airfields, oil refineries, vital war plants and gun emplacements. The desirability of the land alone does not account for this deployment as, in many cases, more fertile and desirable farm land was available.

The Yokohama Specie Bank is sponsored by the Japanese Imperial Government. Before the war huge transfers of money through the Yokohama Specie Bank from the United States to Japan was a frequent occurrence. These "deposits" aggregated in excess of twenty millions of dollars. Testimony and evidence before the committee indicates that Japanese residents in California contributed many thousands of dollars to the Japanese war effort before Pearl Harbor.

Togo Tanaka testified quite openly and frankly concerning *Nisei* activities. (Com. Tr., Vol. X, pp. 2843-2889). His testimony, in part, is as follows (Com. Tr., Vol. X, pp. 2856-2858) :

Q. By Mr. Combs: . . . Mr. Tanaka, as a matter of fact, the Japanese Consulate sponsored the dissemination of a great mass of material regarding the Japanese attitude—the Sino-Japanese war?

A. I don't believe so much the consulate but agencies set up by the consulate on the coast here.

Q. The *Nisei* were active at that time in aiding in the dissemination of that material, were they not?

A. Yes, they were—I should say, we were.

Q. Then, later on there were groups, were there not, Japanese organizations, for example, agricultural organizations and others through which funds were collected for the Japanese war effort generally?

A. I believe you were the one who gave me the first detailed information. While I have a note on Los Angeles I wanted to be able to more or less confirm it.

Q. Does your information confirm that?

A. Yes, it does.

Q. And that extended over a period of how long?

A. Well, I would say since the outbreak of the war in China—that would be in '37.

Q. And it continued how long?

A. Well, straight through, I believe, the early or the middle of 1940 when it seems the tension between the United States and Japan grew to the point where people began, I think, to realize rather dimly possibly war was in the offing—by the way, that was the time, too, when many of us began to realize some of our activities were misdirected. By the way, I may also point out while we seem to be emphasizing the subversive, and I can appreciate the purpose to investigate un-American activities—

Q. That is correct.

A.—on the other hand, we ought not to forget and to get a balanced picture, we ought to inject some of the very good American activities this publication and the organization has been engaging in.

Q. I am going to ask you in detail about that, Mr. Tanaka.

A. Fine.

Q. So that was true that funds were collected by Japanese organizations for the Japanese war efforts?

A. Yes, I believe they were.

Q. And those funds were transmitted through the Japanese diplomatic agencies in this country?

A. I am not, frankly, familiar with the exact means by which it was transmitted. I understand some was sent directly to Japan by the organizations and some by individuals but I presume most of the funds must have been sent through the diplomatic agents.

Q. Was there any reluctance on the part of the Nisei to admit the existence of subversive activities by any Japanese group in California?

A. Well, as a group I would say yes; but individually, of course, we always have our exceptions but collectively—I am merely repeating what persons who are not Nisei say from the standpoint of their own observation that they think the Nisei themselves—on that question I may not be qualified to answer as to the reluctance shown by the Nisei—but judged by some third party, we have a good number of persons who I think have been close to the situation and they said we have been too reluctant to admit some of the subversive activities that probably have been present in which Nisei have engaged. We have tried to gloss some of the things and point out the good American things we were doing without trying to correct or even acknowledge some of the things being done which were subversive and, frankly, I didn't believe some of the things we were doing would be judged as subversive simply because we couldn't predict the developments, the turn of events."

The committee offers no particular brief for the *Nisei* as a class. Evidence before the committee clearly reveals that many of the *Nisei* were

engaged in subversive activities against the Government of the United States for many months prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor. The committee is equally aware that an American-born person of Japanese parentage is not necessarily subversive *per se*. The problem is essentially one of segregation and it presents many subtle difficulties.

When General De Witt's order for Japanese evacuation was announced many *Nisei*, who had established businesses and homes, were compelled to dispose of their property in a very short period of time, as best they could. They were to be housed in relocation centers in remote parts of the country for an indefinite period. Deep emotional reaction to the disruption of normal life was only natural and to be expected. Some of the *Nisei* became embittered and resentful while others remained realistic and resigned to a situation which they understood as necessary and unavoidable. The *Issei* and *Kebei* were openly defiant and recalcitrant. Most of them have now adopted an attitude of solemn brooding. The committee believes that if the War Relocation Authority had segregated these groups in the beginning much trouble and difficulty might have been avoided. Late in 1943 the War Relocation Authority, finally recognizing the problem, announced that it would segregate the loyal from the disloyal Japanese. This was ultimately accomplished by removing the disloyal Japanese to the Relocation Center at Tulelake. The War Relocation Authority test of loyalty and disloyalty in the segregation program is not available and has not been explained.

DEFIANCE AT TULELAKE

Questionnaires were prepared and distributed to the evacuees in all the relocation centers by the War Relocation Authority in the early spring of 1943. Question No. 28 inquired whether or not the evacuee was willing to renounce his allegiance to the Emperor of Japan. An epidemic of rioting immediately broke out at the Tulelake Center and continued for nearly six weeks. So few of the evacuees answered Question 28 in the affirmative that the War Relocation Authority reworded that particular inquiry, labeled it No. 28-A, and tried again. The question this time did not concern itself with allegiance to the Emperor of Japan, but merely inquired whether or not the evacuee would be willing to uphold the laws of the United States. Assemblyman Dickey, in charge of the Tulelake investigation, reported that he had been informed that although there were 6,000 to 7,000 evacuees who were American citizens by accident of birth and whose physical qualifications made them eligible for service in the armed forces of the United States, only two volunteered. It is rather significant to note that the *Bushido* code permits deceit and treachery as honorable conduct under such circumstances, and that disloyal and subversive Japanese would, therefore, unhesitatingly answer either or both questions in the affirmative.

The attitude of defiance on the part of the disloyal Japanese at Tulelake can only be explained on the basis of some real or imagined advantage for Japanese war strategy. Mr. Silverman, staff writer for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, was at the Tulelake Center investigating the disturbances which attended the signing of the questionnaires, and in the May 27, 1943, issue of that newspaper he reported, in part, as follows:

“* * * Before the end of the trouble bands of hoodlums roamed up and down the camp's streets, breaking into homes and attacking

the occupants. The Japanese * * * who were in cooperation with the administration were nearly killed, and two Christian Priests were badly beaten. A Jap flag mysteriously appeared and, as mysteriously, disappeared. The army moved in, followed by the F. B. I. There were mass arrests, and one hundred men were thrown into near-by jails and deserted C. C. C. Camps. When the prisoners were carried off they were surrounded by howling Japanese who yelled, 'Banzai!'

"'You can't imagine how close we came to machine-gunning the whole bunch of them,' one official said. 'The only thing that stopped us, I guess, were the effects such a shooting would have had on the Japs holding our boys in Manila and China * * * and the fact that, in all these Tulelake riots, a lot of Japs got hurt fighting for us.'

"Leaders of the disturbance, most of whom were believed to be *Kebeis*, were identified and sent to an Arizona concentration camp for incorrigibles. Others were given prison terms for violation of the State riot law, while still others were paroled or pardoned. Camp Director Harvey Coverley stated that the arrests put an end to the disturbances."

THE MANZANAR DISTURBANCE

The central figure of the December, 1942, disturbance at the Relocation Center at Manzanar was Fred Masaru Tayama. Tayama testified before the committee in Los Angeles on Japanese activities, March 24, 1942. (Com. Trans. Volume X, pp. 2961-2965.) He was born in Honolulu. He attended the *A. R. Muir Institute of Technology* in Chicago. He formerly was the chairman of the Southern California District Council of the *Japanese-American Citizens League*. Shortly after December 7, 1941, Tayama called a meeting of certain American-born Japanese leaders and organized an anti-Axis Committee. An intelligence unit was created in order to assist governmental investigative authorities in their work. This prompt and laudible action on the part of Fred Tayama made many dangerous enemies for him among the disloyal and subversive Japanese.

Fred Tayama's demeanor on the witness stand when testifying before the committee in Los Angeles, was above-board, open and frank. (Digest of Tayama's Los Angeles testimony appears on pages 344 to 346 in the committee's 1943 Report.) At that time he proudly exhibited a document from the Japanese consul given to him at his insistence, proving his complete expatriation from Japan. He testified that although he was born in Honolulu, he was considered a citizen of Japan in 1923 and subject to Japanese military duty. He was advised to apply to the Japanese Consul General for extension or exemption of military service. He is one of the few American-born Japanese known to the committee who took the necessary steps for the cancellation of the Japanese side of his dual citizenship.

The *New World* supplement for Sunday, December 13, 1942, in the *San Francisco Chronicle* printed the following story:

"Last week, nine-month old Manzanar produced its first political incident. Using descriptive, excitable adjectives and worded carefully so as not to over-emphasize isolated trouble, the War Reloca-

tion Authority described the occurrence: 'Saturday night six men entered the residence of Fred Tayama, (President of the *Japanese-American League*), and beat him so severely that he was taken to the hospital. Immediately three evacuees were taken into custody, and one of them was transferred to the jail at nearby Independence. The next morning crowds gathered in the Center streets, and selected a committee which met with Camp Director Ralph P. Merritt at the main gate and asked for the return of the jailed men. Merritt agreed that the evacuees would be brought back to Manzanar if the committee would agree that there would be no more meetings or gatherings, that order would be maintained until the proper hearing could be held, and if the group would deliver to the authorities the men who had beaten Tayama.

"The crowd dispersed about mid-afternoon, the jailed men were returned to the center police headquarters. But that night two large groups assembled—one at the hospital, demanding that Tayama be turned over to them, and another at the Internal Security Headquarters . . .

"When Merritt refused to release his prisoners . . . he became alarmed when some members threatened to kill Tayama . . . The director called the military police to restore order. But the milling Japanese refused to go home and began to advance on the prison guard, who, when the tear gas was blown away by a high wind, threatened to open fire. The crowd kept coming—the M. P.'s fired, killing one man, critically wounding another and injuring nine others.

"Both the War Department and the War Relocation Authority are of the opinion that this disturbance was caused by a relatively small group of evacuees, and that the great majority of evacuees at Manzanar and other Relocation Centers are loyal to the United States, and completely in favor of the orderly process of government."

The excitement ended as abruptly as it started. War Relocation Deputy National Director, E. R. Fryer, arrived from Washington and laid down the law. Segregation of known Axis sympathizers and unruly elements followed immediately. Center Director Ralph P. Merritt, a veteran of the first World War, who had just taken over as Camp Director a few days before the disturbances commenced, announced "Peace and quiet prevail."

The evacuee-edited *Manzanar Free Press* in its anniversary issue of March 20, 1943, comments on the "incident" in the following language:

"This basic calm that Manzanar residents had been enjoying was disrupted unfortunately by the 'riot' of December 6th, which was aggravated by the newspaper accounts that stressed only the sensational aspects of the event. The emotional outburst was an inevitable outcome of the internal strife caused largely by the concentrated nature of the population. The fact that other centers have had strife and difficulties reflects on the basic difficulty of any group to maintain a normal life under crowded conditions. Since the date of the Manzanar trouble coincided with Pearl Harbor, 1941, the public press had ample opportunity to misinterpret the essential

facts. The sheer coincidence of the date, is, perhaps, the most unfortunate aspect of the whole thing."

The committee is convinced that the disturbance falling on the anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor was the result of something far more serious than "sheer coincidence". The crowded condition of the evacuees in Manzanar on December 6, 7 and 8, 1942, was not the lone factor responsible for the demonstration of defiance. As for the newspapers stressing only the sensational aspects of the event, the committee submits that it would be indeed difficult to imagine anything more sensational than a three-day demonstration of rioting Japanese evacuees accompanied by tear gas and military police shooting into the mob in order to restore order. The committee believes that the disloyal Japs in Manzanar conspired to take vengeance on Tayama for his pro-American attitude, and, at the same time, intimidate other potentially loyal *Nisei* and the administrative staff at the Center with a demonstration on the anniversary of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

TULELAKE DISTURBANCES

By October, 1943, the War Relocation Authority had apparently completed its task of segregating the loyal from the disloyal evacuees. The disloyal evacuees were sent to Tulelake Center and the allegedly loyal evacuees at Tulelake were distributed among the other relocation centers throughout the United States. It is estimated that there were around 16,000 disloyal Japanese at the Tulelake Relocation Center as of January 1, 1945.

Committee members and representatives made five separate trips to the Tulelake Center. The atmosphere at the Camp was tense, the Japanese were sullen and antagonistic and it was apparent to everyone that some sort of trouble was in the making.

Japanese spokesmen called upon Camp Director Raymond Best and announced that the Japanese would no longer pick vegetables for Caucasians or for the loyal Japanese. They stated that they were aware that crop surpluses were distributed to other Relocation Centers, and that, henceforth, the only vegetables which would be picked by the evacuees at Tulelake would be for their own consumption. Mr. Best, in order to comply with the War Relocation Authority's order and to fill the obligation of the United States Government, sent members of the Caucasian staff of the Relocation Center into the fields to help with the crops and purchased additional supplies when needed.

Japanese spokesmen then demanded that they be allowed to use coal for bonfires while harvesting, and when Relocation officials acceded to this demand, tons of coal were consumed in this manner while the Nation faced an acute coal shortage.

The head of the fire department at Tulelake, formerly a battalion chief of the Los Angeles Fire Department, was next bombarded with a series of outrageous demands. The first was for a certain type of rubber glove. These were obtained. A pool table for the members of the fire department was next in order and when this demand was refused the members went on what might be considered a sit-down strike, completely disrupting the fire-fighting department. They refused to use blankets or pillows that had been touched by loyal Japanese, and demanded new bed clothes which were secured. An epidemic of false fire alarms ensued. Nearly

every piece of fire-fighting apparatus taken from the fire house broke down because of some mechanical defect. Fire hydrants were found to be rammed full of broken glass, bits of cloth and other debris, so that they failed to function. It was later discovered that \$50,000 worth of automatic fire alarm apparatus had been ripped out of the building which housed it, and as far as the committee has been able to ascertain, it has never been found.

On the afternoon of November 1, 1943, a delegation of spokesmen for the subversive Japanese, called upon Director Best in the administration building and presented a series of demands which he was utterly unable to grant. Shortly thereafter all the Caucasians working in the Relocation Center, about 200 persons, were herded into the administration building where they were imprisoned for about four hours, while a mob of howling Japanese, armed with daggers, swords and clubs, milled around outside the building, shouting obscenities at the Caucasian women and loudly proclaiming their disloyalty to the United States. Colonel Verne Austin and his troops had arrived by this time and were posted just outside the barbed-wire fence. The Japanese had mysteriously obtained a loud-speaking apparatus and a microphone. They had previously used a short-wave receiving set, made from parts which were sent into Tulalake without being inspected by Relocation authorities. While the conference with Director Best was in progress and the Caucasian staff was imprisoned inside the building, the milling mob on the outside were addressed in Japanese over the public address system and informed on the progress of the conference. When two Caucasians attempted to leave the building they were beaten and forced inside again.

It later developed that the knives and swords with which the rioters had armed themselves had been made from steel truck springs, deliberately broken when trucks were driven over rough stretches of road. When the springs had been replaced by new ones the old springs were taken to the blacksmith shop operated by Japanese-Americans and made into swords and knives.

When the conference with the director was concluded, a Shinto priest stepped to the microphone and said something in Japanese. Immediately the mob suddenly faced the east, removed their hats, bowed three times and went back to their barracks.

The following day, November 2d, was quiet and peaceful. On November 3d there were several minor disturbances. At a little after 10 o'clock on the evening of November 4th, rioting again broke out.

Boxes had been filled with pieces of mattress and bits of dry grass soaked with stove oil and placed under most of the wooden buildings in the center. The caps had been removed from the gasoline tanks on all of the automobiles and trucks, and the vehicles had been placed at right angles to the center gates, thus creating an effective blockade to entrances and exits. Colonel Austin's troops, with light tanks, armored cars, and fixed bayonets, moved in through the barricaded entrances and within a matter of minutes the area was cleared of the rioting Japanese. The leaders of the demonstration were taken into custody and order was restored.

A few days later spokesmen for the rioting Japanese called upon Colonel Austin. They again declared that they would only harvest crops for their own consumption. Colonel Austin told them, in substance, to

either pick the crops in accordance with the War Relocation Authority policy or continue their strike. The crops were promptly harvested and there was no more trouble.

A study of the November rioting at Tulelake revealed a number of important factors not easily discerned by a cursory examination of the facts. It is apparent, when the facts are analyzed, that if the Japanese had actually planned to burn down the buildings, kill or injure the Caucasian administrative personnel that they had ample opportunity to do so under cover of darkness. It must be remembered that Colonel Austin and his troops were just outside the camp and were able to watch every move of the Japanese. In spite of this fact, of which they were well aware, they staged the first demonstration at 1 p.m. on November 1st. They went so far as to install a public-address system so that every word broadcast was well within earshot of the military authorities. The following day the Japanese were obviously apprehensive that something would be done to penalize them for imprisoning the administrative staff for four hours in their own buildings. Colonel Austin and his troops remained outside the enclosure and life appeared to go on as usual within the Center. On November 3d they launched another series of minor disturbances. It is significant to note that the disturbances of November 1st and November 3d occurred in broad daylight in full view of Colonel Austin and his troops. The riot of November 4th was launched at about 10 o'clock in the evening. The Japanese had taken elaborate precautions to make it perfectly clear to anyone that it was their intention to burn the wooden buildings in the Center. Boxes of inflammable material had been prepared and placed under the buildings, the caps had been removed from gasoline tanks of all civilian-owned automobiles, as well as from the cars and trucks in the Center's motor pool, and vehicles had been carefully placed to block the entrances and exits of the Center. When the actual rioting started, Colonel Austin and his men moved in promptly. The demonstration abruptly ceased.

Committee investigators are convinced that the Japanese at Tulelake were quite familiar with the legal phases of the situation in which they found themselves, and that the demonstrations of November, 1943, were deliberately designed to provoke these legal questions and at the same time create propaganda material against the United States for the use of the Imperial Japanese government. The Japanese performance during the four-hour period, heretofore described, had all of the aspects of a well-planned dramatic production. While clubs were waved in the air, knives and swords brandished, addresses made over a public-address system, and the entire Caucasian personnel kept imprisoned in the administration building, no serious damage was done. Although the boxes of inflammables were carefully placed under the wooden barracks, nobody lit a match to start the conflagration. It might logically have been expected that the Army would have immediately moved in and taken control, thus placing the United States Government in the anomalous position of making prisoners of war out of its own citizens. The committee believes that these disturbances at Tulelake were carefully staged for this purpose.

The members of the committee, as well as many informed persons in the State and Nation, while recommending segregation of the loyal Japanese from the disloyal, looked upon the War Relocation Authority's

decision to establish a center for disloyal Japanese in California as ill-advised.

One of the committee's investigators reported on this subject August 6, 1943:

"That this State was teeming with Japanese activities for years prior to Pearl Harbor is an established fact. That the Army is convinced that no person of Japanese descent should be permitted in the State, at least for the duration of the war, is manifest from the evacuation order itself. It is conceded by everyone familiar with the facts that there are several thousand fanatically subversive evacuees both at Manzanar and Tulelake Centers. California has tremendous industrial facilities turning out the materials of war on a gigantic scale. The aircraft factories of California have turned out nearly 40 per cent of all the Nation's planes. Throughout the State are shipyards, chemical plants, mills, military and naval installations, embarkation ports and air bases. It was not so long ago that anti-aircraft batteries were firing at enemy planes in Southern California, that an enemy submarine hurled its shells into oil installations off the coast near Santa Barbara, and that ships were being sunk almost within sight of the coast off Santa Cruz and Monterey. If there is any State in the Union that should be entirely free of subversive Japanese, that State is California. Yet, with eight other centers in the United States, the Relocation Authority has recently announced that it intends to gather together all of the subversive evacuees and place them in Tulelake Center, Modoc County, California.

"According to a statement which appeared in the *Pacific Citizen*, issue of July 17, 1943, 6,300 evacuees have asked for repatriation to Japan and 7,500 others gave negative or qualified answers to the Relocation Authority's loyalty questionnaire. Thus, there are certainly at least 13,800 evacuees who would readily be classified as disloyal. It should appear obvious that of all the places in the Country where these evacuees could be placed, the War Relocation Authority has picked the most dangerous."

Despite a flood of protests and resolutions of organizations such as the *American Legion* and the *Native Sons of the Golden West*, civic organizations and Legislative committees, the War Relocation Authority proceeded with its program to make Tulelake a center for subversive Japanese evacuees exclusively. A result of this decision and action was the three-day riot which occurred in November of 1943. The committee is pleased to note the recent decision of the Government in moving these subversive evacuees from Tulelake to various Japanese prison camp centers.

THE RELOCATION CENTER AT POSTON

Committee representatives undertook to investigate reliable reports of Japanese evacuees coming into California across the Arizona border at Parker, Arizona, despite the order of General De Witt barring all persons of Japanese descent from most of the California area for the duration of the war. The only exception to this rule was by permission of the Army.

The War Relocation Center at Poston is near Parker, Arizona. The committee learned that parties of evacuees were in the habit of driving Government trucks and were observed on picnic parties at points from 14 to 22 miles from the center. It was not unusual for parties of evacuees, driving Government trucks from Poston, to visit cocktail lounges. Large slabs of laminated rock covered with century-old Indian hieroglyphics, were pried loose with crowbars and hammers in the Arizona desert and transported to Poston for Japanese fish ponds. Parties of Japanese evacuees journeyed by Government truck to the town of Parker on shopping tours. Government trucks from Poston, driven by evacuees, came to Parker daily to pick up hundreds of railway-express packages at the platform of the Santa Fe railway station. The packages were taken back to the center and distributed to the addressees without inspection by the center authorities.

Committee investigators met the trains that stop at the Santa Fe station at Parker and on several occasions took photographs of Japanese who were visiting friends in the Relocation Center. Japanese evacuees boarded the train at Parker and rode into California, either to points within the State or for destinations out of the State via some California junction point. The railroad followed a route on the California side through a large area of desert country where American tank forces were holding dress rehearsals for battle.

The committee had been informed, prior to this investigation, that Japanese evacuees had been coming into California by walking across the sand-bars at a low point in the Colorado River. The citizenry of Parker, Arizona, and witnesses on the California side of the river laughed when this report was repeated to them. The committee learned that the Japanese merely drove across the bridge from the Arizona side to the California side and made no attempt whatever to conceal their movements. They were never accompanied by civilian employees of the Relocation Center or by Caucasian guards.

COMMUNIST POLICY ON THE JAPANESE

American Communists are guided in every detail by the policy of the Soviet Union. Moscow is the modern mecca of these Marxist dialecticians and Stalin is the prophet. Soviet Russia embodies, in the minds of all Communists, the first concrete accomplishment of revolutionary Marxism. Their ever-present objectives, still somewhat remote in the future, is the destruction of all capitalistic society and institutions and the creation of world Communism. The ultimate objective is to be reached only through the application of Marxian dialectic to the "day-by-day struggle." The masters of "scientific" socialism, in the opinion of all Communists, are concentrated in Moscow. Hence the blind obedience and unquestioning loyalty to Soviet directives and Soviet policy.

The 1943 Report of the Committee called the Legislature's attention to the policy of American Communists during the Hitler-Stalin Pact, which ended abruptly with the invasion of Russia by Germany in June of 1941. Up to the day of the invasion the American Communists were attacking President Roosevelt as a "war monger" and terming the European conflict as a "British imperialist war." They organized and dominated the so-called *American Peace Mobilization*, called for an

embargo on war material to belligerent countries, advocated an isolationist program for the United States and instituted a series of strikes in defense factories throughout the nation.

The continuous aerial bombing of London and Great Britain had no effect on the isolationist program of the American Communist. But when Hitler's hordes poured into the "holy land" of "Scientific Socialism" Communists everywhere were moved to vigorous action. President Roosevelt was a "war-monger" no longer, the *American Peace Mobilization* and the isolationist program were forgotten. The epidemic of Communist-inspired strikes in defense plants and war industries abruptly ceased and the "British imperialist war" over-night became a "People's war." They now clamored for the lifting of the embargo so that war materials could be made available to the Soviet Union. Without considering the cost in lives and material, the time or the state of preparedness, the Communists set up cries for an immediate "Second front."

It was still nearly six months from December 7, 1941, when American Communist policy changed for the protection of the Socialist fatherland. The Japanese sneak attack on Pearl Harbor brought the United States sharply into line with Communist Party policy, although Russia continued at peace with Hirohito. Japan and Russia have remained at peace throughout the intervening months.

The attitude adopted by the American variety of Communist toward the Japanese in general and the Japanese evacuees in the Relocation Centers in particular, is partially explained by the fact that Japan and Russia have remained at peace. The policy or "line" directives, since early in 1942 projected from the Communist Party viewpoint would read as follows:

"All Communists are ordered to minimize the Japanese danger. All large military efforts in the United States must be directed to Europe. Our immediate task is the defeat of Hitler and the protection of the Soviet Union. Smear anyone who advocates major activities against Japan at the present time. Our historic course with Japan will be determined at the conclusion of the war with Germany. Meanwhile our traditional role as the champions of racial equality must be maintained."

This directive is clearly indicated in the columns of the Communist press, "*The People's Daily World*." Communist writers have constantly ridiculed the attempt of official legislative committees in their objective studies of the Japanese problem. Typical articles clearly indicating the current Communist policy on the Japanese question have appeared with significant frequency in Communist Party publications since the United States was treacherously attacked by Japan.

The "*People's Daily World*" for November 11, 1944, reported the Tulalake Relocation Center disturbances, under the date line of November 3, 1943, as follows:

"EXAMPLE OF FIFTH COLUMN TECHNIQUE

"FALSE RUMORS

"Tulalake, California, Nov. 3—Widespread reports of rioting at the Japanese Relocation Center at Tulalake have been inspired by

German agents and have played directly into the hands of Nazi and Japanese propagandists.

"So declared the authorities of the War Relocation Authority, who branded as 'subversive lies', rumors that 5,000 Japanese had laid siege to the Tulalake Administration building and had to be dispersed by troops using tear gas.

"W. R. A. officials disclosed that in regard to one false report of trouble at the Center 'four telephone calls were received by us from widely scattered areas within five minutes after the incident was supposed to have occurred.'

"'There is no doubt that subversive individuals, or groups, are planting these stories,' the authorities stated."

It is of passing interest, and certainly a matter of deep significance, that the "*People's Daily World*," failed to carry stories of the November 4, 1943, rioting at Tulalake. Magazines and newspapers all over the United States carried accounts of this demonstration. Committee members and attaches have been unable to find a single word in "*The People's Daily World*" on this event. The readers of the Communist publication were apparently to be left in the dark as to the true situation and were to believe that metropolitan newspaper accounts of the use of United States troops in quelling the riots were the "subversive lies" of "Nazi agents."

Current Communist Party policy on the Japanese question is indicated in an editorial by Communist John Pittman in "*The People's Daily World*" for Wednesday, July 21, 1943. "According to our coverage of the (Governor's) conference," the editorial states, "Governor Warren's sole contribution to the solution of the problems of the Nation and the world, now in the most critical period of history, was a claim that the release of the Japanese-Americans from the relocation centers in the west, had created a danger in the country . . . it bears the indelible stamp of an incorrigibly provincial mind, surveying the universe from the top of an ant hill, and at that, through the wrong end of a telescope. Its pettiness is exceeded only by its falsities, for in actual fact the release of loyal Japanese-Americans from Relocation Camps for integration in industry and the armed services has been a boon rather than a danger, to the war effort. More to the point, it smells of the 'Pacific first' dung-hill, explicitly minimizing the menace of Hitler, all too few of whose saboteurs amongst us have been tried."

The Communist Party had made converts among the Japanese population in California before Pearl Harbor. Soviet policy in the Far East and the ultimate objective of world Communism will dictate the "scientific" policy for Communist treatment of the Japanese, both in the United States and abroad. The committee states unequivocally and without fear of contradiction by future events, that the American Communists will vociferously echo Soviet policy, both as to the Japanese war and post-war diplomacy. Meanwhile American Communists remain neatly balanced on Soviet neutrality, awaiting the Stalinistic determinism of Moscow's dialecticians and "the correct course to be pursued" as finally established by Kremlin metaphysicians. They will then leap into the fray on the side of the fence indicated by Marshal Stalin's pipe.

AMERICAN PRO-JAPANESE ORGANIZATIONS

The Committee has recognized a number of organizations composed entirely of American Caucasians manifesting great solicitude and concern for Japanese evacuees and frankly created in their behalf. Many of these organizations are quasi religious and pacific in character and concern themselves with conscientious objectors as well as with the Japanese. They declare that they are primarily concerned with the civil liberties of the *Nisei*, taking the attitude that the Federal Government is either unable or unwilling to protect them in these guarantees. Through spokesmen and literature these organizations have been, and are, diffusing a sticky-sweet atmosphere over the problem. Their spokesmen blandly state, and they announce by leaflet and pamphlet, that there is no evidence of the Japanese engaging in subversive activities before December 7, 1941. The evidence to the contrary is overwhelming. No less an authority than Saburo Kido, National President of the *Japanese-American Citizens League*, declared in the July 17, 1943, issue of the *Pacific Citizen* that "Japanese-Americans would be the first to deny that all of their members are 100 per cent loyal."

Togo Tanaka testified before the committee in Los Angeles early in 1942 (Com. Tr., Vol. X, pp. 2843-2889). His testimony is digested in the Committee's 1943 Report at page 332 to 336 inclusive. Tanaka is American born. He attended the Los Feliz Elementary School and the Thomas Starr King High school, Hollywood High School and the University of Southern California, where he majored in political science and from where he was graduated in 1936. Shortly thereafter he became the editor of the English section Japanese newspaper, "*Rafu Shimpo*," a Los Angeles publication with an extensive circulation throughout the entire Pacific Coast area. The paper was printed in the Japanese language for the greater part and, from time to time, the management published a Japanese directory. In 1941 the "*Rafu Shimpo*" issued a directory containing more than 500 pages setting forth material collected in the United States under the direction of the "*Rafu Shimpo*" staff. This material was sent to Japan where it was compiled and where the directory was printed. The names and addresses of thousands of Japanese, *Issei*, *Nisei* and *Kebei*, are contained in the volume. When Tanaka testified, the committee learned that several significant pages had been removed from the directory. The witness admitted that the publication was about 90 per cent subversive. The witness believed that most of the Japanese organizations in California were under the domination of the *Issei*.

The committee has been interested in charges made by certain pro-Japanese groups that West Coast opposition to the return of the Japanese emanates from Caucasian agricultural interests and that the opposition is founded on selfishness. As far as the committee and its investigators have been able to ascertain there is little or no factual basis to this charge. The latest official figures available (1940) indicate that although few industries are as highly competitive, Japanese competition was not a dominant factor in the produce and farming industry. In 1940, the three Western Pacific Coast States, California, Oregon and Washington, had a Japanese population of 112,353 or about 85 per cent of the National total. Only 45 per cent of that number were engaged in agriculture. In 1940 the California Bureau of Agricultural Economics estimated that

there were only four crops in the State of which the Japanese produced in excess of 50 per cent of the total, namely, snap beans, cauliflower, celery and garlic. The Japanese operated about 6000 farms in the three West Coast States. This amounted to a little over 2 per cent of the total number of farms operated. In California, Oregon and Washington 97 per cent of the farms were operated by nationalities other than Japanese.

Much of Japanese farming was done by unpaid family workers. Available statistics indicate that most of these unpaid agricultural laborers were women and girls. The committee is informed that although Japanese women were only 1.5 per cent of all employed women in the Pacific Coast States, they represented 48 per cent of all unpaid family workers on West Coast farms. More than one out of five Japanese engaged in agriculture was an unpaid family worker.

The committee is also aware of the existence of certain organizations created for propaganda and activity against all Japanese, regardless of loyalty or disloyalty, or whether American or foreign-born. These organizations, through their spokesmen and literature, are as vociferous in their condemnation of all Japanese as the pro-Japanese organizations are in their behalf. They resort to vilification and appeal to war prejudices in a tirade of abuse against all persons of Japanese descent, branding all and sundry as "faithless, untrustworthy, irresponsible, inhuman, ungodly, soulless and disloyal!"

Somewhere between the hysteria of the vigorous anti-Jap groups and the naive pacifist-conscientious-objector pro-Jap group is the balance-bar of equity and justice for the American-born Japanese. About half-way between the extreme pro and con charges of both groups is the true story of the Japanese evacuation and the relocation centers in California. When the full story is told it will be filled with drama, with comedy and tragedy, with suffering and self-sacrifice, with villainy and heroism, with deep shadows and bright sunlight—a story bewildering in its complexity of delicate problems.

THE JAPANESE-AMERICAN CITIZENS' LEAGUE

The *Japanese-American Citizens League* held its first annual conference in three years at Salt Lake City early in December of 1944. The conference had the endorsement of the War Relocation Authority. Dillon Meyer was scheduled to speak, but did not appear. Official representatives of the *Pacific Coast Committee on American Principles and Fair Play, Friends of the American Way*, the Methodist Church and similar groups attended. The Caucasian delegates proposed a five-point program which was unanimously adopted. The program is as follows:

1. To restore to Japanese all rights lost as a result of evacuation.
2. To restore all losses sustained as a result of evacuation.
3. Intensify campaign at Tulalake to get Japanese to sign a slip of paper changing their status on loyalty. (This is called "Giving the Japanese another chance.")
4. A campaign to influence Congress to amend immigration laws so that citizenship may be granted to Japanese aliens in the United States.
5. Campaign to open immigration to Japanese after the war. (Repeal of the Oriental Exclusion Act.)

This program, of course, contemplates the lifting of all restrictions on the Japanese. This has practically been accomplished, as far as American-born Japanese are concerned, by the War Department on the revocation of its order excluding all Japanese from the Western Defense Area, and the Supreme Court's recent decision on the subject. The program to restore all losses sustained by the Japanese as a result of evacuation probably contemplates hundreds of civil suits against the government for losses incurred by the sale of personal effects, household goods, real property, and the recovery of wages, salaries and profits due to loss of earning power for three years. The plan to bring suit against the government for the recovery of wages, salaries and profits is said to have been discussed by the *American Civil Liberties Union*.

The Imperial Japanese Government, until Pearl Harbor, never relaxed its tenacious hold and influence over the lives of all Japanese in the United States, whether alien or American-born. Supplementing the psychological control exerted by fanatical ideologies, a direct hold and domination over all Japanese on the West Coast was established and maintained by an intricate web of interlocking associations. Some of these associations were business and industrial, while others were social. Virtually every Japanese was a member of several associations. They were generally linked, directly or indirectly, to the Japanese Consulate. No Japanese, whether American or foreign-born, dared disobey edicts of his association without jeopardizing his business and social existence.

The committee has heretofore pointed out that the *Issei* thoroughly control the thinking and the action of the Japanese population born in the United States. There have been some claims since the evacuation of the Japanese that this domination of the *Nisei* (American-born Japanese) by the *Issei* (foreign-born) has been broken and that the American-born Japanese are now free of the domination and guidance of parents born and indoctrinated with Japanism. The facts appear to contradict this claim.

It was announced that the delegates from the Heart Mountain (Wyoming) Relocation Center to the conference at Salt Lake City was an all-*Issei* delegation. There are many thousands of Japanese evacuees at Heart Mountain with a very large percentage of American-born Japanese. If the *Issei* domination no longer exists, why was it that a delegation of *Issei* (foreign-born) should be selected to attend a conference that purported to plan the future of the Japanese in the United States?

CONCLUSION

The committee is informed that as a result of its investigation unescorted Japanese are no longer permitted to enter this State from Arizona at will. Letters and packages addressed to alien Japanese or those evacuees suspected of disloyalty are now opened and inspected before being delivered to the addressees.

The committee does not contend, and never has contended, that all Japanese evacuees are disloyal to the United States. As a result of intensive investigation the committee finds that the great majority of *Issei* (foreign-born Japanese) are loyal to Japan. The committee believes that the *Issei*, for the greater part, if given the opportunity, would do everything in their power to further the war aims of Japan. The committee finds that the *Kebei* (American-born Japanese who have

spent several years in Japan for purported educational purposes) are definitely in the "suspect" class as far as loyalty to the United States is concerned. The committee finds that the *Nisei* (American-born Japanese) were, to a great extent, engaged in pro-Japanese activities before Pearl Harbor. Many of these American-born Japanese are disloyal to the United States, while many of them have illustrated by their conduct since Pearl Harbor their loyalty to the land of their birth. Many of the *Nisei* have enlisted in the armed forces of the United States and have distinguished themselves as United States soldiers on the field of battle.

The committee believes that every American citizen of Japanese descent who has demonstrated his or her loyalty to the United States during these trying times should be extended every opportunity of developing their Americanism and taking their respective places in communities of their choosing with all the rights guaranteed to all American citizens.

The committee believes that the evaluation of the loyalty of any particular Japanese, *Issei*, *Nisei* or *Kebei*, should include a consideration of their conduct and activities both before and after Pearl Harbor. Allowances for the influence and domination of the *Issei* over the *Nisei* prior to December 7, 1941, should be made in such evaluation.

The committee is in possession of authentic reports of outstanding acts of heroism on the part of American born Japanese in the armed forces of the United States, both in Europe and in the Pacific war against the Japanese. These men, and such Japanese as Tokie Slocum, who was made a citizen of the United States by a special act of Congress for his service in France with Sergeant York, should be honored as patriotic American citizens.

The committee believes that the only issue involved, is the issue of loyalty to the United States. It is not a question of race. It is only a question of Americanism.

Loyal American born Japanese evacuees look upon their detention in the Relocation Centers as a necessary sacrifice for the land of their birth. They, better than any Caucasian, know that there are many among them who could not and should not be at large during the war. The War Relocation Authority is in the best position to pass judgment on the loyalty of this class of evacuee.

The committee is in possession of authentic information that the loyal Japanese evacuees prefer to wait for the end of the war before attempting to return to their former communities. In view of the recent Supreme Court decision and the attitude of United States Army officials, the committee believes that the Relocation Centers should be maintained for those evacuees who voluntarily elect to remain in them until the end of the war.

The Japanese people are fanatical in their faith that they are destined to conquer the world. They traditionally measure time in terms of generations and centuries, and reverses and defeats in the span of a single generation are merely incidents in the sweep of time, to be expected and endured. They are a "holy" race and their land is "holy," literally begotten of the gods. Their cause is "holy" because it is divinely inspired. Ultimate victory will be theirs because the gods have divinely ordained it. Unless Japan is utterly crushed and broken in this war and her power to make war forever destroyed, defeat will be regarded as a temporary set-back and the Japanese people will begin again to build

methodically for another attempt at the destiny they believe their gods have planned for them.

PART IV

COMMUNISM

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

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

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

1

RED-BAITING AND RED-BAITERS

The Committee Report for 1943 commented on "red-baiting" and "red-baiters" (pages 16-18). The committee, after two years of additional study and investigation, finds that these terms are still potent missiles in the Communist arsenal of vilification. In the 1943 Report, the committee observed:

"Our American history is full of occasions of biting and derisive name-calling, but throughout its crowded pages there have always appeared men of courage who feared neither the names nor the caller-of-names. Only a few men during the past several years have had the courage to stand up under the paralyzing accusation of being a 'red-baiter'."

As a prelude to this section on Communism the committee is proud to present a statement by one of America's foremost "Red-Baiters"—one

of those courageous men of history we referred to in 1943—one who, it must be admitted, knows what he is talking about. The statement follows:

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

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

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

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

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

2

COMMUNIST PHILOSOPHY, SOURCES AND BACKGROUND

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

The following compilation on Communist philosophy, sources and background is included in this report with the hope that the members of the Legislature will be encouraged to pursue the subject further.

KARL MARX

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

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

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

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

have had the misfortune of failing to show all the veneration he expects.

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

Marx's father was a lawyer and Marx was sent to the University of Bonn to study law. Here he became deeply interested in the philosophy of the German philosopher Hegel. He abandoned the study of law and devoted himself to mastering the Hegelian system. He received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1841 but was denied a position at the university. He turned to journalism and became the editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* and devoted himself to the study of Socialist literature.

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

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

LIBERALISM

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

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

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

DEMOCRACY

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

instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed . . . ”

The essence of Democracy is respect for the individual. It seeks to guarantee to every individual his “unalienable rights.” Its limitations of freedom are marked only by the rights of others. Equality before the law and equality in opportunity are basic democratic principles. Checks and balances are fundamental in the government of a democracy, and a republican form of government is the most conducive to political democracy. The separation of the branches of government, regular elections, secret ballots, the recall, initiative and referendum and a constitution characterize political democracy.

CAPITALISM

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

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

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

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

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

THE UTOPIANS

The Greeks had a word for “nowhere” and that word is “*Utopia*.” Sir Thomas More selected this Greek word for the name of his South Pacific Island paradise. His book, “*Utopia*,” appeared in 1516. Plato wrote his “*Republic*” about 2,400 years ago and outlined a government that embodied the first element of *Utopian* thinking. Sir Thomas More’s “*Utopia*” elaborated on the thought. He eliminated the extremes of wealth and poverty and turned the energies of his society into cooperation. More believed that man’s acquisitiveness was a source of human misery. Consequently there was no private ownership of land or resources in *Utopia*. Competitive waste was eliminated and the work day consisted of but six hours. Medical care and education were supplied to the population without cost. Equality of the sexes and religious tolerance were established in More’s *Utopia*. The officials were democratically elected and their powers limited.

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

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

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

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

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

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

MARXISM

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

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

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

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

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

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

Marx reasoned that class antagonism can only be ended by the abolition of classes—by the establishment of a society in which there are no employers, but workers only. Surplus value is to be eliminated. He called for a rigid and ruthless dictatorship of the proletariat after the capitalist state has been destroyed. This dictatorship is to last until a socialist economy is firmly established; until all vestiges of bourgeois society have been liquidated. When the dictatorship of the proletariat has served its purpose, Marx contends that the state will "wither away" leaving but a few administrative agencies. Then the completely classless society, Communism, will emerge. Industrial development, economic development, cultural background, the extent of economic breakdown, plus the extent and acceptance of Marxian principles by the population and the type of revolutionary leadership will, according to Marx, determine the time and circumstance in each nation for the revolution. Marxism calls for class loyalty over racial and national loyalty and allegiance. Socialism can not come, Marx declared, until it shall encompass the workers of all the world.

RELIGION

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

"The social principles of Christianity have now had 1800 years for their development," Marx wrote, "and do not need any further development at the hands of Prussian consistorial councillors. The social principles of Christianity find justifications for the slavery of classical days, extol medieval serfdom, and are ready in case of need to defend the oppression of the proletariat—somewhat shamefacedly perhaps. The social principles of Christianity preach the need for a dominant and an oppressed class, expressing the pious hope that the former will deal kindly with the latter. The social principles of Christianity declare that all infamies will be spiritually compensated in heaven, the assertion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"In such circumstances the preaching of atheism is superfluous and harmful—not from the narrow-minded consideration of not

frightening the backward elements, or losing votes at election, etc., but from the point of view of the actual progress of the class-struggle, which, in the conditions of modern capitalist society, will convert Christian workers to Social-Democracy and to atheism a hundred times more effectively than any bald atheist sermons. To preach atheism at such a time, and in such circumstances, would only be playing into the hands of the church and the priests, who would desire nothing more than to have the workers participating in the strike movement divided in accordance with their religious beliefs."

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

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

COMMUNIST ETHICS

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

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

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

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

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

Lenin in *Religion* states:

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

MARXIAN DIALECTIC

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

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

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

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

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

Marx took over the Hegelian concept of the dialectic process, but rejected Hegel's "wishful-thinking" conclusion that history was the evolution of the genius of each state which must necessarily make

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

The Communist believes that intelligent action results only when there is harmonious cooperation with the historical course of events. He must look into his crystal-ball—Marx's dialectic materialism—to ascertain the material forces at work. *Theory* and *action* are declared to be inseparable in the Marxian system. The task of the Communist, aided by dialectic, is to analyze trends in history, ascertain their direction, and then shape the strategy of revolution accordingly. Thus, until Soviet Russia is attacked by Nazi Germany, the war is a "British imperialist war" and President Roosevelt is a "war-monger." Russia is invaded and the war becomes a "people's war". The Teheran Conference changes the American "party" into a "political association." Marxian tactics are to be kept flexible at all times and the sole test of every contemplated move is whether the action, under the circumstances and at the time in question, creates a proletarian "class-consciousness" and furthers the revolution. (See heading "Schneiderman on Marxism").

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

"The Hegelian philosophy, which professed to portray an eternally fluid and evolving universe, nevertheless managed to bring that universe to a stationary goal in the knowledge of this very Hegel's philosophy, and the tempered blessings of the limited monarchy so generously and so long promised by his gracious sovereign, Frederick William the Third. And Marx's equally fluid although material universe, boasting an equally perfect and eternal evolution, comes to a dead stop when the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie has been resolved by the formation of 'an association

which excludes classes and their antagonisms.' Is it a mere coincidence that Marx's economic and inward knowledge of the laws of history can not extend a little forward toward another contradiction, or that it does not fall a little short, or lose a trifle of its iron certainty, before that perfect point is reached? *Is it not quite obvious that it is not Marx's knowledge, but his purpose, that is being expressed.*" (Italics ours.)

MATERIALISTIC INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

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

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

"Finally we obtain the following results from the fully developed conception of history. 1. In the development of the forces of production a stage is reached at which productive forces and means of intercourse are evolved which, under the extant conditions, only do harm; which are no longer forces of production, but forces of destruction (machinery and money). In association with this we find that a class is evolved which has to bear all the burdens of society without enjoying its advantages, which is forced out of society into the most contrast of all other classes; a class which forms the majority of all the members of society, and one from which the consciousness of the necessity for a thoroughgoing revolution, the communist consciousness, proceeds—a consciousness which, of course, can only arise in the other classes thanks to the comprehension of the position of this particular class. 2. The conditions within which determinate forces of production can be applied, are the conditions of the dominion of a specific class of society, of a class whose social power (arising out of ownership) secures practical-idealist expression in the extant form of State, with the consequence that every revolutionary struggle is directed against a class which has up to that time been dominant. 3. In all revolutions that have hitherto taken place, this kind of activity has remained inviolate, so that there has never been anything more than a changed distribution of this activity, with a new distribution of labour to other persons; whereas the communist revolution is directed against the kind of activity which has hitherto been exercised, and does away with labour, and makes an end of class rule when it does away with classes, the reason being that this revolution is brought about by the class which no longer counts in society as a class, is not recognized as a class, but is the expression of the dissolution of all classes, nationalities, etc., within extant

society. 4. For the widespread generation of this communist consciousness, and for the carrying out of the communist revolution, an extensive change in human beings is needed, which can only occur in the course of a practical movement, in the course of a revolution; so that the revolution is not only necessary because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but is also necessary because only in a revolution can the uprising class free itself from the old yoke and become capable of founding a new society." For us, communism is not a condition of affairs which 'ought' to be established, not an 'ideal' towards which reality has to direct itself. When we speak of communism, we mean the actual movement which makes an end of the present condition of affairs. The determinants of this movement arise out of the extant pre-supposition."

Hegel conceived human beings as puppets. Feuerbach cut the strings that jerked them hither and yon, put sails on their boats but forgot the rudders. Marx, taking the Feuerbachian materialism of nature, believed he added the rudders, thus making human beings independent actors on the stage of history. God is disenthroned and man is no longer subject to a higher will. He divides human beings into two classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and views all history as a bitter struggle between these two groups. He charts the destination of the proletarian class in accordance with his own wish-determinism and states that their ultimate aim is the establishment of a socialist society. The route to be followed, according to Marx, is marked by violence and revolution. His "materialistic interpretation of history" is deemed a "new dialectic" and is considered "scientific" by Communists. It is not scientific. It is wishful-thinking and metaphysical. To assert that the "contradiction" in capitalism must inevitably be "resolved" by an expropriation of the capitalists, the creation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the collective ownership of the means of production, without the consideration of obvious concrete factors, is dogmatic.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

In *Misere de la Philosophie*, Marx stated: "Just as a necessary condition for the liberation of the third estate, of the bourgeois estate, was the abolition of all estates and of all orders, to the necessary condition for the liberation of the working class is the abolition of all classes." The "class struggle," he believed, would result in the abolition of all classes, the triumph of the proletariat, the ultimate "withering away" of the state, and the emergence of a new socialistic, classless society.

The bourgeois revolutions of the Nineteenth Century were looked upon by Marx as the prelude of the proletarian revolution. These revolutions, Marx believed, must eventually lead to the annihilation of the bourgeois system of society and he advocated Communist assistance in these struggles. Bourgeois wars and bourgeois internal conflict accelerated the tempo of annihilation. Every bourgeois victory created new political weapons for the proletariat. Bourgeois wars weakened exist-

ing governments, whether the bourgeois were defeated or victorious. The termination of each conflict placed the proletariat in a stronger political position, regardless of its outcome. "The relationship of the Revolutionary Labour Party," Marx said, "to the petty-bourgeois Democracy is as follows: It joins forces with petty-bourgeois Democracy against the fraction whose overthrow it aims at effecting; *but it opposes both the one and the other* in matters it wishes to establish on its own account." (Italics ours.)

