

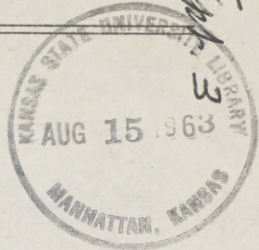
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HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE
EIGHTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

PART 3

JANUARY 11 AND 25, 1963

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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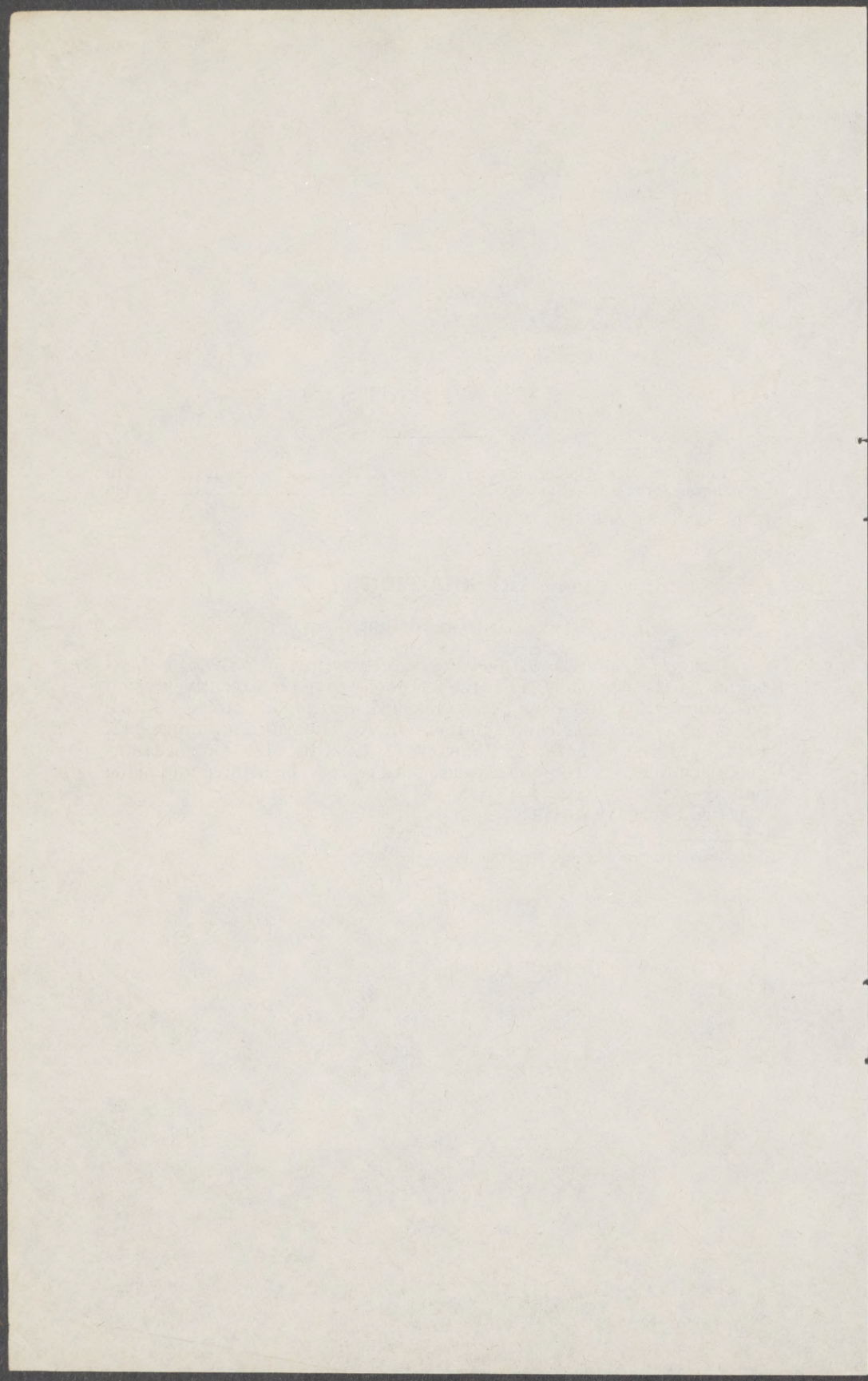
RESOLUTION

JANUARY 31, 1963

Resolved by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, That the testimony given in executive session on January 10, 1963, by Peter Odegard, Joseph J. Binns, Pauline Schindler, Dorothy Healey, and Trevor K. Thomas; on January 11, 1963, by Jerome Shore; on January 25, 1963, by Mrs. Donna Gumpertz¹ be released from the injunction of secrecy, be printed and made public.