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

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

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

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

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

The following extracts are quotations from the *Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. The *Communist Manifesto* is considered the proletarian "Bible" and *is now*, and always will be so long as a Communist Party fraction exists, the blueprint for the Communist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Communist Party theologians praise the *Communist Manifesto*, holding it as important and as "contemporary" as though written in 1945 instead of nearly a hundred years ago.

"The history of all human society, past and present, has been the history of class struggles."

* * * * *

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

* * * * *

"Our own age, the bourgeois age, is distinguished by this—that it has simplified class antagonisms. More and more, society is

splitting into two great hostile camps, into two great and directly contraposed classes: bourgeoisie and proletariat.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“Communists scorn to hide their views and aims. They openly declare that their purposes can only be achieved by the forcible

overthrow of the whole extant social order. Let the ruling classes tremble at the prospect of a Communist revolution. Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

“Proletarians of all lands, unite!”

THE FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD INTERNATIONALS

The *First International* was organized in 1865 and collapsed after the Congress held at Geneva, September 8, 1873. The date of its official demise is said to be 1876. For a time the headquarters of the *First International* were located in New York City.

Karl Marx organized and was the moving spirit of the *First International* during its short life. He worked with a subcommittee on a draft of rules and regulations, and a statement of principles for the organization in September and October of 1864. He had no scruples in deceiving both the subcommittee and the organization itself. Writing on the matter to Engels he stated: “Under the pretext that all factual matters were contained in this address, and that we need not say the same things thrice over, I modified the introduction, cut out the declaration of principles, and finally reduced the four and twenty propositions to ten.” His contempt for bourgeois virtue is contained in this same report to Engels: “Only one thing,” he wrote, “I had to pledge myself to insert in the preambles of the rules two phrases about ‘duty’ and ‘right’; also, about truth, morality and justice—but they are all so placed that they cannot do any harm.”

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

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

“Considering that, against this collective power of the propertied classes, the working class cannot act as a class except by constituting itself into a distinct political party, distinct from and opposed to all old parties formed by the propertied classes; that this constitution of the working class into a political party is indispensable in order to ensure the triumph of the social revolution and its ultimate end, the abolition of classes; that the combination of forces which the working class has already effected by its economical struggles ought at the same time to serve as a lever for its struggles against

the political power of the landlords and capitalists—this conference recalls to the members of the International that, in the militant state of the working class, *its economical movement and its political action are indissolubly united.*' (Italics ours.)

The *Second International* was created in 1889. This International represents a conservative, reformist socialist movement of affiliated bodies organized after 1872. The Socialist Party of the United States is affiliated with this International.

The *Third International* (Communist International-*Comintern*) was created in 1919 in Moscow, Russia. In accord with Marxian dialectic and the materialistic interpretation of history the *Third International* (*Comintern*) went through the motions of dissolution in May of 1943. Any student of Marxism recognizes a Leninistic "sharp turn" in the expedient application of Marxian dialectic to world events and for the furtherance of Soviet foreign policy.

COMMUNIST REVOLUTION BY FORCE AND VIOLENCE

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

"LENINISM" OR "BOLSHEVISM"

"Leninism" and "Bolshevism" are terms used to describe the application of Marxism to the Russian experience.

Nikolai Lenin was a practical, conspiratorial revolutionist. Marxism was the "opiate" at hand and he used it liberally. Yet, he undoubtedly believed himself to be a real Marxist. He praised George V. Plekhanov's writings as "the best in the whole international literature of Marxism." Plekhanov criticizes Lenin's Marxism in the following language: "The disputed question consists in this: Does there exist an economic necessity which calls forth in the proletariat a demand for socialism, makes it instinctively socialistic, and impels it—even if left to its own resources—on the road to social revolution, notwithstanding the stubborn and continual effort of the bourgeoisie to subject it to its own ideological influence? Lenin denies this, in face of the clearly expressed opinions of all the theorists of scientific socialism. And in that consists his (Lenin) enormous mistake, his theoretical fall into sin."

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

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

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

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

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

Instead of the "*withering away*" of the state, predicted by Marx, the Russian revolution gave birth to a super-state of commissars and bureaucrats. The "dictatorship of the proletariat" became state capitalism under Stalin. Leon Trotsky, who worked shoulder to shoulder with Lenin in establishing the socialist state of Russia, sums up the result as follows:

"The realities of Soviet life today can indeed be hardly reconciled even with the shreds of old theory. Workers are bound to the factories; peasants are bound to the collective farms. Passports have been introduced. The freedom of movement has been completely restricted. It is a capital crime to come late to work . . . The frontiers are guarded by an impenetrable wall of border-patrols and police dogs on a scale heretofore unknown anywhere. To all intents and purposes, no one can leave and no one may enter. Foreigners who had previously managed to get into the country are being sys-

tematically exterminated. The gist of the Soviet constitution, the 'most democratic in the world,' amounts to this, that every citizen is required at an appointed time to cast his ballot for the one and only candidate hand-picked by Stalin or his agents. The press, the radio, all the organs of propaganda, agitation and national education are completely in the hands of the ruling clique. During the last five years no less than half a million members, according to official figures, have been expelled from the party. How many have been shot, thrown into jails and concentration camps, or exiled to Siberia, we do not definitely know. But undoubtedly hundreds of thousands of party members have shared the fate of millions of nonparty people. It would be extremely difficult to instill in the minds of these millions, their families, relatives and friends, the idea that the Stalinist state is withering away. It is strangling others, but gives no sign of withering. It has instead arrived at a pitch of wild intensity unprecedented in the history of mankind."

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

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

3

DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES

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

As has been pointed out before, the terms "*Third Communist International*" and the "*Comintern*" are synonymous. The *Comintern* was established in Russia in 1919 under the leadership of Lenin, Trotsky and other *Bolsheviks*. It is a controlling central organization to which Communist Parties throughout the world affiliate. It is actually a high board of strategy for universal revolution. The Communist Parties throughout the world, affiliated with the *Comintern*, are subordinate and subservient to it, and are pledged to abide by the decisions of the executive board in Moscow and to abjectly submit to its disciplinary power. In

the section of this report on the formation and activity of the C. I. O. *Political Action Committee*, it will be seen that this condition existed from 1919 to 1940, when the *Communist Party* of the United States announced that it had severed all connections with the *Comintern*. It was another Leninistic "sharp turn" and no one familiar with Marxian dialectic was deceived by the announcement.

When the news of the Communist revolution of 1917 in Russia reached the United States, certain leaders of the American *Socialist Party* were filled with admiration, awe and reverence for the *Bolshevik* strategists. The more radical wing of the American *Socialist Party* believed that the Russian *Bolsheviks* had demonstrated "scientific" socialism and that a new impetus had been given to world revolution. The leaders of Bolshevism became the leaders of world revolution.

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

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

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

were opened, and John Reed, the first American Communist, launched a propaganda campaign through the columns of "*The New York Communist*."

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

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

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

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

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

The organization was first known as the *Communist Labor Party*, but the word "labor" was eventually dropped and the party continued as the *Communist Party*, a section of the *Communist International*.

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

COMMUNIST BEGINNINGS IN THE UNITED STATES

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

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

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

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

IRON CONTROL

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

COMMUNIST DISCIPLINE

The *Communist Party* proceeded along its troublesome path, gathering more and more members. Disciplinary control was intensified. The Communist parties throughout the world maintain what they call *control commissions*. A Communist who waivers in his activities or thought is immediately under the scrutiny of the *control commission*. Every Communist is under the continuous observation of his "Comrades" and the most trivial anti-Communist action or word is reported. *Communist Party* members fear the *control commission* more than they fear the police. The most potent threat that can be made against a member who violates party discipline is the threat of expulsion from the organization. Disillusioned Communists who muster sufficient courage to bluntly withdraw from the organization are hounded from one job to another and harassed in every possible manner. Prospective employers are told that they are hiring ex-Communists, persons who are emotionally unstable, unreliable, and can not be believed under oath. Anonymous letters are dispatched to employers and every sort of artifice is practiced to embarrass and harass the ex-member. By whispering "smear" cam-

paigns the *Communist Party* charges that the ex-Party member is suffering from some sort of mental disability. An ex-Communist who criticizes the party or who reveals its secrets is immediately branded as a psychopathic case, a pervert, a chronic liar, a criminal, a stool-pigeon, a red-baiter, a witch-hunter—a miserable wretch suffering from practically every ailment known to humanity, including vitamin deficiency. It is remarkable that a person, by merely severing his affiliation with the Communist Party, is immediately afflicted with the same variety of ailments and vices.

DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

Theoretically, the Communist organization enjoys what it terms "Democratic Centralism." The doctrine is rather intricate and, while the term indicates Democracy in procedure, its "*Centralism*" is its contradiction. Hand-picked delegates from the lowest stratum of Communist organizations compose the membership of the next stratum. Hand-picked delegates from this group compose the membership of the next highest, and so on to Stalin. The group at the top is the governing body of the whole and all decisions are made at this central point, the apex of the pyramid. The orders and directives pass downward through each stratum of the party. Although completely totalitarian in character it is considered "democratic" because the delegates to each higher group are theoretically selected by the membership of their respective units. It is authoritarian and autocratic in operation.

SUPPORT OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

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

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

LEGAL AND ILLEGAL ORGANIZATIONS

The *Communist Party* originally divided the United States into 20 Communist districts. Each had its governing structure. California, Arizona and Nevada was designated as District Thirteen. Headquarters for this district was located in San Francisco and for many years was maintained at 121 Haight Street in that city. Each State had its subordinate structure and was in turn divided into county organizations, which were broken down into a labyrinth of sections, branches, units, cells, fractions, commissions and committees.

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

REPORT OF CALIFORNIA PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION

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

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

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

“The stream-lined Communist Party which we see in operation today is scarcely recognizable on the surface as the hard-bitten, fighting, sneering and threatening organization it was some years ago. In those days the party made no bones of saying right out loud

that it advocated the overthrow of this government by force and violence. The Communists believed that the overthrow could be accomplished only through a bloody revolution, as the 'capitalist class' would not relinquish its wealth and possessions without a struggle.

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

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

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

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

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

"Next came the positively startling and amazing proclamation that Communists love the American traditions and institutions and want to preserve them and also want to preserve democracy.

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

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

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

"So here was a pretty kettle of fish: Here was the Communist Party trying to discard its more barbarous and loose libertinism for the attempted appearance of respectability. But within the party's ranks there existed a situation where white women openly consorted

with Negro men; white, black, Japanese, Mexican and Filipino members had set up their own little personal alliances with the full approbation of the party. 'Communist marriages,' not blessed by benefit of clergy, founded upon this color-and-race combination basis abounded and were not to be easily dissolved by a sweeping mandate of the party, so the party had no alternative other than to permit them to continue—while the party leaders held their breath and hoped in the names of Marx, Engels, and Lenin that the public would not learn of them!

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

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

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

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

THE COMMUNIST PRESS

William Schneiderman, former Secretary of the *Communist Party of California*, and presently the Secretary of the *Communist Political Association of California*, was examined in San Francisco in reference to many matters, among which was the "*People's Daily World*." His testimony in this connection, is as follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XXIV, pp. 313-319):

Q. By Mr. Combs: Now, Mr. Schneiderman, here's another question that may seem somewhat naive—I spoke to you about it before you were sworn to testify—in response to a great many questions that have been asked by the Committee during the four years

of its existence regarding the status of the *People's Daily World*, as to whether it was or was not an organ of the Communist Party, the answer has been universally that it was not. We have run across some excerpts from the Communist Party publications, official publications, that would indicate it is. I'm going to read the excerpts to you and ask you whether or not you are familiar with them, and by way of foundation I'll ask you if you are familiar with the old *Western Worker*?

A. Yes.

Q. That was unquestionably the official organ of the Communist Party of this State, was it not?

A. Yes, it was.

Q. And it went out of business in 1938, did it not?

A. Yes, the end of '37.

Q. And it was succeeded by the *People's Daily World*, was it not?

A. May I explain that?

Q. Yes.

A. Originally it was our intention to publish the *Western Worker* as a daily newspaper. When we began to go over the budget of how much it would be to run a daily newspaper it became obvious to us that we ourselves couldn't support and finance a Communist daily newspaper, so we gave up the idea and agreed to support the launching of an independent progressive newspaper, in which the Communists participated in its launching, so that the *People's Daily World* never had the same status as the *Western Worker*, which was the official organ of the party.

Q. Did you ever hear of the *California Guide*, which was published by the California Communist Party in 1938?

A. I believe so, yes.

Q. I'm reading from the *California Guide* of 1938 (reading): "We open the New Year in California with a daily people's voice—a voice which will be heard in every corner of our State, championing the rights of all the oppressed and exploited—our own *People's World*." Are you familiar with that excerpt?

A. It sounds familiar.

Mr. Combs: The next excerpt is from the *Communist Bulletin*—I don't have the exact title of this here, I copied it verbatim and I don't have the exact title. The excerpt is as follows (reading):

"In the first instance in 1938, three steps were necessary in bringing about a big circulation of the *People's Daily World*. The first step was to establish a circulation drive committee for the several forces"—I don't understand it, it seems ungrammatical—(continuing to read):

"2. To organize a plan around which this unit and branches could mobilize their work"—the person who wrote this is not as glib as you are, Mr. Schneiderman—(continuing to read):

"3. To make the '42 drive successful by seeing to it that every section, unit and branch shall make up a small committee to direct the work." Did you ever hear of anything like that?

A. I can't place that. We have never made a secret of the fact we are interested in building the *People's World* circulation, since other people in other political parties wouldn't.

Q. The Party Organizer was issued by the Communist Party of the United States—you knew that, didn't you?

A. Yes.

Q. From page 10 of the March, 1938, issue is the following (reading): "We have repeatedly emphasized the necessity of utilizing our press for the recruiting of new members. We now stress the need for making use of our press for the education of those who join. We have not only the Daily Worker and the Sunday Worker, but the Mid-West Daily Record and the West Coast People's Daily World. We must strive to make our new members readers of our daily press. That is not all. We should see that these new comrades receive at least a minimum of necessary party literature and strive to popularize The Communist and the Party Organizer among them."

That was the March issue. In the April issue of the Party Organizer on page 24 was the following (reading): "The Party press is indispensable in recruiting. Give or sell copies of the Daily Worker, and Sunday Worker, the Midwest, the Daily Record, the western People's World to your contacts, your friends and fellow workers. Follow up the list of readers of our Party press."

That is from an article "How to Recruit" as told by the delegates to the National Party Builders Congress. The next excerpt is from the Party Organizer for April, 1938, page 38 (reading):

"Another trade unionist among the same group became so enthusiastic about finding the Party that he immediately asked us to bring some one down to his neighborhood to talk about the Party. We had three sessions with some people and recruited two more. Another important new member is a Negro woman who formerly did important work in the Democratic Party. I worked with this woman, helped her build a woman's group, and explained how we helped build organizations. She became very enthusiastic about this and promised to arrange classes where we will speak to progressive Negroes in Los Angeles about the Party.

"I want to speak about one of our other comrades' experiences. There is a Chinese laundry in her neighborhood and all of our comrades had been collecting clothes and money for the Chinese people. The comrade immediately made it her business to take something there every week, and she took our press with her, the People's World." The next is from the Party Organizer for April, 1938, page 5 (reading):

"We have broken into the trade unions with our People's World, which I now handle instead of the Daily Worker. I have special customers for the Sunday Worker. It has been much harder to sell the Daily Worker in A. F. of L. unions than in C. I. O. unions, but I still sell the Daily Worker there too. I asked the workers if they know about the Communist Party and about Communism. They say, 'No!' I say: 'Read that paper, read something for your own interest.' That is how I get them to read the People's World and I have steady customers for the paper in the A. F. of L."

Would those expressions in the Party Organizer tend to make it appear to the layman that the People's World was an official organ of the Communist Party?

A. I think that bears out the statement I made that we had originally intended to publish a daily newspaper of our own. Just the term "our press" doesn't mean it is an official organ of the Communist Party. As a matter of fact, we call it our press, it is the only newspaper that gives a fair and objective view of Communism without red-baiting and without distortion such as we usually expect from the daily newspapers.

Q. Who is the owner?

A. It's owned by a corporation, the Pacific Publishing Foundation.

Q. That corporation was formed when?

A. I think two or three years ago.

Q. Before that it was a co-partnership?

A. Before that, yes.

Q. Isn't it owned by a co-partnership, which is doing business under the name and style of the Pacific Publishing Company?

A. I don't know. It is a —

Q. (Interrupting) You are sure it is a corporation?

A. Yes.

Q. How do you know that?

A. The masthead says owned by West Publishing, Inc.

Mr. Combs: I thought it used to be known by the name of the World Publishing Company.

Chairman Tenney: Do you know any of the stockholders in the foundation.

A. Yes, some of them.

Q. Are you a stockholder?

A. No.

Mr. Combs: Q. Mr. Schneiderman, the People's World just went into a new building, did it not, not long ago?

A. Yes.

Q. Moved to a new building?

A. Yes.

Q. When was that about, how long ago?

A. A few months ago.

Q. Where is that located?

A. I don't recall the address. On Folsom Street.

Q. Do you write for the paper from time to time?

A. No, although they have published extracts from my speeches or articles from other publications.

Q. Do you have anything to do with the policy?

A. Only so far as I know the editors, and we, naturally, exchange views on questions.

Q. What I mean, we're not trying to insinuate anything, but what I'm trying to get is an expression whether you do or do not—do you have anything to do with the formation of the editorial policy from time to time?

A. I'm not connected with the editorial board, no.

Q. Not officially—what I'm trying to get is this: Harrison George is the editor?

A. Yes.

Q. You have known him for a long time?

A. Yes.

Q. Does he ask your advice about the editorial policy of the paper from time to time?

A. Sometimes, yes.

Q. Does he follow it?

A. Not always.

Chairman Tenney: Was Mr. George a member of the Party?

A. Yes.

Q. He is a member of the Communist Political Association?

A. Yes, I believe so.

The "*People's Daily World*" of the West Coast and the "*Daily Worker*" of New York constitute but a small part of the printed material constantly distributed by the Communists in the United States. Each of the "front" organizations, under innocent names, publish their own organs. "*The Communist*" is a monthly publication carrying articles by prominent Communists in America. In line with the current policy of the Communists, the monthly publication, "*The Communist*," will appear in a new format in January, 1945, under title "*Public Affairs*."

Most authoritative and most revered of Communist writers and modern Marxian theoreticians is Lenin. Stalin is considered just as authoritative and is second only to Lenin. *Communist Party* propaganda pamphlets, containing the philosophy of Marx, Lenin and Stalin, can be purchased in any of the many book stores sponsored by the Communists in California. The *Progressive Book Shop* in Los Angeles and the *Twentieth Century Book Shop* in San Francisco are two of the prominent distribution centers for Communist propaganda in California. In the most remote corners of California Communist literature can be obtained from a *Communist Party* member assigned to that task by his superiors.

HAND-BOOK FOR REVOLUTION

In 1939 a Soviet Commission announced the publication of a work which was to be the textbook for Communist Parties throughout the world. This work includes in condensation the writings of Lenin and Stalin and embodies the philosophy of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. It traces the history of the abortive Russian revolution of 1905 and the successful revolution of October, 1917. It describes in minute detail the step by step strategy used by the *Bolsheviks* in their struggle for power in Russia. It describes Communist infiltration into the Army and Navy of Russia; its struggle to control transportation and communication facilities. The book was printed in many languages and distributed in every country where a *Communist Party* was organized. Its publication was hailed in the *Communist Party* press of the United States as a work to be used as a guide for revolutionary action. It was immediately adopted for Communist beginner's classes and study groups throughout the United States.

COMMUNIST POSTWAR STRATEGY

The book carefully admonishes Communists everywhere to be prepared to take full advantage of internal conflicts. They are told that in the event of a world war they must be alert to entrench themselves solidly

in order to be prepared to take advantage of post-war economic confusion. On page 68 of "*The Communist*" for November, 1935, appears the following statement:

"The Soviet Union will be *forced*, in case of war, to ally herself with *Capitalist power*. If the Soviet government, even now, is forced to adapt its diplomatic methods to those of Capitalist allies; if the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, even now, *disapproves* of the Communist Parties of the countries allied to the Soviet Union *in order to please Capitalist allies* and asks them to submit to the demands of their Capitalist war ministers—if this is happening now, there will certainly, in the event of war, be a still greater danger that the war policy of the Soviet Union may be influenced by the pressure of her Capitalist allies, and that therefore her revolutionary working-class character may be obscured or diluted. In view of this danger, international Socialism must insist that the Soviet government *conduct the war as a revolutionary war, a war of propaganda* with a view to bringing about the working-class revolution in Germany, and to facilitate in the other countries *the use of war for the overthrow of the Capitalist regime*. . . . Socialism must not forget that the aims of the Capitalist governments allied on the side of the Soviet Union are entirely different from its own. It must therefore maintain, with regard to these governments, its complete independence. It must not accept political responsibility for their conduct of the war. *It must not enter into a 'civil peace' with them.*" (Italics ours.)

The Communist plan for the control of the countries of Europe, after the anticipated world war, is set forth in "*The Communist*" for November, 1935, at page 1065:

"The capitalist governments will go to war with the intention of destroying Germany's power forever. . . . *Our aim can only be to bring about the working-class revolution* in Germany, and, as soon as the revolution is victorious, immediately to make peace with the new working-class Germany . . . and to bring about the union of all the European nations and the federations of Socialist workers and peasants States. . . .

"The capitalist governments will at first try to defeat Germany in alliance with the Soviet Union. Every victory of the Soviet Union will add to her reputation in Europe and Asia, and thereby endanger the Capitalist system. Soon the countries allied to the Soviet Union will be more afraid of the victories of their ally than of the victories of the common enemy. Having first tried to defeat Germany they will, on the very day after the common victory, turn on the Soviet Union in order to save the Capitalist system. Against this, our aim must be first to defeat Fascism by a common effort, *and then to organize in common with the Soviet Union, and the victorious German revolution the Socialist economy of Europe.*

"Therefore the Socialist parties of the democratic countries allied to the Soviet Union, from the first day of the war, must make the masses understand the *difference* between their own aims and those of the Capitalist classes." (Italics ours.)

In "*Foundations of Leninism*", at page 54, Stalin declares :

"Today, both in England and America, 'essential for every real people's revolution', is the break-up, the shattering of the 'ready made' big machinery. In other words, the war of violent revolution, the war of destruction and the machinery of the bourgeois States, as a condition precedent for such revolution, is an inevitable law of the revolutionary movement of the imperialist countries. . . . Lenin is right in saying: 'The proletarian revolution is impossible without the violent destruction of the bourgeois big machine, and its replacement by a new one'."

The Communists of California were quick to capitalize on the distress of the unemployed during the depression. When the migration of agricultural workers from the so-called dust bowl region began to seriously aggravate the unemployed situation in California, the Communists immediately launched a campaign designed to control the *State Relief Administration* of the State. Party members were successful in securing appointments and jobs in this agency, at the same time clamoring vociferously for greater appropriations from the State Legislature. They sought to increase the personnel of the staff of the Relief Administration and to extend qualifications for relief, thus necessitating the need for greater appropriations. Communist employees of the *State Relief Administration* affiliated with the "*State, County and Municipal Workers of America*" (SCMWA), a Communist-inspired and dominated organization. Applicants for relief soon learned that their appeals to the *Relief Administration* were postponed and disregarded until they became affiliated with "*The Worker's Alliance*", a Communist organization headed by Alexander Noral, a registered member of the Communist Party. An Assembly Investigating Committee was created, and after a series of public hearings and reports to the Legislature, the Communist members were dismissed from their positions in the *State Relief Administration*. As a result, the Communists plan to use an economic crisis for recruiting hundreds of thousands of unemployed people into the Party was thwarted.

The policy of the world-wide Communist movement in taking advantage of major conflicts, such as the present war, for the purpose of getting control of one country after another, is being revealed in the daily press as this report is written. Within the past few days a commission of the United States Government has been ordered out of Bulgaria by the Soviet Union. British troops are being compelled to fight in Greece against a group of Greek Communists who are endeavoring to forcibly overthrow the tottering vestige of government and seize permanent control for themselves. Italy had barely surrendered when emissaries from the Soviet Union appeared and started to conduct huge mass meetings for the purpose of seizing control of the government. In France, Maurice Thorez, the Communist leader who fled to the Soviet Union in exile when the war started in 1939, has returned and is now organizing the Communists in that country. The Soviet Union has organized a group of Germans into a "Free Germany Committee" for the purpose of Bolshevizing postwar Germany.

For a great many years the countries of India and China have been fertile fields for Communist agitation. The situation in these countries

is similar to the situation that existed in Russia prior to the revolution of 1917. In both India and China the governments are weak. The Communists of both countries are working for the destruction of the respective governments under Moscow directives and are making headway.

William Schneiderman, Secretary of the *Communist Political Association* of California, was examined by the committee October 27, 1944, in San Francisco, concerning the International aspects of Communism. As the basis for this examination he was asked about the textbook compiled by the Soviet Commission, published in 1939, and distributed in every country in which a *Communist Party* was functioning. Schneiderman stated that the volume was printed in 27 languages. He denied that the book was being extensively used at the present time. He admitted that there were Communist Parties functioning in the United States, Mexico, South America, China, India, Canada, Germany, Italy and France. He stated that all of these Parties were founded on the same philosophy, that their members studied the same textbooks, followed the socialism of Karl Marx, and, generally, conformed to the *Communist Party* "line" as it developed and changed from time to time.

SCHNEIDERMAN ON MARXISM

Examined on the subject of Marxian dialectic, William Schneiderman testified as follows (Com. Tr. Vol. XXIV, pp. 285-288) :

Q. By Mr. Combs: Isn't it a fact that the essence of the Communist ideology is found in chapter four of the textbook that I have just mentioned, the chapter being entitled historical and dialectical materialism?

A. That gives a basis for the philosophy of Marxism. Not necessarily all of the Marxian ideology.

Q. What is meant from a Communist standpoint or a Marxist standpoint by dialectical materialism?

A. It's a scientific method of thought which describes the laws of motion of society, and that's about the limit that I could give you verbally. If you want a more precise definition, I'll be glad to write it and have it included in the record.

Q. No, it was a preliminary question. My next question: Do they teach embryonic students historical and dialectic materialism?

A. I have never taught the subject, so I couldn't say. It's a rather complicated subject.

Q. Yes, I know.

A. It's a subject for more advanced students. We don't in public activities discuss philosophy, naturally. A small minority of the people are interested in the philosophy.

Q. But the Communist ideology was essentially predicated on philosophy?

A. Yes, materialistic philosophy.

Q. And still is?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, Mr. Schneiderman, you recall when the Comintern or the Third International was dissolved, do you not?

A. Yes.

Q. Was there any change in the essential attitude of the Communist Party after the dissolution of the Comintern, so far as its basic ideas and objects were concerned?

A. No.

Q. It remained the same afterwards as it did before?

A. That's right.

Q. Has there been any change in the basic objectives and purposes and ideology of the Communist movement in the United States after the formation of the Communist Political Association?

A. Yes, there has. As a matter of fact, even before the formation of the Political Association.

Q. How long before?

A. I would date it about January of this year.

Q. January 1st?

A. The month of January.

Q. And what event brought about that change?

A. The event which caused us to revise our estimates of what is likely to happen was the Teheran Conference that took place between the American, British and Soviet Governments.

Q. Now, Mr. Schneiderman—

A. (Interrupting) Just another sentence or two—we came to the conclusion that this marked a basic and fundamental change in the whole world situation by bringing about a world coalition, and instead of fighting each other we saw a long and indefinite period of peace and stable relations in all countries as a result of the victory in this war, and we came to a conclusion as a result of this coalition and cooperation on an international scale that resulted from the conference at Teheran that American capitalism had a very bright future of prosperity, strength and stability, for the first time it found a world market which could take care of all the goods this country could possibly produce.

Q. You have given an excellent example of the process of dialectic materialism?

A. I suppose you could call it that.

Q. In other words, the attitude of the party in this country changed because of the fact they view these events through the lenses of Marxism or dialectical materialism, isn't that true?

A. That's right.

Q. Did the same change of attitude occur when the Germans invaded the Soviet Union in June, 1941?

A. What do you mean, the same change of attitude?

Q. Was it again the application of dialectical materialism that resulted in that change of attitude?

A. No. I believe that many people who are not Marxists developed a change of attitude on the world situation.

Q. Unquestionably we could—

A. (Interrupting) We found the change of the history that was marked by Munich, that is, appeasement—appeasement of Hitler, and that this had changed into an entirely different war because of the attack by the Germans on the Soviet Union, and it was recognized by the American Government, and they changed their views and pronouncements very considerably after June, 1941.

Q. Getting back to the basic question, wouldn't you say that was a change of attitude of the Communist working of dialectic materialism again?

A. I suppose so.

Thus, no less an authority than William Schneiderman, former secretary of the *Communist Party of California*, and presently secretary of the *Communist Political Association of California*, tells us in Marxian language that the *Communist Political Association* is just the same as the *Communist Party* that preceded it. Its change of name and change of policy is in strict conformance with Marxian dialectic and a result of the Marxian materialistic interpretation of history plus a Leninistic "sharp turn." The painted leopard is a leopard still.

The Teheran Conference where Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt met to discuss the problems of their respective nations regarding the common war effort, was proclaimed by Communists throughout the world as a breath-taking and profound event. There was nothing exciting to the Communists in the meetings which had previously taken place between Churchill and Roosevelt and between Churchill and Stalin. But when Marshal Stalin, Secretary of the *Third Communist International*, the infallible head of the Communist religion, leaves Moscow and travels to Teheran for the purpose of conferring with Churchill and Roosevelt, the event becomes earth-shaking and Marxists everywhere view it through the spectacles of dialectical materialism.

American Communists again removed their proletarian overalls, donned dinner-jackets and attempted to assume an air of respectability. They had made the change before and they did it again with the same bland indifference that characterized their leap from "The British Imperialist War" to "The People's war."

At its New York Convention the "Party" went through the motions of committing political suicide. The *Communist Party* of the United States was dissolved. In the same breath and in the same convention the *Communist Political Association* of the United States was born. Shortly thereafter the *Young Communist League* met in convention, apparently committed *hari-kari* and in the same meeting brought forth a new organization, "*American Youth for Democracy*." The same thing happened in Canada. All of these "quick changes" took place, according to Communist reasoning, because Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin had met and discussed international affairs at Teheran.

The sixth period of Communist strategy in the United States may have ended with the Teheran Conference and the frantic name-changing in official *Communist Party* organizations. The committee is entirely too close to the picture at this writing to definitely state whether the sixth period closed with this event or whether it was a logical development of the same period. Whether it was merely a continuance of the sixth period or the ushering in of the seventh, the committee states unequivocally that a new period in Communist strategy in the United States will begin when the war is concluded. The Communists of America have carefully laid the ground work and are prepared for the events that are to come. They expect social upheaval and economic disruption to follow in the wake of war. They believe that there will be a bitter and discontented people throughout this broad country of

ours; widespread unemployment, rising prices and staggering public debts. Hundreds of thousands of war veterans will be attempting to adjust themselves to civil life. The groundwork for race riots is already laid. There will be confusion and chaos. Hundreds of thousands of workers will be discharged from closing wartime factories, swelling the army of the unemployed. They believe they will be in a position to foment dissension. The Communists of the United States and of the world have a program. Although, as has been shown in this Report, there is nothing "scientific" about Marxism, it is, nevertheless, a blueprint for revolution.

An informed public is the only obstacle in the path of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the only power that can stop the march of Red Fascism.

The Communist fight against legislative committees investigating subversive activities is understandable. They know that the dark corners of their alleged philosophies can not stand sunlight; that their machinations and intrigues can not withstand exposure. They know that once the people learn that their "scientific socialism" is "phoney" and that their "dictatorship of the proletariat" is slavery and Red Fascism, they will be compelled to go out of business. The F. B. I. can only arrest them when they break the law. They have the *International Labor Defense* for these occasions and "defense committees" which collect money and create causes celebre—and it's good propaganda for the revolution. The people do not understand.

The Communist fight against legislative committees investigating subversive activities, we repeat, is *quite* understandable.

4

COMMUNIST STRATEGY IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

Communist strategy for the conquest of North and South America has lost none of its cunning since the beginning of its sixth period marked by Hitler's invasion of Russia. The committee finds that plans for the destruction of the institutions and democracy of the United States, as well as for the destruction of Mexican, Central and South American republics, are being carefully laid and worked out with vicious exactitude, even while Communist spokesmen call for "unity" and "world peace." The committee finds that the Communist objective for the violent and forceful overthrow of the Government of the United States, and of the Governments of Mexico, Central and South America, is being carried forward *now* and that Communist strategists believe their efforts will be crowned with success within a decade.

The June 24, 1944, issue of the Mexican pictorial publication, *Manana*, contained the speech of a Chilean Senator, Elias Laferte, before the ninth Congress of the *Communist Party* of Mexico. The May 22, 1944, issue of the *New York Times* states that Chilean Senator, Elias Laferte (which is the correct spelling) is President of the *Communist Party* of Chile, and that he attended the 1944 National Convention of the *Communist Party* of the United States of America held in New York City, in May, 1944, at which time the name of the organization was changed to the *Communist Political Association*.

The "*Corporation Carp*," mentioned in the translation of Laferte's speech, is apparently the *Carp Export and Import Company*, headed by Sam Carp, whose brother-in-law is Molotov, the Soviet Premier. (See the Dies Committee Report for extensive details on *Carp*.) The "*Lombardo*," mentioned frequently, is Vincento Lombardo Toledano, head of the *Confederation of Latin-American Workers*.

The translation of the editorial note preceding Elias Laferte's speech is as follows:

"On the 18th of last May, somewhere in Mexico City, the most important leaders of National Communism, in company with other foreign comrades — Sokolov — among them — met mysteriously to bring to a close, by secret session, the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Mexico, which had been openly begun in the Palace of Fine Arts. The culminating speech was to be delivered by one of the most important Red Leaders of America, Lafferte, Chilean Deputy, invited to dictate assignments to the Mexican companions. Days earlier, another prominent Marxist figure — Sokolov — had explained how the sovietization of Mexico had been thoroughly studied and planned from Moscow ("Excelsior" Friday, June 16, first page). Lafferte went farther: He singled out *Catholicism* as the most formidable enemy of Communism in its struggle to get control of power in America, and in a sensational passage of his speech, he pointed out the methods which Communism must employ on this continent, to disparage first, and to destroy later, the religious forces which stand in the pathway of Moscow's Bolshevizing of America. One of the most important continental Communist leaders of European stock, Lafferte, explained what had been until now the political assumption for Marxism in America; what tactics must be used; what procedure must be followed to obtain in a brief time the control of a continent which—he explains—is found at the present time under the yoke of two imperialisms: the Catholic and the Anglo Saxon. After an intensive reporter effort *Manana* has secured the authentic documentation of the historic gathering of the 18th of May and presents in these following pages the opinions poured out by Lafferte, according to the stenographic version of the above mentioned closing session.

"America—Mexico particularly—is on the point of receiving the blow!"

The article as it appears in *Manana* is titled "*A Sensational Document, The Plan For The Sovietization of America*." The English translation of the entire article follows:

"C. Blas Manrique: Due to the absence of Comrade Livinson the lecture is postponed. Comrade Lafferte has the floor and will dictate his lecture as the final act of our Congress. It is requested that the comrades who have not yet received their *stipend* for expenses, will report to the offices of Licenciado (Attorney) Livinson in the Workers' University from 6 to 8 at night, bearing their corresponding receipts and expense accounts. It is requested of the comrades that before leaving the hall, they will come by and get their supplies of propaganda and final instructions for their respective zones. The comrades of the Federal District, Jalisco and Nuevo Leon,

have been designated to accompany Comrades Lafferte, Duran and Davies Ben to the airport tomorrow when they will leave on urgent business for the United States. The delegates only, will accompany the Presidium on a courtesy visit to the high functionaries of Mexico—which was solicited and granted by them—the Generals Maximino Avila Camacho, Lazaro Cardenas, Antonio Villalobos; then all comrades must attend the banquet at Pena Montanese in honor of Comrade Lafferte. On the 19th and 20th, the secretary of the Party will receive and dispatch the Zone Chiefs dealing with local affairs. Comrade Lafferte now has the floor.

ADDRESS OF COMMUNIST LAFERTE

“C. Lafferte: In a few words, in order not to tire the Assembly’s attention I shall refer to the general situation of the American Continent, of England, and of Russia, for what it is doing to our World Communist Party. To clarify concepts it is necessary to point out that the U. S. S. R., the government of Marshal Stalin continues faithful to the legitimate orientations which you have just listened to. She continues being faithful a hundred per cent, and it is not convenient among ourselves to attach any importance to the tactics of the fight which from time to time is promulgated from Moscow and other places controlled by Marxism, with the purpose of appeasing the distrust and suspicion of the capitalist system. In these moments in which the war effort of the United Nations must be harmonious in order to end the might of the Axis, the opportunities for the infiltration of Communism throughout the world are superb, not only the proletarian field, but also in the intellectual and cultural field, *in the military field*, in the field of finance and international commerce. In regard to the proletarian field, our base consists of the Union of Soviet Syndicates which maintains relations with some countries such as the Workers’ Congress of England, the labor organizations of India, Australia, New Zealand, Africa, the C. I. O. of the United States, the Railroad Brotherhood of that country, and the C. T. A. L. in Latin America. Within these organizations the Communist units have a sufficient control to permit us to have hopes of triumph. If it is true that the English labor leader is not adapted to ideological orientation in our cause, we have in Hillman and in Lombardo two prominent authorities on this continent. In order to succeed in Latin America we have contingents in the General Federation of Labor organized in Argentina through councils and national federations of industry. We all know what the present situation in Argentina is, and for that reason it is clear to say nothing. But their Marxist chiefs have succeeded in escaping from the persecution of the government, and only a few of the most prominent have been taken prisoner as have been a few of the workers’ leaders. Nevertheless the crisis which will be provoked by the Argentine expropriations by the Anglo Saxon governments will favor Communist infiltration. It is to be studied in the case of Argentine how hatred of the Anglo Saxons can be taken as an advantage in favor of our cause when they see they must fall under the domination of the Anglo-American arms. Other countries which have fallen under the influence of the present nationalistic

Argentine government are Paraguay, Peru, Bolivia, and in part the Government of Chile, my own country. Nevertheless all this wooden frame will crumble when the Argentina Government falls. *The revolution which is being germinated under our direction and aid in those countries will be aided by the United States, England, and Brazil.* The directive elements of the federation of workers in Paraguay are at present in exile because of the persecution dealt them by the new government, *but there as in Bolivia we have succeeded in having the Anglo Saxon diplomacy not recognize the new government, placing it in the same position as Argentina.* In Chile the Communist Party and the Federation of Labor work in open cooperation, and we take part in the government. Economic necessity has forced the Rios Government to recognize Argentina. Nevertheless, we have great hope that the very government of Rios will aid the communistic revolutions which will take place in those countries utilizing the above mentioned conditions. *The case of Venezuela and Colombia, countries perfectly controlled by Anglo-American Imperialism, are difficult because there we do not, as yet, have the situation very well controlled.* It has been necessary to insist that the present President of Colombia not renounce his office because new elections could be fatal for the liberal regime which permits the existence of the Communist Party. The Colombian Federation of Labor is organized by Communist councils and we have the control of the organization. Not so in Venezuela where the laws which have lately been promulgated are contrary to us; but are unable to make an open fight against the present government of Venezuela by virtue of the fact that it would signify our complete defeat in that country. In Ecuador we have organized the National Committee of Ecuadorian Labor which is in the phase of agitation and union propaganda. Also in Peru, there only exists a National Committee of Unification of Workers, formed by our units, but which has found a very strong resistance from government and the other social classes.

Communist International Intrigue

“The revolutions set for El Salvador have placed the plutocratic government on the alert, and I have information that the persecutions against our clubs have intensified. Notwithstanding, in the United States I shall utilize this information to get the Department of State, in Washington, to intervene in favor of our units, designating them as democratic revolutions struggling for democracy and in favor of the United Nations. The same gestures were successfully obtained here in Mexico, and we have been assured that Mexico will intervene in favor of revolutionists seized in Nicaragua, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Peru, Ecuador, and Venezuela.

“In respect to Costa Rica the government will be organized by elements in sympathy with our ideology in union with President Picado P.; and the strengthening of our cause has been favored by the establishment of relations with the USSR. I consider it convenient to indicate that the activities of the units in all these republics of the South are being favored by the diplomatic activities of the Minister of Foreign Relations of the Government of Moscow,

supported by the Department of State in Washington, and the Secretary of Foreign Relations in Mexico, because at the time of establishing diplomatic relations, the cultural missions, the commercial and financial missions which now have their main office in the embassy of Oumansky and in the financial offices of Corporation Carp and Agency Amtorg of Washington: and those which possibly may be installed in Canada favor the Communist infiltration in Latin America. As fighting tactics, there has been installed a branch of both agencies in Canada, in order to place in competition the American industrialists and business men against the industrialists and business men of the Federation of the British Nations. All the English business interests of Latin America will try to sell in the U. S. S. R. through the offices of Carp Corporation and Amtorg Agency of Canada. All North American interests will do the same in the respective offices in Washington. On the other hand, the financial, industrial, business Russian experts will travel throughout the American continent accompanied by Canadian, English and American financiers, business men and industrialists. Thus our work will be facilitated for controlling the countries of this continent.

Communist Infiltration

“With reference to the cultural tasks, the infiltration of units in the student masses of all countries will permit a sweep toward the Russian culture, supported by the diplomatic offices. The intellectuals, who by monetary necessity will accept collaboration with the Government offices of the USSR on this continent and with the newspaper agencies of our propaganda parties in all countries, also will give a cultural character to Communist infiltration. We have societies of friends of the USSR in Brazil, Colombia, Uruguay, Chile, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Mexico, the United States and Canada. The intellectual groups which are working in favor of the liberation of France, Germany, Poland, Spain, etc., also will become agents of our Cause as are those which are already organized.

Military and Religious Opposition to Communism

“Let it not be believed that the success which we have attained in the proletarian, cultural, and financial fields is placing triumph within our grasp. The military and religious organizations, the same as the capitalistic interests, are our strongest enemies. In Argentina and in Brazil, the military and the Catholics are strongly united in power. There, only the cultural and financial missions are working tranquilly in our favor. In Chile the military question is serious enough, although the religious is very weak. In Colombia, the reverse is true, the religious question is very strong and the military is almost in our favor. But, while in Brazil, Argentina, and Chile, the capitalist interests do not pay much attention to social struggles, in *Colombia and in Venezuela where there are elements prepared for the struggle against our cause*, we find interests alert to anything which signifies the infiltration of our ideology and they will fight us to the bloody finish. Of that we have proof by the way in which our comrade Lombardo has been treated in his visits to those countries. The press became enraged against him.

Nevertheless, *at least as far as Colombia is concerned the Government is on our side.* In the United States, Mexico, Cuba, Costa Rica the government sympathizes with our cause, and we can say that the military problem does not exist for us; but there does exist and in a form quite strong, the religious problem and the capitalist interest, especially the Anglo-American investments which have already permitted at their cost our triumphs. The capitalistic interests which are most against us are the petroleum interests of all continents, for they guard jealously against Communist infiltration. But we are opposing our enemies, in the first place the Democrats and the Republicans, since our tactics have always been to accuse the capitalists of being imperialists, *whether they are or not*; afterwards, we oppose the Socialist Democrat political parties and the labor unions. In many cases we have utilized the governments themselves, showing them the danger which can exist for the nation in which foreign enterprises, especially Anglo Saxon can take advantage of national wealth. These tactics have served us to place in a disadvantageous position throughout the American continent capitalistic Anglo-American investments. Now we have proceeded in the very government of Argentina in such a manner that some elements disguised as nationalist have succeeded in expropriating the Anglo-American interests. (laughter). It is true that many elements will consider that we have given arms to a totalitarian and Fascist enemy such as the present Argentina government; but it must be remembered that one of our fighting principles consists in attaining for the Latin American countries full economic and political economy, and in liquidating the semi-feudal vestiges which characterize those Latin countries through the existence of Anglo-American interests which have always looked upon them as colonies. At the same time it is fitting to insist that we are obliged to provoke situations which can favor the expropriation of all enterprises which currently belong to the bosses, especially in a time of international crisis of those bosses whose nationality can be a future danger for our fighting program. It is for this reason, although it may seem an aberration, that the disappearance of English and North American capitalists from Latin America means a triumph for our cause, and in this way, we shall fulfill one of the postulates of the *World Communist Party*, which postulate is becoming synthetized also in one of the principles of the Campaign Program of the Federation of Workers in Latin America, when it says in its declaration No. III that: The Manual Laborers and the Intellectual Workers of Latin America declare that the principal task of the working class of Latin America consists in attaining full economic and political economy for the Latin American nations and in liquidating the semifeudal vestiges which characterize their countries, with the purpose of raising the economic, social, and moral conditions in which the great masses of the people are found. This declaration of principles which is fixed in the Postulates of our *World Communist Party* in the campaign program of the workers of Latin America must be explained in two parts: first, that on trying to point out that the principal task of the working class is to attain full economic and political autonomy, this means that the working

class must liquidate the economic oppression which exists in each nationality; at this moment, those economic pressures on the Latin American countries are represented by Wall Street and by the City of London, for French and Spanish capital since it is not invested in the principal national wealth never will be a danger for the Communist movement nor for the workers' social movement; however, our attack must be, even though we are in favor of the United Nations' struggle against Hitler and Japan, our attack and our watchword in regard to Latin America must be to liquidate Anglo-American capitalism and to obtain full economic autonomy and with it full political autonomy. Later, when the State shall have expropriated for itself all those natural resources and all enterprises of the Anglo-American countries we shall take control of the State by means of political movements. In the second place, when our declaration of principles refers to liquidating the semi-feudal vestiges which characterize the Latin American countries, we are referring especially to the spiritual and political power of the Catholic Church, Apostolic and Roman. The more than 400 years of spiritual control of the people can not mean for us an easy overthrow of the Catholic Church which has always been characterized as an enemy of our Cause. Campaign tactics make it necessary for us to appear as sympathizers of Religion and even in the U.S.S.R. the Soviet Government has been itself obliged to ease up on religion.

Catholics Not Deceived by Communists

“But it is not possible that either we or the Catholics are deceived. It is very dangerous to make declarations of this nature in countries where the political and spiritual power of the Church is above the government, but in the case of Mexico, where the government is our ally, and where there have been bloody struggles with the Church, with the Church left in defeat, it is necessary to convert this country basically to the Communist and ideological socialist struggle against the Church.

The United States and Catholicism to Be Attacked

“In the course of my constant travels through Latin America, studying in detail the general problems and the problems of each nation which are obstructing us from reaching the triumph of our Communist cause, I have been fully convinced that these two are our worst enemies: (1) American capitalism which has dreams of imperialism and colonizing in South America; English capitalism which feels itself strongly supported by the war machinery of the imperialistic and totalitarian Federation of British Nations; and (2) the Catholic Church which has its strong control both spiritual and political over the majorities in each country, especially in the lower classes where we will have to displace the Catholic Church with the purpose of making proselytes to our cause.

“These two factors are our international and inter-American problems which we must attack. Already I have spoken of how capitalism must be displaced; also our illustrious comrade Sokolov has already explained our campaign tactics, making a brilliant comparison between the historic struggles of our Bolshevik Com-

munist Party in Czarist Russia and our present and future struggle on this American continent in order to bring to an end socially the capitalist ideology, and to bring to a finish politically the governments which protect that capitalist ideology. It is necessary now to refer to the problem of the Catholic Church because it is not a problem of one single Latin-American nation but rather a problem of all this Continent, especially *in the key countries, which are Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, and Colombia.*

"We have explained that in Argentina the coalition of the military, or the capitalist, and Catholics are our principal enemy; we have explained that in Brazil the coalition equally tripartite of the Catholics, the military, and the capitalists are obstructing our path, in spite of the initial intentions of some of our elements and units which have infiltrated themselves into the intellectual and student class, just as there are some also among the workers and natives especially among the latter, who are perpetuating the brilliant memories of the famous acts of Carlos Prestes in his revolutionary march toward the high States. In Venezuela and in Colombia only the capitalists and the Catholics are confronting us, and the same is happening in Mexico. But here we have the resurgence of the Catholic spiritual power being sufficient to organize two parties which although they are not to be feared because of the insignificance of the personality of their leaders, they can present us future problems by which I consider that this chosen group of units and leaders of the Communist Party here gathered will review their knowledge of the weakness and defects of the spiritual power of the Catholic Church, and I hope that also you may be able to say you are increasing your knowledge of the same. In all my travels through the Continent I have been sharing my knowledge in lectures similar to the present, either in gatherings, or in watchword circles, with all our campaigners of each city, of each village, or each ranch large or small, of each Indian community, of each union, of each factory, of every city or rural school, of every university; let this knowledge be repeated in articles, bulletins, books, motion picture plots, plots of the legitimate stage, etc., all of you protecting yourselves by having it deal with advanced studies in science or civilization, of the future order, and for the good of learning and culture, as a struggle against ignorance, and as a struggle against fanaticism, for the good of the people.

Campaign Against the Catholic Church

"These watchwords I have divided in three parts, as follows: Roman Catholicism is essentially immoral; Roman Catholicism is idolatrous; and the Catholic Priesthood is an agent of immorality. It is urgent *as campaign tactics that we infiltrate in the mind of the children, in the mind of the natives, in the mind of the workers, in the mind of the students, the worst accusations against the Catholic Church, in order that they draw away from her and enroll in our ranks* as fervent sympathizers of the cause of the future of the world, which we ourselves must present as the cause of Communism protecting the cause of humanity. We must say that the system of iniquities, held, taught, and practiced by the Catholics, has no

equal. It is audacious, aggressive, intolerant, and cruel, blind obstinate and blasphemous; nevertheless, it is also insidious, adaptable, and at times conciliatory; it is pompous, servile, royal, and a cheat. There is no other religion or philosophy which is launched on a task so tremendous of corruption, or universal degradation, no less.

“In the study of the Roman evil, one thing we must always keep in mind, the iron authority of the Pope, the theologians, and the saints. In Romanism the individual must give account to his masters, authorized in spite of the consequences, and the base of the Catholic system of morals rests on the iniquitous teachings and the immoral example of the saints, converting to that religion by a virulent code of laws, a priesthood that is wicked and a power blood-thirsty and cruel.

“We must say, shout, and insist that with a celibate priesthood, the Catholic leader never will be able to live a normal religious life, nor even a normal human life, and that it is *impossible* for him to set an example of good living. We must say and shout, we must insist that the plan of Romanism in the life of each country is to hold supremacy over the civil government in order to enslave all the inhabitants, and that in order to acquire that control over the civil government, it has to use fraud, deceit, and injustice; we must insist that the Catholic notion of universal dominion requires that its leaders adulate and protect these politicians who are ready to sell their soul, their honor for money and power; that the Romanists have taken on themselves the task of fighting free men in a manner most impious; that they can not alter that policy; the pretension that the salvation of the soul by which they deceive the inexperienced, depends on ceremonies, and not on the faith of humanity gives rise to the discredit of morality in favor of the ritual; that the confession degrades the confessor and the penitent; that the channel of worldliness which passes continually through the mind and the heart of the Catholic priest, almost necessarily carries him to his corruption, insofar as his instructions relax the moral level of the devoted; that the necessity imposed by the confessional on the priest, of labeling and classifying sins according to superficial appearances brings him to all sorts of difficulties and contradictions. If the priest would allow that all powerful God, which they say exists (invention for fools), to take sole charge of his most delicate work, free from the bad practice of the spiritual quacks, a great number of difficulties would be spared and several million sick souls which the Catholics have sunk in darkness would have the opportunity to be cured. That the shame of having to confess ones sins to a corrupt man frequently results in a real sadness and humiliation plunging a free soul into inferiority complex, converting his life into an eternal suffering. That this is a shame especially in respect to women. That the theologians have elaborated a system of specious reasoning which is not only ridiculous and vile, but terribly corrupting. That the first frightful effect which the system produces is the corruption of the priests themselves. That the fact that they hide, evade, deny, and are infuriated when this said system of specious reasoning is exposed is clear evidence that they

are already corrupted. That the system of specious reasoning is argued out because it is founded on the so-called notes of saintliness. That Catholicism must prevail or fall with its pretensions of saintliness and because its vaunted saintliness is only the blackest of evils. That the very fact that the Catholics give themselves free rein in their confusion on the revelations of the intrinsic evils of their doctrines constitutes a death clink for the impious Christian Catholic Church of Rome. That the ultimate plan of Romanism is not moral character or salvation from the power and exercise of sin, but salvation from a hell and an imaginary Catholic purgatory.

“We must add that it is not certain that Catholic theologians authorize universal evil; for example, they do not teach that every good Catholic has the privilege of stealing everything that he can lay hand on, that they have certain rules for robbery, and that everything must be practiced in accordance with these rules. Moreover, they do not hold that faithful Catholics can or must lie all the time; it must be for a worthy motive. That Catholic theologians will frown on a rash prevarication if it has no motive. But that these limitations serve double purpose: to establish the authority of the holy fathers as specialists in the art and science of lying and stealing, and at the same time they give a place to a vestige of conscience which even the Catholic spiritual guides cannot exterminate absolutely.

“We ought to say that if anyone doubts the practical effects of the Catholic system of immorality, he has only to observe the fanaticism, the pride, the obstinacy, the savage obduracy of the devout Catholics when confronted by genuine iniquities taught them by their leaders with ostentation of authority and with perfect clarity. It seems that the typical Catholic has some kink in the brain. This is his argument: Catholicism cannot contain any error; therefore, it has no error. Besides, if a thing is erroneous, it is not catholic, because Catholicism cannot teach error.

“The refined hypocrisy of the Popes and Bishops of Catholicism date from epochs quite remote. More than 200 said in substance the following: ‘Another of the papal skills is that after having founded their own cause on so many falsehoods and having sustained them with so many lying allegations in order to make the people believe that we cultured and free men are liars and that nothing we say can be believed, they accuse us of slandering the priests and of bearing false witness to Catholics and for that reason no man must read our books and converse with us nor believe us well-intentioned. They forbid us free men from quoting their own Catholic writers, by teaching ignorant people to say that we are slandering them. Although we quote the book, the page, and the line and tell them that those books are printed in Rome and not in the French University or in the Sorbonne, and that they were written by Catholic writers, they do not believe us because the ignorant have been instructed from the pulpits to take us for liars and incapable of doing good. If we quote any one of the priests, they say we change or corrupt what they have said or that they do not say such a thing. If we show them the books published by their own doctors and licensed by their superiors and printed by the papists, they force the ignorant not to believe us, accusing us of falsification.’

“This situation which seems unreal, I have found in my journey throughout Latin America. I have had conversation with cultural elements which seem not to be contaminated by religious fanaticism, and in all seriousness they have wanted to oppose my ideas with these futile arguments. I have come across workers and farmers, women, comrades, and even professors, in whom one should expect a certain degree of culture. These were in Valparaiso, Buenos Aires, Quito, Antofagasts, and after listening to my lectures and after reporting them to the priests in the confessionals, instructed by the priests, they would approach me in all seriousness, and in blind faith ask me for the salvation of my soul, requesting that I stop slandering the poor old priests, that I cease corrupting their wholesome predictions, that I leave off counterfeiting their texts, stop attacking the Catholic Church and that with resigned repentance I go to ask pardon from the parish curate or district priest. What must be done with cases like these? Ignorance and credulity thus united on purpose are a brass wall opposed to our efforts. With what hope will we be able to speak to those who do not wish to hear us? Against that wall there are no other arms except tenacity and patience. Avoid brusque attitudes, persevere in faith, and work as if the obstinacies of those minds submerged in a fanatical lethargy did not strike us. Already, I have said that it is no easy task to bring to an end a labor like the Catholic which has lasted 400 years in the soul and the mind of the people. Fortunately, utilizing books, schools and all propaganda facilities, infiltrating ourselves tenaciously in the fields, the unions, seeking out the Indian even to his refuge in the forest or on top of the mountains, entering the mind of the ignorant worker by means of bulletins, of books, of leaders’ speeches, taking advantage of their economic struggles, we must little by little go *killing in them* the heritage of fanaticism which they received from their parents, from their grandparents and their great grandparents. *Under the pretext of culture, of learning, of civilization, of philosophy, and of the modern sciences, we must launch attacks against religion.*

“Fortunately for some time now there has been a change favorable to our plans. That is to say, one half of the Catholics of the world are more or less heretics. We must thank God for that. (Laughter).

“In addition to those Catholics more or less susceptible to our arguments, we have already a great number of free thinkers, of atheists who are very susceptible of falling in the ranks of our subordinates as Communists *because now they have no religious defense.*

“Our people ought to know that the extensive evil which is found among Catholics is not the incidental result of abuse of a good religion, but is a logical and necessary product of a religion whose heart is rotten. Some of the possible consequences of the Catholic moral theology would be tragic if they were not amusing. We take for example, the doctrine of venial sin in stealing. The Catholics give the rule that stealing, except what would be necessary to sustain the family one day, is a venial sin for one who falls thus a victim, and he goes to purgatory. (Laughter.) To steal more would be a mortal sin, for which the delinquent one would go to hell, and never would get out of there.

“Let us suppose that a good Catholic on a dark night steals and kills the goat of his neighbor in the belief that the animal is of ordinary breed; that the owner of the goat on the same night kills instantaneously the thief without giving him a chance to confess or to receive that extreme unction of which the innocents boast so much. (Laughter.) And let it be said that the goat was one of the finest Angoras, and that it had a value greater than that necessary to sustain for a day the family from which it was stolen. The poor but faithful Catholic would be eternally lost, but without his knowing it, and without having been able to repent before his priest. How would the village priests answer this problem? Surely they would be unable to decipher it. This has happened on many occasions. I set these simple examples before you *because they are the best arms to cast doubt*, among the Indians, the workers, and the ignorant. I suggest that you use simple examples like these, to sow doubt, because they are the ones that give the best results.

Communist Conquest of the World

“It is conspicuous that the governments of Catholic countries almost always are enemies of priests, because they know that they are perfectly imbued with the theories of the Jesuits. Their idea (the Jesuits) is that the Church is good although the priests are bad. The governors and the presidents of Mexico and other Latin American countries generally consider the Catholic priests as one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of education and morality. In Spain the same thing almost is true, in spite of the fact that Franco is considered one of the pillars of the Church; but the Jesuits consider him an enemy. In all South America there is sustained also the same ancient struggle of free men, of the laymen against the priests. The group of ignorant and degraded priests has much to do with the weakness and illiteracy of the American Indians and since the United States threw off the Spanish yoke, that country has demonstrated the superiority of democracy and socialism over those countries dominated by a conservative Catholicism and Jesuits. But, to conclude, I wish to point out a very special case which may come to our aid. The laws of the republics of this continent permit the freedom of worship. In this form it is convenient for our authorities to permit the entry into our countries of bodies of other religion, as the Mormons, the Angelicans, Protestants, Buddhists, Jews, Mohammedans. These sects are allowed to have their temples open and free. They will help us to sow confusion in the minds of the Indians and workers. They will help us to lose respect for religion. In this manner, little by little, we shall infiltrate our theories of positivism and individual and collective economy in order that the new generations will consider that all these religions are no more than garbage, and must be cleared away as soon as possible in order to permit a better life. It is suitable then, comrades, that we keep in mind these orientations in order that when you return to your zones, you may give instructions to your units on the form of combatting the power of the Catholic Church, assisting the rest; and that you may prepare yourselves for the crusade which must carry us to triumph. The road of salvation of Mexico only has one sure road. Let us prepare ourselves for Mexico and Latin America to be ready to play a dom-

inant role in the *future Communist conquest of the world*. From this Nation let there go out the conquistadores (conquerors) to other countries less prepared. Let Mexico convert herself into a centrifugal force for all this continent; let Mexico be the country of freedom for the proletariat and the American Soviet. Let us launch from here the first shout of freedom, and on hearing this battle cry, this daring voice of our people, all the other peoples of America may run immediately, raising very high the red and black banner of social revindication. Our work is to aid, to aid more and more all those in the Americas who fight for our Cause, to integrate all their forces to the contribution of the struggle; to organize a great political movement of unity, which consolidated with the struggle of the people and the *Communist Patriots, faithful to the Fatherland of the World Proletariat, faithful to the U. S. S. R.*, will impel us and draw us to that glorious happy day which is about to arrive; the radiant day of liberation for all the World which will arrive with the overthrow of capitalism. Comrades, cheerio! (Applause and shouts.)”

5

WRITERS' CONGRESS AT U. C. L. A.

In late August of 1943, under the auspices of the *University of California* at Los Angeles and the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*, a letter signed by Marc Connelly and Ralph Freud as co-chairmen of the Congress Committee, announced a *Writers' Congress* to be held at Royce Hall, *University of California*, on the Los Angeles campus, October 1, 2 and 3, 1943. The fee for the entire Congress, including public meetings, general meetings, lectures, panels and seminars, was set at \$5, payable in advance.

A superficial investigation of the project soon disclosed its Communist inspiration and guidance. Every precaution had been taken in an attempt to disguise the purpose of the Congress and the Communists had gone further than usual in “window dressing” its committees. Many of the names included in the Congress and advisory committees were “innocents,” clearly unaware of the Communist origin and purpose of the Congress. NonCommunist news commentators and radio personalities, blissfully ignorant of the nature and character of the proposed Congress, were snagged under one pretense or another into permitting their names to be used in advertising the Congress. The chairman of the *Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities* checked with one such individual who expressed amazement when he was told that his name was included on the printed letterhead as a member of the advisory committee.

The letter is as follows:

“DEAR WRITER: The Writers Congress on the Los Angeles Campus of the University of California will conduct a search for greater usefulness and will seek to establish firmer international understanding of democratic objectives by professional writers in all media.

The Congress is being organized by joint committees of the University of California and the Hollywood Writers Mobilization. The latter was formed immediately after Pearl Harbor to channel the war efforts of the eight writers' guilds of the West Coast. It cooperates constantly with our armed services, the Red Cross, the O. W. I. and other governmental agencies, as well as many non-political, civilian organizations requiring professional writing for motion pictures, the radio, newspapers and magazines, camp shows, etc.

Writers must understand recent enormous changes in techniques as well as basic social and political concepts if they are to communicate the virtues of these changes and expose their faults. The Congress offers its facilities for such an understanding.

The speakers and leaders of discussions in the panels and seminars will be outstanding writers from all the United Nations. Many will represent governmental and semi-governmental agencies. Others of international distinction will speak only for themselves.

The Invitations Committee hopes you will be able to participate. We have therefore enclosed an application card for your convenience. If you will be kind enough to fill this out and return it to the Congress Committee officers, your name will be registered. Further details of the Congress Agenda are being forwarded to you.

Sincerely,

(Signed)

MARC CONNELLY

RALPH FREUD

Co-chairmen, Congress Committee"

The following names were printed on the letterhead as members of the Congress Committee:

Marc Connelly,
Francis Edwards Faragoh,
Gustave Arlt,
Bill Blowitz,
Richard Collins,
Franklin Fearing,
Paul Franklin
Sheridan Gibney,
Talbot Jennings,
Howard Koch,
John Howard Lawson,
Melvin Levy,
Alfred E. Longneil,
Milton Merlin,
Joseph Mischel,
Sam Moore,
Arch Oboler,
William Oliver,
H. R. Reynolds,
Allen Rivkin,
Robert Rossen,
Zachary Schwartz,

Ralph Freud,
Sidney Buchman,
Fox Case,
William Dozier,
John B. Hughes,
Joris Ivens,
Stephen Longstreet,
Kenneth MacGowan,
Mary C. McCall, Jr.,
William Morris, Jr.
Dudley Nichols,
Carl Sandburg,
Dore Schary,
Arthur Schwartz,
Robert G. Sproul,
Rex Stout,
Lamar Trotti,
Walter Wanger,
Walter White,
Pauline Lauber Finn,
Jane Mead.

The guilds participating in the *Hollywood Writers Mobilization*, under the chairmanship of Robert Rossen, were listed as follows:

Screen Writers Guild,	Screen Cartoonists Guild,
Radio Writers Guild,	American Newspaper Guild,
Screen Publicists Guild,	Independent Publicists,
Screen Readers Guild,	Song Writers Protective Assn.

Although the "window" for the Writers' Congress "front" was carefully dressed, a number of the persons acting as "committeemen" were known. Francis Edward Faragoh is a prominent member of the left-wing group of Hollywood and promotes the cause of the Soviet Union and meets with Soviet visitors in Los Angeles. Richard Collins was registered as a Communist in Los Angeles in 1936 from 2106 North Las Palmas Avenue. The "*People's Daily World*" for August 30, 1941, announced that Collins was one of the sponsors for a state-wide conference on civil rights to be held in San Francisco September 27, 1941, protesting the "Tenney Committee and the Tenney bill outlawing the Communist Party." Paul Franklin was the executive secretary of the *National Radio Writers' Guild* in New York in January of 1942. Howard Koch was reported by the "*People's Daily World*" (June 26, 1943) as the author of the screen version of Davies' book "*Mission to Moscow*." He presented his views on the authenticity of the film at a *League of American Writers* (Communist front organization) symposium on Sunday, June 27, 1943, in Hollywood. William Oliver was the dramatic editor of the "*Los Angeles Herald*" in 1940. He was said to be a member of Unit 140 of the Professional Section of the Communist Party when Rena Vale was a member of that Unit. He was also a member of the Communist fraction of the *Newspaper Guild*. (See pages 153 and 154 of the report of the *Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California* for 1943.) Allen Rivkin is a Hollywood left-wing writer. He was a member of the *Anti-Nazi League*. His name has been used from time to time for "window-dressing" Communist front organizations and activities.

Sidney Buchman is a screen writer and a member of the *Screen Writers' Guild*. He was announced as a signer for the *Third American Writers' Congress* in "*Direction*" magazine for May-June, 1939. Joris Ivens is reported to have made documentary films in Spain and China which were distributed and exhibited through *Communist Party* channels in California and the United States. Dudley Nichols was the President of the *Writers' Guild* in Hollywood in 1938. His name was carried on the letterhead of the *Hollywood Anti-Nazi League for the Defense of American Democracy* (Communist front organization) as a sponsor in May of 1939. He is a Hollywood screen writer. On January 21, 1940, he was a sponsor for the *Conference for Democratic Action* in Fresno. He has permitted his name to be used for various Communist front organizations and activities from time to time and has taken part in many Communist dominated programs. In 1941 he was a sponsor of the *Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges*. In May of 1941, he signed a call for the *Fourth American Writers' Congress*.

The committee and *Communist Party* members consider John Howard Lawson one of the most important Marxist strategists in Southern California. Rena M. Vale (former Communist Party member), stated that she knew Lawson as a member of the Communist Party fraction of the *Screen Writers' Guild* in Hollywood. Miss Vale stated that he had given advice on the *Communist Party* program in the writing of the play, "*Sun Rises in the West.*" He wrote the screen play "*Blockade*" which advanced the *Communist Party* line. John Leech, former secretary of the *Communist Party* for Los Angeles County, testified before the Los Angeles County Grand Jury (94369; 8-15-40) that Lawson had been sent from New York to Hollywood by the Central Committee of the *Communist Party* in company with V. J. Jerome (Isaac Romaine), a member of the *Communist Party* National Committee. Lawson had immediately become active in Hollywood Study Clubs and in the Communist fraction of studio unions, particularly in the *Screen Writers' Guild*. Leech stated that Lawson had met *Communist Party* members at the home of Communists Davida and Fred Franchi. In May of 1937 Lawson was reported as Secretary of the American office for *Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy*. He became a dominant figure in *Communist Party* drama groups and attended *Communist Party* fraction meetings in New York and Hollywood. He was one of the sponsors of the *Citizens Committee for the Defense of Harry Bridges* and a frequent speaker for the *League of American Writers*. He signed the call for the *Fourth American Writers' Congress*. He was an instructor in the *American League Writers' School* and became Vice President of the *League of American Writers' Congress*. In the fall elections of 1942 he appeared in a paid advertisement in the *Los Angeles Times* as an endorser of La Rue McCormick, Communist candidate for election to the State Senate. He answered attacks on the film "*Mission to Moscow*" before the *League of American Writers*.

HISTORY OF COMMUNIST PARTY WRITERS' CONGRESSES

The *Revolutionary Writers' Federation* was the American Section of Moscow's Communist "*International Union of Revolutionary Writers*" (of the *International Bureau of Revolutionary Literature*). The *Workers' Cultural Federation* was an outgrowth of this organization, in reality, an amalgamation of Communist revolutionary cultural groups composed of at least 130 societies. The *Revolutionary Writers' Federation* included the *John Reed Club* writers' group, *Proletpen*, *Hungarian Proletarian Writers'*, *Worker Correspondence Association*, *Japanese Cultural Federation*, *Finnish Cultural Federation*, *Lithuanian Literary Dramatic Club*, *Jack London Club*, *Pen and Hammer Club* and *Student Review*. The *Workers' Cultural Federation* adopted the slogan "*Toward an American Revolution.*" On November 15, 1930, the Second Conference of the *International Union of Revolutionary Writers* was held in Kharkov, Russia. The American delegates were instructed to form a National organization of revolutionary writers and artists upon their return to the United States. (*Daily Worker*, December 6, 1930.) Among the American delegates at this conference

were Fred Ellis, Michael Gold, William Gropper, Joshua Kunitz, A. B. Magil and Harry Allan Potamkin.

Pursuant to the directives of the Kharkov Conference, a meeting was held in New York City on June 14, 1931, out of which emerged the *Workers' Cultural Federation*. An honorary Presidium was elected, among whom were Maxim Gorki and N. Krupskaya (Lenin's widow), U.S.S.R.; Ludwig Renn of Germany; Henri Barbusse of France; Tomas of Hungary; Lo Hsun of China and Theodore Dreiser, John Dos Passos, Upton Sinclair and William Z. Foster of the United States. William Gropper, Alexander Trachtenberg (Communist *Workers' Library* publisher), R. B. Glassford, Michael Gold, K. Marmor, J. Shafer, A. B. Magil, Harry Allen Potamkin and T. H. Li, a Chinese Communist, (held at that time for deportation), were elected to an active Presidium. Headquarters for the organization was established at 63 West 15th Street, New York City. The *John Reed Club* and "*New Masses*" magazine were at the same address and it was designated by the "*New Masses*" as "*The first American Revolutionary Center.*"

A cablegram from Moscow was read at the June 14, 1931, conference which said, in part:

"International Union Revolutionary Writers Welcomes Launching of Federation Workers' Cultural Organizations America Stop . . . Before Federation Stands Task of Creating Proletarian Culture in Womb of Capitalist System Stop Launching Federation Is Most Significant Event in History American Revolutionary Culture," etc.

Whitaker Chambers, Charles Yale Harrison, Melvin P. Levy, Harry Alan Potamkin and K. Wallace were among the American writers serving on the 1932 staff of the *International Union of Revolutionary Writers*.

In August of 1932, "*Literary Service*," edited by Keene Wallis of the *John Reed Club*, made its appearance as a monthly publication of the *International Union of Revolutionary Writers*. Indicative of the type of "cultural literature" is the following poem by the Communist Negro poet, Langston Hughes:

Goodbye Christ

"Listen, Christ,
 You did alright in your day, I reckon—
 But that day's gone now.
 They ghosted you up a swell story too,
 Called it Bible—
 But its dead now.
 The popes and the preachers've
 Made too much money from it.
 They've sold you to too many.

"Kings, generals, robbers and killers—
 Even to the Czar and the Cossacks,
 Even to Rockefeller's church,
 Even to The Saturday Evening Post.

You ain't no good no more.
 They've pawned you
 Till you've done wore out.
 "Goodbye,
 Christ Jesus Lord God Jehova,
 Beat it on away from here now.
 Make way for a new guy with no religion at all—
 A real guy named
 Marx, Communist Lenin, Peasant Stalin, Worker Me—

"I said, Me!

"Go ahead on now,
 You're getting in the way of things, Lord.
 And please take Saint Ghandi with you when you go,
 And Saint Pope Pius,
 And Saint Aimie McPherson,
 And big black Saint Becton
 Of the Consecrated Dime.
 And step on the gas, Christ!
 Move!
 Don't be so slow about movin'!
 The world is mine from now on—
 And nobody's gonna sell Me
 To a king, or a general,
 Or a millionaire."

American writers serving on the 1933 staff of the *International Union of Revolutionary Writers*, included Upton Sinclair, Michael Gold, A. Magil, John Dos Passos, Emjo Basshe, Walter Carmon, Theodore Dreiser, Fred Ellis, Ed Falkowski, Joseph Freeman, Josephine Herbst, Langston Hughes, Joseph Kalar, Joshua Kunitz, Louis Lozowick, Norman MacLeod, Myra Page, Horace Gregory, Agnes Smedley, Mary Heaton Vorse, Jack Conroy, John Hermann and Herman Spector.

The *John Reed Clubs* were named in honor of the so-called "first American Communist," John Reed. These clubs were affiliates of the *International Union of the Revolutionary Theatre* and a section of the *Communist International Union of Revolutionary Writers*. The New York *John Reed Club*, formerly at 430 6th Avenue, organized the *Workers' Cultural Federation* with which all John Reed branches were affiliated.

THE FIRST AMERICAN WRITERS' CONGRESS AND THE BIRTH OF THE LEAGUE OF AMERICAN WRITERS

The call for the first *American Writers' Congress* suggested the formation of the *League of American Writers* and boldly stated that the organization to be formed would be "affiliated with the *International Union of Revolutionary Writers*." It declared that the Congress "Will provide technical discussion of the literary applications of Marxist philosophy and of the relations between critic and creator."

The objective of the Congress was further stated in the proceedings: "We believe such a Congress should create the *League of American Writers*, affiliated with the *International Union of Revolutionary Writers*. In European countries the *International Union of Revolutionary Writers* is in the vanguard of literature and political action."

The "call" was signed by the following:

Nelson Algren,	Lincoln Kirstein,
Arnold B. Armstrong,	Herbert Kline,
Nathan Asch,	Joshua Kunitz,
Maxwell Bodenheim,	John Howard Lawson,
Thomas Boyd,	Tillie Lerner,
Earl Browder,	Meridel Le Sueur,
Bob Brown,	Melvin Levy,
Fielding Burke,	Robert Morss Lovett,
Kenneth Burke,	Louis Lozowick,
Robert Coates,	Grace Lumpkin,
Erskine Caldwell,	Lewis Mumford,
Alan Calmer,	Edward Newhouse,
Robert Cantwell,	Joseph North,
Lester Cohen,	Moussaye J. Olgin,
Jack Conroy,	Samuel Ornitz,
Malcolm Cowley,	Myra Page,
Theodore Dreiser,	John Dos Passos,
Edward Dahlberg,	Paul Peters,
Guy Endore,	Allen Porter,
James T. Farrell,	Harold Preece,
Kenneth Fearing,	William Rollins, Jr.,
Ben Field,	Paul Romaine,
Waldo Frank,	Isidor Schneider,
Joseph Freeman,	Edwin Seaver,
Michael Gold,	Claire Sifton,
Eugene Gordon,	Paul Sifton,
Horace Gregory,	George Sklar,
Henry Hart,	John L. Spivak,
Clarence Hathaway,	Lincoln Steffens
Josephine Herbst,	Philip Stevenson,
Robert Herrick,	Genevieve Taggard,
Granville Hicks,	Alexander Trachtenberg,
Langston Hughes,	Nathaniel West,
Orrick Johns,	Ella Winter,
Arthur Kallet,	Richard Wright.

It will be noted that John Howard Lawson and Melvin Levy were listed as signing the call for the *First Writers' Congress* in New York City. Both men have been active in subsequent Writers' Congresses and appear as members of the committee for the *Writers' Congress* which was held on the Los Angeles Campus of the University of California, October 1, 2 and 3, 1943.

The committee is in possession of a photostatic copy of the proceedings of the *First American Writers' Congress*. The most naive spectator

and quarter-witted participant of this first *Writers' Congress* could not have been deceived as to its Communist revolutionary character.

A report by Moissaye J. Olgin, author of "*Why Communism?*" (one of the most inflammatory and revolutionary pieces of modern Communist literature in existence), was read to the Congress. The report was on the *First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers*, and glorified Karl Radek and Nikolai Bukharin, old Bolsheviks who were "liquidated" by Stalin's purge in 1937-38.

Joseph Freeman, under the heading "*The Tradition of American Revolutionary Literature*," stated:

"These ideas were prevalent in left-wing literary circles in this country in the early twenties. During the boom period, many intellectuals who had allied themselves with the workers under the impact of the war and the October Revolution, were absorbed into the then prosperous middle classes. A small group of left-wing writers, influenced by the Communist movement as their predecessors had been influenced by the socialist and syndicalist movements, agitated for a revolutionary art and literature in America. Conditions imposed upon them a task which was primarily propagandistic, educational, organizational. They wrote, lectured and organized with a view to circulating basic Marxian ideas in literature. They founded the New Masses, the Theatre Union, the New Theatre, Partisan Review, the John Reed Clubs, the Film and Foto League; they taught literature in the Workers' School and wrote about it in the *Daily Worker*, partly to acquaint the workers with contemporary literature, partly to acquaint writers with the viewpoint of the workers and its significance for culture in general and literature in particular. They developed young poets, critics, journalists and novelists who subsequently did creative work of distinction. They published and encouraged revolutionary writers not only in New York, but also in the Middle West, the Coast, the South, among them talented Negro writers like Langston Hughes and Eugene Gordon. In doing so, they were not—as their enemies said—importing a Russian idea imposed upon them by the Kremlin. They were developing in their own country an international idea as old as the proletarian party—an idea that had its own specific American traditions."

John Howard Lawson and Waldo Frank were dominant figures in the Congress. Clarence Hathaway was, at the time of the Congress, editor of the *Communist Party* New York publication, the *Daily Worker*. Hathaway was enthusiastic about the Congress and expressed himself in the following language:

"I greet this Congress of writers in the name of the entire staff of the *Daily Worker*. From the outset of the preparations of your Congress the *Daily Worker* has given the closest attention to preliminaries required to bring together the cream of American writers. We have run all of the advanced material on the Congress, and many articles dealing with it, and the action it must take to advance the struggle against war and Fascism. The *Daily*

Worker did so, because, as the organ of the Communist Party of the United States, it was conscious that we must not only win the overwhelming mass of the American workers and farmers for the revolutionary position, but that the writer, the intellectual generally, and the middle class, must be made active allies of the working class in its struggle against Capitalism."

Congratulatory telegrams and cablegrams were received from leading Communists. Karl Radek sent the following cablegram from Russia:

"We, the Congress of Soviet Writers, extend our brotherly hand to all of the writers who are on the road toward us, no matter how far they still are from us, and if only we see in them a will and a wish to help the working class in its struggle to help the Soviet Union. We say to them: the best aid you can render us will be that you place yourselves shoulder to shoulder with the working class of your country, with its revolutionary minority."

Waldo Frank was so enthusiastic that he imagined the "revolution" right around the corner. Speaking on the "*Values of the Revolutionary Writer*," he declares:

"My premise and the premise of the majority of writers here assembled is that Communism must come, and must be fought for. If a writer doubts this, I doubt he is an artist; and I doubt he is a Marxist. If we believe that Communism is the organic next step of the world to be released by freeing the world's forces of wealth, we must believe in the art of revealing man's depths which bear this destiny. We will embody in our work the substance of life; the blood, the bone, the eye, the conscious embrace of necessity whose child is freedom—knowing that insofar as we create this truth, we are moving, and moving those who hear us, toward the Revolution."

Edwin Seaver discussed the "*Proletarian Novel*," and in attempting to distinguish between his subject and its bourgeois prototype, he broke down and came to cases. "What are we here for?" he cried. "What do we believe in? The fight against war and fascism? True enough. But this is largely a negative statement. Are we not here because we believe in forming a new and Communist ideology within the shell of the old and decaying capitalist society, because we seek the way out of capitalist anarchy toward that socialist order which is now in the process of construction in the Soviet Union, because in essence we subscribe to the Marxian revolutionary analysis of historical change?"

As might well be expected, Earl Browder, Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, was one of the speakers. He said, in part:

"Writers who are coming into this cultural stream are traditionally not interested in political life and problems. In their vast majority they are skeptical of all political parties, if not contemptuous. They find, however, in the new life in which they participate, there is a political party which plays an increasingly influential role, the Communist Party. They find it necessary to define their atti-

tude toward this Party which actively participates in their chosen world. They see that this Party is a force in fine literature, as well as in strikes, in unemployment struggles, in battling for Negro rights, even in a reactionary Congress where it rallied through mass pressure 52 votes for the Workers' Insurance Bill without having a single Communist congressman—as yet. Yes, the Communist Party is a force, in every phase of life of the masses, even that of poets, dramatists, novelists and critics.

“We are all of us bound together, forced to work out our common problems collectively, by the menace of a common enemy which threatens to destroy everything that we hold dear. The fight against reaction, against fascism in the inner life of nations and against imperialist war internationally, is our common bond . . . We are not alone. We have brothers in every land. We have a mighty stronghold in this battle, in the land where socialism is being built, where a new culture is blossoming—the Soviet Union. This fortress against reaction is at this time our greatest protection against the wave of reaction sweeping the world. We must protect it as it protects us. . . .

“It is with these thoughts that the Communist Party greets this historic Congress of American Writers. We are all soldiers, each in our own place, in a common cause. Let our efforts be united in fraternal solidarity.”

Langston Hughes, already referred to, called for immediate violent revolution in verse. His contribution is as follows:

Revolution

“Great mob that knows no fear
Come here!
And raise your hand
Against this man
Of iron and steel and gold
Who's bought and sold
You
Each one
For the last thousand years.

“Come here,
Great mob that knows no fear,
And tear him from limb to limb,
Slit his golden throat
Ear to ear,
And end his time forever
Now—
This year—
Great mob that knows no fear.”

Eugene Clay, in “*The Negro in Recent American Literature*,” states that Richard Wright's poem “*I Have Seen Black Hands*” is one of the

finest poems that has appeared in the "*New Masses*". It is partly as follows:

"I am black and I have seen black hands
 Raised in fists of revolt, side by side with the white fists of white
 workers,
 And some day—and it is only this which sustains me—
 Some day there shall be millions and millions of them,
 On some red day in a burst of fists on a new horizon!"

Moishe Nadir, following the Communist line of the day, placed President Roosevelt and Hitler side by side as hirelings of the "war-mongers." "The proletarian writer of today," he declared, "must above all unceasingly call attention to the fact that the old war-mongers of the Stinnes, Morgan, Deterding, DuPont and Krupp stamp, as well as their hirelings, Wotan, Hitler, Father Coughlin, Brother Roosevelt, are once more plotting to rid themselves of the 'over-production' of laboring men, by dumping them into the hell fires of the coming imperialist war, a most 'convenient' way, no doubt, of liquidating the contradictions inherent in capitalist economy." Comrade Nadir insisted that they all *love* America. "Above all," he said fervently *and in italics*, "We love America as one of the most beautiful flowers in the bouquet of the world Soviets of tomorrow."

John Howard Lawson kept the proceedings moving toward the predetermined objective. He reminded the assembled writers "that detailed technical analysis is the most urgent need of Marxist criticism." He was aware that the revolution was not quite as close as Waldo Frank believed, and that Communist Party strategists had much yet to accomplish. The organization of the *League of American Writers* was the principle objective of the *First American Writers' Congress*. When this momentous event had taken place Lawson reminded the delegates of the work ahead. "This is a very solemn moment," he said. "Exciting and stimulating and important as the proceedings of this Congress have been, we now enter on a much more serious task—the actual carrying out of the permanent development and growth of the Congress. I think that if there is one thing more than anything else that has been impressibly demonstrated at these meetings, it is the depth and breadth and magnitude of the tasks of the working class, of the Revolutionary movement."

When the applause of the final session died down, James Farrell arose and suggested the singing of the *International*. The concluding sentence of the photostatic copy of the report of the proceedings in the possession of the committee states that: "*This was done.*"

The *League of American Writers* was born. Before the final session of the *First Writers' Congress* came to a close, Jack Conroy announced to the delegates that the nominating committee had named for its head,

Waldo Frank. The nomination was unanimously approved. The executive committee elected is as follows:

Kenneth Burke,	Harold Clurman,
Malcolm Cowley,	Waldo Frank,
Joseph Freeman,	Michael Gold,
Henry Hart,	Josephine Herbst,
Granville Hicks,	Matthew Josephson,
Alfred Kreyborg,	John Howard Lawson,
Albert Maltz,	Isidar Schneider,
Edwin Seaver,	Genevieve Taggard,
Alexander Trachtenberg,	

National Council was then elected composed of the following:

Nelson Algren,	Lincoln Steffens,
Maxwell Bodenheim,	Richard Wright,
Michael Blankfort,	Fielding Burke,
Van Wyck Brooks,	Robert Cantwell,
Sterling Brown,	Eugene Clay,
Alan Calmer,	Jack Conroy,
Harry Carlisle,	Leonard Ehrlich,
Merle Colby,	Kenneth Fearing,
Edward Dahlberg,	Horace Gregory,
James T. Farrell,	Sidney Howard,
Angel Flores,	Joshua Kunitz,
Robert Herrick,	Meridel Le Sueur,
Orrick Johns,	Grace Lumpkin,
Tillie Lerner,	Moishe Nadir,
Robert Morss Lovett,	M. J. Olgin,
Lewis Mumford,	Paul Peters,
Clifford Odets,	William Rollins, Jr.,
Joseph Opatoshu,	Agnes Smedley,
Rebecca Pitts,	James Waterman Wise.
George Sklar,	

The first *American Writers' Congress* became a thing of the past as the last note of the "*International*" faded away, a memorable milestone in the Red history of the United States. The *League of American Writers* carried on the work of the Congress, calling new Congresses as often as *Communist Party* strategy demanded. The second *American Writers' Congress* was held in 1937. The same Communist influences and domination were present at its sessions.

The Third Congress was held in New York City June 2, 3, 4, 1939. The call was signed by the following:

Benjamin Appel,	Richard Wright,
Newton Arvin,	Stanley Young,
Helen Merrell Lynd,	Leane Zugsmith,
Kenneth Fearing,	Meyer Levin,
Arthur D. Ficke,	Nora Benjamin,
Millen Brand,	Francis Faragoh,
Joseph Freeman,	Tess Slessinger,
Mauritz Hallgren,	Philip Stevenson,
Dorothy Parker,	Carey McWilliams,
Van Wyck Brooks,	Irving Stone,
Genevieve Taggard,	Dorothy Brewster,
Dubose Heyward,	Henry Hart,
Erskine Caldwell,	Sidney Buchman,
Katherine G. Chapin,	Frank Tuttle,
Alfred Kreyborg,	Jean Starr Untermeyer,
John Wexley,	Ralph Roeder,
Muriel Rukeyser,	Arthur Kober,
Vida D. Scudder,	Malcolm Cowley,
Edwin Seaver,	George Dillon,
John Howard Lawson,	Muriel Draper,
Donald Ogden Stewart,	Philip Dunne,
Viola Brothers Shore,	Vincent Sheean,
Guy Endore,	Upton Sinclair,
Henry Pratt Fairchild,	Albert Maltz,
Albert Bein,	Aline Bernstein,
Bruce Minton,	Bessie Breuer,
Ruth McKenney,	Louis Bromfield,
Marjorie Fischer,	Daniel Fuchs,
Harvey O'Connor,	James Thurber,
S. J. Perelman,	Lillian Hellman,
Leland Stowe,	Kenneth Burke,
Frederick Prokosch,	Eugene Holmes,
Lorine Pruette,	Louis Untermeyer,
Samuel Putnam,	Carl Van Doren,
W. L. River,	Harold J. Rome,
Jess Kimbrough,	Joshua Kunitz,
Humphrey Cobb,	David Lamson,
Lester Cohen,	Jesse Lasky, Jr.,
Ella Winter,	Irwin Shaw.

Waldo Frank was mysteriously absent from the *Third American Writers' Congress*. Eugene Lyons, in his book *The Red Decade*, clears up the mystery. "As a footnote to the story," says Mr. Lyons, "I offer in exhibit Mr. Waldo Frank. When Mr. Frank exchanged his private mysticism for the fashionable mysticism of the Muscovite aberration, he was hailed as a hero in the Communist press. He was made chairman of one of the principal planets in Stalin's solar system, the *League of American Writers*. All went well until the Soviet bloodletting touched Mr. Frank's conscience. He wrote a letter to the *New Republic* sug-

gesting an international labor and socialist inquiry into the whole matter. Immediately his services to the cause were forgotten and his name was mud. He had committed the deadly sin of doubting. When the next *American Writers' Congress* foregathered, he was mysteriously missing. Let the innocent literati who continued to claim that the League and its Congresses were independent, explain the technique by which Waldo Frank was eliminated after his slip, and his place taken by one of Hollywood's best, Donald Ogden Stewart."

The first Pacific Congress of "American Writers," a direct attempt of the Communist *League of American Writers* to extend the original plan to West Coast left-wing writers, was held in San Francisco October 23, 24, 25, 1936. Using the same technique as that so successfully used in the *First American Writers' Congress*, the Pacific Coast Congress gave birth to the Pacific Coast branch of the *League of American Writers*. This branch was headed by Carey McWilliams and Clara Weatherwax. Haakon Chevalier was reported as one of the most active members of the Committee in San Francisco.

The Hitler-Stalin Pact, the rape of Poland and the Soviet invasion of Finland created a furious retreat of literary "innocents," parlor-pinks and cocktail revolutionaries who had permitted their names to be used for the Calls of the Writers Congresses. As a result the Fourth Congress, held in New York early in June of 1941, was a dismal affair, attended only by such stalwarts as Donald Ogden Stewart, Dashiell Hammett, John Howard Lawson and Dudley Nichols. Orson Welles and a number of obscure writers were recruited for this Congress by Communist scouts after much barrel-scraping. The dubious "Oscar" of leadership of the *League of American Writers* passed from Donald Ogden Stewart to Dashiell Hammett.

Alexander Trachtenberg has been a Communist functionary since the *Communist Party* was organized in the United States in 1919. John Howard Lawson is considered something more than a mere "functionary" of the *Communist Party*. He is held in reverential awe by ordinary *Communist Party* members. Alexander Trachtenberg, head of the *Workers' Library Publishers, Inc.*, is regarded as the leader of the *agit-prop* (agitational propaganda) division of the *American Communist Party*.

COMMUNIST RIGHT-ABOUT FACE

The sixth period of Communist strategy in the United States was launched in a cloud of confusion June 22, 1941. American Communist strategists were in a dither attempting to adjust their Marxian spectacles for a peep into the crystal ball of world events for a "scientific" and "materialistic" interpretation of history. They were pathetically bewildered until directives arrived from the oracle in Moscow's Kremlin. The Leninistic "sharp turn" was not only "sharp" and breathtaking; it was practically a hair-pin turn. Many of the Comrades bringing up the rear were nearly stomped to death as the "vanguard of the proletariat" executed the death-defying maneuver. It took a little time to reform the ragged ranks of the confused proletariat and to restore order and discipline. New names, costumes and credentials had to be prepared. It ordinarily takes time to change from the role of a wild-eyed revolutionist, mobilizing inferiority-complexed literary men for red hack-writing, to an American patriot mobilizing the literati for

its war efforts against a common enemy. John Howard Lawson, Alexander Trachtenberg and the hierarchy of Communist strategists were equal to the task. Once the program was formulated, new names supplied and credentials cleverly manufactured, "innocents," fellow-travelers and trembling opportunists were easily found. It would be done with Hollywood trappings, at a State institution of higher learning and to the strains of the *Star Spangled Banner* instead of the *International*. Stalinistic "power-plays", Leninistic "sharp-turns", Marxist dialectic and the materialistic interpretation of history would be subtly explained and reconciled under the benevolent noses of naive "progressive" professors while the "capitalistic" press paid tribute and homage to the Hollywood setting for the launching of the new Communist "line."

John Howard Lawson was not quite so skillful with the *Joint Fact-Finding Committee* as he is reputed to be with Communist devotees. He testified that he had come from New York City and that he had resided in Southern California for approximately 15 years. He admitted attending the *First Writers' Congress* in New York in 1935, that he had spoken at some of its sessions, contributed articles and that he had been acquainted with Alexander Trachtenberg for many years. When asked whether or not he had ever heard of the Second Conference of the *International Union of Revolutionary Writers* at Kharkov, Russia, he replied: "I have heard it mentioned in relation to certain charges made by this committee in regard to the Writers' Congress in 1943." The answer might have been cleverly evasive if the photostatic copies of the proceedings of the *First Writers' Congress* in possession of the committee did not reveal that the *League of American Writers*, to be created by the Congress, was to be "affiliated with the *International Union of Revolutionary Writers*." Lawson had signed the call. He stated that he had probably met Clarence Hathaway but that he could not place him at the time of testifying. This "evasiveness" might have been successfully practiced on the members of the committee if it had not been in possession of documentary evidence that Lawson was a staff writer on the *New York Daily Worker*, East Coast Communist publication, at the time that Clarence Hathaway edited the publication. His memory conveniently failed him at times.

" * * * Do you recall that the congress," Mr. Combs asked, "the one we were talking about, closed with the singing of the *International*—or did it?"

"I have no idea," Mr. Lawson replied. "I presume it did, but I don't know."

"Why do you presume it did?"

"Because I also saw some charges that were made by this committee previously in which the statement was made, and I assumed you had some basis for the statement. It is very likely true."

The official proceedings of the Congress (p. 12) concludes with the following: "When the applause died down James Farrell arose and suggested that the Congress conclude its final session by singing the *International*. This was done."

Lawson admitted knowing James Farrell for approximately 12 years.

Lawson admitted that he was familiar with the *League of American Writers* and that it had been created by the *First American Writers'*

Congress. He stated that he was a member of the National Executive Committee and that at the time of testifying (1944) he was serving in the capacity of national vice-president, which office he had held for six or seven years.

Carl Winter was chairman of the *Communist Party* of Los Angeles County until the party changed its name to the *Communist Political Association* of California. When the change was effected Winter held a comparable office in the "Association" and Max Silver became secretary. Lawson admitted being acquainted with both Winter and Silver. He had been a guest, together with Max Silver and others, at Carl Winter's birthday party. Lawson had no desire to stress his association with these official functionaries of the *Communist Party*. (Com. Tr., Vol. XXIII, pp. 150-151):

Q. By Combs: Did you ever meet with Silver and Mr. Winter on any other occasions?

A. Not that I recall, no.

Q. It is possible you may have met with them and forgotten?

A. I may have met them in certain social gatherings, but I don't remember it.

Q. Around at people's houses from time to time you may have met them?

A. It's possible. It was so casual I have forgotten it.

Q. You have known each of them for approximately the same period of time, have you?

A. Yes.

HOLLYWOOD WRITERS' MOBILIZATION

As heretofore reported by the committee, the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor December 7, 1941, supplied the impetus for Communist strategy made necessary by Germany's attack on Soviet Russia in June of that year. For the first time a Communist slogan meant something to American ears. "Unity" in the war effort for victory made sense and the *Communist Party* launched the slogan fully cognizant that it gave them a supreme advantage in revised strategy. Under this convenient guise of "unity" *Communist Party* functionaries went to work on the creation of a series of new "front" groups. The *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*, allegedly composed of the guilds connected with the motion picture industry, was one of the first to emerge. John Howard Lawson appeared to be the dominating figure in the creation of the "Mobilization," assisted by Robert Rossen and Marc Connelly. The alleged purpose of the organization, under the guise of assisting the war effort, was to provide scripts, speeches, skits, plays and similar material for bond drives and similar activities. Its true purpose, of course, was the creation of a clearing house for Communist propaganda.

Strategy for "Window Dressing" Congress

By 1943 the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization* had attracted a considerable membership. It is not to be assumed that the members of Communist front organizations are all Communists or that the majority of them are remotely interested in Communism or sympathetic to it. Quite the reverse is true, as the committee pointed out in its 1943 Report. The bait used by Communists in snagging innocents into "front" organiza-

tions is considerably varied. The so-called "intellectual" appears to be easy prey for Communist functionaries. All of the planning is done in closed Communist meetings. Steering committees are created and fellow-travelers are contacted. Innocents are then snagged for "window-dressing" and committees are then selected for the job in hand. The usual procedure was followed in the creation of the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization* and the *Writers' Congress*. John Howard Lawson and Marc Connelly contacted the University of California in Westwood and successfully solicited the assistance of Professor Ralph Freud of the Dramatic Department. Reinforced by Freud the three men called upon the chairman of the English Department with the proposal that the University join with the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization* in sponsoring the *American Writers' Congress* at the University. As a result of these maneuvers a University Committee was appointed to work with the committee of the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization* for the preparation of the Congress. Lawson, Connelly and Freud apparently did most of the work (as was to be expected) and it appears that the several professors of the University Committee had little to do with the plans.

Marc Connelly testified before the committee October 13, 1944 (Com. Tr. Vol. XXIII, pp. 112-120) that Lawson had been active in organizing the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*. He stated that the *Mobilization* was composed of the *Screen Writers' Guild*, the *Radio Writers' Guild*, the *Screen Publicists' Guild*, the *Screen Cartoonists' Guild*, *American Newspaper Guild*, *Independent Publicists' Association* and the *Song Writers' Protective Association*.

Questioned on the activities of the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization* in connection with the war effort, Connelly testified (Com. Tr., Vol. XXIII, pp. 118-119) :

A. By Connelly: The war effort—oh, it has been supplying the Office of War Information, the Army and Navy, with material, U.S.O. with material, the Red Cross. It supplies material for actors on the bond raising tours, it supplies spot announcements on radio for any drive that happens to be on at the moment, paper saving and so forth. It supplies articles following the directives of the war agency that certain accents must be made for conservation of this or the aid of this, if there is a Russian relief or a French relief or an Italian relief clothing drive, or anything that we are asked to assist in, our membership is at their disposal and volunteers its service for that purpose.