Dated February 8, 1963.

¹ As carried in transcript. Mrs. Donald (Catherine Cory) Gumpertz.



PACIFICA FOUNDATION

FRIDAY, JANUARY 11, 1963

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS, OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:10 a.m., in room 2300, New Senate Office Building, Senator Thomas J. Dodd (vice chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators Dodd, Roman L. Hruska, and Kenneth B. Keating.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; Alan D. McArthur, associate counsel; Warren Littman, associate counsel; Samuel J. Scott, assistant counsel; William F. McManus, assistant to the chief counsel; and Benjamin Mandel, research director.

(Present at this point: Senators Dodd and Keating.)

Senator DODD. Will you raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear the testimony you give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SHORE. I do.

Senator DODD. Be seated. Thank you.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are Mr. Jerome Shore?

TESTIMONY OF JEROME SHORE

Mr. SHORE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are here with counsel?

Mr. SHORE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Of your own choice?

Mr. SHORE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Two attorneys?

Mr. SHORE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you identify them, please?

Mr. SHORE. Mr. Lawrence Speiser and Mr. Harry Plotkin.

Mr. SOURWINE. These gentlemen are both identified in the record already as to their address. Would you give the reporter your address, Mr. Shore?

Mr. SHORE. 695 Connecticut Street, San Francisco.

Mr. SOURWINE. And your business or profession?

Mr. SHORE. I am with the Pacifica Foundation.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is your connection with Pacifica?

Mr. SHORE. I am the executive vice president.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you tell us how long you have held that position?

Mr. SHORE. For about 5½ months.

Mr. SOURWINE. Whom did you succeed?

Mr. SHORE. May I discuss it with counsel, please?

Mr. SOURWINE. Surely.

Mr. SHORE. I believe the former executive vice president was Terry Drinkwater.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you get that job? Were you elected or appointed?

Mr. SHORT. I was appointed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who appointed you?

Mr. SHORE. The board, the Pacifica—

Mr. SOURWINE. The board of directors?

Mr. SHORE. Board of directors of Pacifica.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not call that an election by the board?

Mr. SHORE. No. That was an appointment by the board.

Mr. SOURWINE. An appointment by the board?

Mr. SHORE. Right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are all of the officers appointed, rather than elected?

Mr. SHORE. Well, let me clarify this. We talk about the staff. Actually, I am a member of the staff. I am not a member of the board.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHORE. Of Pacifica, and the other staff member is Mr. Thomas, and the third one is Vera Hopkins, who is the secretary.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. SHORE. And these are appointments by the board.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, sir.

I just wanted to get it straight.

Mr. SHORE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. The board does not vote on you people, then?

Senator DODD. He is not a member of the board. Do you know how this is done?

Mr. SHORE. No, I am not sure, to be honest with you.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, sir.

What are your duties as executive vice president?

Mr. SHORE. Mainly administrative.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you connected specifically with any one of the radio stations that Pacifica owns?

Mr. SHORE. No, I am not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you had any connection with Pacifica Foundation before you became executive vice president?

Mr. SHORE. No, I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was your business or profession before you went with Pacifica?

Mr. SHORE. Prior to that, I was doing land design and marketing with a real estate company.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had no connection with Pacifica in 1958?

Mr. SHORE. None at all.

Senator DODD. I have forgotten. How long?

Mr. SHORE. About 5½ months.

Senator DODD. You have only been with them 5½ months?

Mr. SHORE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you happen to go with Pacifica? Did someone invite you to come, or did you apply?

Mr. SHORE. No, a friend advised me that there was a job open; they felt that I could do the job.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was that?