Q. By Mr. Combs: As a matter of fact, judging from the list of guilds and unions which comprise the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*, that work, that activity would cover music, radio scripts and skits and plays, and all sorts of creative material of that type, even cartoons, would it not?

A. Yes.

Q. And is there a present program being carried out by the mobilization to write moving picture scenario scripts for use by the Office of War Information?

A. So far as I know, yes.

Q. Are those pictures which will be made from those scripts to be exhibited in the United States or overseas?

A. I believe both.

Rena M. Vale, a writer by profession and formerly a member of the *Communist Party* of Los Angeles County, was engaged, in collaboration with others, in preparing the script for the production "*The Sun Rises in the West*" at the time she was a member of the *Communist Party*. The chief task of the Communists, engaged in this work, was to weave *Communist Party* propaganda and policy into the lines and action of the production. Miss Vale's affidavit is set forth in its entirety in the Committee's 1943 Report. At page 148 of the report, Miss Vale states:

"That in the throes of playwriting, John Howard Lawson, and a Professor Lewis, met with our fraction to assist in the problems of converting Communist propaganda into play form; that these so-called experts in the dramatic field offered no concrete suggestions in so far as I could see; they merely ranted about our responsibilities as Communist Party members."

Lawson's subtlety and evasiveness and convenient lapses of memory are typically illustrated in his answers to questions concerning the episode mentioned by Miss Vale. (Com. Tr., Vol. XXIII, p. 153):

Q. By Mr. Combs: Do you recall a production called, "*Sun Rises in the West*"?

A. I recall hearing mention of it, yes.

Q. It was produced about 1937 or '38—late in '37 or early in '38?

A. I couldn't answer that.

Q. Did you ever read the play?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever advise on it?

A. No, not that I recall.

Q. Are you positive you never did?

A. No, I am not positive.

Q. It isn't your testimony—

A. (Interrupting) I don't know, because I have advised people on many, many plays and productions. I know I never saw that or read the manuscript, so I doubt if I could have advised with any detail.

Q. Did you advise about the method of staging the production without reading it, could somebody have told you about it?

A. I don't know.

Q. By whom was the production produced?

A. It was a production of the Federal Theatre. I don't know by whom it was produced.

Q. By the Federal Theatre. That was a part of the WPA program, wasn't it?

A. Yes.

Lawson was able to recall that he had been connected with the *Committee for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy*. He admitted having been a sponsor for the *Citizens' Committee for the Defense of Harry Bridges*. He was able to remember signing the Call for the *Fourth American Writers' Congress* in 1941 and having been an instructor in the *League of American Writers School*. He admitted supporting and sponsoring the candidacy of La Rue McCormick, an admitted and regis-

tered member of the *Communist Party*, for election to the California State Senate in 1942.

He became vague and evasive when questioned concerning his connection with the New York *Daily Worker*, the official publication for the *Communist Party* of the United States. (Com. Tr., Vol. XXIII, pp. 156-158):

Q. By Mr. Combs: Did you ever hear of the *Daily Worker* in New York?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you assume that is the official publication of the Communist Party of the United States prior to the change—of its change to the Communist Political Association?

A. I can't testify to that. As far as that goes, you are asking me a great many questions which are purely assumptions and in regard to which I have no personal knowledge.

Q. Have you ever read the publication?

A. Yes, frequently.

Q. Have you ever read the Masthead?

A. No.

Q. Would it refresh your memory at all if I were to tell you, which is a fact, on the Masthead appears the hammer and sickle and words in effect, "The official Communist publication of the United States"?

A. I would like to say at this point in your questioning you are telling me. If you want to ask me questions, I'm very delighted to answer any questions, but the presentation of assumptions and opinions, assumptions regarding people whom I know nothing about or publications about which I know very little—

Q. (Interrupting) You wrote for the *Daily Worker*?

A. That's correct.

Q. I show you a photostat dated December 21st, 1935, and call your attention to page 2 and ask you if that is about the time you were a contributing writer for the *New York Daily Worker*?

A. I have no way of knowing this photostat is accurate, but I presume that I was at that time.

Mr. Combs: I wish to read some names into the record from the photostat, reading from page 1 (reading):

Editors C. A. Hathaway, Joseph North, James Olgin, Edwin Seaver, Sender Garlin, A. B. Magil, Michael Quinn, Earl Browder, Erskine Caldwell, Malcolm Cowley, James Farrell, (who is the one who suggested the singing of the International at the closing of the first congress), William Z. Foster, former vice president of the Communist Party of the United States, Waldo Frank, who presided at the first Writers' Congress, Corliss Lamott, John Howard Lawson, Clifford Odets, M. J. Olgin, whose name was read into the record as the reporter of the Kharkov conference, George Sklar and Anna Louise Strong, Jack Stachel, Meridel Le Sueur, whose name has been read into the record, Lincoln Steffens, Ella Winter, Clara Weatherwax.

Lawson admitted having been a subscriber to the West Coast Communist publication, the *People's Daily World*, since it started publication. He was familiar with *American Youth for Democracy*, the new name for the *Young Communist League*, and admitted having been a sponsor of the organization. He admitted being a member of the *American League for Peace and Democracy*. He was familiar with the *Labor Defender*, published by the *International Labor Defense* and admitted that he had contributed articles to the publication on occasion.

The Attorney General of the United States, Francis Biddle, made an investigation of the *Writers' Congress* and the *League of American Writers* and issued a confidential written report on these organizations in 1942. It subsequently was made public and the Committee reproduces it in full:

"The League of American Writers, founded under Communist auspices in 1935, for some years attracted to its fold many of the most prominent American writers, Communists and non-Communists. In 1939 the League began openly to follow the Communist Party line as dictated by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and at that time most of the non-Communists disaffiliated themselves from it and declared their opposition to its policy.

"The League of American Writers was founded at a congress of American revolutionary writers held in New York City April 26-27, 1935. The call for the congress was signed by members of the John Reed Club, including such well-known Communists as Earl Browder, Isidor Schneider, John L. Spivak, and Michael Gold. The congress greeted Gold as the best loved American revolutionary writer and Gold in turn told the gathering that, 'Our writers must learn that the working class which has created a great civilization in the Soviet Union is capable of creating a similar civilization in this country.' The leading speakers at the congress were all prominently identified with the Communist movement in the United States and featured such men as M. J. Olgin, editor of the Communist Yiddish Daily, *Morning Freiheit*, Alexander Trachtenberg, head of the Party's publishing house, International Publishers, Inc., and Clarence Hathaway, editor of the *Daily Worker* whose masthead then proclaimed it the official organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A. section of the Communist International. The league was created, among other things, to enlist writers in a national cultural organization for peace and democracy and against fascism and reaction, to support progressive trade-union organizations and the people's front in all countries, and to cooperate with the progressive forces.

"Soon after the league was established, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow decided upon the Trojan horse policy for Communist parties everywhere. By this policy Communists sought to infiltrate existing organizations without revealing their identity. Accordingly, it became necessary to conceal the Communist influence in the League of American Writers. The revolutionary slogans and resolutions were discarded. In the years from 1936 to 1939 the league made an effort to secure as members the leaders of liberal thought among American writers. Although its Communist control was deliberately obscured, it spon-

sored a policy which accorded with the Communist Party line in those years, including condemnation of the Franco revolution in Spain and an interpretation of that revolution as presenting an issue of Communism vs. Fascism. In its congresses held in these years the league condemned fascism and praised the 'Soviet peace policy.' It sought to make its program attractive by sponsoring the Federal Arts Project and attacking those who were opposed to any of the social legislation then being enacted in the United States.

"At the time of the Russo-German pact in August, 1939, the League of American Writers began once more to follow the Communist Party line openly and without much attempt at dissimulation. It was in this period that most of the prominent non-Communist writers resigned from the league. Thomas Mann stated that the league 'thinks too much about politics and not enough about literature.' In 1940 and up until June 22, 1941, the league devoted its efforts principally to keeping the United States out of the 'imperialist war.' Its activities were featured in the Daily Worker, and it in turn complimented the Daily Worker for the recognition it was giving to the league's anti-war program. Many leading Communists were openly active in the league at this time.

"On June 6, 1941, the league held its Fourth Annual Writers' Congress in New York City. It condemned the 'imperialist war,' which it called a war for world markets. Speakers charged that the President was attempting to lead the country into war, and condemned the administration for its action in sending troops to quell the North American Aviation Co. strike and for its prosecution of Harry Bridges.

"The American Peace Mobilization and its picketing of the White House was endorsed. Less than a month later the league issued a call to all writers and writers' organizations for 'all immediate and necessary steps in support of Great Britain and the Soviet Union.'

"Not only did the league follow the Communist Party line in regard to foreign affairs, but its program since 1940 has shown a close parallel to the leading domestic issues supported by the party, including a campaign in behalf of Negro rights, opposition to what is called political persecution in the United States, and praise of the Soviet Union and its leaders.

"The League of American Writers maintains an annual writers' school in New York City, featuring courses in labor journalism and pamphlet writing taught by Communists. Once each week it sponsors a 'work in progress' reading by some author. The Daily Worker, in its regular reports of these readings, indicates that the majority of invited readers are known Communists or fellow travelers.

"The overt activities of the League of American Writers in the last two years leave little doubt of its Communist control. The resignations of many writers who had affiliated themselves with it in the era of the Trojan horse and their statements at the time of disassociating themselves from it largely remove all possible speculations as to the facts."

6

PEOPLE'S EDUCATIONAL CENTER

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, addressing the annual commencement exercises at *Holy Cross College*, Worcester, Massachusetts, June 29, 1944, stated:

“Over the years, the American Communists have developed a propaganda machine and a nefarious and elaborate school system of their own. Their officials in secret and public meetings urge that the propaganda phase of their work must be accelerated. Brazenly, they have urged the development of courses, lectures, and assemblies as media to espouse the ideologies of Marxism and to establish Marxism as a school of thought in the United States. . . .”

For the first time, Earl Browder has assumed absolute and direct control of the “*Workers’ Schools*” of the United States. It is reported that in New York City, V. J. Jerome and Elizabeth Lawson are the key people in the Communists’ “elaborate school system.” V. J. Jerome (alias Isaac Romaine) has been the secret educational director of the *Communist Party* for many years. He was formerly the editor of *The Communist*. Jerome is considered one of the outstanding dialecticians in the United States and is considered by many members as the “brains” of the *Communist Party*. He was one of the instructors in the New York *Workers’ School*. It is estimated that the *Communist Party* schools will graduate about 5,000 students a year.

The *People’s Educational Center*, new Communist Party propaganda school, was launched in Los Angeles the latter part of 1943. There is good reason to believe that this Communist front is an offshoot of the *Writers’ Congress* held on the campus of the *University of California at Los Angeles*. The *Workers’ School* is to be absorbed by this new educational “front.”

A letter under date of October 20, 1943 was addressed to many individuals, associations and labor organizations. The letter is as follows:

“The People’s Educational Center would like your organization to have a hand in its program, a voice in its policies. To this end we cordially invite you to investigate the aims and purposes of the Center, to become familiar with our tentative courses in education and our means of carrying the program to completion.

“The provisional committee of the People’s Educational Center is drawn from many phases of Los Angeles life—men and women from business, the university, civic affairs, labor, the professions, women’s affairs. It was organized to give Los Angeles a new type of adult education, education in a changing world, to meet fast changing conditions where, as the Red Queen said to Alice in Wonderland ‘You have to run awful fast if you want to stay in one place.’

“The Center is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization. Already lined up for its teaching staff are leaders in the field of university education, scientists and professional men and women. The varied courses in its curricula will be taught by men and women who know their subject by actual experience.

“We will be most pleased to send you complete information on request. We would like to meet with representatives of your organ-

ization—to get their views on our program, to learn from their experiences how to make this center a more living force for the future good of Los Angeles and the Nation. We would like your help in bringing to the people generally the most satisfying of all experiences in human affairs—the happiness that comes with learning something new and keeping abreast of the times.’’

Under the title ‘‘Provisional Committee for the People’s Educational Center,’’ appear the following names:

John Allard,	Arnold Manoff,
Fay E. Allen,	Dean E. McHenry,
R. S. Avery,	Russell L. McKnight,
Charlotta A. Bass,	Carey McWilliams,
George Bradley,	M. William Pomerance,
Philip M. Connelly,	Ruth S. Ryan,
O. W. E. Cook,	Eva Shafran,
Frank C. Davis,	Albee Slade,
Rev. Martin S. Eidsath,	C. L. Vanderbie,
Harry Holjer,	Ralph D. Winstead,
John Howard Lawson,	William Wolff.
Louis Levy,	

The address on the letterhead is ‘‘812 Broadway Arcade Bldg., 542 South Broadway, Los Angeles, 13, California.’’

The Communist character of the organization is clearly revealed by the personnel of the Provisional Committee. Philip M. Connelly is said to have joined the *Communist Party* in June or July, 1938, and was attached to Unit 140, Professional Section, of the *Newspaper Guild*. During the Hitler-Stalin Pact he appeared in support of various peace rallies. His devotion to the *Communist Party* publication, *The People’s Daily World*, is indicated by the announcement that he had donated a day’s pay to the paper. He has been active in many Communist front organizations and has assiduously followed the *Communist Party* line for many years.

Frank C. Davis is assistant professor at the *University of California*, at Los Angeles. In 1939, 1940 and 1941, he sent telegrams to District Attorney Matthew Brady, in San Francisco, in defense of Sam Darcy, Communist. He is reported to have formerly been a professor at the *University of Washington*.

The Communist record of John Howard Lawson is set forth in considerable detail in this report under the title ‘‘*Writers’ Congress at the University of California*.’’

Carey McWilliams is a member of nearly every Communist front organization in the State of California. His record is treated at some length in various parts of this report.

Mrs. Ruth S. Ryan is a Los Angeles teacher. She was registered as a Communist in Los Angeles County June 15, 1940 at 4306 La Clede Avenue, Los Angeles. In August of 1940 she sponsored Celeste Strack for the *Communist Party* nomination to the office of Congress for the Thirteenth Congressional District. She sponsored Louis Baron for the *Communist Party* nomination to the office of Congress for the Thirteenth Congressional District in August of 1938. She also sponsored Pettis

Perry for the *Communist Party* nomination to the office of the State Board of Equalization for the Fourth District in August of 1938. In 1942 she appeared as a member of the *Los Angeles Consumers Council*, Communist front. (See page 104, Committee's Report for 1943).

Eva Shafran merits particular notice in this report. For some time she was the active organizer of the *Communist Party* in Los Angeles County. She was registered as a Communist in Los Angeles County in June of 1940. She wrote for the *Western Worker*, West Coast Communist predecessor to the Communist publication, *The People's Daily World*. In October, 1936, she wrote an article for the *Western Worker* entitled "*The Socialist Party and Trotskyites.*" In December of 1936 she wrote an article for the *Western Worker* entitled "*Unity of Negro and White Urgent in Maritime Strike.*" Eva Shafran is known among Communists as an outstanding Marxist. For many years she has taught advanced classes on Marxism-Leninism in the *Communist Workers' School* in Los Angeles. According to the testimony of John Leech, former Secretary of the Communist Party in Los Angeles County (before the Los Angeles Grand Jury, 94369-8-15-40) Eva Shafran was transferred to Los Angeles by the *Communist Party* from the *New York Workers' School* in 1935 or early in 1936. She was immediately assigned to the California State Committee of the *Communist Party* and has devoted herself to the task of raising the political level of Communists in Los Angeles. Her name is variably spelled "*Shafran,*" "*Shaffron*" and "*Shiffman.*"

Albee Slade is an organizer and publicity man for the *Congress for Industrial Organization*. He has been editor and commentator on a radio program "*Our Daily Bread*" (C. I. O. newspaper of the air).

Carl Winter, former secretary of the *Communist Party* of Los Angeles County, is advertised as a lecturer at the *People's Educational Center*.

The committee finds that the *People's Educational Center* is inspired and controlled by the Communists; that it is, in fact, a Communist organization for the dissemination of Marxism—part of the "elaborate school system" of Communism mentioned by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the *Federal Bureau of Investigation*.

7

WEST COAST COMMUNIST PRESS

The People's Daily World, in its July 9, 1943, issue announced:

" . . . now, in this crucial summer of 1943, as we prepare for the greatest military offensives to smash the Axis enemy, as we fight to hold the home front against the fifth column, as we look ahead to the 1944 elections—we feel that the *People's Daily World* will be more needed than ever. . . . The *People's World* must be improved, its circulation extended, its finances bolstered. . . . "

A "call" was subsequently issued by the *People's Daily World* for a "Pro-War Press Conference on Behalf of the *People's Daily World*" for Wednesday, August 4, 1943, at 8 p.m., at the *First Unitarian Church*, located at the corner of 8th Street and Vermont Avenue in the City of Los Angeles.

The letter for the call was signed by Ed Robbin, editor of the *People's Daily World* in Los Angeles and Judith Schmidt, the Los Angeles manager for the Communist newspaper. The letterhead contains the following names as "endorsers" of the "call":

Joseph W. Aidlin,	Kenneth Eckert,
Fay Allen,	Pearl Fagelson,
Charlotta Bass,	Leo Gallagher,
Gray Bemis,	Ed Gilbert,
Revels Cayton,	Augustus Hawkins,
Parley Parker Christensen,	Martin Hourihan,
Grover Johnson,	Carey McWilliams,
Pete King,	Richard Otto,
John Howard Lawson,	Pettis Perry,
Joe Marty,	William Rosenthal,
La Rue McCormick,	Rev. Clayton Russell,
Lester McMillan,	Chaim Shapiro,
Dorothy Connelly,	Vincent Sherman,
Frank Corona,	Max Silver,
James Daugherty,	Herb Sorrell,
Ernest Dawson,	Al Waxman,
Theodore Dreiser,	Cone Young.

Joseph W. Aidlin is a member of the Communist front organization for attorneys, the *National Lawyers' Guild*.

John Leech, former Secretary of the *Communist Party* of Los Angeles County, testified before the Grand Jury of Los Angeles County (Grand Jury testimony, 94369-8-1540) that Aidlin was a member of the *Communist Party* and that Leech, as secretary of the party, knew him as a member. Leech testified that Aidlin had worked for Leo Gallagher on *International Labor Defense* cases.

Mrs. Fay Allen was formerly a member of the Los Angeles Board of Education. She followed the *Communist Party* line consistently. She was a member of the *California League for Democratic Action* and a member of various Communist "front" organizations. On August 30, 1941, the *People's Daily World* lists Mrs. Allen as a sponsor for a state-wide conference to be held in San Francisco, September 27, 1941, for the purpose of protesting the "Tenney Committee and the Tenney Bill outlawing the Communist Party."

Charlotta Bass has been mentioned many times in the pages of the committee's report. She is the editor and owner of the Los Angeles Negro newspaper, *The California Eagle*. On August 30, 1941, the *People's Daily World*, lists Mrs. Bass as a sponsor for a state-wide conference protesting the "Tenney Committee and the Tenney Bill outlawing the Communist Party." On October 3, 1942, the *People's Daily World* announced that Mrs. Bass would be the principal speaker for a "Win-the-War-Rally" at the Los Angeles Breakfast Club under the auspices of the *International Workers Order*, a *Communist Party* organization. This particular meeting was attended by the Soviet Consul, Clarence Muse, Carey McWilliams and Ellis E. Patterson. On November 2, 1942, Mrs. Bass appeared in a paid political advertisement in the *Los Angeles Times* endorsing La Rue McCormick, Communist candidate for State

Senator from Los Angeles County. She recently was appointed to the National executive committee of the *International Labor Defense*.

Gray Bemis is an officer in the *International Workers Order*, a Communist organization. On November 2, 1942, Bemis endorsed La Rue McCormick, Communist candidate for State Senator for Los Angeles County in a paid political advertisement in the *Los Angeles Times*.

Revels Cayton was a registered Communist in San Francisco in 1940. He was one of the many Communists and Communist fellow-travelers who endorsed the San Francisco conference protesting the "Tenney Bill outlawing the Communist Party and the Tenney Committee." He served as secretary for the Bay Region District Council of the *Maritime Federation of the Pacific in 1941*. He was a pallbearer at the funeral of James McNamara, confessed dynamiter. In May of 1941, he was reported as the Vice President of the San Francisco C. I. O. Council.

Parley Parker Christensen is a Los Angeles City Councilman. He was endorsed by the *Communist Party* and the *People's Daily World* for the Los Angeles City Council from the Ninth District in May of 1939. He voted against the charter amendment barring from city service persons advocating the overthrow of the Government in February of 1941. He supported the Los Angeles City Board of Public Works' action in issuing a permit to the *American Peace Mobilization* (Communist front organization collaborating with Hitler and Stalin during the Stalin-Hitler pact).

In supporting the rally for the Communist publication, the *People's Daily World*, Christensen is quoted as stating:

"We have great need in this community for an independent paper devoted to labor and the underprivileged generally. The *People's Daily World* has met that need splendidly, things that need to be said—truths that the people need to know—are found in the columns of the *People's Daily World*. Hope your conference on August 4 is successful. It deserves the support of every patriotic American. More power to you."

James Daugherty is a National representative for the C. I. O. *Utility Workers Organizing Committee*. He has protested the "Tenney Committee" and the bill outlawing the *Communist Party*. He opposed California's *Subversive Registration Act of 1941*. He ran a paid advertisement in the Labor Day edition of the *People's Daily World*, August 30, 1941. He represented the C. I. O. *Utility Workers* on a committee for the *People's Daily World Fund Drive*. He was a representative for the C. I. O. "Night For *People's Daily World Fund Drive*," September 27, 1941.

Ernest Dawson is a book dealer in the City of Los Angeles. He has continually permitted his name to be used in *Communist Party* programs and "front" organizations. He was a member of the State Sponsoring Committee for the *Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee*, with headquarters at 127 South Broadway, Room 318, Los Angeles, in May of 1940. In 1939, 1940 and 1941 he sent communications to San Francisco's District Attorney, Matthew Brady, in defense of Sam Darcy. He signed a preliminary petition for the *Committee for Citizenship Rights for William Schneiderman* in 1941 and endorsed the *Committee for Citizenship Rights of William Schneiderman* in January of 1942.

Theodore Dreiser is a novelist. He contributed articles to *The Clipper* (formerly *Black and White*), Communist publication, in 1940. He continually lends his name to Communist front organizations and programs. He spoke at the first *Tom Mooney Defense Committee* meeting held under the auspices of the Communist Party in San Francisco. He appeared with Dorothy Parker and Donald Ogden Stewart as a guest of honor at the *State, County and Municipal Workers of America* (S. C. M. W. A.) Defense Committee reception, January 19, 1941, in San Francisco. On January 26, 1941, Dreiser appeared as the signer of a petition protesting "Un-American Actions Against Communists" and the outlawing of the Communist Party. (*New Leader*, January 26, 1941). *People's Daily World* for January 27, 1941, reports Dreiser as the principal speaker at a meeting in San Francisco. At this meeting he is reported as stating that Soviet workers are far better off than American workers. On March 5, 1941, Dreiser signed a petition addressed to the President of the United States and Congress, defending the Communist Party.

On July 7, 1941, Dreiser was listed as the National Vice Chairman of the *American Peace Mobilization*, Communist front organization in support of the Hitler-Stalin Pact. On April 18, 1941, the *People's Daily World* reported that Dreiser denounced the Dies Committee and J. B. Matthews for stating that the *American Peace Mobilization* was a "Communist front group." He signed the call for the *Fourth American Writers' Congress* in an advertisement appearing on the back of *The Clipper* for May, 1941. He was elected an honorary President of the *League of American Writers*, Communist organization. He was a member of the Sponsoring Committee for the *Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee*, August 14, 1941. He eulogized Leo Gallagher, an admitted and registered member of the *Communist Party*, at a testimonial dinner at the Wilshire Bowl, June 4, 1941.

Pearl Fagelson is a member of the County Council of the *International Workers Order*, a Communist organization. She was a member of the *Los Angeles Consumers Council* as of March 27, 1942, a Communist front organization. She sent postal cards to San Francisco's District Attorney, Matthew Brady, defending Sam Darcy, a Communist, in 1939, 1940 and 1941.

Leo Gallagher is an admitted and registered member of the *Communist Party*. His Communist record is long and need not be repeated here.

The Communist record and activities of John Howard Lawson are set forth at considerable length in this report under the title "Writers' Congress."

Mrs. La Rue McCormick is an admitted and registered member of the *Communist Party*.

The Communist activities and record of Carey McWilliams are set forth in detail in this report. The *People's Daily World* for July 21, 1943, reports McWilliams as saying:

"In my opinion the *People's Daily World* is doing a very good job. You don't have to go any further back than the recent 'zoot suit' riots to see this. The Hearst papers incited violence and prejudice; the *People's World* urged unity and exposed the fifth column influences behind the rioting.

"*People's World* circulation may be small compared with the *L. A. Examiner* or *The Times*, but its viewpoint and integrity have gained for it widespread respect and consideration.

"I am glad to endorse your August 4 conference in the First Unitarian Church, and you have my best wishes for the success of your financial drive."

Pettis Perry is an admitted and registered member of the *Communist Party* and for many years has been one of the party's functionaries in Los Angeles County.

The Reverend Clayton Russell is a Los Angeles minister. On November 2, 1942, he appeared as an endorser for Mrs. La Rue McCormick, *Communist Party* candidate for State Senator from Los Angeles County, in a paid political advertisement.

Max Silver is a Los Angeles Communist functionary.

Herbert Sorrell is an officer in the *Studio Painters' Union*, A. F. of L. He has persistently followed the *Communist Party* line. He subscribed to the *Communist Party* publication, the *People's Daily World*. Leaflets distributed in July of 1940 listed Sorrell as an officer in the *American Peace Crusade*, Communist organization. He also appeared as an endorser for Mrs. La Rue McCormick, *Communist Party* candidate for State Senator, in a paid political advertisement in the *Los Angeles Times*, November 2, 1942.

Al Waxman is the editor and publisher of the *Eastside Journal*, a "throw-away" newspaper in east side Los Angeles. He also endorsed Communist La Rue McCormack for State Senator in a paid political advertisement. (See section "Zoot-Suit," this report.)

Two or three weeks prior to August 4, 1943, the date set for the *Communist Party* Press Conference, Senator Jack B. Tenney, Chairman of the *Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities*, telephoned the Rev. Ernest Caldecott, Minister of the *First Unitarian Church* of Los Angeles, protesting the meeting of the Communist group in the church. Rev. Caldecott assured Senator Tenney that he would look into the matter. Some time later Senator Tenney talked to George Wyant, Business Manager of the church. Mr. Wyant assured Senator Tenney that he also would make an investigation of the matter.

The meeting was held at the time and place, as advertised.

Ed Robin, and Paul Cline, former Secretary of the *Communist Party* of Los Angeles County, dominated the platform at the meeting. None of the people who had endorsed the "call" attended. There were about 200 people present.

Ed Robin called for recommendations and suggestions for the improvement of the *People's Daily World*. He read many letters and telegrams among which were communications from Theodore Dreiser, Herbert Sorrell and Assemblyman Lester McMillan of the Sixty-first Assembly District, Los Angeles County. The Communist publication, the *People's Daily World*, carried Assemblyman McMillan's letter in its August 5, 1943, issue. The letter, in part, reads as follows:

"Jack Tenney's attack on your prowar conference is not at all surprising to me. But honestly, I think it will do you more good than harm.

"This Red-baiting stuff is wearing awful thin and if he is really shocked because . . . I have endorsed the conference then he ought to get wise to himself. He is due to get a lot more shocks as progress and liberal unity move ahead.

"Maybe what Tenney is really irked about is that the conference call attacks the Hearst newspapers and supports President Roosevelt. Tenney loves Hearst and hates Roosevelt.

"Yes, I have endorsed this conference because I think *The People's World* is doing a fine job of supporting the war.

"Please accept my best wishes for the success of your conference."

Judy Schmidt was introduced as the chairman of the sponsor drive for the Communist paper. She stated that \$10,000 had already been received and that she was hopeful that the quota of \$60,000 would be made in the allotted time. She stated that a trade union subcommittee was assisting in increasing the sale of the paper and that the *Committee to Spread Communism* was also assisting the drive.

A Negress representing the *Committee to Extend Communism Among Colored People* was appointed to the campaign committee.

Paul Cline, former Secretary of the *Communist Party* of Los Angeles County, was introduced as the principal speaker. A veteran Communist functionary, he now has charge of the San Francisco office of the *People's Daily World*. He opened his address with a lashing attack on William Randolph Hearst and Colonel McCormick, newspaper publishers. He criticized the Los Angeles metropolitan newspapers and eulogized the *People's Daily World*. He declared that the Communist paper was the only "all out to win the war" publication on the West Coast.

THE LOS ANGELES UNITARIAN CHURCH AS A COMMUNIST MEETING PLACE

A pamphlet entitled "*Workers' School*" had been circulated on the campus of the *University of California* at Los Angeles during the *Writers' Congress*. This pamphlet advertised courses offered by the school.

The committee learned that certain *Communist Party* classes were being held in the *Unitarian Church* at Eighth and Vermont in the City of Los Angeles and one such class was scheduled to open August 6, 1943. Having learned that protests to the Rev. Ernest Caldecott, Minister of the church, were futile, the following letter was written to John R. Quinn, Tax Assessor for the County of Los Angeles, under date of September 4, 1943:

"MY DEAR MR. QUINN:

"I am desirous of calling your attention to a matter that has undoubtedly escaped your attention and one in which I am sure you, as well as the taxpayers of the City and County of Los Angeles, will be vitally interested.

"For some time past, the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California, through its investigators, has been concerned with what definitely appears to be a flagrant violation of the taxation laws of California in reference to the First Unitarian

Church, located at 2936 West 8th Street in the City of Los Angeles.

"I particularly want to call your attention to Article XIII, Section 1½ of the Constitution of California, which was adopted by the people November 6, 1900, and which reads as follows:

'All buildings, and so much of the real property on which they are situated as may be required for the convenient use and occupation of said buildings, when the same are used *solely and exclusively for religious worship*, shall be free from taxation; provided, that no building so used which may be rented for religious purposes and rent received by the owner therefor, shall be exempt from taxation.'

"I further call your attention to Article 2, Section 256 of the Revenue and Taxation Code of California, which reads as follows:

'The affidavit for church exemption shall show that: (a) The building is used solely for religious worship, (b) The described portion of the real property claimed as exempt is required for the convenient use of the building, (c) It is not rented for religious purposes and rent received by the owner.'

"The Reverend Ernest Caldecott is the pastor of this church. The record reveals that the church or some portion of the premises have been used from time to time for Communist front organization meetings and is presently being used by the Los Angeles Workers School. The current announcement of courses in the above mentioned school for the summer term of 1943, July 19 to September 6, reveals on page 7, that the course on 'Problems of American Democracy' beginning August 6, conducted by John Howard Lawson, Carey McWilliams and Albert Maltz, is being held in the Unitarian Church, located at 2936 West 8th Street (East of Vermont) and that the tuition for the whole course is, \$2 and that single admissions are 50 cents.

"The character of the Los Angeles Workers School is revealed in its pamphlet, 'Announcement of Courses, Summer Term 1943—July 10-Sept. 6' on page 10, under the heading 'Fundamentals of Marxism.' This course is described as follows:

'This course is an authoritative exposition of the fundamental principles of scientific Socialism. It teaches the main theories of Marx, Engels, and as further developed by Lenin, Stalin and by America's foremost Marxists, Earl Browder, William Z. Foster and other American Communists. The course deals with the fundamental teaching of Marxian economics, politics and social development. It will give the student a fundamental grasp of the economics of Capitalism and the problems of a war economy for victory; the economics of Socialism; the origin and role of the State, Democracy, Fascism; the Marxist teaching of war in general and the present war in particular; tactics of the working class and problems in National Unity; the Communist Party.

'(This course is recommended as an introductory course and should be taken by everyone who intends to make a thorough study of Marxism.)'

"Pettis Perry, active Communist functionary and former secretary of the Communist Party for Los Angeles County, spoke at this church February 13, 1943, as did the present secretary of the Communist Party for Los Angeles County, Carl Winter.

"On August 4, 1943, the Communist Party publication, the *'People's Daily World,'* held a rally and fund-raising drive at this church. The call was issued by Ed Robbin, who is a registered Communist. Pettis Perry, La Rue McCormack, Paul Cline and many other notorious Communists and fellow-travelers sponsored the call for the *People's Daily World* at the Unitarian Church on this occasion. Our reports on the meeting indicate some 200 in attendance. Although the writer protested to the Reverend of the church, Ernest Caldecott, concerning the meeting, it was held on schedule nevertheless. The purpose of this meeting was definitely commercial, devising ways and means of financing the Communist publication, the *People's Daily World*.

"We have no quarrel with Reverend Ernest Caldecott or the First Unitarian Church, their religious or political beliefs. We are primarily concerned with subversive organizations. We have no quarrel with the Soviet Government, our ally in the present conflict. Our concern is with the seditious, traitorous and sabotaging group of American Communists in California who worked incessantly for 22 months during the Hitler-Stalin pact to sabotage our defense and war effort and who are still determined to destroy our form of government, our democracy and our Constitution, once this conflict in Europe is concluded.

"It certainly appears that the use of church premises for the purposes above enumerated violate both the spirit and intent of the constitutional provision, exempting church property, above quoted, and the section of the Revenue and Taxation Code of California above mentioned.

"The books and records of the First Unitarian Church should reveal that this type of thing has been going on for a period of years. Our committee stands ready and willing to cooperate with your office at all times and we are in a position to furnish you with details and proof of similar meetings held at this church.

"Trusting that you will make an immediate investigation into this matter to the end that the laws of California be enforced on the subject and that subversive and seditious groups be denied sanctuary within the confines of a religious edifice, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

(Senator)

JACK B. TENNEY."

8

THE C. I. O. POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

Karl Marx realized that the revolution in Europe was postponed when news of the discovery of gold in California came to his attention. He wrote:

“There can be no talk of a real revolution in such a time as this, when general prosperity prevails, when the productive forces of bourgeois society are flourishing as luxuriantly as is possible within the framework of bourgeois conditions. Such a revolution can only take place in periods when these two factors, the modern forces of production and the bourgeois forms of production, are in antagonism each to the other.”

Marx turned his attention to political action. Without losing sight of the ultimate objective for the violent destruction of all existing States, he inclined toward the elaboration of political tactics in conformity with established bourgeois methods and trends. The principles of modern Communist strategy were crystalizing in Marx's mind and ultimately found expression in the first *Communist International* (International Workingmen's Association). The franchise demonstration in London against Disraeli convinced Marx that his political technique was workable. Reporting to Engels about the franchise demonstration, Marx said: “It is really amazing compared with anything seen in England since 1844, and wholly the work of the International. * * * This shows how different it is when one works behind the scene and disappears from the public eye, as compared with the democratic manner of assuming important airs in public and doing nothing at all.”

The basic principle behind Marxian political technique is subtle collaboration with the class it seeks to destroy. It is the ingratiating dishonesty of the assassin who accepts the hospitality of his victim until he can safely stab him in the back and take all of his possessions. Marx, in an address issued to the *Communist League* in March of 1850, put it this way: “The relationship of the revolutionary labour party in a petty-bourgeois Democracy is as follows: It joins forces with the petty-bourgeois Democracy against the fraction whose overthrow it aims at affecting; but it opposes both the one and the other in matters it wishes to establish on its own account.”

COMMUNIST POLITICAL PARTY A FAILURE

The *Communist Party*, as a political entity, was created. The establishment of the *Third Communist International* (*Comintern*) gave impetus to the formation of Communist Parties in various countries throughout the world, all affiliated with and dominated by the *Comintern* in Moscow, Russia. Marx declared in *Misere de la Philosophie* that economic production with its attendant social stratification, creates the basis of political history of each epoch. He contends that the whole course of history down to our time has been a history of class struggle. He called for the annihilation of the bourgeois system of society, and, at the same time, called on Communists everywhere to assist in the bourgeois revolution. The principle behind this strategy was not for the purpose of putting political power in the hands of the bourgeoisie but to put new

political weapons into the hands of the Communists. As a political party, apparently acting within the law, the Communists would occupy a favorable position in the political field.

Practical experience has proved to Communist strategists that Marx was not altogether correct in his strategy of the Communist political party. Only in Russia, where the *Bolsheviks* ruled with an iron hand, was Communism respectable. Throughout the countries of the world the Communist Party has been held in contempt, its ideology, leaders and adherents discredited. The utilization of "front" organizations, with Communist control and domination carefully concealed, has been far more effective. A small, compact and disciplined group of Communists, working behind the scenes of a "front" organization, are able to direct the thinking and the activity of thousands of people and to ruthlessly discard and liquidate the "innocents" when Communist objectives have been achieved.

POLITICAL "FRONT" TECHNIQUE

The Communist Party never attained, under its own banner and in its name, influence or prestige in the United States. Through its "front" organizations, however, it has made considerable progress, particularly during the past decade. Its greatest successes have taken place since Pearl Harbor.

The successful realization of "front" organizational activity was reached by the Communists in its creation of the *C. I. O. Political Action Committee* in July of 1943. Sidney Hillman, head of the *Political Action Committee*, recently announced that the organization would be made permanent.

The legislative committee investigated the activities of the *C. I. O. Political Action Committee* in California from its inception. R. E. Combs, counsel and chief investigator for the committee, submitted a detailed report on July 8, 1944, which report was read in its entirety into committee records in San Francisco October 27, 1944. The report is as follows:

"The National Executive Board of the *Congress of Industrial Organizations* created the *Political Action Committee* on July seventh, 1943. The board is composed of 49 members. At least 18 of them have records of collaboration with the Communist program in the United States, and this minority actually controls the board. These 18 members are: Louis Alan Berne, President of the *International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians of America*; Donald Henderson, President of the *United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America*; Joseph P. Selly, President of the *American Communications Association*; Julius Emspak, Secretary-Treasurer of the *United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America*; Grant W. Oakes, President of the *United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers of America*; Eleanor Nelson, Secretary-Treasurer of the *United Federal Workers of America*; Joseph F. Jurich, President of the *International Fishermen and Allied Workers of America*; Ben Gold, president of the *International Fur and Leather Workers of America*; Morris Muster, President of the *United Furniture Workers of America*; Harry Renton Bridges, President of the *International Longshore-*

men's and Warehousemen's Union; Ferdinand C. Smith, Secretary of the *National Maritime Union of America*; Lewis Merrill, President of the *United Office and Profesional Workers of America*; Abraham Flaxer, President of the *State, County and Municipal Workers of America*; Michael J. Quill, President of the *United Transport Workers of America*; Joseph Curran, President of the *National Maritime Union of America*; Reid Robinson, President of the *International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers of America*; E. F. Burke, Secretary of the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Association of the Pacific Coast*, and Frank R. McGrath, President of the *United Shoe Workers of America*.

"For a detailed report concerning the Communist affiliations and activities of each of these 18 individuals see the publication of the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities (Dies Committee) concerning its investigation of the *Political Action Committee*, June, 1944.

"Phillip Murray appointed Mr. Sidney Hillman as head of the newly-created committee, with R. J. Thomas, Sherman Dalrymple, Albert J. Fitzgerald and David J. McDonald as his assistants. The United States was then divided into 14 regions, with a director and subordinates in charge of each. California and Arizona comprise Area Thirteen, and the California State Headquarters was located in San Francisco, although the great majority of the State's population and the bulwark of its union strength is in Los Angeles County. It is of some coincidental interest to note that the Communist Party also divided the Nation into Communist Districts, and that California and Arizona were in District Thirteen, with headquarters located at 121 Haight Street, San Francisco.

"In charge of the affairs of the *Political Action Committee* in California is Mrs. Claudia Williams, alias Claudia Hoffman, alias Claudia Parker. Her Communist record, as shown by the files of the State *Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities* is long and varied, commencing with her affiliation with the *Young Communist League* and extending through years of activity in the *Communist Party*, mostly in Northern California. Sworn statements from a number of witnesses are available to show that Mrs. Williams has been a Communist for at least eight years.

"In each of the 14 regions established by the *Political Action Committee* the work is largely carried on through the C. I. O. County Councils. In Los Angeles County, for example, the county council is composed of the following members: Walter Pollard, Oscar Fuss, Aaron Shapiro, Lyle Proctor, Jeff Kibre, James Thimmes, Jerry Conway, Jerome K. Posner, James T. Patterson, Francis Forsburgh, Court Meyers, Philip M. Connelly, Griselda Kuhlman, George Harvey, William Bluhm and John G. Grady. The records of the Communist collaboration and affiliations of eight of these individuals are available from the files of the State committee.

"Mr. Hillman has stated that his committee intends to collect and spend at least \$2,000,000 in the 1944 State and National election campaigns. The defeat of Congressman Starnes of Alabama and Costello of California, each a prominent and active member of the Dies Committee, and the political retirement of Martin Dies, is an

important indication of what Mr. Hillman's committee intends to accomplish.

John L. Lewis and Sidney Hillman

"Much contradictory material has been written concerning Mr. Hillman's attitude toward Communism. It is known that in 1922 he visited in the Soviet Union and conferred with Lenin; that he donated the sum of \$3,000 to the Communist-controlled Jewish newspaper 'Freiheit,' in the name of his wife, Bessie Abramowitz; that he served as a director and trustee of the Garland Fund with William Z. Foster, National Chairman of the *Communist Party*. It is also known that Mr. Hillman professed to be anti-Communist when the party was seeking to penetrate and control his *Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union*.

"The attitude of the party toward Mr. Hillman is strangely reminiscent of its attitude toward John L. Lewis, the forgotten founding father of the C. I. O. From 1935 until 1941 the Communist press was lavish in its praises of Lewis as the saviour of the toiling masses of America. Thus in its monthly magazine, "*The Communist*," March, 1940, p. 201, we find the following statement:

" ". . . In short, the coalition position formulated by President Lewis has in it the elements for transition for the American working class to a higher stage of political activity.'

"And as part of the same article on page 203 is found this sarcastic comment regarding Mr. Hillman, because he was then for Roosevelt and the Communists were not:

" ". . . Consider, for example, one of the recent expressions of President Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, publishing a statement on the A.C.W.A. political policy in the February issue of 'Advance,' that is after Roosevelt's Congress message and war budget, President Hillman manages to muster sufficient courage (or is it something else?) to tell the workers that:

" " ". . . there is no man in public life in whom we can so fully and safely confide, and for the balance of the journey.' "

" 'Confide, mind you. Giving yourselves away. Entrusting your fate passively and unconditionally to one of the most militant spokesmen of Wall Street imperialism. And for 'the balance of the journey.'

"So far as this particular issue of "*The Communist*" was concerned, Lewis was still useful to the party and Hillman was not. This was while the Non-Aggression Pact still existed between Germany and the Soviet Union, and was prior to the invasion of Russia on June 22, 1941. The war, so far as the Communists were concerned, was still an imperialistic affair, Roosevelt was a warmonger, conscription was all wrong, and it was during this same period that the party launched its potent front organization, *The American Peace Mobilization*, together with an epidemic of strikes that swept

across the Nation like a scourge. Hence this double-barrelled blast against Messrs. Roosevelt and Hillman.

"In *The Communist* for May, 1940, there was another chance to slip in a plug for Lewis, so his wisdom and oratorical ability were mentioned on page 388 as follows:

"These practical objectives arise from the most intimate and burning needs of the masses of the people. They are the immediate needs of the American working class and its allies—the toiling farmers, the youth, the Negro people and the aged. They are the needs of the great gathering coalition for which John L. Lewis spoke so eloquently to the miners of northern West Virginia on April 1.'

"By 1941, however, Mr. Lewis had been squeezed dry of his usefulness to the Communists, so they characteristically began to pepper him with acid adjectives. In the October, 1943, issue of *The Communist*, page 899, this blast was fired:

"The A. F. of L. Council's failure to accept John L. Lewis' application for the re-affiliation of the United Mine Workers, however, was a service to labor, and it came as a blow in the face to that defeatist, Lewis, insolent and autocratic, who hoped to use the A. F. of L. Council as an instrument against the war and to split the workers away from President Roosevelt.'

"This was after the invasion of Russia, so the war had now become a 'people's war,' instead of imperialistic, the *American Peace Mobilization* had unobtrusively slipped into the realm of things best forgotten, and Roosevelt was no longer a warmonger.

"In the same magazine for January, 1944, page 64, the Party was still taking pot shots at Mr. Lewis, as follows:

"'. . . Guided by this *consistence* (italics ours) the Communists have been able to exert a positive influence on such vital issues as . . . the no-strike pledge made by labor and the struggle to defeat and isolate the defeatist and insurrectionist elements led by John L. Lewis inside labor's ranks.' "

"Mr. Benjamin Stolberg, once having been a member of the National Committee of the *Communist Party*, was able to shrewdly predict the liquidation of Mr. Lewis when he stated in his article, '*Communist Wreckers in American Labor*,' which appeared in the September 2, 1939, issue of the '*Saturday Evening Post*,' page 5, that:

"'Mr. Lewis is the Samson of American Labor; and the Communist Party is his current Delilah.'

"Having gone through the unpleasant experience of being implacably forced out of control of the gigantic labor organization which he created, Lewis spoke with some degree of authority when he stated, in effect, that both Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman were now in the unenviable position of either collaborating with the Communist program or being removed from the scene of American labor without further ado.

"In the case of Mr. Hillman the party used the Lewis technique in reverse. They hated and excoriated him when his sentiments ran counter to the Party line attitude toward Mr. Roosevelt and the war, and when he was resisting their efforts to take over his Clothing Workers union, but when he apparently saw the handwriting on the wall and capitulated, he, too, was hailed as the saviour of the toiling masses of America.

Communist Inspiration and Domination

"Few persons who are at all informed on the subject are so naive as to believe that the conception of a *Political Action Committee* originated with the C. I. O. They are well aware, on the contrary, that it was originated for the C. I. O. by the *Communist Party of America*. This assertion is, of course, the theme of this report, and fortunately the Communist press heralded the event and prepared the way for it through several years of propagandizing. Bearing in mind that Mr. Hillman's committee was not born until July 7, 1943, its period of gestation must have been relatively short so far as the C. I. O. and Mr. Hillman were concerned, because Mr. Lewis was the darling of the party until 1941, and Mr. Hillman was being called bad names because he was for Roosevelt, "the warmonger," until after the Germans invaded Russia on June 22, 1941.

"But as far back as 1940 the Communists had been busily preparing the ground for just such a committee. They had been quick to see the tremendous advantage in organizing by industries rather than by individual unions, and were not overlooking the unparalleled opportunity to regiment labor for their own purposes through the medium of the C. I. O. When John L. Lewis started the movement he was so successful that he literally ran out of organizers, and turned perforce to those past masters at the art—the Communists. Immediately they entrenched themselves like reinforced concrete in great key unions through which they hoped to control the industrial strength of the Nation. Thus Federal workers, State, county and municipal employees, agricultural workers, the unemployed, draftsmen, engineers, technicians, maritime workers, employees in the vast fields of transportation and communication, and workers in that tremendously important medium for propaganda—the moving picture industry—all were insidiously penetrated by the Communists until they attained virtual control of these powerful union organizations.

"This did not mean that the rank and file members of these unions were at all Communistically inclined, but it did mean that at the top, in control, were groups of party members who pulled the strings, hatched the political strategy, determined strike policies and completely dominated the situation. And so it went with the National organization of the C. I. O. until 18 of the 49 members of the National Executive Board were either party members or fellow travelers by the time the *Political Action Committee* was voted into being on July 7, 1943. Affairs of the board are determined by vote of those members representing the largest union memberships and so a minority group was and is able to dictate the National policies of

the C. I. O. Mr. Stolberg described the situation as follows in his *Saturday Evening Post* article, heretofore mentioned:

“‘The party’s chief method of confusion is to divide its followers into two groups: Those who admit to membership in the party and those active fellow travellers who make it a point not to hold membership cards. In the C. I. O. virtually all the Communists are such fellow travellers.’

“‘The moment the C. I. O. began, the Communists placed organizers, speakers, their whole apparatus, both official and “innocent” at Lewis’ disposal. Lewis accepted. The C. I. O. needed leadership. And he was certain he could control the Communist stooges. “Who gets the bird,” he asked, “the hunter or the dog?”’

“‘Several hundred fellow travellers penetrated the early C. I. O. Acting as a disciplined and unscrupulous minority they were soon in dominant positions in a number of unions. More than 100 of them got into the organization campaign of Little Steel alone. Many of these were “volunteers,” that is, supported by the party or some innocent front. After the failure of the premature strike in Little Steel, a great many of them were weeded out by Phil Murray, head of the steel union. And they were largely kept out of the textile drive by Sidney Hillman, who as head of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers had had his troubles with them. But by the time this sporadic house cleaning had begun, they were pretty well entrenched throughout the C. I. O., and were in complete control of the national headquarters.’

Communist Long-Range Objectives

“In order to fully appreciate the purpose of the *Communist Party* in creating and working through the C. I. O. *Political Action Committee*, it is necessary to know something of the long-range objectives of the party. The whole basic theory of Communism is this: That in every capitalistic country there is an inevitable conflict between two great classes, capital on the one hand, and labor on the other. Communist texts refer to these classes as the ‘bourgeoisie’ and the ‘proletariat,’ respectively. Capital controls all of the means whereby material goods are produced; labor produces them. As mechanical devices for industry are perfected and as production is increased, the power of the capitalistic minority will be increased at the expense of the laboring minority until vast economic empires are owned by a few individuals. It is, reason the Communists, inevitable that this conflict and natural antagonism exist, and that with such a concentration of wealth in the hands of a few ‘economic royalists’ the working classes will be exploited, deprived of their civil liberties and kept in a sort of involuntary bondage. Communists are taught that the working masses in every capitalistic nation will eventually revolt against this form of economic servitude, and that the *Communist Party* in each of those countries—trained, disciplined and organized according to the precepts of Communist ideology, shall lead the toiling masses in their struggle to overthrow the capitalists. There is only one way to eliminate the conflict between capital and labor, maintain the Communists, and that is to liquidate capital. The step by step technique whereby this goal is to be achieved was

formulated during the prelude to the Russian revolution and stands as a pattern to be followed by the Communists everywhere.

"It should not be necessary to point out here that Communism is, and always has been, international. That fact can almost be established through current newspaper and magazine articles, but Mr. Jack Moore, while Secretary of the *Communist Party* for Los Angeles County, removed all doubt when he testified before the *State Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities* on July 28, 1941, as follows:

"Q. By Mr. Combs: What disciplinary power does the Executive Committee of the *Comintern* (*Communist International*) exercise over the component groups in other countries?

"A. They are affiliated directly to the *Comintern*. They have, I believe, the power to send delegates to a National Convention and lay down a position of policy and propose that this be followed.

"Q. As a matter of fact, the Executive Committee of the *Comintern* can immediately, without cause, outlaw an entire party in a country, can it not?

"A. Well —

"Q. For any reason or no reason; and, I might add further, that there is a clause that sets that forth specifically in the *Communist International* and the Constitution to which you just referred.

"A. They possibly have that power. I am not acquainted with the clause you are referring to.

"Q. I will read it to you, Mr. Moore. Reading from Article III, Section 12 of the 1928 Constitution of the *Communist International*:

" "The leading body of the Communist International in the period between Congresses is the Executive Committee, which gives instructions to all sections of the Communist International and controls their activity.

" "... The Executive Committee of the Communist International has the right to expel from the Communist International, entire Sections, Groups and individual members who violate the program and constitution of the Communist International or the decisions of the World Congress or of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.' "

"And on pages 102-103 of the transcript of Mr. Moore's testimony, he explains the relationship of the *American Communist Party* to the *Communist International* after 1940:

" "At the present time there is no direct relationship, or organizational relationship, because of the passage of an Act, I think properly called the Voorhies Act, which provided for the prosecution of international labor organizations,—I don't know all the details of this act.

" " . . . On November 16-17, 1940, a Special Convention was called at that time to amend the Party Constitution,

which, up to that time, had a clause stating that the Communist Party of the United States was a Section of the Communist International, and at that time all organizational relationship was severed,—at the time of the Convention.’

“Last year it was announced that the *Communist International* had voluntarily disbanded. Then the *Communist Party* of the United States changed its name to the *Communist Political Association*. Then the *Young Communist League* changed its name to *American Youth for Democracy*. Few people were deluded by this camouflage job. The spots were changed, but underneath the leopard remained the same.

“According to this testimony by an expert, the *Communist Party* in the United States was completely controlled by the *International* in Russia, at least until 1940. At that time the sole reason for deleting the statement of that fact from the constitution of the American Party was the passage of a Federal act which provided a penalty unless such foreign affiliation either be discontinued or all members of the Party be registered with the United States Department of State. Subsequent events have demonstrated that Mr. Moore selected his words with meticulous care when he testified that after 1940 there was no longer any ‘direct’ relationship or ‘organizational’ relationship between the *Comintern* and the American Party, and that this apparent severance of connection was in name only.

“For nearly a quarter of a century the *Communist Party* in this country has consistently followed the exact pattern for revolution laid down by Lenin in achieving the revolution of 1917. That technique is set forth in textbooks and pamphlets which, fortunately, are available for reference on this point. In 1939 a commission in the Soviet Union prepared a textbook which was printed in 24 languages. Twelve million copies of the first edition were shipped to every country in the world where a *Communist Party* existed, and within five months after the first batch arrived more than 80,000 copies were sold in the United States. Of this highly important work, Earl Browder said:

“ ‘This is no ordinary book to be skimmed through and then laid aside on a bookshelf. It is a scientific textbook to be studied and mastered, not a collection of dogmas to be memorized, not for mechanical quotation of extracts, but to understand the essence of the theory of Marxism-Leninism so that it can be *applied* to the most varied and difficult problems and situations, so that this theory can be enriched with the new experiences of the revolutionary working class movement also of our own country.’ (Advertisement in “*The Communist*,” September, 1939.)

“This text, studied assiduously by *Communists* everywhere, describes in elaborate detail the strategy employed by Lenin and Stalin in engineering the revolution of 1917. Over and over again it emphasizes that the Party in any capitalist country must commence its revolutionary work by a long process of penetrating and ultimately gaining control of the working masses. Over and

over again the Communist press in this country has stated that the American Communists constitute the vanguard of the working class, and constantly have the Communists worked since the Party started here in 1919 to regiment and indoctrinate the trade union movement so it would wield a potent influence at the polls—naturally in accord with the Party line. Once this stage of influence was gained, the Communists would be in a position to replace those sound and able legislators who refused to carry the Party line with individuals who would be more tractable. This textbook, in describing how labor was regimented as a prelude to the 1917 revolution, states:

“ ‘The Bolshevik Party during this period set an example in all forms and manifestations of the class struggle of the proletariat. It built up illegal organizations. It issued illegal pamphlets. It carried on secret revolutionary work among the leadership of the various legally existing organizations of the working class. The Party strove to win over the trade unions and gain influence in people’s houses, evening universities, clubs and sick benefit societies.

“ ‘. . . The Revolutionary movement of the workers steadily developed, spreading to town after town, region after region. In the beginning of 1914, the workers’ strikes, far from subsiding, acquired a new momentum, they became more and more stubborn and embraced ever larger numbers of workers.’ (*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*).

“ ‘This attempt at revolution was interrupted by the first World War, but thereafter, as the book points out, efforts to penetrate and regiment the workers were resumed with telling effect. This, then proved to be the first all-important step along the path of revolution.

“ ‘In 1926 Joseph Stalin wrote :

“ ‘Confidence of the working class in the Party is not attained at one stroke, and not through the medium of force directed at the working class, but by the Party’s prolonged work among the masses, by a correct Party policy, by the ability of the Party to convince the masses through their own experience of the correctness of its policy, and by the ability of the Party to gain the support of the working class to follow its lead.’ (*Problems of Leninism*, by Joseph Stalin, pp. 44-51).

“ ‘In America Earl Browder followed this basic precept by instructing his Party as follows :

“ ‘Trade unions are the primary organizations of the working class. It is in the unions that the workers learn the first lessons of organization and of struggle, without which there can be no development of revolutionary consciousness. Consequently, Communists have always emphasized that one of their central tasks is to work within the trade unions. We can not win the majority of the working class for our program

unless we base all of our large-scale, united working front upon united activities within the unions.

“ ‘The Trade Unions are schools in which the workers learn the elementary lessons of the class struggle, and through them they grow into more conscious and more effective fighters against capitalism.’ (*What Is Communism?* by Earl Browder, pp. 109-110).

Rehearsals for Revolution

“The extent to which these principles have been carefully followed in the United States can be seen in the technique used in the San Joaquin Valley cotton strike of 1933, and the San Francisco general strike of 1934. Much material is available concerning these two dress rehearsals for revolution, the best of which is a booklet by William F. Dunne, entitled, ‘*The Great San Francisco General Strike,*’ *Workers Library Publishers*, New York, 1934, wherein the role played by the *Communist Party* in that strike is frankly discussed, and which contains a critical resolution by the national committee of the party which reads, in part, as follows:

“ ‘The outstanding shortcomings in the whole development of the strike on the West Coast was the inability to develop the strikes of the marine workers in other ports (Atlantic and Gulf) and to coordinate the strikes that did take place (Gulf) with that of the West Coast. This was to a certain extent due to the underestimation of the marine strike on the West Coast by the Party as a whole, and especially the marine districts.

“ ‘The comrades responsible for the leadership of the Party in San Francisco expressed their main weakness in a slowness and even hesitancy in taking up the exposure of Ryan and Company, in the weakness in answering the red-baiting campaign of the capitalists and the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, in the insufficient bringing forward of the Party and building it among the strikers. These weaknesses reflect a tendency which believes that the development of unity of action on the part of the workers is possible by weakening the fight against the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, who, in every phase and stage of the strike, were actively engaged in strike-breaking. A further weakness was the inability to coordinate the strike in the various ports on the Pacific Coast, where the two Party districts worked on the whole without adequate contacts.’

“Thus it can be seen, out of the mouths of the Communists themselves, how their pattern for gaining control of the trade union movement was formulated in Russia, reiterated by Stalin, written into the Party’s social textbook and tested and subjected to critical analysis in the strike described above. That was the pattern which was being followed while the Communists were penetrating the C. I. O. until they were able to eliminate Mr. Lewis from his position of control and dictate the policies themselves. The idea of consolidating the masses into one formidable political body found expression in their press while the Party was still lambasting its

current idol, Mr. Hillman, as the foe of labor. *'The Communist'* for February, 1940, stated on pages 104-108:

“ ‘Because it incorporates most of the essential needs and demands of the masses at the present time, the legislative program of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) represents in fact a practical basis on which to build the fighting unity of the working people of the United States.

“ ‘. . . They will gain such an understanding through the experiences of the struggle, deepened and illuminated by the political work of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class—the Communist Party.’

“And in the March, 1944, issue of the same publication the following statement appeared on page 218:

“ ‘In every city, State and Congressional district in the country all the forces of organized labor and other win-the-war elements should come together and set up joint committees. These should take up the urgent task of politically registering the millions of uprooted war workers and also develop other active political work in support of the war. Preparations must be made for labor to cast a solid win-the-war vote in 1944.’

“In many of the Communist-dominated unions this ‘encouragement’ and ‘stimulation’ consisted in withholding the union cards from the individual members until they first registered to vote—thereby depriving the members of the right to work as a penalty for failing to do something which should be none of the union’s business.

“During the many years that a slow but steady penetration was being made in the ranks of organized labor, the party has always been alert to take immediate advantage of any internal conflict, such as a depression, to recruit additional members into its fold. In 1939 thousands of migratory agricultural workers poured into the State from the dust bowl area, driven from their farms and homes by an economic condition with which they were unable to cope. At that time California was operating a *State Relief Administration*, and these migrants were housed, fed and clothed through this agency. Here was a magnificent opportunity for mass propagandizing, and consequently the Communists herded the applicants for relief into a union for the unemployed—the *Workers Alliance*. The president of this typical front organization was Alexander Noral, a registered Communist. The *State Relief Administration* was literally permeated with Communists who operated through the medium of another union, the *State, County and Municipal Workers of America*, of which Abraham Flaxer, a member of the C. I. O. National Executive Board, is president. After a residence of one year the migrants became eligible to vote, and were told by the Communist organizers that they must register to vote for more liberal legislators to obtain higher appropriations for relief to bring more migrants into the State. This vicious circle had reached an alarming peak when the entire situation was fumigated by an Assembly Investigating Committee and

the subversive condition disclosed. The ranks of both unions were rapidly decimated, which provoked the following angry statement from President Flaxer :

“ ‘In California the Yorty Committee succeeded in destroying a union of 3,500 members in the State Relief Administration.’ ”

“Under existing conditions there is another, far greater artificial population which has been brought into this State by the need for war workers by the hundreds of thousands. The Douglas Aircraft plants in Los Angeles County alone employ some 80,000 persons. Virtually all of these workers are required to join a union before they are permitted to work. In those unions which are Communist-dominated the same old technique has been used with success—the same technique that was formulated by Lenin, reiterated by Stalin, taught by the *Third International*, hammered home by the Communist press, set forth in the Party’s official textbook and subjected to field experiment, with appropriate critical analysis, in the San Francisco general strike, to-wit: Penetration and regimentation of the trade union masses.

“The rank and file membership in the average union is too busy to study the complex ideology of Communism. They are loyal, patriotic citizens and far from Communistically inclined; but they are powerless because their union, both nationally and locally, is Communist-dominated at the top.

Communist Control of Legislatures

“There is a constant barrage of propaganda leveled at those legislators who presume to vote contrary to the Party line. They are called enemies of organized labor, tools of big business, Wall Street stooges and traitors to their constituents. Any legislative investigating committee which has the temerity to investigate Communist activities is immediately branded as Fascist, Fifth Column, a tool of Hitler and thoroughly unpatriotic. The most shop-worn accusation now is to charge that whenever anyone investigates the American variety of Communism, he is being ‘anti-Soviet,’ and is therefore dividing the people against their war ally, and obstructing the war effort! It is needless to point out that there isn’t supposed to be any connection between the Russian and American Communists any more. By the same specious reasoning, if a group of American citizens of English descent sought to overthrow our form of government and to substitute therefor the British governmental system with a royal family, anyone who sought to expose and prevent the plan would be anti-British and a menace to the war effort.

“And so the Communists have carried on for nearly twenty-five years, and during that time they have made tremendous progress. The facts speak for themselves. It is not hysteria, nor witch-hunting, nor red-baiting to simply cite the record for what it shows. And if the *Communist Party* is successful, through the *Political Action Committee*, in replacing sound, courageous legislators with those who will be subservient to the Party line—and we have a few already—then we must be prepared for the sort of legislation the Party has been advocating these many years: Repeal of the Criminal

Syndicalism laws, abolition of all committees to investigate subversive activities, abolition of the FBI, etc.

“Steadfastly adhering to the concept that it must first penetrate and regiment labor as the initial step in its revolutionary program, American Communists seized on the structure of the CIO through which to operate in this field. Once they obtained control of the structure of that great organization they promptly unhorsed Mr. Lewis and set up the CIO *Political Action Committee*, which is Communist-dominated from top to bottom. In California the State-wide activities of that Committee are controlled by Communists whose records are known to every official investigating agency in the field.

“Too many members of State and National legislative bodies view statements—although documented—regarding Communist activities as the product of hysteria. It is precisely this sort of indifference and apathy to a profoundly serious condition that makes the progress of the Communists comparatively easy. Only when labor, and industry as well, can be brought to view the situation in its true light; only when resistance to such insidious subversive influence comes from motives that are patriotic rather than financial or political can this problem be dealt with adequately.

“Meanwhile, the C.I.O. *Political Action Committee* constitutes a menacing subversive force in the Nation and in this State.”

Destruction of Legislative Investigating Committees

The Communist organizations throughout California, Communist fellow-travelers and naive “progressive” and “liberal” innocents, have combined, under Communist inspiration and domination, in a campaign of vilification and “smear” against this Legislative Committee. The *C. I. O. Political Action Committee*, with the same inspiration and domination, is determined to destroy all agencies that investigate subversive activities. The defeat of Congressman John Costello of Los Angeles and other members of the Dies Committee is an illustration of their strength and success in this direction. A special legislative supplement to the Communist publication in California, “*The People’s Daily World*,” has just launched a campaign for the discontinuance of this Legislative Committee. On page 5 of the supplement under the heading printed in red, “*The Tenney Committee Should be Blacked Out*,” is the following:

“Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 2 would extend the life of the Tenney Committee, and appropriate \$10,000.00 for its expenses. This Committee which has functioned like the discredited ‘Dies Committee’ on Un-American activities in the House of Representatives, has failed to indict activity of a Fascist-inspired character, and has instead devoted its time and the taxpayer’s money to red-baiting and smear campaigns against progressive and pro-labor individuals and groups.

“It should be sent to well merited oblivion by the defeat of this Resolution, which has been referred to the Senate Committee on Rules.”

Every Communist front organization will be utilized to pressure the California Legislature during the 1945 Regular Session for the discontinuance of the committee investigating subversive activities.

“ZOOT-SUIT” RIOTS IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Pages 200 to 217, inclusive, of the Committee's 1943 Report dealt with the *Sinarquista* movement in Southern California. At the time the committee submitted its report to the Legislature there was but little information available on this organization. Subsequent investigation of the *Sinarquistas* and its leaders has substantiated, for the greater part, most of the material set forth in the Committee's 1943 Report.

The *Pachuco*, or so-called “zoot-suit,” fad among Negro and Mexican youth in Los Angeles' east side was a golden opportunity for Communist racial agitation. The riots that occurred in June of 1943, together with the activities of certain Communist front organizations and the vociferous charges of the Communist press, forcefully brought the situation to the attention of the Committee. An intensive investigation of the *Sinarquista* movement, its leaders, its aims and objectives, the *Pachucos*, or “zoot-suiters,” Communist interest and agitation, and the relation of one to the other of these apparently heterogeneous groups, was immediately launched.

Gangs of Mexican and Negro boys, garbed in the fantastic costumes now generally known as “zoot-suits,” had been roaming the streets of the east side of the City of Los Angeles since early in 1941. Many of these boys were armed with clubs, knives, brass knuckles and links of chains. Every properly attired “zoot-suiter” wore heavy-soled oxfords. In extreme cases the soles of these “zoot-suit” oxfords were in excess of an inch thick and when properly used in a gang fight became formidable weapons. United States sailors and soldiers were assaulted on the streets and in cocktail bars by groups of “zoot-suiters” and violent disturbances were reported from time to time. Early in June of 1943, the long-smouldering antagonism flared into violence.

PACHUCO CRIMES

C. B. Horrall, Chief of the Police Department of the City of Los Angeles, testified that it was the policy of his department to make an arrest whenever a violation of the law occurred. Carrying concealed weapons is a violation of the law and many Mexican boys were arrested for this offense. Chief Horrall stated that the first *Pachuco*, or “zoot-suit,” disturbances began early in 1941. He stated that the boys were divided into a number of gangs who clashed from time to time. He had heard of the *Citizens' Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth* and its activities and had been informed that some of the people connected with the organization were members of the *Communist Party*. It was the Chief's opinion that the organization was a *Communist Party* “front.” He believed that the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*, and similar organizations, inflamed racial prejudices, and in the *Pachuco*, or “zoot-suit,” problem, had contributed to the conflagration by constantly stirring and fomenting antagonisms through hysterical activities. He categorically denied charges made by Al Waxman in the “*Eastside Journal*,” Charlotta Bass in the “*California Eagle*” and the Communist publication, “*The Peoples' Daily World*” that the police had been brutal in handling participants in the riots. He testified that no specific case of brutality on the part

of the police had come to his attention, but, on the contrary, that during the disturbances, 10 or 15 police officers had received serious injury. Chief Horrall's testimony, in part, follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XIX, pp. 4443-4445) :

By Senator Tenney: Q. Do you believe these disturbances were principally due to racial prejudice and discrimination?

A. I have to go back a ways in answering that question to give—at least, for me to express my opinion, because the thing goes back a ways, that's what I meant to say, Mr. Tenney.

Q. First, you might answer that yes or no, if you can. The question again is: Do you believe racial prejudice and discrimination was the basic cause for this disturbance?

A. I do not.

Q. Now, go ahead and modify in any way you want.

A. These disturbances, of course, started with the Latin-American gang situation, which was among themselves, up until approximately a year ago; that is, there were fights between different gangs, different members of the gangs, and were confined almost entirely to themselves. However, about a year ago we had a little difficulty down at San Pedro, wherein they got mixed up with the sailors down there. That was the first I knew of where they got outside of their own gangs. When we had another disturbance here about three or four months ago in Venice, where there was reported that an attempt was made to break up a USO dance down there, and then this latest, which, according to the reports I have, started in the north end up here around the 1700 block on North Main Street as, apparently, the result of some of the sailors making advances to some Mexican girls or talking to them. I don't know whether it went any farther than that, and it started the difficulties, and then there was retaliation back and forth between this particular group up there and the sailors until it reached the place where it got some publicity in the papers, and that was what caused the gangs to congregate downtown that night and brought the crowd all out. However, some people have chosen to call it riots; I don't think it should be classified as that. And the feeling in general among them was one of fun and sport rather than malice. Quite a few of the boys had their clothes torn off, but the crowds weren't particularly hard to handle; they were large, but we had no difficulty in breaking them up; they would go a couple of blocks away and form there. There were no attacks made on policemen.

Another point I would like to make: While there were a great many service men in those crowds and quite a few civilians, and many of those crowds were led from place to place by civilians, not service men, and in some instances those individuals were reported to be of Latin-American extraction.

Q. Now, were arrests made, chief, strictly for protection of those people?

A. There were quite a few which were taken in for their own protection.

Q. Does that account in any sense for the amount of people that were arrested?

A. In those cases no one was booked, but for their own protection they were taken into the station and kept there until such time as they could safely be allowed on the street.

Q. Did you find any Axis or fifth column—what you might term Axis or fifth column—influence?

A. Nothing that I could prove. Repeatedly I heard claims that there were subversive influences connected with this, but I have no proof of that.

Q. Of course, in the opinion of the committee, the subversive influences could be from either the Communist side or the Axis.

A. I have heard both.

Q. The Communist committees have claimed Axis fifth column influence, and we have investigated as to the *Sinarquista* end. You have no independent knowledge of fifth column activity?

A. No, only the report the *Sinarquistas* did have some influence in it. We were never able to find out whether they did or not."

Captain Contreras, of the sheriff's office, testified (Committee transcript, Volume XIX, pp. 4563-4565) :

They have a situation out in East Los Angeles, of course, they have a large Mexican population, and there is about 30 to 40 thousand Mexicans live there, and they have about 300 so-called hoodlums out there in gangs, various gangs.

Q. Did you through your office or with the assistance of the sheriff's department in general make any survey of the so-called zoot-suit problem?

A. We have.

Q. Do you have the data available?

A. I have some of it, sir. There was on the night of June 18th, 10 or 15 arrests made of boys ranging from 17 to 19 years old. Each one of these were charged with failure to disperse, inciting a riot at the time of arrest, and the following weapons were found in their possession: Two steel bars, one large truck wrench, three tire irons, 3 iron wrenches, one hammer, one auto crank, 4 pieces of two by four lumber, one gallon milk bottle, one large Seven-Up bottle. The arresting officers said when the gangs were being surrounded they started throwing their weapons. Subject Moreno was identified by the officer as being one of the gang who had a half gallon milk bottle with the bottom broken off, and was leading the gang. We had from time to time 10 to 15 arrests in that part of the County, and the cases are still pending, most of them.

The committee requested Captain J. F. Reed, Administrative Assistant to the Chief of Police of the City of Los Angeles, to present police officers who had been involved in the "zoot-suit" riots. On the afternoon of June 23, 1943, Captain Reed appeared before the committee with the police officers, as requested, and made the following general statement for the record (Comm. Tript, Vol. XIX, pp. 4450-4453) :

By Chairman Tenney: Q. Captain, I spoke to you over the phone, and I think it was the other day with reference to the officers that had been involved in some of these disturbances. Were you able to bring the names of any of the officers today?

A. Yes, sir, I have 15 officers who have been injured in such type of activity, and they are all here today. I have a list of those and the different times whereby they were injured during the riots in places of that type.

Q. Are the officers here?

A. Yes, the majority of them were subpoenaed for 3 o'clock. I have the background of the first gang outbreak that we had.

Q. We would like to have that very much. Go right ahead.

A. The first outbreak that we had in Los Angeles which was of major importance was on 8-16-41, at 11 o'clock. I have the two officers who handled the original investigation, but I will endeavor to give you a short synopsis of what happened. A dance was being held over on Boundary Street; that's over in the Rose Hill section of Huntington Drive; whereby many of the Mexican boys of this pachuco type and girls attended a dance. A rival gang came over and tried to bust the dance up and take some of the girls away. They weren't very successful. They proceeded to arm themselves—across the street was a picket fence, and they tore all the pickets off the fence, and they armed themselves and started to fight. They were finally turned away, and they proceeded to go down the street and get into an automobile and lay in wait for the group to break up. As the group broke up later that night a car with two or three youngsters, I don't exactly know how many were in that car, but as they came down the street this car was in hiding and pulled out alongside, directly hit and turned it over, killing two of the occupants. That was the first gang outbreak of any importance.

Q. When was that?

A. 8-16-41. Officer Joe Willis was the radio car officer who answered the call, and Officer J. E. Hampton, who made the investigation, are here, and they can go into those facts more thoroughly than I can. Then, as conditions grew worse throughout the Mexican area, they attacked only those of Latin-American extraction. Wherever there was a party or a dance or home gathering, these groups would travel around in caravans of cars, and pull up in front of the house and demand everything they had to eat in the house or drink, they took over, and if anybody objected they were beaten up. We received complaints about that from the Mexicans. A man by the name of Torrez of East Los Angeles came into the police department with Joe D. Rivera and complained about conditions. He didn't feel his family was safe or anybody, and he asked the police department take action against these hoodlums. Of course, we were all the time making arrests of various groups, and I have several reports of interest showing the type of crimes they were committing. They attacked a young girl 14 years of age. There were five or six different boys that attacked this girl, and it was necessary for the officer to club them off the child before they could get them in custody. In many cases they grab a young couple, tie the escort up, rape the girl and then urinate on them. Just recently there was an attack made with five boys, in Pachuco suits, they raped a 56 year old negro woman, and all raped her, and one of the boys was 14 years old, approximately 14 years old, and while he raped her the others held her at the point of a knife. Then they

offered her a drink of wine, which she refused, and then they drank the wine and then urinated in the bottle and forced her to drink out of this bottle. That is some of the types of things that have been going on.

After the Sleepy Lagoon thing they gradually started to attack other people. They got out of the Latin-American group and went into other nationalities; then along came the service men, the sailors; they came into the area and they were attacked. If they were on the street talking to girls or things like that, for no reason at all 15 or 16 boys would jump on one service man. We have had numerous complaints about that. They would go into the Negro section, and there were many arrests made on many of these cases. Four zoot-suiters held up a station operator, who was shot, and they did go out of Los Angeles County into San Bernardino, Riverside, Ventura and so forth. We have information from San Bernardino and Riverside of crimes being committed, which seem to be the same type as these gangs. Wilmington seems to have the same type of gang. They seem to be very close to the induction center of the Army, they are very closely situated to the induction center in Wilmington, and in Ventura, which has also had considerable difficulty. Coming back to the present so-called riot in the downtown area, the night of June 7th, about 5,000 people were involved at one time, and there were civilians, soldiers and everybody who heard about it over the radio came down, and it made it extremely difficult to handle. We had no difficulty or trouble in breaking them up, they didn't resist the officers at all; but if a group of service men were broken up they formed in another place, but always leading each group there was always a civilian, either a Mexican or Negro or white; and as we eliminated the leaders from the service groups, by 11 o'clock at night we had eliminated most of the leaders, all the civilians, and we had the thing under control whereby there were no more assaults."

Captain Reed went on to explain that during a period from June 1 to June 10, 1943, 187 juveniles were arrested in connection with the "zoot-suit" riots. Most of these arrests occurred on June 7th. Forty-eight of these defendants were charged as incorrigibles, beyond the control of their parents under Section 700 of the *Welfare and Institutions Code*; eight were charged with assault with a deadly weapon; nine with battery; 56 for violation of *Penal Code* Section 407, unlawful assembly; three with carrying concealed weapons, 25 for violation of the *Municipal Code*, Section 505, loitering, and 38 for violation of the curfew law. Two hundred juveniles, in addition, were brought to the police station and after being questioned, released and sent home to their parents. Between January 1, 1942, and June 10, 1943, Captain Reed listed, in addition to the foregoing, a total of 134 crimes charged to suspects wearing "zoot-suits." These crimes included 21 burglaries, one attempted burglary, one grand theft, 18 petty thefts, three petty thefts for motor vehicles, 63 robberies, six attempted robberies, nineteen thefts from persons, and two worthless checks. Between October 1, 1942, and June 14, 1943, 316 persons wearing "zoot-suits" were arrested and charged with various crimes. Eighteen of these defendants were

White or Caucasian, 133 were Negroes and 165 were Mexicans.

Captain Reed's description of one of the disturbances is typical (Com. Tran., Vol. XIX, pp. 4461-4462):

Captain Reed: A. I have one other of the 77th district. This report I am going to read from is Captain Richard Simon's report, the 77th division, Los Angeles Police Department. This excerpt says (reading):

"On the night of June 9th, 1943, about 200 service men, all armed with wooden clubs, boards, iron bars, and other weapons appeared in Watts in 52 commandeered cars. As our force was insufficient to effect a mass arrest without the necessity for a pitched battle, these men were in effect shepherded by the available officers and prevented from injuring persons or property. The doors of two houses were forced, but no one injured. A wearer of a zoot-suit was taken from his seat in a theatre, but officers released him at once and removed the service men from the theatre. The keys were taken from many of the cars and the service men held on 102nd Street until help arrived. At the same time the theatre entry was made, a gang of approximately 100 Negro and Mexican boys threw rocks at officers and auxiliary policemen at 103rd and Graham Streets. This group was dispersed. Had the service men been aware of this gang, a violent riot would surely have resulted. This gang later drove about the Watts area and the Graham district to the north in a large truck disturbing the peace. I know of no personal injury received by anyone during the evening. More rocks were thrown through windows of P. E. trains. Resume of police action:

"1. About 100 service men turned over to military police and shore patrol.

"2. Thirteen adults arrested for disturbing the peace (above gang).

"3. Twenty-five juveniles arrested for unlawful assembly (above gang).

"4. About 55 juveniles on the street taken to Watts Station, questioned by juvenile officers and released.

"5. Curiosity seekers dispersed."

It gives you kind of an idea about this situation. You can readily see service men were picked up and turned over to the proper authorities, as well as the Mexican boys, Negro boys and Whites.

C. L. Christopher, member of the Los Angeles City Police Department for nearly 20 years, testified June 23, 1943. His testimony, in part, follows (Com. Tran., Vol. XIX, pp. 4474-4476):

Mr. Combs: Q. Where were you on 7-26-42 approximately at 7.15?

A. I was in the vicinity of Pomray and Marks.

Q. How did you happen to be there at that time?

A. We were called. I work in a two-man radio car, and we drove by and attempted to disperse a large group of Mexicans who were holding a crap game on the sidewalk of the public streets.

Q. About how many persons were present at the time you got there?

A. Approximately 40 to 50.

Q. Now, tell us please concisely what happened which resulted in injuries to you at that time and place.

A. Officer Hawks, Officer Hutman, Officer Karat and myself responded to the call, and when we got there we observed—we drove up in a plain colored car and observed what was going on, and we jumped into the crowd and grabbed the ones in the act of gambling, attempted to place them in the car, and as we did a riot started.

Q. Did you see them gambling?

A. We did. During the melee there was one woman and her husband, he was in the United States Army uniform or a Marine, and they started yelling and saying they were not going and egging the Mexicans on and calling us loud profane names and agitating the crowd, and as fast as we put the defendants in the car for creating the disturbance, someone would go around to the other side of the car and jerk the car door open and take the people out, and they were pushing us around and tearing our clothes off of us and separating us from our defendants and the radio car. During the melee one of the Mexicans had a knife or a piece of glass, and he was swinging it back and forth and it slit my finger across here (indicating). We were successful in taking three defendants away with us, and they went before the Grand Jury and they were bound over by the Grand Jury, and the attorneys representing them rather than go to trial compromised with the District Attorney, and Mr. Shoemaker, who was in charge of that detail, entered a plea before Judge Scott. Judge Scott gave them the maximum amount of penalty and suspended the sentence to five days, and placed the ones we had up on two years probation.

Q. Were any other officers with you at that time also injured?

A. Not to the extent of having to receive medical attention. We were all more or less soaked with water. Some of the Mexicans ran up and grabbed the water and threw it all over us.

Q. During the occurrence of that incident could you discern a general attitude of defiance and contempt for the things you were trying to do on the part of the crowd?

A. We have had that in every arrest during the last year or year and a half among the Mexicans.

Q. A feeling of defiance?

A. I have worked among the Mexican people out of my time probably 10 or 11 years.

Q. Prior to that time up to a year and a half ago did they view the police department with more respect than they have since?

A. We got assistance. I worked the beat which was then called Mexican from Sunset to College, and from Alameda to Figueroa Street, and at that time we got a world of cooperation from the Mexicans. It used to be if a police officer was involved, instead of having them against us, they were against their own race of people and would help.

Q. So this attitude of defiance and contempt and lack of cooperation, viciousness which has been exhibited, has all arisen during the last year and a half?

A. That's right.

* * * * *

Q. Were you injured on any other occasion?

A. I was.

Q. When was the next occasion?

A. 10-17-42 at 3.30 a.m.

Q. At what locality?

A. In front of 2321 East First Street.

Q. How did you happen to be there at that time?

A. Officer Karat and I was down in the south part and we heard a riot call at that address. When we arrived the officers had been there and taken care of the difficulty; that is the Carioca Restaurant, which is a very respectable place, in the Hollenbeck district, catering to married people and elderly people. So we stopped and were talking to the lady, and asked her what the trouble was and she informed us that there was a band of zoot-suits, and because she wouldn't serve beer and let them have the free run of the place, they had practically wrecked it and the officers had arrested five or six, but there were probably ten or fifteen that had gotten away. While we were talking we observed an automobile backing approximately 35 or 40 miles an hour, first on one side of the street and then the other, and then come to a stop in behind our car, and Officer Karat stepped back to ask the driver of the automobile what the matter was, and he started cussing Officer Karat and reached down to pick up an iron he had on the floor, a piece of spring steel. I jumped out of the car and ran back to assist. I thought from my first observation that he was full of marihuana. We got him out of the car, and it took four of us to handcuff him. A large crowd gathered, and I think we could have had an awfully nice mess. In trying to put the handcuffs on he bit my thumb on the right hand and two of my fingers on the left hand, necessitating medical attention and shots of tetanus.

Q. Had he been smoking marihuana?

A. He had not. . . .

Carl R. Ericson, an officer in the Los Angeles Police Department, testified that he was attacked at about 5.45 p.m. on January 15, 1943, between Fifth and Sixth Streets on Pacific and San Pedro. His testimony, in part, follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XIX, pp. 4485-4486):

A. I was patrolling the beat, and I made my hourly ring, and my attention was drawn to a crowd of people half way between Fifth and Sixth Streets. I thought someone had been injured, so I started towards them. I entered through the crowd, and Alfonso Sandoval yelled, 'It's a cop.'

Q. Were you in uniform?

A. In full uniform. He started towards me and grabbed me, and another assailant started towards me, and two more—there were about 10 or 12 actually in physical combat. In the middle of the fight Sandoval grabbed my badge and started striking me. I held

him at arm's distance and didn't strike him at all, I held him away, and while I was holding him Roy Huhta, an ex-pug, swung and struck me on the right cheek.

Q. With his fist?

A. With his fist. I released Sandoval, and another Mexican Pachuco that was coming in on the left and grabbed Huhta and slugged Huhta, and Huhta went down. That is the first blow I struck.

Q. Did you use your night stick?

A. I didn't have any night stick or any sap—I had been on the motorcycle.

Q. Did you have a gun?

A. I had a gun, yes.

Q. Did you use it?

A. Not with the amount of people—there was 50 or 75 people at the beginning of the fight.

Q. How were you injured?

A. I had some teeth knocked out in the lower jaw.

Q. Did it require dental or medical care?

A. It required the dentist's attention.

Q. How many Pachucos would you estimate were present on that occasion?

A. There was about—mingled in the crowd, there was about 30—20 to 30 actual Pachucos.

Q. What was the attitude of the crowd towards you, cooperative or hostile?

A. The crowd was neutral.

Q. How about the Pachucos, what was their attitude?

A. Antagonistic. . . .

John J. Halloran, also an officer with the Los Angeles Police Department, told the committee of receiving a radio call to investigate a "gang attack" on a service station at 800 North Mission Road in Los Angeles. (Com. Tr., Vol. XIX, pp. 4489-4494.) He testified that, in the company of two other officers, he drove to the locality indicated in the radio call and upon arriving found a man badly beaten, covered with blood, cut about the face and stabbed in the back. The victim's nose had almost been severed from his face. Securing a description of the assailants and their car the officers cruised about the neighborhood and eventually picked up their trail. A woman directed them to a house where fifteen or twenty of them had taken refuge. Officer Halloran's testimony continues (Com. Tr., Vol. XIX, pp. 4492-4493):

A. . . . the lights were turned off in the house, but we heard a commotion inside and we started to enter, at which time the people in the house—there were about 15 or 20—I think probably about 20 in the house. When they saw us coming some of them tried to make their escape, and three of them rushed at me from the front door, and I don't know who shot, but I heard a shot about that time coming from the direction of the house, and I pulled my gun and ordered these three to halt, which they didn't do and I shot two of them and effected the arrest of those, and the other two officers and myself arrested 12 altogether in the house.

Q. The two you shot were in the act of running away, were they?

A. At the time I shot them.

Q. And you ordered them to halt?

A. Yes.

Q. Which they refused to do?

A. Yes.

Q. The first shot you heard wasn't fired by you or any of the officers with you?

A. No, it wasn't.

Q. What happened to the two prisoners that you shot?

A. They recovered.

Q. They both recovered?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you say you effected the arrest of 12 altogether?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was their attitude toward you and the other officers when you were effecting their arrests?

A. They were very belligerent, they put up some resistance. The other two officers were both struck by these defendants during the arrests, but we finally got them quieted and put them in the cars and took them to the station.

Q. Did you have to use any other means of force to subdue them?

A. I didn't myself, but I believe Officer Stevens and Officer Eutis both did.

Q. Used their saps?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were they Pachucos?

A. Yes.

Q. And arrested in Pachuco suits?

A. Yes.

Officer Vance Brasher of the Los Angeles Police Department testified as follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XIX, pp. 4494-4498):

Mr. Combs: Q. You were here when Captain Reed related the circumstances affecting you in connection with the Pachuco disturbance, were you not?

A. Yes.

Q. On what date did that difficulty occur?

A. November 26th, 1942.

Q. At what time?

A. Approximately 9.30 in the morning.

Q. Were you in plain clothes or uniform?

A. Plain clothes.

Q. Do you habitually work in plain clothes?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where did the disturbance take place?

A. 276 Clover Street.

Q. What part of the city is that?

A. The east side of town.

Q. How did you happen to go there?

A. The detective bureau had advised us that a Mexican—there was three of them—the previous night had knocked a woman down

over in Hollywood and snatched her purse, and in doing so one of the Pachucos had dropped an identification card, and they informed us the fellow lived at 276 Clover Street, so we went over to establish the address.

Q. When you say we, who do you mean?

A. My partner, Tom Buckley and I.

Q. You were in a patrol car?

A. We staked out from 10.30 of the 25th until the time it occurred, approximately 9.30 of the 26th. At the time we had information he was in the house. My partner went around to the back, and I went to the front, so in case he ran out of the back my partner would get him, and I entered the front door. He was lying inside, and as I pulled the screen door he stuck a gun in my face and fired.

Q. Where did he shoot you?

A. The jaw, here (indicating).

Q. And you are indicating the scar?

A. And it came out down the back of my neck (indicating).

Q. What happened, did you go down?

A. Momentarily. As I came to, my partner came running in, and Vallez, he jumped over me and run down the street. I pulled my gun and shot six times at him.

Q. Did you hit him?

A. I started to reload, but in the meantime my partner came running in and chased him and cornered him down between two houses, and he had to shoot him at that point before he took him. We took him to the receiving hospital, he didn't die.

Q. He didn't die?

A. No, he didn't.

Q. What happened to him, was he prosecuted?

A. He was prosecuted.

Q. Was he convicted?

A. He was convicted.

Q. Where is he now?

A. I guess it would be San Quentin. He was also wanted for two robberies, grand theft, auto and merchandise.

Q. Was he a Pachuco?

A. That's right.

Q. Dressed in a zoot-suit?

A. That's right.

Q. How old was he?

A. 19 years old.

Q. Were you involved in any other difficulty with Pachucos?

A. Yes, in the case where a police officer was killed. It started over a Pachuco, a drunken Pachuco.

Q. Will you relate the circumstances—when did that occur?

A. That happened on the 31st of December.

Q. Of last year?

A. That's right, of '42.

Q. What time of the day?

A. Approximately 11.30—that was New Year's Eve.

Q. Where did it occur?

A. 1763 North Main Street.

Q. What happened?

A. At that time my partner and I were patrolling, and we noticed a crowd out in front of a cafe.

Q. What was your partner's name?

A. Tom Buckley.

Q. The same person?

A. The same person. We noticed a woman and three men arguing. We thought it was just a Mexican brawl, drunks, so we hollered at them to "bust it up and go home." We traveled about a quarter of a block and heard five shots. We immediately turned around, and we saw two fellows running from the scene. Well, we stopped the car and apprehended them, and when we went back to the scene we found the officer lying in front of the cafe, he had been shot.

Q. The officer had been shot?

A. That's right. After investigation, one defendant, Mr. Bradeaz, a homicide, in the city hall admitted shooting the police officer.

Q. He confessed?

A. That's right. He was convicted and received a manslaughter verdict.

Q. What was the officer's name?

A. Diro.

Q. Were these persons with whom you had controversies at that time and place Pachucos?

A. Two of them were, yes.

Q. Dressed in zoot-suits?

A. Yes.

Officer Meredith John Layman told the committee that he and his partner, Officer Trout, had received a radio call in Venice during the period of the "zoot-suit" disturbances. Arriving in the vicinity of the pier in Venice the officers were approached by a Mexican who asked whether or not they were policemen. Upon replying in the affirmative the Mexicans told the officers that there was a fight in progress on the end of the pier. It was after nightfall and at this time the entire coast area was blacked out. Stepping to the end of the pier the officers were suddenly assaulted by five or six young Mexicans, all, except one, of whom were wearing "zoot-suits". The exception was wearing a soldier's uniform. One was armed with a pair of brass knuckles while two others wielded black-jacks. Officer Layman suffered an injury over the left eye which required two stitches and his teeth were driven through his lips. His testimony, in part, follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XIX, pp, 4500-4502) :

Chairman Tenney: Q. Did they use any weapons?

A. Two blackjacks and a pair of knuckles.

Q. A pair of knuckles?

A. Yes, I was knocked down to my knees twice—I got back up.

Q. You say they were in zoot-suits?

A. Yes, the tight-legged trousers and the coat didn't quite reach to the knees.

Q. They had the full Pachuco pants on?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you effect their arrest?

A. No, sir.

Q. What happened?

A. As I understood later from my partner, he had to draw his gun, as they backed him up against the rail of the pier, and he said they were going to push him over, so he drew his gun, and I was using all the force I could to make an arrest.

Q. Were you knocked groggy?

A. Things appeared clear at that time, but later when I thought about it it wasn't so clear.

Q. Where were you struck with the brass knuckles?

A. Right here (indicating).

Q. Where that scar is discernible?

A. Yes.

Q. Where else?

A. Right here on my lip (indicating).

Q. Any place else?

A. The two that had the saps hit me across the spine repeatedly, and I still suffer from that.

Q. By a sap, you mean a piece of loaded lead?

A. Yes.

Q. And you were struck across the spine with that?

A. Yes.

Q. You still suffer from the effects of those blows?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Is there any other occasion you sustained any injury in a similar incident?

A. About two weeks before while in uniform at Navy and Ocean, which is a short boulevard, a short block, I was struck in the jaw, but I did not need any medical attention—there was a riot there.

Q. Were you struck on the jaw with a weapon?

A. Only a fist.

Q. And that involved people of Mexican descent, young people who were dressed in the typical Pachuco costume?

A. Yes, sir. I believe there were 13 arrests that night.

Q. What were the arrests made for—rioting?

A. Yes, sir; unlawful assembly, I believe.

COMMUNIST AGITATION

The Communist press, Communist spokesmen, loud-mouthed Communist sympathizers and fellow-travelers charged the *Sinarquistas* with the responsibility for the riots, alleging that the *Sinarquistas* were controlled and directed by "subversive Fascist Fifth-Columnists." The committee invited a number of the most vehement of these accusers to present facts and data substantiating their charges. By concerted action all of those invited to appear before the committee declined to accept the invitation. The committee thereupon issued subpoenas for each of them. The transcript of testimony, as digested in the 1943 Report of the Committee, clearly indicates that the individuals questioned had no proof of their charges and that the campaign had been one of racial antagonism and agitation.

The Communist Party press, pursuing the party line on racial agitation, continually fed the fires of racial antagonism by charging that Mexican youth in the United States was being subjected to police brutality, race-discrimination, segregation and humiliation. Communist inspired and dominated organizations were created for the alleged defense of the Mexican minority. Meetings were organized in Mexican districts in Los Angeles where trained rabble-rousers orated of police brutality against minority groups, of the unfair treatment of the Mexican and Negro population and of racial discrimination and segregation.

In the October 3, 1942, issue of the *Communist Party* west coast publication, "*People's Daily World*," it was charged that the *Sinarquistas* were sewing ". . . their seeds . . . in fertile soil among the young girls and boys brought up on the east side of Los Angeles." The issue of October 5, 1942, blamed the "zoot-suit" phenomenon on the economic system. The October 8, 1942, issue of the "*People's Daily World*" charged that the Mexican youth were being subjected to Fascist pressure. The issue of October 14, 1942, stated that a "Fascist Fifth-Column" was working unseen among the Mexican youth of Southern California.

The "*People's Daily World*" for October 20, 1942, carried an article by Communist La Rue McCormick in which she declared that Nazi agents were operating in the Mexican communities of the City of Los Angeles, corrupting Mexican youth and inciting racial antagonism.

Two days later the "*People's Daily World*" announced that the Los Angeles C. I. O. Council and the *Spanish-Speaking People's Congress* were demanding that an investigation be made of the *Sinarquista* movement.

On October 24, 1942, the "*People's Daily World*" reported that Communist La Rue McCormick, on her own initiative, had organized a committee of 14 to defend the Mexican youth of Southern California, and to expose the fifth-column elements that were using the Mexican youth as dupes. Mrs. McCormick, representing the *Spanish-Speaking People's Congress*, was announced as the Secretary of the new organization.

On October 26, 1942, an article in the "*People's Daily World*" reported Philip M. Connelly of the C. I. O. as charging the metropolitan newspapers of Los Angeles of fomenting racial antagonism and agitation. Mr. Connelly was quoted as stating that "Crime waves are turned on and off by newspapers like water in a spigot, and when the city editor is short of news, he orders police reporters to round up attack cases and if the sheriff's office is not deliberately participating in the fraud it is being duped."

It should be obvious from the foregoing that the *Communist Party* had launched an intensive campaign through the medium of its press. Similar articles appeared in the "*People's Daily World*" on October 28, 1942, November 2, 1942, November 17, 1942, November 19, 1942, November 30, 1942, December 4, 1942, and December 10, 1942. In addition to this intensive press campaign, a flood of handbills, pamphlets and mimeographed material, both in English and in Spanish, inundated the City and County of Los Angeles.

Students of *Communist Party* technique were aware immediately of the objectives of the *Communist Party* editorial barrage. In accentuation, stimulation and furtherance of the "class struggle," the Mexicans of

Southern California were to be impressed with their "minority status." They were to be indoctrinated with hatred for the police, for bourgeois law and order, and punishment for crime was to be "smeared" as racial discrimination, intimidation and police brutality. All bourgeois institutions in Southern California were to be held up as institutions of oppression, hostile to dark-skinned minorities, intent upon their impoverishment and destruction. Having created the conflagration, the *Communist Party* would then appear upon the scene as the rescuing firemen; the only stalwart and courageous champions of the oppressed and persecuted.

SLEEPY LAGOON MURDER CASE

The so-called "*Sleepy Lagoon Murder Case*" occurred in Los Angeles County on August 1, 1942. It was destined to be another *cause celebre* for the *Communist Party*.

Sleepy Lagoon, a reservoir on the Williams' Ranch, is situated about a mile and a quarter north-east of Atlantic Boulevard in the City of Los Angeles. It is a somewhat secluded spot, reached only by a dirt road, and is surrounded by shrubbery, trees and undergrowth.

It appears that a group of "zoot-suiters" were assaulted by a rival gang and, having gotten something the worst of the encounter, drove to the vicinity of Vernon and Long Beach Avenues for reinforcements. Here they gathered a number of friends, young men and women, and headed for the Sleepy Lagoon area where they expected to find the gang that had attacked them. They arrived about two o'clock in the morning.

A party had been in progress for some time in the home of a humble Mexican family situated about a half mile east of the Sleepy Lagoon reservoir. The host and the hostess were an old couple, about 70 and 60 years old, respectively. A small orchestra supplied music for dancing on a cement platform in the back yard. While some of the guests were dancing others stood at the edge of the platform watching the festivities.