Mr. SHORE. Mr. Sam Kaplin.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he connected with Pacifica?

Mr. SHORE. Not excepting as a subscriber.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are salaried in your present job?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, I am.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you tell us, sir, what the net worth of the Pacifica Foundation is?

Mr. SHORE. Honestly, I cannot.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what the annual income is, or approximately what it is?

Mr. SHORE. Approximately—pardon me, but I would like to get it—

Mr. SOURWINE. Pacifica Foundation.

Mr. SHORE. The Foundation, itself?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. SHORE. There is no income.

Mr. SOURWINE. The radio stations are wholly owned, are they?

Mr. SHORE. They are wholly owned and operated.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are they separate corporations?

Mr. SHORE. There is one separate corporation.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is WBAI?

Mr. SHORE. WBAI.

Mr. SOURWINE. New York?

Mr. SHORE. New York, that is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. So it would have a separate income of its own, but income of the radio stations, being wholly owned, would be income to Pacifica, would it not?

Mr. SHORE. No, not necessarily.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what the income of the radio stations is in California?

Mr. SHORE. Income of the radio stations in California?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHORE. Approximately, I think this last year, and I am not quite sure, but I think it was somewhere around \$170,000.

Mr. SOURWINE. For all three stations?

Mr. SHORE. No, no, no; this is just for the Berkeley station.

Mr. SOURWINE. I just wanted to be sure.

Mr. SHORE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. How about the Los Angeles station?

Mr. SHORE. I am not quite sure, but it would probably be, possibly a little less, but I am not sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is the Pacifica Foundation a nonprofit, educational institution?

Mr. SHORE. So far as I know it is.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it tax exempt by ruling of the Board of Internal Revenue?

Mr. SHORE. So far as I know it is.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you aware, sir—this may have happened before your time, now—are you aware of a controversy over the screening of program contributors or other persons permitted to broadcast over Pacifica?

Mr. SHORE. I have no knowledge of this.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any knowledge of any influence over Pacifica or its radio stations exercised by, or on behalf of, the Communist Party, U.S.A.?

Mr. SHORE. I have no knowledge of that, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any knowledge respecting the arrangements which were made to obtain a tape of proceedings of the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., rebroadcast?

Mr. SHORE. I have no knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was in 1960. There is no reason why you should have knowledge.

Mr. SHORE. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. I just thought you might.

Were you with the station in August of 1962?

Mr. SHORE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Vincent Theodore Lee?

Mr. SHORE. No; I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know anything about the negotiations with Mr. Lee to go to Cuba for tape recording of interviews with Fidel Castro, Ernesto Guevara, and others?

Mr. SHORE. No; I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is there any person employed by Pacifica Foundation, or any of its owned, controlled or affiliated radio stations, whom you know, or have reason to believe, is a present or past member of the Communist Party, U.S.A.?

Mr. SHORE. No; I do not.

Senator KEATING. Do you mean connected with the administration of the corporation?

Mr. SOURWINE. No, sir; I asked the question broadly: Anyone employed whom he knew; that meant knew to be employed or knew to be a member of the Communist Party.

Senator KEATING. You mean employed—

Mr. SOURWINE. On the staff.

Senator KEATING. On the staff?

Mr. SOURWINE. On the staff; yes, sir, employed; salaried or wage employee.

Mr. SHORE. Pardon me, sir, could I get it clarified?

Senator DODD. Why do you not ask the question again?

Mr. SPEISER. May we have the question read over again?

Mr. SOURWINE. It has been asked and answered.

Senator DODD. Let us have it again.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you read the question back?

(The question was read, as requested.)

Mr. SHORE. May I have a moment with counsel?

Mr. SOURWINE. Surely.

Mr. SHORE. I can perhaps clarify this. So far as I know, to the best of my knowledge, there is nobody who is presently a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. SOURWINE. Of course, when you qualify your answer like that, you, necessarily, make me ask the other half of the question.

Do you know anyone presently employed by the Pacifica Foundation or its stations whom you know, or have reason to believe, was a former member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHORE. Just a moment.

Mr. SOURWINE. May the record show the witness is again conferring with counsel.