Arriving at the reservoir the reinforced group of Mexican boys found the area deserted. They heard the music and saw the lights in the Mexican residence and, still seeking their former assailants, drove their cars to parking distance of the scene of festivities. In the fight that ensued two people were knocked unconscious, many were injured, one seriously stabbed and another died before he could be removed to a hospital.

Arrests followed immediately. Three of the boys were found guilty of first degree murder, nine were found guilty of second degree murder and five were found guilty of criminal assault.

The *Communist Party* had a new *cause celebre*. New front organizations were immediately created and fund-collecting committees for the defense of the Sleepy Lagoon defendants mushroomed in English and Spanish. Delegations called on Los Angeles County's sheriff and the district attorney, protesting mass arrests and discrimination against the Mexican population of Southern California. An intensified barrage of propaganda appeared in the columns of the "*People's Daily World*." A new flood of leaflets, pamphlets and mimeographed material was loosed on the unsuspecting citizenry of Southern California proclaiming the "Fascist" proclivities of the bourgeois press and city and county officials.

Clyde Shoemaker was a member of the district attorney's office in Los Angeles County when the Sleepy Lagoon Murder Case was brought to

trial. Mr. Shoemaker testified June 23, 1943, and his testimony, in part, follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XIX, pp. 4536-4555) :

By Mr. Combs: Q. Yes. Now, did you ever hear of the organization known as the Citizens Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth?

A. Yes, I heard of it during the prosecution of those 22 defendants. That trial began on the 13th of October, 1942, and the verdicts came in—66 verdicts came in about the 12th of January, 1943.

Q. Did you ever hear of the Citizens Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth prior to the Sleepy Lagoon case?

A. No.

Q. It is your opinion the committee was created as a result of that case?

A. I believe that's obvious.

Q. Yes. Have you formed any opinion as to whether or not the committee is Communist in character?

A. Well, in my opinion it is definitely so.

Q. And what are your reasons for that opinion?

A. I recall at the outset of the trial a number of defendants were represented by Mr. Dick Bird, one of the public defenders. The other lawyers were Ben Van Tress, Phillip Schultz and a George Jevog, David Ravin—I don't recall any other lawyers now in the case.

Q. George Shibley?

A. Oh, no, not at the outset. We took a week to select the jury. On the voir dire examination there was not one objection made by defense counsel to any question asked, either by Mr. Barnes or myself, not one. We were very careful to caution the jury that the case involved no racial angle, that the criminal laws were meant for the protection of society against all persons, regardless of race, creed or color. The fact that these boys might be of Mexican ancestry, or any other ancestry, had nothing to do with it, and the race issue was not interjected in the case—we were very careful about it. But after the jury had been selected and after the trial had been under way about a week following that Mr. George Shibley came into the case for the first time and took over the defense of a number who had been represented by the public defender, and he supplanted the public defender eventually altogether. He also took over some of the defendants represented by David Ravin, and pretty soon he had all his clients, and Mr. Ravin and Mr. Dick Bird left the case. George Shibley then represented nine defendants, and from the very day he came into the case, within a half hour after, it was obvious he was interjecting the same Communistic hue and cry that Leo Gallagher had interjected where the C. I. O. longshoremen had been involved, and he was accusing—for instance, he accused me of misconduct before noon of the day he entered, and hardly a day went by that George Shibley didn't accuse everybody, even Judge Fricke, of misconduct, and the prosecutors, and not one of his charges were ever sustained by the court.

Q. The Committee for the Defense of the Mexican-American Youth also accused Judge Fricke of misconduct?

A. Oh, yes; and they were instrumental, I understand, in employing Shibley. He is generally reputed to have had some part at one time in the *People's World* as an associate editor for a time.

Chairman Tenney: He is very active in the National Lawyers Guild?

A. I am not certain about that, Mr. Tenney. And the case then became, you might say, from the time that Shibley entered it, a public forum for the venting of hate toward the sheriff's deputies, towards attempting to create a racial problem, racial discrimination, and the balance of that trial was made up of efforts, particularly on the part of Shibley, to make that trial a sounding board for the usual hue and cry of the typical socialistic revolutionaries that they appeared to be.

Q. Mr. Combs: I hand you a letter entitled, "Citizens Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth," and ask you if that type of letter was circulated during the prosecuting and after the termination of the trial? (Handing to witness.)

A. Mr. Combs, I haven't seen this before. I notice its date is February 16, 1943 —

Q. (Interrupting) Yes.

A. (Continuing)—but during the trial and while the case was being argued in January, a pamphlet was circulated according to our office during the actual time the case was being argued. I have a copy of that here, which I hand you. (Handing to Mr. Combs.)

Q. This is entitled, "The Talk of the Town. Did 22 Mexican-American boys commit murder? Are 350,000 Mexican-Americans criminals? Can Fifth Column knife cut Los Angeles in half?" And bears the following: "Citizens' Committee for the Defense of American-Mexican Youth, 206 South Spring Street, Room 342." Do you have any more copies of this? (indicating)

A. That's the only copy I have.

Q. I think we have a copy of it. I hand you a photostat—

Chairman Tenney (Interrupting): You have said that this committee employed Shibley. On what do you base that statement?

A. Upon a speech that La Rue McCormick gave at the Communist Victory Center along in the latter part of January, just a few days before Mr. Dockweiler died.

Q. I think we have a copy of that speech.

A. I think I furnished Mr. Combs with a copy of it, and I have a copy here (indicating). We covered that with a shorthand reporter, and here is her transcript of it, on January 29th, 1943, at the Communist Victory Center, 1828 Sunset Boulevard, and in this speech her philosophy about their case is set forth, and in it she indicates they were dissatisfied with the counsel who took the cases, and they were instrumental in selecting counsel to take over the defense during the trial, and upon the basis of that I have assumed from what I have observed that Mr. Shibley was their representative. January 29, 1943, is about two weeks after the verdict was returned. Now, in this may I say that this speech of La Rue McCormick is 99 per cent viciously false. About the only thing that was true was the fact there was a trial and that there were certain defendants by number and that they were convicted, but

practically everything else in that sheet is viciously false and inflammatory. When I say "sheet" I mean those sheets, the transcript of that speech (indicating).

Mr. Combs: I would like to offer that transcript, together with the accompanying certification, in evidence as Exhibit 1 in connection with the testimony of Mr. Shoemaker.

Chairman Tenney: So ordered. (Marked Shoemaker Exhibit No. 1.)

The Witness: May I say that reflects better than anything else the type of contentions made in the trial by Mr. Shibley. I might say, he could have written it from the tone of it, and it is the best indication I know of of the kind of contentions they made to the public and to deceive the public about that trial of anything I know.

Mr. Combs: For the purpose of identifying this document, the first sheet is an office memorandum to Joseph E. P. Dunn, Chief, Bureau of Investigation, in re: Mrs. La Rue McCormick, from Herbert Grossman; date, February 4, 1943. Signed by Herbert Grossman, Investigator.

The Witness: That's a true copy of the original.

Mr. Combs: There are 10 pages of transcript of Mrs. McCormick's speech, taken at Victory Center, 1828 Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, 8:45 P. M., January 29, 1943. Present: Herbert Grossman; reported by Aurora L. Springer.

Q. Now, Mr. Shoemaker, I hand you a photostat and ask you whether or not you have ever seen the original of which this purports to be a copy?

A. The original I believe had—let's answer your question yes. The original, I believe, had a mimeographed yellow sheet attached to it by an iron stamp.

Q. That's correct.

A. That was picked up, as I recall, on the floor of the courtroom during the trial of the case against the 22 defendants. It is a sample of the kind of petitions that were circulated around the courtroom and in the corridors to collect money from the Mexicans who frequented the trial; which money was turned over to Mr. Shibley.

Mr. Combs: That has been identified as Quevedo Exhibit No. 1.

The Witness: In that connection, I want to make the record very clear that I do not connect Mr. Van Tress or Mr. Philip Schultz, or any of the other lawyers, with the tactics of Shibley; I want that very clear in this record, that I am saying nothing at all to reflect upon them in that respect.

Chairman Tenney: Q. Was there any other lawyer for the defense that was of the same caliber and character as Shibley?

A. No, Shibley went alone. He failed to agree with co-counsel, and stood on his own feet and used his own tactics.

Mr. Combs: Q. I hand you a photostat, and ask you if it is a photostat of the yellow sheet you have just described, and I ask you if you have ever seen the original of which this purports to be a copy? (handing to witness)

A. That looks like it.

Mr. Combs: This is entitled "Unamonos para la victoria El Fascismo." It has already been translated, but hasn't been intro-

duced, and I now offer it as Exhibit No. 2 in connection with Mr. Shoemaker's testimony.

Chairman Tenney: So ordered. (Marked Shoemaker Exhibit No. 2).

Mr. Combs: Q. Now, Mr. Shoemaker, did you ever hear of a person called Reverend Ernest Caldecott?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he the minister of the First Unitarian Church?

A. That's correct. In the block on Eighth east of Vermont.

Q. Do you know whether or not this committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth endeavored to use his church for a meeting to raise funds in connection with the Sleepy Lagoon case?

A. Yes, I can tell you about that. I have here a pamphlet which was circulated after the defendants had been sentenced by Judge Fricke to prison, as I remember. Incidentally, 12 of the 22 defendants were convicted of murder and all sent to San Quentin, and five were convicted of assault and received the maximum jail sentences for that, five were acquitted of the 22, four of whom we suggested to the jury might be acquitted.

Now, after the trial was over and the judgment and sentences had been pronounced, one day my attention was called to this pamphlet which I hold in my hand (illustrating) by our deputy in charge of the Grand Jury. Mr. Ernest Oliver had heard such a pamphlet was being circulated and a meeting was to be held at the First Unitarian Church for the purpose of raising funds for this committee. I made a note of it, and in almost the same day or the next, Judge Fricke called me to his chambers and handed me this (indicating). It is entitled, "We have just begun to fight," which is another vicious piece of inflammatory literature—

Mr. Combs (Interrupting): I have a copy.

A. (Continuing)—it is 99 per cent false, just as her speech was.

Mr. Combs: I would like to read a very short excerpt from that pamphlet (reading):

"It is mandatory upon the citizenry of Los Angeles to prevent a few newspapers, a few score of police sadists, a pair of ambitious prosecutors and the Fifth Column to cancel out the fine harmony between peoples and nations so diligently being woven in the course of a democratic war.

"The Citizens' Committee for the Defense of American-Mexican Youth, composed of leading members of the community, has long been dedicated to this harmony, and to the elimination of these crippling injustices.

"First on this program is the continued defense of the 17 Mexican-American boys just condemned, a marshalling of every reasonable assistance to prepare for an appeal along the lines maintained by our own Attorney George E. Shibley.

"More recently, also the situation has worsened through the rabid activities of Fifth Columnists anxious to impede the war drive by splitting off a highly productive section of the population from the main body of unity.

"Small wonder, then, that these 12 men and women approached impanelment with a fixed notion that 'Mexican' was

synonymous with criminality. And that they were very susceptible to evidence 'proving' one more instance of it." I would like to introduce this as the exhibit next in order for this witness.

Chairman Tenney: Exhibit No. 3. (Marked Shoemaker Exhibit No. 3).

Mr. Combs: I would also like to introduce the pamphlet entitled "The Talk of the Town" as this witness' next exhibit.

Chairman Tenney: No. 4, Shoemaker Exhibit No. 4.

The Witness: May I continue on with the matter concerning Dr. Caldecott?

Mr. Combs: Yes.

A. After Judge Fricke had called me into his chambers and shown me this pamphlet and delivered it to me I telephoned Dr. Caldecott, the Unitarian minister, whom I knew to be a fine gentleman, a conscientious public-spirited citizen, and asked him if such a meeting had been scheduled at his church, if he knew anything about it, and I believe he replied that the matter was not in his charge, but that he would find out; and he found out that it was scheduled a few days hence, and I said, "I wonder if you know what the meeting is about," and he frankly didn't know, and I asked if he would be interested in knowing, and he said that he would, and so he came to my office very promptly. I had on my desk the grand jury transcript of that case and the entire 6,500 pages of the trial record, and I told him when he came in there was the record, he could look at it then, or he could take a week to look at it if he wanted, but that this meeting that was about to be held at his church was for the purpose of printing the propaganda such as was in the pamphlet entitled "We have just begun to fight," and I said to him in substance, "We feel you ought to know what the nature of the meeting was, so you can decide whether or not you want to be a party to it in any way, shape or manner, because that is an attack upon the judge, upon the prosecutors, upon the jury and upon the fairness of the trial in a case which is now pending before the courts." And he was very courteous, he said he would like to investigate with his official board, and the next day he called me and said he wanted an appointment, and he came down and he brought with him the president of his board, a lawyer who is a member of the staff, employed I believe by the City of Los Angeles in the Bureau of Power and Light—Water and power, and with them came two members of this Citizens Committee for the Defense of American-Mexican Youth. They didn't come exactly at the same time, the two members of this committee followed in a few minutes.

Q. Who were they?

A. Clore Worne and a young lawyer by the name of Robert Morris, whom I had never met, but who was introduced as one of the State barristers of Los Angeles.

Q. Wasn't he——

A. (Interrupting) He stated he had formerly been in the office of Robert Kenny, the Attorney General.

Q. Wasn't he also a representative of the National Lawyers Guild?

A. I don't know about that.

Q. What was his name?

A. Robert Morris. Shall I proceed?

Q. Yes, go right ahead.

A. They—when I say they I mean Mr. Caldecott and his representatives stated that they had arranged this meeting for the purpose of discussing the nature of the meeting to be held in the church, and I had asked John Barnes to come in, and he sat with us, so six of us were present at the conference. The nature of the discussion was merely this, that we in a few words told Mr. Caldecott in the presence of these two lawyers, Mr. Worne and Mr. Morris, that we felt that sheet which I have referred to was viciously false, without foundation, was inflammatory, and that it was harmful to the case that was pending, and that such a thing as that ought not to be circulated. Our only interest in this meeting was whether or not the minister knew the nature of it, we had no control over the meetings in his church, we didn't invite the conference, they invited themselves on their own accord. These two committee members, they launched into an attack then upon the trial. Mr. Worne led the attack, and we asked them if they were responsible for the preparation of, not only this pamphlet, but of the one which is already in evidence and marked and described as "The talk of the town." They admitted they were, they and a group of other people were responsible for the preparation of those pamphlets. They virtually said in response to our challenging questions it didn't make any difference whether those things were true or not, they were opposed to the prosecution of 22 individuals for the murder of one on general principles, and they virtually justified anything in those pamphlets on the ground their belief and philosophy would not permit them to approve the prosecution against those 22 defendants for the murder of Jose Diaz.

Q. Who is Jose Diaz, was he a Mexican?

A. Jose Diaz was born in the United States, and practically every one of the defendants were American citizens, born right here in Los Angeles, and everyone had the benefit of an education up to the 10th or 11th grade. So the result of it was that after some bitter discussion on the part of Mr. Worne and Mr. Morris, and it was quite bitter, we asked very few questions and took very little part in the discussion, Mr. Barnes and myself, the meeting adjourned; and the next day Mr. Caldecott informed me over the telephone he had concluded to have nothing to do with it, and the meeting was cancelled, and he put it on this ground: Their church was an open forum on civil rights and remedies at any and all times, but never did they intend their premises should be used for an attack upon the courts or an institution of Justice for the purpose of raising funds in carrying on some proceedings—something to that effect.

And I want you to call Mr. Caldecott right here, right now and ask him, and he will tell you he cancelled that meeting, not from any threats from our office, which were not made; he became convinced the meeting was subversive in character and something he wanted to have nothing to do with.

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Mr. Combs: Q. Now, Mr. Shoemaker, summing up the impressions which you gained as a result of the events leading up to the Sleepy Lagoon case and which occurred during the trial of the case and which occurred immediately thereafter, tell the committee what your opinion is concerning the influence exerted by Communist organizations such as this Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth.

A. Well, from my familiarity with the nature of the assaults that had been made prior to the Sleepy Lagoon case, and I had been consulted both by the sheriff and the police in regard to a number of cases occurring earlier in 1942, and then my familiarity with the facts and circumstances surrounding the so-called Sleepy Lagoon case, I'm satisfied—in fact, I think there is no doubt about it—that there is no Axis influence in the case whatsoever, or any of the cases, never the slightest evidence of any efforts by any of the Axis powers or any of the agents of the Axis powers to incite any of these people to commit any of these depredations—we never found any evidence at all in that direction. On the other hand, we found that probably the group, the hoodlums that made up these gangs, an aggregate of some 300 out of the total Mexican colony of nearly 300,000, we found the better elements in the Mexican community, the respectable people, all the law-abiding Mexican citizens, heartily approved our prosecution.

If you want to go back and look at the leading Mexican newspaper—I think it is called La Opinion—I don't think you will find any criticism in that newspaper of that prosecution or of the police or the sheriff in regard to that case, or any similar case. You'll find that the better elements in the community, both Mexican, colored and white, all believe in law enforcement with respect to those matters, and upheld the law enforcement agencies. But this group of radicals, whatever you call them—now, when you call them Communists, I want to refer to them as our own breed of Communists. I don't blame Russia—and I don't want to confuse our Communists with those people, that is, they are only a breed, whether you call them Socialists or Socialist radicals or Socialist revolutionaries, they speak a language which in the courtroom always sounds the same. They attack the police officers, they attack the law enforcement, they put the policemen on trial, the law enforcement agencies—they put everybody on trial except the defendant, and their methods with respect to glorifying these defendants, their methods of attacking the police, of attacking the district attorney, ridiculing the court in open court, ridiculing the processes of the court in open court in the presence of these defendants, with the courtroom full of their friends.

Q. That occurred in this case?

A. Oh, yes, every day.

Q. And in the case which preceded it, the Webster case?

A. Yes. And I say in my opinion the activities of these trouble makers do more harm to law enforcement, do more harm to the matter of peace and security of the community than any other single influence, and I personally feel that this group of radicals who make, who support this sort of a movement and who back up

these people and raise money, the same way as they did in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, are responsible for stirring up hatred and animosity in the community, are responsible for inciting and fomenting the very thing that happened in the recent outbreaks when the sailors and soldiers finally in desperation took over and we had our recent trouble. In that connection may I say that I believe that in spite of the valiant effort of the police department and the sheriff so many outbreaks had occurred against the men in the armed forces, and they were so disgusted with the tactics of these hoodlums who frequented the streets at night that they finally in desperation because of the extreme situation presented, virtually took the law into their own hands.

I heard a service man stand up in a meeting before a group of veterans some weeks before this outbreak occurred, and he was a man who if I mention his name you would know him, but I won't mention his name—he stood up in the open meeting, and he happened to—I was assistant district attorney at the time—he said he wanted to ask the assistant district attorney why men in the armed forces like myself when we get a week-end off in order to see our family and friends have to take an armed body guard with us in order to keep from being attacked by zoot-suiters, as he called them. That was the situation even before the outbreaks occurred. Incidentally, I left—I left on the 31st, and the outbreak occurred on the 1st day of June. Now, maybe that wasn't what caused them, it may have been a mere coincidence, but the situation really was there, there had been so much building up of the hoodlums by the people of the type of the Citizens Defense Committee, and this false circulation of inflammatory and defamatory material that it was the logical thing to expect they would break out. It was pretty well under control when we finished with that trial. Captain Reed of the police department and the men in the sheriff's department had done wonderful work in covering those assaults and in getting the thing under control until this sort of thing made it bad again.

NEW COMMUNIST "FRONT"

Organizations with new names and familiar personnel came into being overnight.

The "*Citizens Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*" soon became the most prominent of the new agit-prop (agitation-propaganda) committees. Offices were opened and maintained in the Wilcox Building at Second and Broadway in the City of Los Angeles, where the influence and domination of Mrs. La Rue McCormick, a registered and admitted member of the *Communist Party*, guided the work and propaganda. Philip Connelly, then State President of the C. I. O.; Al Waxman, publisher of the "*Eastside Journal*"; Leo Gallagher, *National Lawyers' Guild*; Bert Corona, *Warehousemen's Union*; Jerome Posner, *Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union*; Jessie Armenza, *Laundry Workers' Union*; Gregg Bemis, *International Workers' Order*; John Bright, *Council of Pan-American Democracy*; Josephine Fierro, *Spanish People's Congress*; Herbert Ganahl, *National Lawyers' Guild*; Dorothy Comingore, *Screen Artists' Guild*; Minnabell Cline, *Screen Office Employees' Guild*; Oscar Fuss, C. I. O. Legislative Director; Rose Har-

mon; Mrs. Will Rogers, Jr.; Guy Nunn, Minorities Group Division of the War Production Board; Carey McWilliams, State Director of the Department of Immigration and Housing; Roger Cardona, President of the *Victory Youth Club*; Stewart Neil, and Charlotta Bass, publisher of the "*California Eagle*", were some of the sponsors of this new Communist front organization.

The following extract from a mimeographed circular distributed in the Los Angeles area by the *Citizens' Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth* is typical:

"The Sleepy Lagoon Murder trial, which resulted in the conviction of 17 Mexican-American boys, three for first-degree murder, nine for second-degree, and five for assault, can only be understood if it is viewed against the background of persecution and discrimination which has been practiced against our Mexican-American population, a part of which has been a press campaign of vilification and slander. In this light it becomes understandable that 12 boys were convicted of the murder of a man without proof that any one of them ever touched him or attempted in any way to do him any harm.

"During June and July of 1942, the Los Angeles Press began to build a 'crime wave' among Mexican-American youth which was unsubstantiated by any official records. Stories of arrests were played up on the front pages; no mention was made of subsequent releases for lack of any charge. The 'zoot-suits' worn by great numbers of Mexican and Negro youth, was invested with a sinister connotation. . . ."

Captain George Contreras of the Sheriff's office of Los Angeles County, in charge of the Sheriff's *Anti-Subversive Detail*, testified, in part, as follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XLX, pp. 4559-4560):

By Mr. Combs: Q. Are you familiar with a building across the street from the one in which you are located known as the Wilcox Building?

A. Yes, sir.

Mr. Combs: Q. Have you ever had occasion to have the tenants of that building checked?

A. From time to time, yes.

Q. Do you have a list of the tenants of the building?

A. Yes. Do you mind if I put my glasses on, I can't see.

Q. Not at all.

A. I have, sir.

Q. Would you mind reading it into the record?

A. (Reading): "Offices in the Wilcox Building, Second and Spring, Room 208, John E. Jeffrey, California Regional Representative, (Was State President of the State, County and Municipal Workers of America).

"208. John St. Cyr, State, County and Municipal Workers of America.

"242. Spanish Speaking People's Congress—Josephine Bright, Secretary.

"325. The American Association of Social Workers.

- “401. Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.
 “425. Rose Segure, Regional Representative.
 “440. United Office & Professional Workers of America, Local No. 9.
 “525. People’s Daily World.”
 That is about all, Mr. Combs, in that building.

Captain Contreras testified that his office had made a thorough investigation of the *Citizens’ Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth* and that the group was, in his opinion, a Communist front organization.

There is, of course, no doubt whatever of Mrs. La Rue McCormick’s Communist affiliations. She has been a registered Communist for many years and has been an active functionary in party affairs for a long time. She was the spearhead in the Mexican agitational campaign and created the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*. Her testimony, in this connection, follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XVIII, p. 4313) :

By Mr. Combs: Q. Of course, you were sponsor, were you not, of the Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth?

A. Yes.

Q. Who actually organized that in its inception, any one individual, or was it a spontaneous proposition?

A. Well, I sent out the invitation to a number of people to come together to discuss the problems, and as a result of the meeting of these people the committee was formed.

Q. From whom did you get the idea?

A. I can’t say I got the idea from anyone. I thought it was something that ought to be done.

Q. It originated with yourself?

A. Yes, I think so.

COMMUNIST “FRONT” SPONSORS

The first witness examined by the committee in this particular investigation was Philip M. Connelly, State President of the C. I. O. He admitted being connected with the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth* and affiliated, in one way or another, with organizations known to the members of the committee as Communist dominated or controlled. These organizations were: the *Committee for American Unity*, the *Harry Bridges Defense Committee*, the *California Conference for Democratic Action*, the *American Peace Mobilization*, the *National Negro Congress* and the *Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee*.

Connelly testified (pp. 4131-4162, Vol. XVII) that he was acquainted with Carl Winter, Los Angeles County Secretary of the *Communist Party*, and that he had met him shortly after Winter had arrived in Los Angeles. He believed that his last meeting with Winter, prior to testifying, was in the Los Angeles office of the “*People’s Daily World*,” *Communist Party* publication. (See the 1943 Committee Report, page 154 for Connelly’s *Communist Party* affiliation.)

At the time Connelly testified before the committee on the subject of the “zoot-suit” disturbances (June 21, 1943) the Los Angeles office of the “*People’s Daily World*” was located in the Wilcox Building at 2nd and Spring Streets. Committee investigators found the offices of the

Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth also housed in the Wilcox Building.

Mrs. Charlotta Bass, publisher of the "*California Eagle*," Los Angeles east-side newspaper, was one of the sponsors of the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*. The columns of the "*California Eagle*," editorially and otherwise, echoed the sentiments and hewed to the "line" of the *Communist Party* organ, "*The People's Daily World*." Mrs. Bass testified (pp. 4113-4131, Vol. XVII) that she had been acquainted with Philip M. Connelly for two years; that she was acquainted with Carey McWilliams, Pettis Perry, President of the *Communist Party* of Los Angeles County, Mrs. La Rue McCormick and Al Waxman, publisher of the "*Eastside Journal*." Mrs. Bass stated that she had known Pettis Perry for about 20 years. The metamorphosis of the "*California Eagle*" from a respected American journal, championing the cause of the American Negro, to a Communist propaganda sheet has been going on for several years.

Al S. Waxman stated (pp. 4071-4113, Vol. XVII) that he had resided in Southern California for about 22 years and that he had been the owner and editor of the "*Eastside Journal*" for approximately eight and one-half years. He testified that the paper was in the category of a "throw-away" and was being delivered free of charge to about 17,000 persons, about 30 per cent of whom were of Mexican descent. He admitted addressing a group of Mexican boys on the corner of Brooklyn and Indiana Streets prior to the "zoot-suit" riots. He admitted printing articles in the columns of his paper declaring the *Sinarquistas* to be an Axis-dominated group and, at the same time, he admitted he knew nothing concerning the organization except what he had read in other publications. He admitted that an article appeared in his newspaper June 16, 1943, which stated in effect that the issue in the recent race-riots was a "Fifth-Column" force seeking to disrupt the war effort of the United States. When questioned closely on the facts of such a statement, he was unable to offer the committee any proof to substantiate the statements made in the article in question. He admitted that he was a subscriber to the "*People's Daily World*" and that he was aware that the Los Angeles offices of the publication were located in the Wilcox Building at 2nd and Spring Streets.

Like the "*California Eagle*," Waxman's "*Eastside Journal*" has, for some time, been echoing the sentiments and hewing to the *Communist Party* "line" as exemplified in the columns of the *Communist Party* west coast publication, "*The People's Daily World*." Waxman's sympathy with things Communistic is clearly established by his testimony. He admitted attending two meetings, at least, where Pettis Perry spoke as the chairman of the *Communist Party* of Los Angeles County. He attended the meeting at the Philharmonic Auditorium in Los Angeles January, 1943, and heard the speech of Earl Browder, General Secretary of the *Communist Party* of the United States. He admitted being acquainted with Carey McWilliams, John and Josephine Bright, Mrs. La Rue McCormick, Guy T. Nunn, Dorothy Comingore and Oscar Fuss. He stated that he had been acquainted with Philip M. Connelly for approximately 10 years. John and Josephine Bright maintained offices in the Wilcox Building, Los Angeles, where the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*, the "*People's Daily World*," and

other Communist and Communist front organizations were housed. John and Josephine Bright had been particularly active in a Communist front organization known as the *Spanish-Speaking People's Congress*. Waxman admitted having supported Mrs. La Rue McCormick for State Senate when she was the Communist Party's nominee for that office in the 1942 election.

It was Waxman's opinion that the metropolitan newspapers in the City of Los Angeles were responsible for the so-called "zoot-suit" riots. He contended that these metropolitan publications had carried headlines charging that Mexican boys were attacking members of the United States armed forces and that because of these headlines disturbances had ensued which were further inflamed and agitated by a succession of sensational headlines.

Waxman maintained that there had been cases of discrimination against the Mexican people before the riots began, stating that Mexican boys and young men were barred from a number of theaters when they sought admission in groups of more than two or three. He stated that Mexican young men were admitted to a limited number of dance halls in the city and barred from the rest. He alleged that the Negro people were being denied service in restaurants throughout the City of Los Angeles. He stated that the Jewish people were particularly being discriminated against and charged that there were no less than 50 cases of such discrimination in the City of Wilmington.

WAXMAN'S TESTIMONY

The editorial and newspaper activities of Waxman and Charlotta Bass have already been discussed. An inspection of their respective newspapers over a period of several months immediately prior to the first outbreak of rioting indicates that the two publications were following the "line" started by the Communist publication, "*The People's Daily World*." All three of these papers combined in an onslaught on the more conservative metropolitan newspapers in Southern California in charging that they (the metropolitan press) were responsible for the "zoot-suit" riots. It was, in fact, the "*Eastside Journal*," the "*California Eagle*" and the "*People's Daily World*" that carried an intensive campaign on the *Pachuco* or "zoot-suit" issue for months. Waxman testified (Com. Tr., Vol. XVII, pp. 4098-4101) as follows:

A. My opinions were expressed in my newspaper probably long before the *People's World* picked up the thing, because we're here; it takes them several days to get the news and bring it back to us. I say again the daily newspapers in my opinion caused these riots by coming out first with the elaborate stories of Mexican boys attacking seamen and members of the armed forces, and then when the fights took place the stories were written and handled in such a manner that the seamen were led to believe that they had gained a victory; so the Mexican boys felt it was then time for reprisals, and then the *Daily News* carried stories that the Mexican boys were the victors, so the service men came back for reprisals, and day after day that journalistic method of selling newspapers on the streets was used, and then when the thing seemed to play itself out and die and there was nothing else to fight about the *Daily News*

came out with the banner headline that the zoot-suit boys had declared war on the defense workers. Now, I suppose according to the conversation this afternoon I should have gone to the Federal Government and asked them to check on the results of the headlines. I took it up with the defense workers, and I found a number of defense workers who had read the *Daily News* who said they were going to quit the night shift and swing shift, and a number said they would continue to work, but carry weapons in their cars for protection.

By Senator Tenney: Q. This article (in the *Eastside Journal*) of June 10th, "Race Incitement to Violence—An Eyewitness Account"—do you think that would have any tendency to stir up riots among the Mexicans? (indicating).

A. I don't think so.

Q. You don't think (reading): "Four boys came out of a pool hall. They were wearing the zoot suits that have become the symbol of a fighting flag. Police ordered them into arrest cars. One refused.

"He asked: 'Why am I being arrested?'

"The officer answered with three swift blows of the night stick across the boy's head and he went down. As he sprawled he was kicked in the face. Police had difficulty loading his body into the vehicle because he is one-legged and wears a wooden limb."

You go on to say (continuing to read):

"At the same corner, a Mexican mother cried out: 'Don't take my boy. He did nothing. He's only 15 years old. Don't take him.'

"She was struck across the jaw with a night stick and nearly dropped the 2½-year-old baby that was clinging in her arms." Don't you think that that would excite anger on the part of the Mexicans?

A. They were doing nothing to stop riots in our city.

Q. I know, but don't you think that would incite anger on the part of the Mexicans?

A. Not if they read the whole article. You have taken only a sentence out of it. If you take a sentence out of the Bible you will have a riot, but if you read the whole Bible you wouldn't.

Q. Isn't that true with the metropolitan press?

A. Unfortunately, no. Most of those articles in my opinion were cloaked to an extent that they carried out what the headlines portrayed.

Q. That reasoning only applies to your article, not the metropolitan press?

A. I think mine was better written than the metropolitan press."

The police records of the City of Los Angeles and the records of the sheriff's office of Los Angeles County do not reveal the arrest of a *Pachuco* or a member of any of the so-called "zoot-suit" gangs who was the possessor of an artificial leg.

Waxman had charged that a Mexican youth had been clubbed by a deputy sheriff at a time and place named by Waxman. It was alleged

that the officer's badge number was "88." Asked by Mr. Combs whether or not he had made an investigation of the charge, Captain Contreras testified as follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XIX, pp. 4563-4565):

A. Yes. Before I go into that, I would like to refresh my memory, too, and declare our office as far as cases concerned where we interviewed a zoot-suiter in the county jail and where he said he was beaten up by one of our officers—

Q. Mr. Combs (Interrupting): You and I interviewed the defendant, as I recall?

A. Yes, and I told you I would make an investigation of the situation.

Q. Yes. I think the person to whom we talked accused a member of the sheriff's department, a deputy sheriff, of brutality?

A. Yes.

Q. And gave the number of the badge as number 88?

A. 88, that's right.

Q. Did you make such an investigation?

A. I did.

Q. What did you find?

A. I proceeded out to Belvedere, known as the East Los Angeles Sub-Station, Captain Brewster is in charge, and we found out who the officer was, we found that the officer on the night of the arrest wasn't even out of the station, that he was on duty at the office at the time when the prisoner was brought in, and, therefore, could not have struck this individual at the automobile at the time of the arrest.

Q. And the accusation, therefore, was obviously false?

A. Yes, sir.

Waxman testified further (Com. Tr., Vol. XVII, pp. 4075-4077.):

Chairman Tenney: Q. In your edition of June 16th, in the column "*On The Left*" you referred to this situation (reading): "However, the issue in the recent riots was not the service men. Nor was it the zoot-suit boys; nor was it the Mexicans or the Negroes. It was a sinister fifth-column force that was forging ahead in its effort to disrupt the war effort of this country and to bring an end to unity." Is that correct?

A. That's correct.

Q. Will you elaborate and tell us on what you based it?

A. I have found from time to time on the east side some of our Mexican boys were getting money, more money than they could possibly be earning. Unfortunately, up to this moment I have not been able to determine exactly from whom they get the money, nor how much they get, but the general impression that I have been given by the boys is: "We get money and then whoever gives us the money stops in once in a while and says, 'Why go to work, why do this, why do that. We'll keep you supplied with money.'" And I have tried on several occasions to locate the source of the money. Unfortunately, up to this moment I have been unable to do it. If your committee is still functioning when I find out I will be very happy to turn it over to you.

Chairman Tenney: Q. To the committee—or is this a committee of which you are a member?

A. Oh, no. I refer to your Committee.

Q. Oh, I see. So it's your guess it is a fifth column?

A. Well, we like to say we believe until we can actually give you names and addresses.

Q. What you have said up to this point: That groups of these Mexican boys have unusual amounts of money?

A. That's right.

Q. And upon asking them the source of money they indicate it has been given to them, and that on occasions the party who gives the money states to them "Why work"?

A. That's correct.

Q. And on those grounds you build up the presumption it might be a "fifth column"?

A. That's right.

Q. It is, in your opinion, a logical conclusion?

A. I think it is, Mr. Tenney.

Q. Any other explanation could be presumed with equal logic. For instance, the boys might steal, and upon being questioned as to where they had gotten the money, might say it was given to them?

A. It happens during the nine years I have been on the east side I have gained the confidence of some of the boys. As you will note, when I called a meeting of the boys, they showed up.

Q. I would like this question answered. I would like to ask it very carefully: Have you at any time complained of the Mexicans to the police?

A. No.

Q. Are you quite certain of that?

A. Complained of the Mexicans to the police—you mean, the entire race of Mexicans?

Q. Of Mexican boys?

A. No. No, never complained of Mexicans to the police. We have carried articles and straight news in which we have listed the names of the participants after we had secured them from the police records.

Q. You didn't go to the police department about four years ago and demand some action be taken against Mexican groups?

A. Never.

The foregoing testimony of Waxman became significant when Captain J. F. Reed, of the Los Angeles police department, testified June 23, 1943. The committee was particularly interested in learning whether or not there was any truth in charges of police brutality made by Waxman's paper, "*The Eastside Journal*," Charlotta Bass' "*California Eagle*" and the Communist publication, "*The People's Daily World*." Captain Reed was the administrative assistant to the Chief of Police in the City of Los Angeles. His testimony, in part, is as follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XIX, pp. 4448-4450):

Senator Tenney: Q. Captain, are you acquainted with a man by the name of Al Waxman?

A. Yes, sir, very well.

Q. How long have you known him?

A. I would say approximately five years.

Q. During the time you have known him has he ever seen fit to call on you with reference to disturbances on the east side, particularly among the Mexican population?

A. Yes, sir, many times.

Q. Will you give the committee the particulars of those times?

A. I have newspaper clippings—I was assigned to the Hollenbeck as captain of that area, and Mr. Waxman was the editor of the *Eastside Journal* in that area. He made numerous complaints in reference to Mexican youths who were coming into the Jewish area and molesting those people, and asking and demanding that we give more police protection to that area.

Q. About when was that?

A. Back in 1934 or '35 or '36. Of just recent date I have talked to Mr. Waxman along the same lines, approximately five months ago I had a conversation over the telephone with him in reference to the Pachuco situation, at which he asked me at that time to take some definite action and more strenuous action than we were taking at that time in the Hollenbeck area.

Q. Against the Pachucos or in their defense?

A. Against all persons committting those type of crimes, and he particularly stressed those dressed in Pachuco suits in the "Column Left" he writes. Back when Chief James Davis was Chief of the Police Department, he complained of certain situations and of some rapers and purse snatchers, and so forth, who were operating in that area.

Assemblyman Dickey: May I ask a question?

Chairman Tenney: All right, Mr. Dickey.

Assemblyman Dickey: Q. Up until recently, all the complaints made by Mr. Waxman to your department were complaints against those boys of Latin-American extraction?

A. Not in all cases; in some cases he made complaints about other persons, but he has made complaints about Latin-American youths.

Q. Let me reframe that question and put it this way: His original complaint in that particular section was against the boys who were Latin-American, because they were infringing on the Jewish population in that district?

A. That's correct.

Q. And he requested of your department that more protection be given to the Jewish population in that particular area?

A. That's right.

Q. And it wasn't until recently that he spoke at all in defense of Latin-Americans?

A. Well, he has never spoken to me in defense of the Latin-American group.

Q. He has never spoken to you up until this time in the defense of the Latin-American group?

A. That's true.

Los Angeles Police Officer Clyde L. Schultz, who, after testifying concerning his participation in several of the *Pachuco* disturbances, had occasion to touch on the report of Al Waxman published in "*The East-*

side Journal." Officer Schultz' testimony, in this connection, is as follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XIX, pp. 4507-4511) :

A. * * * We were discussing the story that Al Waxman had in his paper.

Q. What paper are you referring to?

A. The *Eastside Journal*. He stated in that that he was going to talk to a group of Mexican youths at Brooklyn and Indiana at approximately 8.30, he had called a meeting to ask them to cut out that kind of stuff, and in his paper he stated there were 250 attending this meeting. Well, the most that we saw there at any time was 35, and he stated in his paper that there would be 250. While this meeting was going on a load of Pachucos drove up in a car and said there was a riot at 12th and Central and they were beating up their friends and families, the policemen were. They immediately got into the cars and went down to protect their families and homes. That meeting was held at 8.30, and the riot took place at 10 o'clock. He stated that four boys came out of a pool hall—excuse me while I think a minute. I want to get this straight.

Q. Take your time.

A. He stated four boys came out of a pool hall, and they were immediately grabbed by police officers, and that the reason, the only reason that they were being arrested they were told was because they were Pachucos, and that when this young fellow asked what he was being arrested for he was immediately knocked over the head and knocked unconscious into the gutter.

Q. He so testified?

A. I saw the whole thing. There is no pool room at that location; if I am right, where the four fellows came out of, there is a hamburger joint or a hot dog joint in there. Those four fellows were standing in the doorway, and they were ordered to disperse, I believe the officer's name is Green; he works the reserves, and this particular individual that was struck—he may have had an artificial limb, but if he did you couldn't tell it by his walk. He struck the officer in the eye a good stiff jab.

Q. What did he strike him with, his fist?

A. Yes.

Q. You saw that?

A. Yes, I did. I believe the officer got a black eye out of that deal. The rest of them started edging in——

Q. (Interrupting) Toward the officers?

A. (Continuing) Yes. As they did, two uniformed officers drew their saps, and this individual was struck over the head, and he wasn't struck a dozen times, as Al Waxman said; he was struck only once that I know of. That is the only blow I saw struck, and he was struck down and placed under arrest. Al Waxman also stated a woman with a baby in her arms was struck across the head with a night stick.

Chairman Tenney: He said the baby was two and one-half years old.

A. That is approximately the age of the baby. That woman came up and said, 'Why are you arresting my son?' The officer

walked with her to the corner and he told her that it was no place for a woman at all, and he suggested she go home before she was injured, before someone would strike her down and injure her, but as far as his striking her across the face with a night stick, that wasn't true. You can imagine what would have happened to her if she had been struck across the face with a heavy night stick. Previous to that—

Mr. Combs: Q. (Interrupting) You were there and saw this thing occur, and the woman was not struck?

A. No, sir. Previous to the time of the riot Al Waxman run articles in his paper stating hoodlums run wild on east side, purses were snatched, automobiles stolen; what is the matter with police protection? He will come over to the police department and tell various policemen things the Mexican boys do, and then he will turn right around and tell the Mexican boys what the police do.

Q. Did you ever know of a committee known as the Citizens' Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth?

A. No, that's a new one.

Q. Mr. Waxman is a member of the committee.

A. It wouldn't surprise me.

Q. It is a fact, he so testified.

A. It wouldn't surprise me.

Q. Do you know whether or not Mr. Waxman is a member of the Communist Party?

A. I have my own ideas; I don't know for sure.

Q. What is your idea?

A. I think he is. I don't think he'd blow his nose unless he had a red handkerchief.

Q. What makes you think so?

A. From his actions, his attitude, the way he talks to people.

Q. Did you ever hear him talk to them?

A. Yes, I talked to Al Waxman out at the meeting at Indiana. He stated at the time they are not bad boys, the police don't understand—you fellows don't give them a chance, and I don't believe it was only a little over two weeks before when he called them in his paper zoot-suit hoodlums, purse snatchers, automobiles stolen, where is police protection.

Q. Does he point out to the Mexican youth in that area that they are discriminated against and subjected to racial prejudice and police brutality?

A. Well, I have had the Mexican boys tell me he has; I have never actually seen him or heard him do it myself, but I have had various ones of the boys over there tell me that he has said there have been things that have happened on that east side, that the police have used excess force and so forth.

Q. How long have you known Mr. Waxman?

A. Haven't known him at all, only in the last six or seven months, from being around over in that district.

Waxman, on the one hand, through the columns of his newspaper and by public meetings, was inciting the Mexicans of the east-side by telling them they were the victims of discrimination and, on the other hand, he was urging the police to take drastic action against them.

COMMUNIST INSPIRATION

Leo Gallagher was another sponsor of the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*. His Communist record is too well known to be repeated here.

Oscar Fuss, another sponsor of the committee, has a consistent Communist record since his arrival in California as an organizer for the Communist-inspired and dominated *Workers' Alliance*.

Jerome Posner, of the *Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union*, was later elected State Chairman of the *C. I. O. Political Action Committee*.

John Bright, representing the *Council of Pan-American Democracies*, was a sponsor of the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*. He has been active in *Communist Party* circles since 1934 or 1935, according to the files of the Committee. At one time he was a member of the Hollywood *John Reed Club*, a Communist journalistic organization named after the first American Communist. Bright was active in raising funds for the Spanish Loyalists and the Spanish refugees and was participating in *Communist Party* activities in the Republic of Mexico as late as the year 1940. John Leech, a former Communist Party organizer for Southern California, testified before the Los Angeles Grand Jury on August 15, 1940, that John Bright had escorted him and Stanley Lawrence to an under-ground Communist group in Westwood Village in 1935 or 1936. Bright is also a member of the National Executive Board of the Communist-inspired and dominated *League of American Writers*.

Josephine Bright is the wife of John Bright. She has been active in Communist front Spanish-speaking organizations, congresses, Mexican congresses, Mexican agricultural workers unions and Spanish minority groups for a number of years. In recent months she has been active in raising money for Spanish refugees in Mexico. In 1942 she endorsed the candidacy of Mrs. La Rue McCormick, a registered Communist, for the office of State Senator for the 38th Senatorial District.

Carey McWilliams has a long record of Communist "front" affiliations. He has written a number of books from the *Communist Party* ideological viewpoint, notable mostly for inaccuracies and misinformation. In testifying before a Senate Committee in Sacramento in 1941 he was compelled to admit that many of the assertions in his book "*Factories in the Field*" were without factual basis.

As a Communist "front" propagandist he specializes in agricultural labor agitation and racial problems.

He testified before the committee in Los Angeles June 22, 1943 (Com. Tr., Vol. XVIII, pp. 4329-4375). He stated emphatically that he had never been a member of the *Communist Party* and that the allegations concerning him contained in Miss Rena M. Vale's affidavit (Com. Report, 1943) were false. Without admitting their Communist inspiration and domination, McWilliams admitted having been affiliated with the *National Lawyers' Guild*, the *Inter-Professional Association*, the *Western Writers' Congress*, the *California Council for Democratic Action*, the *School for Organizers*, (sponsored by the *United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America* at Chino), the *Simon J. Lubin Society*, the *Committee for the Protection of Foreign-Born*, the *Schneiderman Defense Committee*, the *Committee for American Unity*, the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*,

and the *Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee*. He has been affiliated with so many similar organizations that he was unable to remember whether or not he had been a sponsor of the *Southern California Conference for Civil Rights*. He could not remember whether or not he had spoken at a meeting sponsored by the *League Against War and Fascism* and could not be sure whether or not he had ever affiliated with the *League for Political Unity*. He stated that he had been elected to the board of directors or the board of sponsors, of either the *American Peace Crusade* or the *American Peace Mobilization*. He claimed that he had not been present when the election took place and that his name had been used without his authority. He stated that he had written a letter repudiating the use of his name in connection with the organization as soon as he had become aware of the fact. He freely admitted being a subscriber to the *Communist Party* publication, "*The People's Daily World*." Needless to say, all of these organizations are Communist "fronts."

He believed that the "zoot-suit" phenomenon was a "second generation" problem, aggravated by bad housing conditions, overcrowding, lack of sanitation facilities, lack of recreational opportunities, and a low standard of living. He believed that discrimination against the Mexican people had contributed considerably to ill feeling. He believed that there had been some police brutality but that police inaction, rather than brutality, had permitted the situation to reach riot proportions. The local metropolitan press of Los Angeles, in his opinion, had contributed to the violence in exciting young Mexican boys to drastic action.

McWilliams' views on racial intermarriage are identical with *Communist Party* ideology. On this subject he testified as follows (Com. Tr., Vol. XVIII, pp. 4364-4366):

Q. (By Chairman Tenney) I would like to ask you what you think of miscegenation?

A. I think miscegenation statutes are a reflection of prejudice in the community.

Q. You think they should be abolished?

A. I do.

Q. You think there should be free intermarriage?

A. I don't think there should be a legal prohibition against intermarriage, and I'll tell you why: In the Southern States they have had miscegenation statutes for years, it hasn't stopped interracial sexual intercourse; on the contrary the effect of it has been to increase that very practice by reason of the fact that the white man who has sexual relations with a negro woman is not held accountable, he can't contract a valid marriage, and sociologists who have gone into this subject at great length and who are very distinguished have said the miscegenation statutes have had the opposite effect of what it was intended to produce.

Q. Well, with the repeal of those statutes then, of course, marriage between various races would be permissible and legal, and would you advocate that?

A. Mr. Tenney, it would be presumptuous to advocate those marriages. I am not advocating anyone marry; I'm saying that these miscegenation statutes do not accomplish the purpose for which

they were passed in the first instance. I think they should be repealed; I think they are symbolic of existing prejudice in the communities, and I feel this to the very degree, and I might say there is a considerable weight of opinion to sustain this judgment, to the very degree the negro race in the United States raises in the social statute in education and so forth, to that very extent you will have less interracial mixture than you have now, when they are, remember, at a disadvantage as a racial minority group in the United States.

Q. I don't think you have answered my question.

A. You can repeat it. I think I have.

Q. I say, do you favor intermarriage?

A. I say it is presumptuous upon me to say that 'A' should marry 'B.'

Q. I understand. I am not talking about 'A' and 'B.' I am talking about the negroes and the whites.

A. I am not advocating. I think the prohibition should be removed.

Sponsors and committee personnel of the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth* were changed from time to time in typical Communist fashion. The Sleepy Lagoon Murder case, as a Communist *cause celebre*, was used by *Communist Party* steering committees to feed the racial agitation and antagonism created by the "zoot-suit" riots. Laggard interest is bolstered by the addition of new names to "sponsor" and "committee" lists, and Hollywood glamour is added by way of stimulation. Pursuant to this technique the names of Fay Allen, Harry Bridges, Revels Clayton, John Cohee, John Warren Day, Jaime Gonzales, Augustus F. Hawkins, Martin Hourihan, John Howard Lawson, Canada Lee, Professor F. O. Matthiessen, Michael Quill, Reverend Clayton D. Russell, R. Lal Singh, Albee Slade, Ferdinand C. Smith and Orson Welles were added to the list from time to time.

Orson Welles, a motion picture actor with a flair for politics and left-wing committee work, wrote the foreword to a pamphlet entitled "The Sleepy Lagoon Case," which was printed in English and Spanish and given a wide-spread distribution in the Los Angeles area.

The Communist record of Harry Bridges, as well as his activities on the west coast, are too well known to be repeated here. He was found to be a member of the *Communist Party* in his last deportation hearing. The committee is not aware of any instance in which he has failed to follow the *Communist Party* "line." It is interesting to note that prominent Californians are being pressured or otherwise persuaded to appeal to the President of the United States and United States Attorney General Francis Biddle on behalf of Harry Bridges. The Communists and their front organizations are openly clamoring for a dismissal of the deportation order against this alien, basing their appeal on the alleged ground that he has been an important factor in assisting the United States war effort and that his deportation would disrupt "unity." In this campaign for the alien Bridges, the Communists are using fellow-travelers, political opportunists and "innocents" as Charlie McCarthy-spokesmen in the creation of synthetic west coast public opinion on the subject. The Communist "strategists," during the Hitler-Stalin pact, looked upon the present world conflict as a "British Imperialist War." While Germany

was overrunning Western Europe, the American Communists were busy with the "*American Peace Mobilization*" and Communist-inspired strikes in war industries in California and the United States. Harry Bridges' C. I. O. union was telling the world that "The Yanks Are Not Coming" and actively engaged in creating chaos and disunity in the United States defense preparations. It was not the treacherous attack of the Japanese on Pearl Harbor December 7, 1941, that changed the attitude of Harry Bridges, his west coast union or the Communists of the United States. It was Hitler's panzer divisions sweeping into Soviet Russia in June of 1941 that changed the "British imperialist war" into "The people's war". Had history taken a different direction in June of 1941 it is quite possible that west coast shipping, under the direction of Harry Bridges, might be in a deplorable condition. The *Communist Party* recognizes the short memory and the short-sightedness of the American people in general, and office-seeking officialdom, in particular.

Revels H. Cayton is a seaman by occupation and has a long record of affiliation with various Communist-controlled organizations. He was registered as a member of the *Communist Party* in San Francisco in 1940. In March of 1941 he signed an open letter to Governor Olson under the sponsorship of the *Academic and Civil Rights Committee*, protesting the outlawing of the *Communist Party* in the State of California. In September, 1941, he was a member of a panel on National and Racial Minorities on a program sponsored by the *California Action Conference for Civil Rights*, a Communist-inspired and dominated organization. In July, 1943, he signed a call for, and was a member of, a "Pro-war Press" conference at the *First Unitarian Church* located at Eighth and Vermont Streets, in the City of Los Angeles on behalf of the "*People's Daily World*." (See title, *West Coast Communist Press*.)

John Cohee is an officer of the *Los Angeles Newspaper Guild*, employed by the *Los Angeles Daily News* and does radio work as a news analyst. Rena Vale (pp. 154-155, Com.'s 1943 Report) stated that John Cohee of the *Los Angeles Daily News* was one of the members of the *Los Angeles Newspaper Guild* who was referred to by the Communists as a Communist sympathizer and in whom the *Communist Party* factions in the guild placed its confidence. Cohee has been affiliated with the *Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee* and the Communist-inspired and dominated *League of American Writers*.

John Howard Lawson, Hollywood screen writer, has a long record of Communist activity and Communist front affiliations. He testified before the committee October 13, 1944, in the committee's investigation of the Communist-inspired and directed *Writers' Congress* held at the *University of California at Los Angeles* in October of 1943. (See title *Writers' Congress*.)

Professor F. O. Matthiessen is reported as a member of the faculty of *Harvard University*, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Little is known of his background. In December, 1941, he signed a preliminary petition sponsored by the *Committee for Citizenship Rights*, in behalf of William Schneiderman, head of the *Communist Party* of California, who was faced with cancellation of his United States citizenship.

Jerome Posner was connected with the Los Angeles joint board of the *Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America*. He has served on various committees welcoming visiting dignitaries from the Soviet Union. He

has interested himself during the present war in the soldiers of the Red Army and at present is State Chairman of the *C. I. O. Political Action Committee*.

Michael Quill is President of the *C. I. O. Transport Workers' Union* of New York. In his capacity as the National President of the *Transport Workers' Union of America* he was one of the 49 members with Communist background who, sitting with the National Executive Board of the *C. I. O.*, voted the creation of the *Political Action Committee*. (The *C. I. O. Political Action Committee* and its activities in California is considered in another section of this report.)

R. Lal Singh is the editor of a Los Angeles publication, the "*Indian News*." Articles and writers stamp this publication as Communist. Communist R. Balme Dutt, J. B. Haldame, English Communist, Harry Paulette, head of the English *Communist Party* and other Communist journalists appear as writers in the "*Indian News*." Singh was a sponsor and endorser for the "*People's Daily World* so-called "Pro-War Press Conference" heretofore referred to and has occasionally contributed articles to the "*California Eagle*," owned and edited by Charlotta Bass. In March, 1943, he spoke on "*The Future of India*" at the Embassy Auditorium in Los Angeles under the auspices of the Los Angeles "Workers School," *Communist Party* educational project, now absorbed by the *Communist Party's* "*People's Educational Center*."

THE SINARQUISTAS

Representatives of the committee visited the Los Angeles County Jail and questioned many of the Mexican young men and women who had been involved in the "zoot-suit" riots. Members of the sheriff's department and Los Angeles police officers were interviewed.

Committee investigators had secured photographs of *Sinarquista* meetings. These photographs clearly reveal the flag of the organization in full display on the platform.

Committee investigators and members of the Los Angeles Sheriff's office had considerable difficulty in locating officials of the *Sinarquistas* in the Los Angeles area. Pedro B. Villasenor eventually was served with a subpoena and appeared before the committee June 21, 1943. He declared that he was a Mexican National. He had come to the United States when about seven years of age and had been familiar with the *Sinarquistas* movement since 1937. He stated that the movement was organized in Mexico, May 23, 1937 by Manuel Zermano, Salvador Abascal, and Jose Oliveras, all of whom were known personally to Villasenor. He stated that the movement was directed by a National Committee in Mexico. Mexico was divided into several regional *Sinarquista* areas, governed by subordinate regional committees. The regional areas were, in turn, divided into municipal areas, which were governed by subordinate committees. He had been secretary of the Los Angeles organization since its inception and, for a time, was in charge of the Southern California region. Martin Cabrera was the Southern California regional director at the time that Villasenor appeared before the Committee. The organization met in Los Angeles once each week, usually at Martin Cabrera's place of business. The general meetings for the entire membership were held on the first Sunday of each month at 830 S. Hicks

Street, Los Angeles. It was stated that the general meetings were always open to the public.

Pedro Villasenor stated that the area formerly under his jurisdiction and now under the directorship of Martin Cabrera, extended south from the Kern County line to the Mexican border, including San Diego and Santa Barbara Counties, as well as the County of Los Angeles. The Northern California region was described as running northward from the northernmost boundary of Kern County and extending to, and including, the City and County of San Francisco. Villasenor stated that a Mr. Porfirio Rivira of Bakersfield headed the northern region at the time Villasenor was in charge of the southern region.

Manuel Buena Torrez of Mexico governed the organization in California. Villasenor explained that the heads of the regions in the United States were in communication with the *Sinarquista* Central Committee of Mexico and stated that the central committee had complete authority and jurisdiction over the movement everywhere. Villasenor admitted having read articles in the Communist publication, "*People's Daily World*," in which it was charged that the *Sinarquistas* was a "Fifth-Column Fascist" organization with a membership of 50,000 people in California alone and, opposed to the American war effort, all of which he denied. He stated that the organization in the Southern California region never numbered more than 400 persons and it was his belief that there were not more than 800 *Sinarquista* members in the State of California.

COMMUNISTS VERSUS SINARQUISTAS

In order to understand the subtlety of Communist strategy in its attack on the *Sinarquista* movement in California, it is necessary to understand current Communist directives in Mexico, Latin and South America. These directives and immediate objectives are boldly enunciated in a speech of Elias Laferte, President of the *Communist Party of Chile*, speaking before the *Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Mexico* in Mexico City, May 18, 1944. (See section of this report under title "*Communist Strategy in the Western Hemisphere*.")

The reader should bear in mind that the committee, in this part of the report, is more concerned with the controversy between the Communists and the *Sinarquistas* than with the merit or demerit of the *Sinarquista* movement itself. Committee findings on the *Sinarquista* movement, as such, are hereafter set forth.

Pedro Villasenor was questioned closely concerning Communist attacks upon the *Sinarquista* movement. His testimony follows (volume XVII, pp. 4000-4009) :

By Mr. Combs :

Q. Now, Mr. Villasenor, you speak of having been attacked by the Communists. Will you explain what you mean by that ?

A. Yes, since some of the fellow citizens from Mexico came to the United States there has been several attacks against us, saying we are fifth columnists and we are receiving money from Hitler, we are organizing the gangs, the zoot suiters on the east side, that we are concentrating to destroy the war effort of the American people and so forth—all those things against us, and I read all those

attacks in some magazines—I don't recall the names—and especially the *Daily World*.

Q. The *People's Daily World*?

A. The *People's Daily World* last year, and other Mexican Communist papers that come, like the *Popular* that is printed in Mexico.

Chairman Tenney: That is a Communist paper?

A. Yes.

Mr. Combs: Q. Your organization was attacked in the *Popular*?

A. Yes.

Q. Does Lombardo Toledano write for the *Popular*?

A. Yes, I think he does.

Q. And another magazine that is published in Mexico by Lombardo Toledano is called *Futeo*?

A. Yes.

Q. That is a Communist publication?

A. That's a Communist publication.

Q. Published by Lombardo Toledano?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever seen attacks against the Sinarquistas in those publications?

A. Yes, and some American papers, like the *Sunday Times* from New York, and, of course, the statement made here by Mr. Diaz, made to the *Times*, I think last October of last year, the statement made against us.

Q. Mr. who?

A. Mr. Diaz (spelling), D-i-a-z.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Eduardo Quevedo?

A. I know the man, yes.

Q. Do you know whether or not he has made any attacks on your organization?

A. No, I don't know.

Q. You don't know. Do you know whether or not he is a member of the Communist Party?

A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know whether he is active in doing things for the Mexican youth?

A. I read something about his activities.

Q. Have you seen the article in *Time Magazine* about his activities, that is, in today's issue?

A. No.

Q. You haven't seen that?

A. No.

Q. I hand you what purports to be the masthead of a newspaper, a photostat, and it is entitled 'Special to the Sunday Worker,' and ask you whether or not you have ever seen this article? (Handing to witness.)

A. No. I haven't read this article.

Q. I hand you—

Chairman Tenney (Interrupting): Identify that first.

Mr. Combs: Entitled "Mexico Sinarquista Vanguard of Hitler," first of two articles—"Hitler Fifth Column in Mexico," by *Alfred*

Stelling of the Sunday Worker, dated Mexico City, September 22nd, 1942.

I hand you another photostat of the *Daily Worker*, New York, Friday, April 24th, 1942, and call your attention to an article headed, "Mexican Government call Sinarquistas Traitors," and ask you if you have seen that before? (Handing to witness.)

A. I might have read this article in some paper, but I don't recall the specific paper.

Q. What is the *Sunday Worker*, do you know?

A. No, I don't know.

Q. Do you know what the *Daily Worker* is?

A. No, I haven't read it.

Q. The *Daily Worker*, for your information, is the counterpart of the *People's Daily World* on the Atlantic Coast, the Communist newspaper published in New York.

A. I see.

Q. Is there a Sinarquista movement in any other country besides Mexico and the United States?

A. No such thing as the French Sinarquistas.

Q. Is there such a thing?

A. No, that is a good laugh to the Sinarquistas in Mexico.

Q. There was never such a movement?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever hear of a man by the name of Jacques Ladurie?

A. No, sir.

Q. Did you read any place where he was supposed to be the chief of the French movement?

A. Yes, I think so.

Q. And appointed to the Laval cabinet in 1942?

A. I think in some paper.

Q. What place?

A. *La Opinion*.

Q. Who publishes that paper?

A. Mr. Ignacio Lozano.

Q. I hand you a clipping from *Pic*, August, 1942, entitled, "American-Mexicans ask New Deal," by Josephine Fiero de Bright, and ask you if you ever have seen this article before.

A. No. I haven't read this article.

Q. Do you know who the author of it is?

A. I heard about Mrs. Josephine de Bright.

Q. What did you hear about her?

A. The first time I heard, there was an article printed in the Spanish magazine from the East, I think Chicago—around there—it was printed, and I read an article against us.

Q. Against you?

A. Against us. That is the first time I heard about it.

Q. What kind of a magazine was it?

A. I don't recall the name of it.

Q. You don't know whether it was a communistic publication or not?

A. No, I don't know.

Q. You only—

A. (Interrupting) I remember reading that article and it saying she was coming to California to destroy us.

Q. To destroy the Sinarquista movement?

A. Yes.

Q. Did she come to California?

A. She did.

Q. When did she arrive here?

A. I don't know.

Q. About how long ago?

A. I think that article I read was last year, sometime last year.

Q. Last year. And she is in Southern California now?

A. I don't know.

Q. You don't know that?

A. No.

Q. I'd like to read an excerpt from this article into the record.

Chairman Tenney: All right, go ahead.

Mr. Combs: This is from page 1, the specific date is August 4th, 1942 (reading): "How many of our native Latin Americans speak English, they can read only Spanish, and so never come in contact with many of the facts about the war and the war effort, that are every-day knowledge to their English-reading brothers. Not only does this keep them from proper information as to the part they can play in winning the war, but it makes them prey to certain diversionist and even Fascist groups in their own midst.

"One such group is the Sinarquista movement, a reputedly Fascist organization which has secured a foothold in Mexico itself, and which is attempting to spread its propaganda to the Spanish-speaking people of this nation. By using discrimination and language difference as a basis, it attempts to create among these people suspicion and distrust of both the United States and the Mexican Governments." I ask this be received as Exhibit No. 5 for this witness.

Chairman Tenney: So ordered. (Marked Villasenor Exhibit No. 5.)

Mr. Combs: Q. Has your organization ever attempted to do the things that are alleged you have done in this article?

A. No, sir.

Q. You are sure of that?

A. I am very sure of that.

Q. Has any other movement in Southern California endeavored to your knowledge to do the things that are alleged in this article?

A. Not that I know of.

Q. You are familiar with the activities of the Communist Party in connection with American youth?

A. The only thing I know is what I read about them.

Q. You have no first-hand knowledge?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever hear of a committee for the defense of Mexican-American youth?

A. I read about it.

Q. Do you know whether or not Mrs. Bright is a member of that committee?

A. I am not sure about that.

Q. There have been some statements made, Mr. Villasenor, that the Sinarquista movement has some connection with the Falangist movement in Spain. Is that true?

A. No, sir, no connection with no movement with no party or no organization whatever.

Q. What is the Falangist movement in Spain?

A. I don't know, sir.

Q. I see.

A. (Interrupting) I only heard something about it, I only heard about it, I don't know anything about it.

Q. I see. I now hand you a pamphlet entitled, "The New Hope of the Mexican People—Synarquism. A Complete Summary of Its Program and Principles." The date on the introduction is January 6, 1943. And I ask you if you have seen one of those before? (Handing to witness.)

A. Yes, I have got one in my pocket right now.

Q. That is the one you told me you were going to bring?

A. That's right.

Q. Does that contain a full description of the purposes of the organization and the motives of the Sinarquista?

A. That's true.

Q. You have read this yourself, have you (indicating)?

A. I read it myself.

Q. Who wrote this pamphlet?

A. I think Father Alcium Hoebel.

Q. And he lives at Mount Angel, Oregon, does he not?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you acquainted with him?

A. I know about him, but I don't know him.

Q. Does he have any official position that you know of?

A. No.

Q. Is he connected with the church in any way?

A. I think he is their priest.

Q. A Catholic priest?

A. A Catholic priest.

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Mr. Combs: Q. Mr. Villasenor, what was the underlying reason for the organization of the Sinarquista movement in the first place; why was it formed?

A. In Mexico?

Q. Yes.

A. Well, as far as the reasons, we have to make a little history about that. You know Mexico has been the revolutionary country for almost a hundred years, always been disorder in Mexico. Every president elected there has to be a revolution—we all know that—and we never had any order, we never did have any democratic

way of living in Mexico. Democracy in Mexico is excluded. We never knew what it was, just in the propoganda of the politicians. We never knew any justice done, especially to the poor classes of people. We had some bad governments, they always destroyed, especially in the religious way of living of the people. We knew we had three years of persecution of Mexico, and the people of Mexico were tired of that way of living, and Salvador Abascal, Manuel Zeremo and some of the others got together and they decide to start a new organization, different from the others that have been organized in Mexico. So much difference that even the name, even the tactics of working will be different entirely from the other organizations that have ever been established in Mexico; and they decide to create the Sinarquista movement there. They will organize and educate the people to unite the country in one ideal; that is, to bring order and peace and a common good for all the people in Mexico. They thought that the only way of organizing and establishing the real Christian democratic Mexico was to unite the people and to unite they had to fight in the civic field, we might say—I'm sorry about my English—

Q. (Interrupting) It is very good; it's all right.

A. (Continuing)—they knew they were going to have prosecution against them, many of them will be killed, there will be assassinations — there has been almost a hundred members of our organization has been assassinated, including three or four women that have been killed because of working for the movement. And they knew all that was going to come, and they decide to go and organize the whole country, the whole people, bring them together, not with hate or to destroy each other, but to establish love among the Mexican people, the doctrine of loving even the enemies. Of course, under the religion the sentiment of the people you know 99 per cent of the Mexican people is Catholic, and they saw all that, and how they had been persecuted and knocked around, and the country was full of disturbance and revolutions and disorder and anarchy, and they decide to come out and fight."

Mr. R. E. Combs, interrogating Mr. Villasenor, read several extracts from various publications attacking the *Sinarquista* group as a subversive organization. Among such extracts was a passage from the book, "*Total Espionage*" by Curt Riess (pp. 236-237) to the effect that "The German espionage system in Mexico used the *Falange* as its pay clerk, especially to finance the so-called *Sinarquista* movement." (Com. Tr., Vol. XVII, p. 4020.) Another excerpt was read to the witness (Com. Tr., Vol. XVII, p. 4021): "Question of name aside, the *Sinarquists* were a large murder gang, in West and Central Mexico, who wage guerrilla warfare against labor unions (which they denounced as Communistic) and against persons to whom President Cardenas had given land. They were organized after the fuhrer system, of course. For a time Manuel Zeremeno was fuhrer. He was succeeded by Salvador Abascal, a friend of Birto Foucher's, who had to flee to

Berlin after his plot failed. Abascal gets plenty of money from somewhere, controls 10,000 armed men, and has the *Sinarquists* organized on a military basis with an intelligence service, hideouts and arms caches. The *Sinarquists* must be considered today the most dangerous *Fascist* movement in Latin America.”

Villasenor's testimony continued (Com. Tr., Vol, XVII, pp. 4021-4023):

By Mr. Combs: Q. Have you ever seen that before, or anything similar?

A. No, I haven't read it.

Q. Is anything contained in the article true?

A. Absolutely nothing.

Q. It is absolutely false?

A. I was — I am just surprised all these people who lie about the movement over there.

Q. You know of your own knowledge —

A. (Interrupting) I know those facts are not true, for the *Sinarquistas* in Mexico have absolute orders not to carry any knife or gun or any weapon whatever in there. Whenever they are attacked by force, by any other group, they are always defenseless, they cannot protect themselves when attacked by force. That explains why almost 100 of the people have been killed, and none of those people have been even injured by the *Sinarquistas* in Mexico. Our people have been killed, but none of the other have been killed, you see.

* * * * *

Q. It is your opinion, Mr. Villasenor, that most of these attacks and most of this which you have termed propaganda against your movement, is inspired from Communist sources?

A. (Nods head affirmatively) — yes, sir.

Q. Your movement is very militantly and very aggressively anti-Communist?

A. Yes, sir; absolutely.

Q. One of the principal tenets of your organization——

A. (Interrupting) One of the principles because the Communists in Mexico have done very much harm to the country. They agitate the country, the people, and it is one of the principles of the *Sinarquistas* to be against the ideas of the Communists.

Martin Cabrera gave his occupation as a printer with his business located on East 12th Street in the City of Los Angeles. He stated that he was a Mexican National and had been in Southern California since 1933. He had been acquainted with Pedro Villasenor for about seven years and had met Salvador Abascal in Los Angeles in 1939 or 1940 when the *Sinarquista Jefe* was in Southern California in the interest of the movement. He stated that he had replaced Pedro Villasenor as the head of the Southern California group, and, since April, 1942, had conducted meetings of the various units. Cabrera's testimony, in part, follows: (Com. Tr., Vol, XVII, pp. 4045-4050.)

Mr. Combs: Q. Is your organization anti-Communist?

A. Definitely, yes.

Q. Very much, isn't it?

A. Very much, yes.

Q. And always has been?

A. Always has been.

Q. You have some knowledge, have you not, of the activities of the Communist Party among the young Mexican people in Southern California?

A. Well, the way I see, they have always been trying to befriend—

Q. (Interrupting) The Communists have always been trying to befriend—

A. (Continuing)—always tried to befriend the young people—in fact, during the recent riots all the Communist papers I have a copy of them, I brought just part, because it says something about us being behind the Mexican boy gangs.

Q. Go right ahead with your testimony.

A. Well, the only thing I can say they befriended the young people, always trying to show that they were their friends and that they will help them in every opportunity they have. I don't read very much of this paper except when I have time.

Q. Does your organization try to offset that?

A. Well, our organization is composed of men who work for a living. Anything that is put in there, well, it's donated. In fact, some of our members in order to discharge some of their duties have to leave their work and lose money, because they don't get anything for it. Sometimes they even have to pay for things that they have to get in the organization.

Q. Is it your feeling that the Communist Party played any part in the stirring up of the recent zoot suit controversy?

A. It is almost a rule whenever they try to put the blame on somebody else, it is a general rule, because they have something themselves.

Q. I see. And have they in this instance endeavored to do that?

A. They have always been trying to put the blame on the Sinarquista's shoulders.

Q. For this particular disturbance?

A. Yes, it says so in the bottom of the little article.

Q. You mean regarding the source of the fifth columnists?

A. The fifth columnists—it says there (indicating).

Q. This is from the *People's Daily World*, Saturday, May 29th, 1943, page 3, the title of the article is "Behind the Mexican boy gang. Minority needs equal chance in the war effort." The eighth point in the article reads (reading):

"The fifth column in the Mexican community, the Sinarquista movement must be exposed and isolated."

Below that is another title entitled, "A source of danger." In the same paper, "Sinarquista metropolitan press whitewashes it." (Reading):

"The fledgling Sinarquista fifth column recently held a convention here at Eppell Hall, 830 South Hicks Street, several hundred followers attended. The Sinarquista celebrated the first anniversary of the birth of the organization. Martin Cabrera, head of the regional committee, presided. Pedro Villasenor, Luis Uranga, Miguel Lequspi and Jesus Arroyo spoke. The *Herald Express* reporting the meeting said that 'The Sinarquista is an anti-Communist society.' The *Times* reported that it is a Mexican social and civic organization. Neither newspaper indicated that it is a Fascist organization, closely related to the Falange, whose headquarters are in Spain, and whose boss is in Berlin."

Q. How did you happen to get this copy?

A. One of our members happened to get hold of it, and he brought it to me so we can keep it in our records. We have other clippings of papers in which they always battle us, and naturally, we have to offset that somehow, the best way we can.

Q. Yes. How do you do that?

A. By verbal propaganda, telling our members how to act and what to do. Usually we recommend them to be quiet and not stir up any fights with the opposite side.

Q. You tell that to your young people?

A. Absolutely.

Q. Is it your idea the Communists are a good thing for the young Mexicans?

A. I don't think so.

Q. Why don't you think so?

A. The Communist Party has always been proven very violent, and any organization that stirs anything like that up, that can't be any good to any group of people alone.

Q. You say they are very violent—do you mean by that the Communist Party has agitated Mexican youth in this vicinity to cause trouble and to get into difficulty?

A. I have no proof of that, but the way it looks I think, yes.

Q. You think it has happened?

A. Yes.

Q. Why do you think the Communist Party would be interested in doing that sort of thing, Mr. Cabrera?

A. Well, simply because maybe that way they serve their purposes.

Q. You mean in getting members in their organization?

A. In getting members in their organization and getting them to believe they are their friends, and get them to their side.

Q. I see. Have you any knowledge of the fact that the Communists have pointed out to the young Mexicans that they have been discriminated against and subjected to prejudice?

A. No, I have no proof of that, but I have a definite attitude to that fact that is so.

Q. As a matter of fact, one of the main principles of your organization is combatting Communism, isn't that true?

A. Combatting Communism.

Q. Have you ever heard of a man by the name of Lombardo Toldano in Mexico?

A. Very much so.

Q. Who is he?

A. The head agitator in Mexico.

Q. In what party?

A. The Communist Party.

Q. How do you know that?

A. Because all the papers say a lot about him.

Q. About being a Communist?

A. He has always been a Communist.

Q. His first name is Lombardo?

A. Yes, I think it is, I think he is the representative of the party in Russia.

Q. He lives in Mexico?

A. He lives in Mexico.

Q. Does he write for any publication in Mexico?

A. I really don't know that.

Q. Did you ever see anything he has written in any publication?

A. In his own.

Q. You were about to say something.

A. In all papers; we used to get a paper here from Mexico, the *Sinarquista*, and they usually expose all his activities, every now and then our members go there, and it always says about him he's the principal agitator there.

Q. Do you know whether he had anything to do with the care of the Loyalist refugees from Communist Spain?

A. That I think was fostered by the Cardenas government. In fact, I think they brought into Mexico those people, and it is one of the sources of all this trouble.

Q. Did you ever hear of an organization known as the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee?

A. I never have, never heard anything about that."

Many witnesses were called and examined by the committee in connection with the *Sinarquista* movement. Villasenor, Cabrera, and the officers and members of *Sinarquistas* were cooperative. Membership lists were readily secured for committee investigators and representatives of the committee had no difficulty in attending the meetings of the organization. Committee investigators could find nothing conspiratorial in the manner in which the organization conducted its affairs and nothing was found in the principals and objectives of the organization indicating an attack upon the Government of the United States or the State of California. Representatives of the Catholic Church were interviewed by

committee representatives and it was learned that, so far as the Church was concerned, the *Sinarquista* movement was not considered "subversive."

COMMUNIST AGITATION AMONG NEGRO CITIZENS

Le Roy R. Ingram, Secretary-Manager of the *Eastside Chamber of Commerce* in Los Angeles, testified (Com. Tr., Vol. XVIII, pp. 4258-4301) that the members of his race residing on the east side of the City of Los Angeles had been apprehensive for many months of possible racial disturbances. He believed that the same forces agitating the Mexican population were at work in the Negro sections of Los Angeles. He stated that the *Communist Party* had, for several years, carried on an agitational program among the Negro citizenry as it had among the Mexican youth of the city. He declared that the *Communist Party* was constantly attempting to place their members in the *Eastside Chamber of Commerce*, which is a conservative, anti-Communist organization of colored people. Mr. Ingram stated that his organization had presented an anti-discrimination bill to the State Legislature in 1943 and had been advised by Guy T. Nunn, an official with the *Minority Division of the Manpower Commission*, and who was, as heretofore noted, one of the sponsors of the *Citizens' Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*, to contact an attorney in San Francisco by the name of Aubrey Grossman. Aubrey Grossman has a long record of Communist front affiliations and has long been identified with the defense of members of the *Communist Party*. Mr. Ingram testified that Mr. Nunn had suggested that Josephine Bright, another sponsor for the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*, also be contacted.

Mr. Ingram testified that he had known Charlotta Bass, owner and publisher of the "*California Eagle*," for a number of years, and stated that, prior to the death of J. H. Bass, Charlotta Bass' husband, the newspaper was conservative in character. There was little change in the newspaper after the death of J. H. Bass, until about the end of 1941, when it suddenly became quite radical. Ingram stated that Mrs. Bass had interested herself in various Communist-front organizations and that her newspaper now carried the same type of material as appeared in the "*People's Daily World*." He was very positive in his belief that the "*California Eagle*" had played a vital role in stirring up Negro and Mexican minorities by constantly declaring that both the Negro and Mexican population were being discriminated against and subjected to unfair treatment and police brutality.

R. G. LaMar, Field Secretary of the *Eastside Chamber of Commerce*, testified that he had organized the chamber about six years before and that it had been the one organization in the colored district that had been active in attempting to offset the constant efforts of the *Communist Party* in dominating the Negro population of east side Los Angeles. It was his opinion that the *National Negro Conference* and the *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People* had been infiltrated by *Communist Party* members to such an extent that these organizations were presently little more than Communist fronts.

Mr. Ingram and Mr. LaMar displayed an unusual knowledge of Communist technique.

FINDINGS

The members of the Committee believe that the investigation of the "zoot-suit" riots in Los Angeles resulted in exposing Communist technique in fomenting racial prejudices and antagonisms. Vicious agitation, subtle conspiratorial intrigue, adroit manipulation of human relationships, skillful play upon prejudices and antagonisms—that is the devilish pattern woven by revolutionary Marxists as revealed by the Committee's "zoot-suit" investigations. Disrespect for law and order, and for the economic system it protects, is interwoven carefully throughout. Rearing its ugly head in sneering triumph over the havoc it has wrought is the monster who prepared and spread the poison—now posing as the champion of those it victimized.

Reports of Communist activity among the Negro population of California, particularly in the Los Angeles area, indicate a similar program of racial agitation. Informed Negro citizens, such as Leroy Ingram and R. G. LaMar, are keenly aware of the situation and they are considerably alarmed over it. The Committee finds that the Communists will continue to foment racial strife and violence. They will, so far as possible, conceal their hand in the agitational process. They will take advantage of every event, exploit discrimination and antagonisms where they exist, invent them where they do not exist and magnify and balloon trifles into mountains. The "zoot-suit" riots will not be the last racial disturbances in California if the Communists are successful in their program. It is Marxian dialectic applied with Machiavellian subtleties.

The Committee finds that the *Sinarquista* organization is composed mostly of Mexican Nationals and that it is governed by a leader and a central committee in a foreign country, Mexico.

The Committee is convinced that the *Sinarquistas* had nothing to do whatever with the agitation and fomenting of the "zoot-suit" disturbances in Los Angeles. The evidence clearly indicates that the *Communist Party* selected this organization for the public spotlight as it went about its vicious work creating a Mexican "minority" in California.

The Committee is not in possession of any additional facts upon which it might modify its 1943 findings on the *Sinarquista* movement. While it has many of the aspects of authoritarianism and much of the trappings of modern totalitarian movements, it is definitely Mexican in character and concerned wholly with Mexico and Mexicans. Its leaders are undoubtedly aware of the program of the *Communist Party* in its attack on both the Government and the Catholic Church, as set forth in the speech of Senator Elias Laferte, and, because of the struggle between the Church and atheistic revolutionary Communism, the *Sinarquistas* are, at this time, the particular target of the Communists both in Mexico and in the United States.

The speech of Senator Elias Leferte clearly states the position and policy of the *Communist Party* in this hemisphere. The *Sinarquistas* are avowedly intensely religious and adherents of the Roman Catholic

faith. Senator Laferte, as a Communist spokesman, set the destruction of Roman Catholicism among Mexicans and Latin-Americans as the first task for the Communists. The members of the *Sinarquistas* have been most aggressive in resisting the efforts of the *Communist Party* in the Republic of Mexico. These are a few of the reasons why the *Communist Party* in California attempted to lay the blame for the "zoot-suit" riots at the door of the *Sinarquistas*.

The Committee finds that the Communist publication, "*The People's Daily World*", the "*California Eagle*" and Al Waxman's "*Eastside Journal*" played an important part in the agitation of the Mexican *Pachucos*, both in preparing for the riots and in keeping the issue alive when the violence had ceased. The similarity of the campaign in these publications is not explained as being merely coincidental.

The Committee finds that the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth* is a Communist-inspired and dominated organization.

The Committee finds that there was no police brutality in the handling of the "zoot-suit" disturbances. It finds, to the contrary, that members of the Los Angeles police force and sheriff's office were, in the performance of their duty, seriously injured, killed, ambushed and beaten.

10

CONCLUSION

As the hooked cross of Nazi Germany is pounded into the dust by the forward march of allied armies, the shadow of the hammer and sickle of Russian Communism falls across a devastated, war-torn Europe. Tito dominates Yugoslavia. Ercoli is back in Italy. Thorez has returned to France. The Communists of Greece, Holland and Belgium are organizing. A Moscow-dominated "*Free Germany Committee*" awaits Stalin's orders. A "*Free Polish Committee*", Communist-inspired and dominated, is taking over Poland. Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania are being reannexed to the Soviet Union. Every anti-Communist is being liquidated by the Communists as a "Fascist." Stalin will not permit an "anti-Communist" or unfriendly government to exist in postwar Europe. The shadow creeps across India, inner Mongolia and into struggling China.

Can we depend on international pacts? A 10-year non-aggression pact between the U. S. S. R. and Poland was signed on July 25, 1932, and extended for 10 years May 5, 1935. Soviet troops invaded Poland September 17, 1939. Non-aggression pacts were solemnly signed between the U. S. S. R., Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. All of these pacts were violated by an invasion of these countries by Soviet troops while the pacts were in full force and effect. Soviet troops invaded Latvia June 17, 1940. The Estonian border was crossed by Soviet troops June 17, 1940. Lithuania was invaded by Soviet troops June 15, 1940. A non-aggression pact with Finland was extended for 10 years April 7, 1934. Soviet troops invaded Finland November 29, 1939.

It should be remembered that the Soviet Union, together with Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Iran, Roumania and Finland defined "aggression" as including an invasion by armed forces or an attack by any type of armed

forces with or without a declaration of war. Pacts with Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Iran and Roumania under this definition of "aggression" were signed July 3, 1933. Similar documents were signed between the Soviet Union and Lithuania on July 5, 1933, and with Finland July 23, 1933. Soviet troops invaded Roumania June 28, 1940.

The address of Senator Elias Laferte before the Ninth Congress of the *Communist Party* of Mexico boldly announces the Communist plan for domination of the Western Hemisphere. The attack on religion and Democratic institutions is to continue with increased vigor. The Communist plan for the conquest of the Americas is a clear challenge. Senator Laferte speaks clearly and positively of Communist objectives and the establishment of American Soviets. The closing words of Communist Laferte are important:

"In this manner, little by little, we shall infiltrate our theories of positivism and individual and collective economy in order that the new generations will consider that all these religions are no more than garbage, that must be cleared away as soon as possible in order to permit a better life. It is suitable then, comrades, that we keep in mind these orientations in order that when you return to your zones, you may give instructions to your units on the form of combatting the power of the Catholic Church, assisting the rest; and that you may prepare yourselves for the crusade which must carry us to triumph. The road of salvation of Mexico only has one sure road. Let us prepare ourselves for Mexico and Latin America to be ready to play a dominant role in the *future Communist conquest of the world*. From this nation let there go out the conquerors to other countries less prepared. Let Mexico convert herself into a centrifugal force for all the continent; let Mexico be the country of freedom with the proletariat and the *American Soviet*. Let us launch from here the first shout of freedom, and on hearing this battle cry, the stirring voice of our people, all the other peoples of America may run immediately, raising very high the red and black banner of social revindication. Our work is to aid, to aid more and more all those in the Americas who fight for our Cause, to integrate all their forces to the contribution of the struggle; to organize a great political movement of unity, which consolidated with the struggle of the people and the *Communist Patriots, faithful to the Fatherland of the World Proletariat, faithful to the U. S. S. R.*, will impel us to draw us to the glorious, happy day which is about to arrive; the radiant day of liberation for all the world which will arrive with the overthrow of capitalism."

The "sharp turns" and flexibility of Communist strategy demands eternal vigilance on the part of those who wish to preserve our Democratic form of government. The coming seventh period of Communist strategy will be a critical period for the United States. The violent and forceful overthrow of the Government will be decreed when Communist generals believe that the body politic has been sufficiently penetrated and weakened.

Part of the Communist "softening up" process is its campaign of vilification against State Legislatures and the Congress of the United

States. The C. I. O. *Political Action Committee* has replaced the *Communist Party* as a political power. It is well organized and Communists are in key spots throughout the organization. Earl Browder and the hierarchy of *Communist Party* "brains" are directing this thoroughly regimented political organization. It should be needless to state that this direction is not for the welfare of the United States, but for its destruction.

The close of the war will bring new Communist onslaughts on State Legislatures and on the Congress of the United States. Every effort will be made to elect Marxists or Communist fellow-travelers to Legislative offices in the elections to come. Proposals will be continually introduced in the Legislature designed to destroy the economic and social structure of the State and Nation.

The *Federal Bureau of Investigation* and other National and State agencies are powerless to curb the activities and machinations of the Communist Party. These agencies are only effective *after* a crime has been actually committed. They are powerless to stop the continuous sabotage and destruction of the under-structure of our form of government. Violence will not come until the complete structure of our economics, our social order and our Government are undermined and weakened. It will then be too late.

Subversive elements hide behind the Bill of Rights like a kidnapper hides behind his victim when surrounded by an armed posse. Legislation directed at subversive individuals and organizations invariably injure innocent by-standers. The flexibility of Marxian strategy is such that its devotees are enabled to side-step legislation aimed at their practices. The Voorhis Act of 1940, calling for the registration of all individuals owing allegiance to a foreign country or *ism* was easily evaded by the *Communist Party* of the United States in "disaffiliating" with the *Third Communist International*. They evade laws aimed at their activities with the agility of a flea eluding capture in a blanket.

Exposure and publicity are the two things that subversives can not endure. They "wither away," like Marx's imaginary last state, in an informed community. The public must be educated concerning Communist ideology and Legislative bodies and public officials must make it a patriotic duty to study and understand the falsity, the brutality and the ultimate aims of Communism.

The committee recommends that the *Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California* be continued. The subversive character of the individuals and organizations crying for the discontinuance of the committee is the best evidence of the necessity for its continuation.

Respectfully submitted.

JACK B. TENNEY, Chairman
HUGH M. BURNS
NELSON S. DILWORTH
JESSE RANDOLPH KELLEMS, Ph.D.
RANDAL F. DICKEY.

INDEX

A

	Page
ABASCAL, SALVADOR—Founding of Sinarquista Movement by-----	197
AIDLIN, JOSEPH W.—	
endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i> -----	139
other activities of-----	139
ALGREN, NELSON—	
member of National Council of League of American Writers-----	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress-----	121
ALLARD, JOHN—member of Provisional Committee, People's Educational Center -----	137
ALLEN, FAY—	
endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i> -----	139
member of Provisional Committee, People's Educational Center-----	137
other activities of-----	139
sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth-----	195
AMERICAN LEGION—	
assistance given committee by-----	6
opposing Tulelake as center for disloyal Japanese-----	58
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD—listed as participating in Hollywood Writers Mobilization -----	117
AMERICAN PRO-JAPANESE ORGANIZATIONS—civil liberties of Nisei, primary concern of-----	62
AMERICAN WRITERS' CONGRESS—	
affiliation of International Union of Revolutionary Writers-----	120
communistic character of -----	122
effect of war on-----	128
favorable expressions re -----	122-124
list of persons signing first call for-----	121
list of persons signing third call for-----	127
photostatic copy of proceedings of, in possession of committee-----	121
report of investigation by Attorney General Francis Biddle of-----	134
ANDERSON, RAY—testimony of, re Hawaiian Constructors-----	20
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE—assistance given committee by-----	6
APPEL, BENJAMIN—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress-----	127
ARLT, GUSTAVE—member of Writers' Congress Advisory Committee-----	116
ARMENZA, JESSIE—sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican- American Youth -----	182
ARMSTRONG, ARNOLD B.—signer of call for American Writers' Congress-----	121
ARVIN, NEWTON—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress-----	127
ASCH, NATHAN—signer of call for American Writers' Congress-----	121
ASSEMBLY CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 59—	
committee appointed pursuant to-----	5
power vested in committee by-----	5
ASSIGNMENT TO BERLIN—Flannery, Harry W., author of-----	15, 17
AUSTIN, R. G.—asks assistance in locating wife interested in Mankind United--	45
AVERY, R. S.—member of Provisional Committee, People's Educational Center--	137

B

BAKUNIN, MICHAEL—excerpt from writings of, re Karl Marx-----	68
BARBUSSE, HENRI—honorary Presidium of Workers' Cultural Federation--	119
BASS, CHARLOTTA—	
endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i> -----	139
Ingram Le Roy testimony re-----	208
member of Provisional Committee, People's Educational Center-----	137
sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth-----	182
testimony of, re Communist activities-----	185

	Page
BASSHE, EMJO—among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers	119
BEIN, ALBERT—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress.....	127
BELL, ARTHUR—	
affidavit of Samuel N. Ebb re.....	43
believed possessed of strange powers, by followers of.....	32, 33
creator of Mankind United.....	32
difficulty with labor unions.....	43
extensive property purchases of.....	34
indicted, sentenced	33
lack of knowledge of, re Bible.....	40
sole authority of Mankind United vested in.....	39
testimony of, re religious knowledge.....	40-43
BELL, MRS. RUBY—	
as trustee for Christ's Church of the Golden Rule.....	38
testimony of—	
re activities of husband	38
re property holdings.....	35-38, 39-40
BEMIS, GRAY—	
endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i>	139
other activities of	140
BEMIS, GREGG—sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican- American Youth	182
BENJAMIN, NORA—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress.....	127
BERNE, LOUIS ALAN—member of National Executive Board C. I. O.....	147
BERNSTEIN, ALINE—listed as signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
BEST, RAYMOND—	
as director of Tullake.....	55
imprisoned by Tullake Japanese.....	56
BIDDLE, ATTORNEY GENERAL FRANCIS—	
conference with Jack B. Tenney, re Rohl case.....	30
report of investigation by, re Communist writers' organizations.....	134
BIRD, DICK—attorney in Sleepy Lagoon Murder Case.....	175
BLACKWELL, JUANITA—affidavit of, re Plack-Rohl relationship.....	15
BLANKFORT, MICHAEL—member of National Council of League of American Writers	126
BLOWITZ, BILL—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee.....	116
BLUHM, WILLIAM—member of Los Angeles County Council Political Action Committee	148
BODENHEIM, MAXWELL—	
member of National Council of League of American Writers.....	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress.....	121
BOLSHEVISM—applied to Marxian theories.....	83
BOYD, THOMAS—signer of call for American Writers' Congress.....	121
BRADLEY, GEORGE—member of Provisional Committee, People's Educa- tional Center	137
BRAND, MILLEN—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress.....	127
BRASHER, VANCE—testimony of, re Pachucos.....	169-171
BREUER, BESSIE—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress.....	127
BREWSTER, DOROTHY—signer of call for third American Writers' Con- gress	127
BRIDGES, HARRY—	
Communist activities of	195, 196
member of National Executive Board, C. I. O.....	147
sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth.....	195
BRIGHT, JOHN—	
other activities of	193
sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth.....	182
BRIGHT, JOSEPHINE—Communist activities of.....	193
BROMFIELD, LOUIS—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress.....	127
BROOKS, VAN WYCH—	
member of National Council of League of American Writers.....	126
signer of call for third American Writers' Congress.....	127

	Page
BROWDER, CARL—	
instructions of, to Communist Party-----	155
power of, in Workers' Schools-----	136
signer of call for American Writers' Congress-----	121
BROWDER, EARL—	
statement by—	
re American Writers' Congress-----	123
re Communist textbook-----	154
BROWN, BOB—signer of call for American Writers' Congress-----	121
BROWN, STERLING—member of National Council of League of American Writers-----	126
BUCHMAN, SIDNEY—	
member of Writers' Congress advisory committee-----	116
other activities of-----	117
signer of call for third American Writers' Congress-----	127
BURKE, E. F.—member of National Executive Board, C. I. O.-----	148
BURKE, FIELDING—	
member of National Council of League of American Writers-----	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress-----	121
BURKE, KENNETH—	
member of executive committee of League of American Writers-----	126
signer of call for first American Writers' Congress-----	121
signer of call for third American Writers' Congress-----	127
BURNS, HUGH M.—appointed member of committee-----	5
BUSHIDO—	
definition of-----	49
code of permits deceit and treachery-----	52

C

CABRERA, MARTIN—testimony of, re Linarquista movement-----	205-207
CALDECOTT, REV. ERNEST—as pastor of Los Angeles Unitarian Church---	143
CALDWELL, ERSKINE—	
signer of call for first American Writers' Congress-----	121
signer of call for third American Writers' Congress-----	127
testimony of Clyde Shoemaker re-----	178-180
CALLAHAN, W. E., CONSTRUCTION COMPANY—re installations near Pearl Harbor-----	18
CALMER, ALAN—	
member of National Council of League of American Writers-----	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress-----	121
CANTWELL, ROBERT—	
member of National Council of League of American Writers-----	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress-----	121
CAPITALISM—	
accepted by Utopians-----	71
definition of-----	70
CARDONA, ROGER—sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican- American Youth-----	183
CARLISLE, HARRY—member of National Council of League of American Writers-----	126
CARMON, WALTER—tested among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers-----	119
CARP, SAM—head of Carp Export and Import Company-----	104
CARROLL, R. G.—	
activities with Arthur Bell, cited-----	33, 34
testimony of, re Arthur Bell-----	34
CASE, FOX—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee-----	116
CAYTON, REVELS—	
endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i> -----	139
other activities of-----	140
CHAMBERS, WHITAKER—listed among American writers on staff of Inter- national Union of Revolutionary Writers-----	119
CHAPIN, KATHERINE G.—signer of call for third American Writers' Con- gress-----	127

	Page
CHAPMAN, RUBY V.—	
maiden name used by Mrs. Ruby Bell.....	35
property of Arthur Bell, purchased in name of	34
CHEVALIER, HAAKON—active in Pacific Coast branch of League of Amer- ican Writers	128
CHRISTENSEN, PARLEY PARKER—	
endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i>	139
other activities of	140
statement of re <i>People's Daily World</i>	140
CHRISTOPHER, C. L.—testimony of, re zoot-suiter riots.....	165-167
CHRIST'S CHURCH OF THE GOLDEN RULE—	
cited as unit of Mankind United.....	39
incorporated by Arthur Bell.....	33
Mrs. Ruby Bell, as trustee for.....	38
teachings of	40-43
C. I. O. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD—list of minority dominating.....	147
C. I. O. POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE—	
appointed of leaders of.....	148
background work preparatory to formation of.....	151
creation of, as front for Communist Party.....	147
report of R. E. Combs re.....	147-159
Sidney Hillman, as leader of.....	147
strength of, in elections.....	159
CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN YOUTH—	
excerpt from pamphlet distributed by.....	183
list of sponsors of.....	182-183
sponsorship of, by Communist Party.....	182
testimony of George Contreras re.....	184
CLAY, EUGENE—	
member of National Council of League of American Writers.....	126
statement by, re <i>I Have Seen Black Hands</i>	124
CLAYTON, REVELS—	
sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth.....	195
other activities of	196
CLINE, MINNABELL—sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican- American Youth	182
CLINE, PAUL—principal speaker at Pro-War Conference.....	143
CLURMAN, HAROLD—member of executive committee of League of American Writers	126
COATES, ROBERT—signer of call for American Writers' Congress.....	121
COBB, HUMPHREY—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress.....	127
COHEE, JOHN—	
sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth.....	195
other activities of	196
COHEN, LESTER—	
signer of call for first American Writers' Congress.....	121
signer of call for third American Writers' Congress.....	127
COLBY, MERLE—member of National Council of League of American Writers	126
COLLINS, RICHARD—	
member of Writers' Congress advisory committee.....	116
other activities of	117
COMBS, R. E.—	
appointed chief investigator of committee.....	6
report of, re C. I. O. Political Action Committee.....	147-159
COMINGORE, DOROTHY—sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mex- ican-American Youth	182
COMINTERN—	
creation of	83, 85
establishment of, as foundation of Communist Party.....	146
testimony of Jack Moore re.....	153
COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN YOUTH—	
sponsors of	184, 185, 193, 195
testimony of Mrs. La Rue McCormick re.....	184
COMMONWEALTH OF OCEANA—theme of, cited.....	71

COMMUNISM—	Page
beliefs of -----	89
ethics of -----	74
findings of committee, re -----	66
in Western Hemisphere, address of Laferte re -----	105-115
objectives of, unchanged -----	6
philosophy of -----	68
policy of, on Japanese -----	59
statement of J. Edgar Hoover re -----	67
three steps to -----	86
COMMUNIST MANIFESTO—	
proletariat regards, as bible -----	80
quotations from -----	80-82
COMMUNIST PARTY—	
activities of, in Western Hemisphere -----	103
activities of members of in Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth -----	182, 183
agitation among Negro population by -----	208
aid given to founding of, by John Reed -----	86, 87
attack at Pearl Harbor gives impetus to -----	130
attacks upon Sinarquista Movement by -----	198-201
attitude of, re United States entering war -----	90
change in policies of, due to war -----	128, 129
C. I. O. Political Action Committee as front for -----	147
committee to investigate activities of -----	5
control commissions of -----	89
controlled by Comintern -----	85
disaffiliation of, with Comintern -----	79
discipline of members of by control commissions -----	89
domination of labor unions by -----	158
early days of, in United States -----	88, 89
effect of propaganda by, on legislatures -----	158, 159
history of writers' organizations of -----	118-119
infiltration of members of, into State government -----	99
influence of Marx interpretation of history on -----	97
instructions of Earl Browder to -----	155
interest of, in Sleepy Lagoon Murder Case -----	174
iron control over members of -----	89
lack of prestige of, in United States -----	147
legal and illegal organizations of -----	91
name changing of organizations of -----	102
name of, changed to Communist Political Association -----	103
organizing of, assisted by C. A. K. Martens -----	87
organizations sponsored by -----	88
outgrowth of Russian revolution -----	86
People's Educational Center as propaganda school of -----	136
political beginnings of -----	146
postwar strategy of -----	97-100
press publications representing -----	138-143
propaganda agencies of -----	97
report of Peace Officers Association re -----	91-93
Sinarquistas Movement discussed in press of -----	172-174
testimony of Jack Moore re -----	153
Unitarian Church used as meeting place -----	143
William Schneiderman testimony, re -----	93-97
youth movements of, duplicates of Russia's -----	88
COMMUNIST PARTY TEXTBOOK—	
excerpt from, re regimentation of labor -----	155
publishing of, by Soviet Commission -----	97
statement by Earl Browder re -----	154
COMMUNIST POLITICAL ASSOCIATION— name of Communist Party changed to -----	102, 103

	Page
COMMUNIST, THE—	
excerpt from—	
re C. I. O. _____	157
re postwar policy _____	98
CONNELLY, DOROTHY—listed as endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i> _____	139
CONNELLY, MARC—	
activities of, in Hollywood Writers' Mobilization _____	130
announcement by, as co-chairman, of Writers' Congress _____	115
member of Writers' Congress advisory committee _____	116
testimony of, re Hollywood Writers' Mobilization _____	131
CONNELLY, PHILIP M.—	
member of Los Angeles County Council, Political Action Committee _____	148
member of Provisional Committee, People's Educational Center _____	137
other activities of _____	137
sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth _____	182
testimony of, re zoot-suit disturbances _____	184
CONNOLLY, THOMAS E.—	
as partner of Hans Wilhelm Rohl _____	7
consummated contract for Army installations near Pearl Harbor _____	18
CONROY, JACK—	
announcement by, re nomination of officers of League of American Writers _____	125
listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers _____	119
member of National Council of League of American Writers _____	126
signers of call for American Writers' Congress _____	121
CONTRERAS, GEORGE—	
testimony of—	
re Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth _____	184
re Mexican gangs _____	162
re Wilcox Building _____	183
re zoot-suiters _____	188
CONWAY, JERRY—member of Los Angeles County Council, Political Action Committee _____	148
COOK, O. W. E.—member of Provisional Committee, People's Educational Center _____	137
CORONA, BERT—sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican- American Youth _____	182
CORONA, FRANK—endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i> _____	139
COSTELLO, JOHN—defeat of, accomplished by C. I. O. Political Action Com- mittee _____	159
COVETTE, THOMAS L.—assisted committee in special work _____	6
COWLEY, MALCOLM—	
member of executive committee of League of American Writers _____	126
signer of call for first American Writers' Congress _____	121
signer of call for third American Writers' Congress _____	127
CROUSE, E. J.—as owner of yacht Martin _____	11
CURRAN, JOSEPH—member of National Executive Board, C. I. O. _____	148
D	
DAHLBERG, EDWARD—	
member of National Council of League of American Writers _____	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress _____	121
DAILY WORKER—testimony of John Howard Lawson re _____	133
DALRYMPLE, SHERMAN—appointed assistant to Sidney Hillman _____	148
DAUGHERTY, JAMES—	
endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i> _____	139
other activities of _____	140
DAVIS, FRANK C.—	
member of Provisional Committee, Peoples Educational Center _____	137
other activities of _____	137
DAWSON, ERNEST—	
endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i> _____	139
other activities of _____	140

	Page
DAY, JOHN WARREN—sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth	195
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE—excerpt from.....	69
DEMOCRACY—	
Declaration of Independence re.....	69
definition of	69, 70
DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM—as function of Communist organizations....	90
DE WITT, JOHN L.—evacuation of Japanese ordered by.....	45
DICKEY, RANDAL F.—appointed member of committee.....	5
DILLON, GEORGE—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress.....	127
DILWORTH, NELSON S.—appointed member of committee.....	5
DOS PASSOS, JOHN—	
honorary Presidium of Workers' Cultural Federation.....	119
listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers	119
signer of call for American Writers' Congress.....	121
DOZIER, WILLIAM—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee.....	116
DRAPER, MURIEL—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress.....	127
DREISER, THEODORE—	
endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i>	139
honorary Presidium of Workers' Cultural Federation.....	119
listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers	119
other activities of.....	141
signer of call for American Writers' Congress.....	121
DUNHAM, HARRISON M.—attorney employed by Arthur Bell.....	33
DUNNE, PHILIP—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress.....	127
DUNNE, WILLIAM F.—excerpt from <i>The Great San Francisco General Strike</i> , by	156

E

EASTMAN, MAX—	
excerpt from writings of, re Marxism.....	74, 76, 79
statement of, re socialist state.....	84
ECKERT, KENNETH—endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i>	139
EHRlich, LEONARD—member of National Council of League of American Writers	126
EIDSATH, REV. MARTIN S.—member of Provisional Committee, Peoples' Educational Center	137
ELLIS, FRED—	
American delegate to International Union of Revolutionary Writers.....	119
listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers	119
EMSPAK, JULIUS—member of National Executive Board, C. I. O.....	147
ENDORE, GUY—	
signer of call for first American Writers' Congress.....	121
signer of call for third American Writers' Congress.....	127
ENGELS, FRIEDRICK—	
as friend of Karl Marx.....	69
co-author of <i>Communist Manifesto</i>	80
ERICSON, CARL R.—testimony of, re Pachucos.....	167, 168

F

FAGELSON, PEARL—	
endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i>	139
other activities of	141
FAIRCHILD, HENRY PRATT—signer of call for Third American Writers' Congress	127
FALKOWSKI, ED—listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers	119
FARAGOH, FRANCIS EDWARDS—	
member of Writers' Congress advisory committee.....	116
other activities of	117
signer of call for third American Writers' Congress.....	127

	Page
FARRELL, JAMES T.—	
member of National Council of League of American Writers-----	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress-----	121
singing of <i>International</i> suggested by-----	125
FASCISM—objectives of, unchanged-----	6
FASCIST ORGANIZATIONS—committee to investigate activities of-----	5
FEARING, FRANKLIN—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee----	116
FEARING, KENNETH—	
member of National Council of League of American Writers-----	126
signer of call for First American Writers' Congress-----	121
signer of call for Third American Writers' Congress-----	127
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION—	
activities in Mankind United-----	33
committee cooperated with-----	6
FICKE, ARTHUR D.—signer of call for Third American Writers' Congress----	127
FIELD, BEN—signer of call for American Writers' Congress-----	121
FIERRO, JOSEPHINE—sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican- American Youth-----	182
FINN, PAULINE LAUBER—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee----	116
FIRST INTERNATIONAL—	
Karl Marx, organizer of-----	82
short life of-----	82
FISCHER, MARJORIE—signer of call for Third American Writers' Congress----	127
FITZGERALD, ALBERT J.—appointed assistant to Sidney Hillman-----	148
FLANNERY, HARRY W.—	
author of <i>Assignment to Berlin</i> -----	15, 17
testimony of, re Werner Plack-----	15
FLAXER, ABRAHAM—	
as president of State, County and Municipal Workers of America-----	157
member of National Executive Board, C. I. O.-----	148
statement by, re Yorty Committee-----	158
FLORES, ANGEL—member of National Council of League of American Writers-----	126
FONTAINE, ROBERT—alias used by Arthur Bell-----	44
FOSBURGH, FRANCIS—member of Los Angeles County Council, Political Action Committee-----	148
FOSTER, WILLIAM Z.—	
activities of, as charter member of Communist Party-----	88
honorary Presidium of Workers' Cultural Federation-----	119
FOURIER, CHARLES—theories of, re profit-sharing-----	71
FRANK, WALDO—	
absence of, at Third American Writers' Congress-----	127
dominant figure of Writers' Congress-----	122
excerpt by, re <i>Values of Revolutionary Writer</i> -----	123
member of executive committee of League of American Writers-----	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress-----	121
FRANKLIN, PAUL—	
listed as member of Writers' Congress advisory committee-----	116
other activities of-----	117
FREEMAN, JOSEPH—	
except by, from <i>Tradition of American Revolutionary Literature</i> -----	122
listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers-----	119
member of executive committee of League of American Writers-----	126
signer of call for First American Writers' Congress-----	121
signer of call for Third American Writers' Congress-----	127
FRENCH COMMUNE—	
proclamation of-----	82
resolution re-----	82
FREUD, RALPH—	
activities of, in Hollywood Writers' Mobilization-----	131
announcement by, as co-chairman of Writers' Congress-----	115
member of Writers' Congress advisory committee-----	116
FUCHS, DANIEL—signer of call for Third American Writers' Congress-----	127

FUSS, OSCAR—	Page
member of Los Angeles County Council Political Action Committee-----	148
other activities of -----	193
sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth-----	182

G

GALLAGHER, LEO—	
endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i> -----	139
other activities of-----	141, 193
sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth-----	182
GANAHL, HERBERT—listed as sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth -----	182
GEORGE, HARRISON—	
editor of <i>People's Daily World</i> -----	96
testimony of William Schneiderman re-----	96, 97
GERMAN FOREIGN OFFICE—connection of Werner Plack with-----	17
GERMAN NAZI BUND—committee to investigate activities of-----	5
GIBNEY, SHERIDAN—listed as member of Writers' Congress advisory committee -----	116
GILBERT, ED—endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i> ---	139
GLASSFORD, R. B.—active Presidium, Workers' Cultural Federation-----	119
GOLD, BEN—member of National Executive Board, C. I. O.-----	147
GOLD, MICHAEL—	
active Presidium, Workers' Cultural Federation-----	119
American delegate to International Union of Revolutionary Writers-----	119
listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers -----	119
member of executive committee of League of American Writers-----	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress-----	121
GONZALES, JAIME—sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth -----	195
GOODBYE CHRIST—reprint of, from <i>Literary Service</i> -----	119
GORDEN, EUGENE—signer of call for American Writers' Congress-----	121
GORKI, MAXIM—honorary Presidium of Workers' Cultural Federation-----	119
GRADY, JOHN G.—member of Los Angeles County Council, Political Action Committee -----	148
GRAFE, PAUL—consummated contract for Army installations near Pearl Harbor -----	18
GREAT SAN FRANCISCO GENERAL STRIKE, THE—excerpt from, re Communist influence on strikes -----	156
GREGORY, HORACE—	
listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers -----	119
member of National Council of League of American Writers -----	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress -----	121
GROPPER, WILLIAM—	
active Presidium, Workers' Cultural Federation -----	119
American delegate to International Union of Revolutionary Writers -----	119
GYSSLING, DR. GEORGE—as head of German Vice Consulate in Los Angeles	12

H

HALLGREN, MAURITZ—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
HALLORAN, JOHN L.—testimony of, re Pachuco-----	168-169
HAMMETT, DASHIELL—leadership in League of American Writers held by	128
HARMON, ROSE—sponsor of citizens committee for Defense of Mexican-American youth -----	182
HARRINGTON, JAMES—as author of <i>The Commonwealth of Oceana</i> -----	71
HARRISON, CHARLES YALE—listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers -----	119
HART, HENRY—	
member of executive committee of League of American Writers-----	126
signer of call for first American Writers' Congress-----	121
signer of call for third American Writers' Congress-----	127

	Page
HARVEY, GEORGE—member of Los Angeles County Council, Political Action Committee	148
HATHAWAY, CLARENCE—	
signer of call for American Writers' Congress	121
statement by, re American Writers' Congress	122-123
HAWAIIAN CONSTRUCTORS—	
awarded contract by United States	7
financing of Army installations contract with	27
granted exclusive contracts in Pacific area	28
request of Theodore Wyman, Jr., re	19
testimony of Ray Anderson, re	20-27
waste and inefficiency charged to	27
HAWKINS, AUGUSTUS—	
endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i>	139
sponsor of citizens committee for Defense of Mexican-American youth	195
HEGEL—	
philosophy of, studied by Karl Marx	69
statements from writings of, re Marian Dialectic	75
HELLMANN, LILLIAN—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
HENDERSON, DONALD—member of National Executive Board, C. I. O.	147
HERBST, JOSEPHINE—	
listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers	119
member of executive committee of League of American Writers	126
signer of call for American Writers Congress	121
HERMANN, JOHN—listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers	119
HERRICK, ROBERT—	
member of National Council of League of American Writers	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress	121
HEYWARD, DUBOSE—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
HICKS, GRANVILLE—	
member of executive committee of League of American Writers	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress	121
HILLMAN, SIDNEY—	
appointed head of C. I. O. Political Action Committee	148
Communist activities of	149
excerpt from <i>The Communist</i> re	149
HOLJER, HARRY—member of Provisional Committee, People's Educational Center	137
HOLLYWOOD WRITERS MOBILIZATION—	
list of guilds participating in	117-131
organization of	130
testimony of Marc Connelly re	131
Writers Congress under auspices of	115
HOLMES, EUGENE—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
HOOVER, J. EDGAR—statement by, re Communism	67, 136
HORRALL, C. B.—testimony of, re Sinarquista, Pachuco crimes	160, 162
HOURIHAN, MARTIN—	
endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i>	139
sponsor of citizens committee for Defense of Mexican-American youth	195
HOUSE MILITARY AFFAIRS COMMITTEE—charge mismanagement of construction work in Hawaii	27
HOWARD, SIDNEY—member of National Council of League of American Writers	126
HUBERT, FLOYE ADAMS—marriage of, to Hans Wilhelm Rohl	7
HUGHES, JOHN B.—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee	116
HUGHES, LANGSTON—	
<i>Goodbye Christ</i> written by	119
listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers	119
<i>Revolution</i> written by	124
signer of call for American Writers' Congress	121

	Page
I HAVE SEEN BLACK HANDS—reprint of poem	125
INDEPENDENT PUBLICISTS—listed as participating in Hollywood Writers Mobilization	117
INGRAM, LE ROY R.—testimony of, re Communist agitation among Negroes ..	208
INTELLIGENCE UNITS, ARMED FORCES—committee cooperated with ..	6
INTERNATIONAL—singing of, at American Writers Congress	125
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF REVOLUTIONARY WRITERS—	
American writers serving on staff of	119, 120
conference of, held at Kharkov, Russia	119
instructions to American delegates to	118
list of American delegates to	119
INTERNATIONAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD—aid given to, by Communist Party	87
ISSEI—	
defiance shown, on relocation order	52
definition of	48
domination over Nisei believed broken	64
most Japanese organizations in California under domination of	62
names of, listed in <i>Rafu Shimpō</i>	62
IVENS, JORIS—	
member of Writers' Congress advisory committee	116
other activities of	117
J	
JACKSON, J. J.—alias used by Arthur Bell	33, 34
JAPANESE—	
agricultural interests in California	62-63
attack on Hawaii by	27
characteristics of race	49
demands of restitutions by	63, 64
employed on army projects	20
findings of committee re	64-65
influence of Communist policy on	59-61
interests of, in Hawaiian Islands	21
language spoken at relocation centers	48
request continuation of relocation centers	50
restrictions re, as result of committees investigations	64, 65
riot in Tulelake Relocation Center	52, 53
sample menus of food served to, in relocation centers	47
segregated as to loyalties in <i>Rafu Shimpō</i>	62
subversive activities of investigated	45, 50
JAPANESE-AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE—	
adopt five-point program	63
all members of not loyal	62
conference of, held	63
work of members of	53
JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOLS—founded in California	50
JAPANESE RELOCATION CENTERS—	
continuation of, requested by Japanese	50
ordered closed	50
sample menus of food served in	47
JEFFERSON, THOMAS—statement of, re Capitalism	70
JENNINGS, TALBOT—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee	116
JEROME, V. J.—alias Isaac Romaine used by	136
Communist activities of	136
JEVEG, GEORGE—attorney in Sleepy Lagoon Murder Case	175
JEWS—race-antagonisms of, Nazi aim	6
JOHNSON, GROVER—endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i>	139
JOHNS, ORRICK—	
member of National Council of League of American Writers	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress	121

	Page
JOINT FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES—	
activities of -----	5
excerpt from <i>The People's Daily World</i> advocating discontinuance of -----	159
findings re Communism -----	209-210
instructions to -----	5
restrictions placed on Japanese as result of investigation of -----	64-65
JOSEPH, MATTHEW—member of executive committee of League of American Writers -----	126
JURICH, JOSEPH F.—member of National Executive Board, C. I. O. -----	147

K

KALAR, JOSEPH—listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers -----	119
KALLET, ARTHUR—signer of call for American Writers' Congress -----	121
KEBEI—	
defiance shown, on relocation order -----	52
definition of -----	48
names of, listed in <i>Rafu Shimpō</i> -----	48
KELLEMS, JESSE RANDOLPH—appointed member of committee -----	5
KENT, WILLIAM E.—affidavit of, re Werner Plack -----	13
KIBRE, JEFF—member of Los Angeles County Council, Political Action Committee -----	148
KIDO, SABURO—statement of, re loyalty of Japanese -----	62
KIMBROUGH, JESS—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress -----	127
KING, H. J.—affidavit of, re construction in Hawaii -----	28
KING, PETE—endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i> -----	139
KIRSTEIN, LINCOLN—signer of call for American Writers' Congress -----	121
KLINE, HERBERT—signer of call for American Writers' Congress -----	121
KOBER, ARTHUR—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress -----	127
KOCH, HOWARD—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee -----	116
other activities of -----	117
KODOISM—definition of -----	48
KREYMBORG, ALFRED—	
member of executive committee of League of American Writers -----	126
signer of call for third American Writers' Congress -----	127
KRUPSKAYA, N.—honorary Presidium of Workers' Cultural Federation -----	119
KUHLMAN, GRISELDA—member of Los Angeles County Council, Political Action Committee -----	148
KUNITZ, JOSHUA—	
American delegate to International Union of Revolutionary Writers -----	119
listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers -----	119
member of National Council of League of American Writers -----	126
signer of call for first American Writers' Congress -----	121
signer of call for third American Writers' Congress -----	127

L

LAFERTE, ELIAS—	
activities of, as president of Communist Party of Chile -----	103, 104
address by, re Communism -----	105-115
editorial note prefacing printed speech by -----	104
excerpt from address by -----	211
LA MAR, R. G.—testimony of, re Communist agitation of Negro population -----	208
LAMSON, DAVID—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress -----	127
LANIUS, CHARLES—re, testimony of Harry W. Flannery -----	16
LASKY, JESSE JR.—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress -----	127
LAWSON, ELIZABETH—as key person in Communist school system -----	136
LAWSON, JOHN HOWARD—	
attendance of, at fourth American Writers' Congress -----	128
dominant figure in Hollywood Writers' Mobilization -----	130
dominant figure of Writers' Congress -----	122
endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i> -----	139
member of Provisional Committee, People's Educational Center -----	137

	Page
LAWSON, JOHN HOWARD—Continued	
member of Writers' Congress advisory committee.....	116
other activities of.....	118
member of executive committee of League of American Writers.....	126
other activities of.....	196
signer of call for first American Writers' Congress.....	121
signer of call for third American Writers' Congress.....	127
sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth.....	195
testimony of—	
re American Writers' Congress.....	129
re Communist Party activities.....	130
re <i>Daily Worker</i>	133
re <i>Sun Rises in the West</i>	132
LAYMAN, MEREDITH JOHN—testimony of, re Pachucos.....	171-172
LEAGUE OF AMERICAN WRITERS—	
formation of.....	120
list of executive committee and National Council of.....	126
Pacific Coast branch of, established.....	128
proceedings leading to formation of.....	120-125
report of investigation by Attorney General Francis Biddle of.....	134
LEE, CANADA—sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth.....	195
LEECH, JOHN—	
statement of, re John Howard Lawson.....	118
testimony of re Joseph W. Aidlin.....	139
LENIN, NIKOLAI—	
follower of Marxism.....	83
statement of, re dictatorship of proletariat.....	84
views of religion of.....	73
LENISM—applied to Marxian theories.....	83
LERNER, TILLIE—	
member of National Council of League of American Writers.....	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress.....	121
LE SEUER, MERIDEL—	
member of National Council of League of American Writers.....	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress.....	121
LEVIN, MEYER—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress.....	127
LEVY, LOUIS—member of Provisional Committee, People's Educational Center	137
LEVY, MELVIN P.—	
listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers.....	119
member of Writers' Congress advisory committee.....	116
signer of call for American Writers' Congress.....	121
LEWIS, FULTON, JR.—charges waste and inefficiency on Rohl products.....	31
LEWIS, JOHN L.—excerpts from <i>The Communist</i> re.....	149, 150
LIBERALISM—	
as doctrine of Capitalism.....	69
feudalism gives way to.....	69
LILYENFELDT, GEORGE VON—testimony of Harry W. Flannery re.....	17
LITERARY SERVICE—reprint of poem appearing in.....	119
LI, T. H.—active Presidium. Workers' Cultural Federation.....	119
LO HSUN—honorary Presidium of Workers' Cultural Federation.....	119
LONGSTREET, STEPHEN—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee	116
LONGUEIL, ALFRED E.—members of Writers' Congress advisory committee..	116
LOS ANGELES UNITARIAN CHURCH—used as Communist meeting place..	143
LOVETT, ROBERT MORSS—	
member of National Council of League of American Writers.....	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress.....	121
LOZOWICK, LOUIS—	
listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers.....	119
signer of call for American Writers' Congress.....	121
LUCKNER, COUNT FELIX VON—testimony of Harry W. Flannery.....	16

LUMPKIN, GRACE—	Page
member of National Council of League of American Writers.....	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress.....	121
LYND, HELEN MERRELL—signer of call for Third American Writers' Congress	127
LYONS, EUGENE—quotation from <i>The Red Decade</i> , by.....	127
M	
MACLEOD, NORMAN—listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers.....	119
MAGIL, A. B.—	
active Presidium, Workers Cultural Federation.....	119
American delegate to International Union of Revolutionary Writers.....	119
listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers	119
MALTZ, ALBERT—	
member of executive committee of League of American Writers.....	126
signer of call for Third American Writers' Congress.....	127
MANANA—editorial note from, preceding Elias Laferte's speech.....	104
MANKIND UNITED—	
chief object of.....	39
enterprises of.....	43
fantasies of exposed.....	32
map making of critical areas, enterprise of.....	45
members of sincere.....	33
organization of, by Arthur Bell.....	32
used as title of book.....	39
MANOFF, ARNOLD—member of Provisional Committee, People's Educational Center	137
MANRIQUE, C. BLAS—remarks by, introducing Elias Laferte.....	104-105
MANZANAR—	
description of relocation center at.....	45, 46
selected as relocation center for Japanese.....	45
MANZANAR FREE PRESS—excerpt from, re Manzanar disturbance.....	54
MANZANAR RELOCATION CENTER—	
discription of.....	45, 46
disturbance in, described.....	53-55
sample menus served to internees of.....	47
MARCUS, SAMUEL—denies Communist Party affiliation.....	6
MARMOR, K.—active Presidium, Workers Cultural Federation.....	119
MARTENS, C. A. K.—emissary of Russia in forming of Communist Party in United States.....	87
MARTIN, FRANK, JR.—attorney representing Hans W. Rohl.....	18
MARTY, JOE—endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i>	139
MARX, KARL—	
appraisal of character of, by Michael Bakunin.....	68
co-author of <i>Communist Manifesto</i>	80
early life.....	68
education of.....	69
excerpt from writings of, re history.....	77
interest in Hegelian philosophy.....	69, 75
opposition to Utopian philosophies cited.....	71
statement of—	
re class struggle.....	79
re discovery of gold in California.....	146
supported by Friedrich Engels.....	69
views on religion of.....	72, 73
MARXIAN DIALECTIC—	
definition of.....	75
testimony of William Schneiderman re.....	100
MARXISM—	
basic principles of.....	146
committee findings, re.....	66
definition of.....	71

	Page
MARXISM—Continued	
Max Eastman, re	74
statement of J. Edgar Hoover re	67, 136
statement of Lenin, re	73-74
theories of	71, 72
MATTHIESSEN, F. O.—	
background of	196
sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth	195
McCALL, MARY C., JR.—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee	116
McCORMICK, MRS. LA LUE—	
endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i>	139
other activities of	141
speech by, cited in testimony of Clyde Shoemaker	176-177
testimony of, re Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth	184
McDONALD, DAVID J.—appointed assistant to Sidney Hillman	148
McGOWAN, KENNETH—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee	116
McGRATH, FRANK—member of National Executive Board, C. I. O.	148
McHENRY, DEAN E.—member of Provisional Committee, People's Educational Center	137
McKENNEY, RUTH—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
McKNIGHT, RUSSELL L.—member of Provisional Committee, People's Educational Center	137
McMILLAN, LESTER—	
endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i>	139
letter from, endorsing Pro-War Conference	142
McWILLIAMS, CAREY—	
affiliations of	193
endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i>	139
member of Provisional Committee, People's Educational Center	137
other activities of	137
Pacific Coast branch of League of American Writers, headed by	128
signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth	183
statement of, re <i>Peoples Daily World</i>	141
testimony of, re racial intermarriage	194-195
MEAD, JANE—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee	116
MERCHANT ELECTRICAL CONTRACTORS AND SUPPLY COMPANY—	
engaged in Army contracts vicinity of Pearl Harbor	20
MERLIN, MILTON—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee	116
MERRILL, LEWIS—member of National Executive Board, C. I. O.	148
MERRITT, RALPH P.—as director of Manzanar	54
MEYERS, COURT—member of Los Angeles County Council, Political Action Committee	148
MILITARY AFFAIRS COMMITTEE—	
findings of, re Rohl case	31
investigator assigned to Rohl case	31
MINTON, BRUCE—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
MISCHEL, JOSEPH—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee	116
MOORE, JACK—testimony of, re Comintern	153
MOORE, SAM—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee	116
MORE, SIR THOMAS—as author of <i>Utopia</i>	70
MORRIS, WILLIAM, JR.—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee	116
MUMFORD, LEWIS—	
member of National Council of League of American Writers	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress	121
MURRAY, PHILIP—Sidney Hillman appointed head of C. I. O. Political Action Committee by	148
MUSTER, MORRIS—member of National Executive Board, C. I. O.	147
MYER, DILLON—order of, to close Japanese relocation centers	50

N

NADIR, MOISHE—	
member of National Council of League of American Writers	126
statement by, re proletarian writer	125

	Page
NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAM—	
Committee to investigate interference with_____	5
interference with, in California_____	5
NATIVE SONS OF GOLDEN WEST—opposing Tulelake as center for disloyal Japanese _____	58
NAZISM—objectives of, unchanged_____	6
NEIL, STEWART—sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican- American Youth _____	183
NELSON, ELEANOR—member of National Executive Board, C. I. O._____	147
NEVADA CONSOLIDATED COPPER MINING COMPANY—Hans Wilhelm Rohl employed by_____	7
NEW CHRISTIANITY—principles of brotherhood of_____	71
NEWHOUSE, EDWARD—signer of call for American Writers' Congress_____	121
NEW YORK COMMUNIST—propaganda campaign of Communist Party launched in _____	87
NICHOLS, DUDLEY—	
attendance of, at fourth American Writers' Congress_____	128
member of Writers' Congress advisory committee_____	116
other activities of_____	117
NIGEY, WALTER—affidavit of Samuel N. Ebb re_____	44
NISEI—	
activities of, testimony of Tanaka Togo_____	50, 51
definition of _____	48
domination of by Issei believed broken_____	64
names of, listed in <i>Rafu Shimpō</i> _____	62
subversive activities of, against Government of United States_____	52
NORTH, JOSEPH—signer of call for American Writers' Congress_____	121
NUNN, GUY—sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth _____	183
O	
OAKES, GRANT W.—member of National Executive Board, C. I. O._____	147
OBOLER, ARCH—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee_____	116
O'CONNOR, HARVEY—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress_____	127
O'CONNOR, J. F. T.—	
granted citizenship to Hans W. Rohl_____	29
no irregularities in records of_____	29
ODETS, CLIFFORD—member of National Council of League of American Writers _____	126
OLGIN, MOUSSAYE J.—	
member of National Council of League of American Writers_____	126
report by, re Soviet Writers_____	122
signer of call for American Writers' Congress_____	121
OLIVERAS, JOSE—founding of Sinarquista Movement by_____	197
OLIVER, WILLIAM—	
member of Writers' Congress advisory committee_____	116
other activities of_____	117
OPATOSHU, JOSEPH—member of National Council of League of American Writers _____	126
ORNITZ, SAMUEL—signer of call for American Writers' Congress_____	121
OTTO, RICHARD—endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i> _____	139
OWEN, ROBERT—as advocate of Utopian philosophy_____	71
P	
PACHUCOS—	
also referred to as Zoot-Suiters_____	160
testimony of—	
Carl R. Ericson, re_____	167-168
John J. Halloran re_____	168-169
Meredith John Layman re_____	171
Police Chief C. B. Horrall re riots of_____	160-162
Vance Brasher re_____	169

	Page
PAGE, MYRA—	
listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers	119
signer of call for American Writers' Congress	121
PANDORA—	
testimony re fire insurance on	10
yacht destroyed by fire	8
PARKER, DOROTHY—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
PATTERSON, JAMES T.—member of Los Angeles County Council, Political Action Committee	148
PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION—excerpt from report of re Communist Party	91-93
PEARL HARBOR—	
aircraft warning system of, not completed on December 7, 1941	27
army installations near, in charge of Theodore Wyman, Jr.	18
contract awarded for installations near	7
effect of attack at, on Communist activities	130
greatest successes in Communist Party achieved since attack on	147
PEOPLE'S DAILY WORLD—	
excerpts from—	
re endorsement of Pro-War Conference by Assemblyman McMillan	142
re Fact-Finding Committee	159
re need of	138
re Sinarquista Movement	204-206
re Tulalake riot	60-61
statement of—	
Carey McWilliams re	141
Parley Parker Christensen re	140
testimony of William Schneiderman re	93-97
PEOPLE'S EDUCATIONAL CENTER—	
invitation of, to organizations	136
propaganda school of Communist Party	136
PERELMAN, S. J.—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
PERRY, PETTIS—	
endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i>	139
other activities of	142
PETERS, PAUL—	
member of National Council of League of American Writers	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress	121
PINE, W. BRUCE—	
assisted committee in investigations	6
testimony of, re Werner Plack	14
PITMAN, JOHN—excerpt from writings of, re Japanese release from relocation centers	61
PITTS, REBECCA—member of National Council of League of American Writers	126
PLACK, WERNER—	
affidavit of William E. Kent, re	13
background of	12
nationality of, testimony re	13
testimony of—	
Harry W. Flannery, re	15
Bruce Pine, re	14
Hans Rohl, re	12
POLLARD, WALTER—member of Los Angeles County Council, Political Action Committee	148
POMERANCE, M. WILLIAM—member of Provisional Committee, People's Educational Center	137
PORTER, ALLEN—signer of call for American Writers' Congress	121
POSNER, JEROME K.—	
member of Los Angeles County Council, Political Action Committee	148
other activities of	193, 196, 197
sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth	182
POSTON RELOCATION CENTER—laxity in control of internees of	58-59

POTAMKIN, HARRY ALLEN—	Page
active Presidium, Workers Cultural Federation-----	119
American delegate to International Union of Revolutionary Writers-----	119
listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers-----	119
PREECE, HAROLD—signer of call for American Writers' Congress-----	121
PRESS—commendation of-----	6
PROBLEMS OF LENINISM—excerpts from, re working class-----	155
PROCTOR, LYLE—member of Los Angeles County Council, Political Action Committee-----	148
PROKOSCH, FREDERICK—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress-----	127
PROLETARIAT—	
<i>Communist Manifesto</i> regarded as bible of-----	80
confusion of, following change in directives from Russia-----	128
definition of-----	66
statement of—	
Karl Marx re struggles of-----	80
Lenin re dictatorship of-----	84
Leon Trotsky re restrictions on-----	84-85
PRO-WAR PRESS CONFERENCE—	
call for, issued by <i>People's Daily World</i> -----	138
letter from Assemblyman Lester McMillan endorsing-----	142
list of endorsers of-----	139
PRUETTE, LORINE—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress-----	127
PUTNAM, SAMUEL—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress-----	127

Q

QUILL, MICHAEL J.—	
member of National Executive Board, C. I. O.-----	148
other activities of-----	197
sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth-----	195
QUINN, JOHN R.—letter from Jack Tenney to, re Unitarian Church of Los Angeles-----	143

R

RADEK, KARL—cablegram from, re American Writers' Congress-----	123
RADIO WRITERS GUILD—listed as participating in Hollywood Writers Mobilization-----	117
RAFO SHIMPO—	
policies of, declared subversive-----	62
printing of directory of, in Japan-----	62
RAMONA—	
disagreement of ownership of-----	10
inspection of, by immigration officers-----	8
replacement of Pandora by-----	8
RAVIN, DAVID—attorney in Sleepy Lagoon Murder Case-----	175
RED-BAITING AND RED-BAITERS—	
excerpt from 1943 Report, re-----	66
statement of J. Edgar Hoover, as-----	67
RED DECADE, THE—quotation from, re Waldo Frank-----	127
REED, JOHN—activities of, in early days of Communist Party-----	86, 87
REED, J. F.—	
testimony of—	
re Al Waxman-----	189
re zoot-suit riots-----	162
RELIGION—	
Communist views of-----	72-74
excerpts from, by Lenin-----	73
quotation by Karl Marx re-----	72, 73
RENN, LUDWIG—honorary Presidium of Workers' Cultural Federation-----	119
REPUBLIC—writing of, first utopian thinking-----	70
REVOLUTION—reprint of poem, entitled-----	124
REYNOLDS, H. R.—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee-----	116
RHEINISCHE, ZEITUNG—Karl Marx, as editor of-----	69

	Page
RIESS, CURT—excerpt from <i>Total Espionage</i> by	203
RIVER, W. L.—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
RIVKIN, ALLEN—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee	116
other activities of	117
ROBIN, ED—	
domination by, at Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i>	142
signer of call for Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i>	139
ROBINSON, REID—member of National Executive Board, C. I. O.	148
ROEDER, RALPH—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress.....	127
ROGERS, MRS. WILL, JR.—sponsor of citizens committee for Defense of Mexican-American youth	183
ROHL-CONNOLLY COMPANY—	
contract re San Pedro Breakwater	11
engaged in Army construction projects	8, 18
interest in, disposed of by Hans W. Rohl	31
organization of	6, 7
testimony re stock of	9
ROHL, HANS W.—	
activities of, subject of broadcast series by Fulton Lewis, Jr.	31
affidavit of H. J. King, re	28
aggregate value of installations by	31
as lavish spender	11, 12
as partner of Thomas E. Connolly	7
awarded Alcan Project contract in Alaska	31
awarded Canol Project contract in Canada	31
citizenship status of	7, 8, 19, 20, 30
early history of	7
engaged in Army construction work near Pearl Harbor	18
engaged in government contracts as alien	19
false statements in income tax returns of	9
financial standing of	7
friendship of, with Theodore Wyman, Jr.	11
immigration records omit name of	8
subject of Third Reich	19
summary of committee findings re	31, 32
testimony of, concerning—	
fire insurance on Pandora	10
military installations near Pearl Harbor	19
ownership of yachts	10
stock in Rohl-Connolly Company	9
Werner Plack	12
testimony of Ray Anderson re	22, 25
various yachts purchased by	8
ROHL, MRS. FLOYE—	
testimony of, concerning—	
fire insurance on Pandora	10
ownership of yachts	10
stock in Rohl-Connolly Company	9
ROLLINS, WILLIAM, JR.—	
member of National Council of League of American Writers	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress	121
ROMAINE, PAUL—signer of call for American Writers' Congress.....	121
ROME, HAROLD J.—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress.....	127
ROSENTHAL, WILLIAM—endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's</i> <i>Daily World</i>	139
ROSSEN, ROBERT—	
activities of, in Hollywood Writers Mobilization	130
chairman of Hollywood Writers Mobilization	117
member of Writers' Congress advisory committee	116
RUKEYSER, MURIEL—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress.....	127
RUSSELL, REV. CLAYTON—	
endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i>	139
other activities of	142
sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth.....	195

RYAN, RUTH S.—	Page
member of Provisional Committee, People's Educational Center	137
other activities of	137

S

SAINT-SIMON—principles of brotherhood of	71
SAKAMAKI, DR. SHUNZO—statement of, re Shintoism	49
SANBURG, CARL—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee	116
SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE—excerpts from re Tulalake and Manzanar disturbances	52, 53
SARGENT, JOHN—denies Communist Party affiliation	6
SATURDAY EVENING POST—excerpt from, re C. I. O.	152
SCHARY, DORE—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee	116
SCHMIT, JUDY—activities of, re <i>People's Daily World</i>	143
SCHNEIDER, ISIDOR—	
member of executive committee of League of American Writers	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress	121
SCHNEIDERMAN, WILLIAM—	
testimony of, concerning—	
Marxian dialectic	100-102
<i>People's Daily World</i>	93-97
SCHOFIELD, LEMUEL B.—letter by, re granting of citizenship to Hans W. Rohl	30
SCHULTZ, CLYDE L.—testimony of, re Al Waxman	191-192
SCHULTZ, PHILLIP—attorney in Sleepy Lagoon Murder Case	175
SCHWARTZ, ARTHUR—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee	116
SCHWARTZ, ZACHARY—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee	116
SCREEN CARTOONISTS GUILD—listed as participating in Hollywood Writers Mobilization	117
SCREEN PUBLICISTS GUILD—listed as participating in Hollywood Writers Mobilization	117
SCREEN READERS GUILD—listed as participating in Hollywood Writers Mobilization	117
SCREEN WRITERS GUILD—listed as participating in Hollywood Writers Mobilization	117
SCUDDER, VIDA D.—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
SEAVER, EDWIN—	
member of executive committee of League of American Writers	126
quotation by, re <i>Proletarian Novel</i>	123
signer of call for first American Writers' Congress	121
signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
SECOND INTERNATIONAL—	
creation of	83
Socialist party of United States affiliated with	83
SELLY, JOSEPH—member of National Executive Board, C. I. O.	147
SHAFFER, J.—active Presidium, Workers' Cultural Federation	119
SHAFFRAN, EVA—	
member of Provisional Committee, People's Educational Center	137
other activities of	138
SHAPIRO, AARON—member of Los Angeles County Council, Political Action Committee	148
SHAPIRO, CHAIM—endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i>	139
SHAW, IRWIN—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
SHEAN, VINCENT—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
SHERMAN, VINCENT—endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i>	139
SHIBLEY, GEORGE—attorney in Sleepy Lagoon Murder Case	175
SHINTOISM—definition of	48
SHOEMAKER, CLYDE—testimony of, re Sleepy Lagoon Murder Case	175-182
SHORE, VIOLA BROTHERS—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
SIFTON, CLAIRE—signer of call for American Writers' Congress	121
SIFTON, PAUL—signer of call for American Writers' Congress	121

	Page
SILVER, MAX—	
endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i> -----	139
other activities of-----	142
SINARQUISTA MOVEMENT—	
activities of, in southern California-----	160
excerpts from <i>People's Daily World</i> re-----	205, 206
excerpt from <i>Total Espionage</i> re-----	203
Martin Cabrera testimony re-----	205-207
need for creation of, testimony of Pedro Villasenor-----	202-203
not considered subversive-----	208
organization and history of-----	197
Pedro B. Villasenor testimony re-----	198-204
Police Chief C. B. Horrall testimony re-----	160-162
SINCLAIR, UPTON—	
honorary Presidium of Workers' Cultural Federation-----	119
listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers-----	119
signer of call for third American Writers' Congress-----	127
SINGH, R. LAL—	
activities of-----	197
sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth-----	195
SKLAR, GEORGE—	
member of National Council of League of American Writers-----	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress-----	121
SLADE, ALBEE—	
member of Provisional Committee, People's Educational Center-----	137
other activities of-----	138
sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth-----	195
SLEEPY LAGOON MURDER CASE—	
history of-----	174
list of attorneys appearing in-----	175
used by Communist Party to feed racial agitation-----	195
SLESSINGER, TESS—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress-----	127
SMEDLEY, AGNES—	
listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers-----	119
member of National Council of League of American Writers-----	126
SMITH, FERDINAND—	
member of National Executive Board, C. I. O.-----	148
sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth-----	195
SOCIALIST PARTY—	
affiliation of Second International-----	83
encouragement given by, to Communist Party formation-----	87
SONG WRITERS PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION—participating in Holly- wood Writers Mobilization-----	117
SORRELL, HERB—	
endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i> -----	139
other activities of-----	142
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA TELEPHONE COMPANY—records of, investi- gated-----	19
SOVIET COMMISSION—publication of textbook by-----	97
SPECTOR, HERMAN—listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers-----	119
SPIVAK, JOHN L.—signer of call for American Writers' Congress-----	121
SPROUL, ROBERT G.—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee-----	116
STALIN, JOSEF—	
excerpts from writings of—	
<i>Foundations of Leninism</i> , re England and America-----	99
<i>Problem of Leninism</i> re proletariat-----	155
statement of, re Communist ethics-----	74
STATE, COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL WORKERS OF AMERICA—establish- ment of Communists in State Relief Administration by-----	157
STATE RELIEF ADMINISTRATION—Communist workers in-----	157

	Page
STEFFENS, LINCOLN—member of National Council of League of American Writers	126
STEVENSON, PHILIP—	
signer of call for first American Writers' Congress	121
signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
STEWART, DONALD OGDEN—	
activities of, in League of American Writers	128
signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
STONE, IRVING—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
STOUT, REX—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee	116
STOWE, LELAND—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127

T

TAGGARD, GENEVIEVE—	
member of executive committee of League of American Writers	126
signer of call for American Writers' Congress	121
signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
TANAKA, TOGO—testimony of, re Nisei activities	50, 51
TAYAMA, FRED—	
attack of by disloyal Japanese	54
central figure in Manzanar disturbance	53
severance of Japanese citizenship of	53
TEHERAN CONFERENCE—attitude of Communists re	102
TENNEY, JACK B.—	
appointed member of committee	5
conference with Attorney General Biddle re Rohl case	30
elected chairman of committee	5
letter from, re Los Angeles Unitarian Church	144-145
THIMMES, JAMES—member of Los Angeles County Council, Political Action Committee	148
THIRD INTERNATIONAL—	
creation of	83, 85
known as Comintern	83, 85
THOMAS, R. J.—appointed assistant to Sidney Hillman	148
THURBER, JAMES—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
TINKER, GENERAL—testimony of Ray Anderson re	22
TOLEDANO, VINCENTO LOMBARDO—head of Confederation of Latin-American Workers	104
TOMAS—honorary Presidium of Workers' Cultural Federation	119
TOTAL ESPIONAGE—excerpt from, re Sinarquistas	203
TRACHTENBERG, ALEXANDER—	
active Presidium, Workers' Cultural Federation	119
member of executive committee of League of American Writers	126
regarded as leader of Agit-prop	128
signer of call for American Writers' Congress	121
TROTSKY, LEON—statement of, re Soviet state	84-85
TROTTI, LAMAR—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee	116
TULELAKE RELOCATION CENTER—	
cited as dangerous location for housing of disloyal Japanese	58
defiance among internees of	52
demands of Japanese in	55
description of	45, 46
description of riots in	52, 53
disloyal Japanese moved to	52
dissent in	55
riot in, discussed in <i>People's Daily World</i>	60-61
rioting of Japanese in	55-58
sabotage of Japanese in	55-57
sample menus served to internees of	47
segregation of loyal from disloyal Japanese in	55
TUTTLE, FRANK—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127

U

	Page
UNITARIAN CHURCH OF LOS ANGELES—letter from Jack Tenney re	143
UNITED STATES ENGINEER DEPARTMENT—testimony of Ray Anderson re	22
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES—Writers' Congress under auspices of	115
UNTERMEYER, JEAN STARR—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
UNTERMEYER, LOUIS—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
UTOPIA—principles of, discussed	70
UTOPIANS—	
capitalism accepted by	71
history and beliefs of	70, 71

V

VALE, RENA M.—	
author of <i>Sun Rises in the West</i>	118
denials of Communism by	6
excerpt from affidavit by, re John Howard Lawson	132
persons named in affidavit by	6
statement of, re John Howard Lawson	118
VANDERBIE, C. L.—member of Provisional Committee, People's Educational Center	137
VAN DOREN, CARL—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
VAN TRESS, BEN—attorney in Sleepy Lagoon Murder Case	175
VEGA—	
affidavit of H. J. King re	28
crew of, interrogated by immigration inspectors	11
disagreement of ownership of	10
ownership of, by Hans W. Rohl	8
VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS—assistance given committee by	6
VILLASENOR, PEDRO B.—	
early history of	197
testimony of, re Sinarquistas	198-204
VOGUE—testimony of Harry W. Flannery re	18
VOICE, THE—Arthur Bell, known as	32
VORSE, MARY HEATON—listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers	119

W

WALLIS, KEENE—	
listed among American writers on staff of International Union of Revolutionary Writers	119
<i>Literary Service</i> edited by	119
WAXMAN, AL—	
Clyde L. Schultz testimony re	191-192
endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i>	139
J. F. Reed testimony re	189
other activities of	142
sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth	182
testimony of, re zoot suiters	185-189
WEATHERWAX, CLARA—Pacific Coast branch of League of American Writers headed by	128
WEINER, JOHN—agent of House of Representatives	31
WELLES, ORSON—	
attendance of, at Fourth American Writers' Congress	128
sponsor of Citizens Committee for Defense of Mexican-American Youth	195
WEST, NATHANIEL—signer of call for American Writers' Congress	121
WEXLEY, JOHN—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
WHITE, WALTER—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee	116
WILLIAMS, CLAUDIA—	
aliases Hoffman, Parker used by	148
Communist activities of	148

	Page
WINSTEAD, RALPH D.—member of Provisional Committee, People's Educational Center	137
WINTER, CARL—	
activities of, in Communist Party	130
interests of, in People's Educational Center	138
WINTER, ELLA—	
signer of call for first American Writers' Congress	121
signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
WISE, JAMES WATERMAN—member of National Council of League of American Writers	126
WODEHOUSE, P. G.—testimony of Harry W. Flannery re	16
WOLFF, WILLIAM—member of Provisional Committee, Peoples' Educational Center	137
WOOLLEY, RALPH—as front man for Hans W. Rohl	22
WORKERS' CULTURAL FEDERATION—	
cablegram from Moscow lauding organization of	119
list of officers of	119
WORKERS' SCHOOLS—organization of, as part of Communist educational system	136
WORNE, CLORE—testimony of Clyde Shoemaker re	179-180
WRIGHT, RICHARD—	
member of National Council of League of American Writers	126
signer of call for first American Writers' Congress	121
signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127
reprint of <i>I Have Seen Black Hands</i> by	125
WRITERS' CONGRESS—	
Communistic foundations of	115
invitation to attend	115-116
list of members of advisory committee of	116
WYMAN, THEODORE, JR.—	
affidavit of H. J. King re	28
affiliations of	12
army installations near Pearl Harbor in charge of	18
associations with Hans W. Rohl evaluated	31
friendship of, with Hans W. Rohl	11
Roy Anderson testimony re	20
testimony of Naval Officer re	12
WANGER, WALTER—member of Writers' Congress advisory committee	116

Y

YAMATO—definition of	48
YOKOHAMA SPECIE BANK—as transfer agent to divert money to Japan	50
YOUNG, CONE—endorser of Pro-War Press Conference, <i>People's Daily World</i>	139
YOUNG, STANLEY—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127

Z

ZERMANO, MANUEL—founding of Sinarquista Movement by	197
ZOOT-SUITERS—	
activities of, in Sleepy Lagoon Murder Case	174
also referred to as Pachucos	160
Al Waxman testimony re	185-189
attacks and riots by	160
C. L. Christopher testimony re riots of	165-167
Communist interests in	160
George Contreras testimony re	188
J. F. Reed testimony re riots of	162, 165
Philip Connelly testimony re disturbances of	184, 185
ZUGSMITH, LEANE—signer of call for third American Writers' Congress	127