Mr. SHORE. To further clarify it, with respect to any other person employed by Pacifica, I have no knowledge of anybody having been in the past, having been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. SPEISER. Stop there.

Mr. SOURWINE. No; let him finish. I do not believe counsel should tell a witness "stop there."

Senator DODD. I think what counsel meant was he thought he had completed his answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had you completed your answer?

Mr. SHORE. I think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you not going to go ahead and tell us about yourself?

Mr. SHORE. Well, I would rather not. I would rather wait for the next question.

Mr. SOURWINE. Counsel stopped you. We will go to the next question.

Senator DODD. I honestly do not feel counsel stopped him, Mr. Sourwine. I think he thought he had finished his answer.

Mr. SPEISER. Thank you, Senator Dodd. That was the purpose of my advising.

Senator DODD. I am sure it was. I think any lawyer is likely to do that when he thinks his witness has answered the question.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is Jerome Shore the name you were born under, Mr. Shore?

Mr. SHORE. No; it is not.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were born Jerome Schwartz?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And your name has been officially changed by the probate court of Detroit, Mich., February 1, 1940, so that Jerome Shore is your legal name?

Mr. SHORE. Yes; it is.

Mr. SOURWINE. You served in the U.S. Army from August 19, 1943, to April 6, 1946?

Mr. SHORE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. With an honorable discharge?

Mr. SHORE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You served in the European, African, Middle East theaters, and you received a battlefield promotion to first lieutenant?

Mr. SHORE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. From 1932 to 1937 you were employed by the Seneca Textile Corp. of New York City?

Mr. SHORE. May I discuss it with counsel, please?

The answer to that is "Yes."

Mr. SOURWINE. Was this under the name of Shore or Schwartz?

Mr. SHORE. That was under the name of Schwartz.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were from 1933 to 1943 regional director of the United Office & Professional Workers of America, CIO?

Mr. SHORE. At this point I would like to understand the pertinency of the question, how it pertains to the inquiry.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes. As of the present time, I am still simply identifying you. There was an individual under the name of Schwartz in that position. The committee has reason to believe it was you. I am just trying to identify for the record whether it was.

Mr. SHORE. Can you give me some idea what the subject under inquiry at this moment is?

Mr. SOURWINE. The subject under inquiry here today?

Mr. SHORE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir.

The subject under inquiry here, specifically, the purpose of the questions that are being asked now, is to attempt to determine——

Senator DODD. Did we give Mr. Shore my statement?

Mr. McMANUS. Senator, he received it yesterday afternoon. If you recall, he read it.

Mr. SHORE. This was a statement having to do with Dorothy Healey.

Mr. SOURWINE. The statement made by Senator Dodd at the opening of the hearing, yes.

Senator DODD. I think he should have a copy before him. In that statement I have tried to set out what the purpose of the hearing was.

Mr. SOURWINE. I still think the witness would be entitled to a specific answer here about the questions now being asked.

The purpose of the questions that I am now asking is to attempt to determine what, if any, Communist infiltration there may have been in Pacifica Foundation, what opportunities there may be for Communist control of Pacifica Foundation. And in that connection I have asked you about others whom you may have known as Communists, and I will shortly ask you about yourself. But I am now simply seeking information about your past history, primarily for purposes of identification.

Mr. SHORE. Can you also give me some idea about the legislative authority of the committee on this inquiry?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

The committee sits under two resolutions of the Senate. Do you have a copy of the witness' handbook?

Mr. McMANUS. He received that also yesterday.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did receive the handbook yesterday. The authority is set forth in full there. I know the counsel has the number of the resolution and the text.

Senator DODD. It might be wise and helpful to him if we give him a copy now.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have a copy there, Mr. Plotkin? Hand it to the witness, please. Senator Dodd's statement at the opening of the hearing made a very good explanation of the committee's purpose, generally, in holding these hearings with regard to Pacifica.

Mr. SHORE. Is this the sole authority that the committee has, legislative authority, with regard to this particular inquiry, or has there been any subsequent one?

Mr. SOURWINE. I would not want to express a legal opinion with regard to authority, but the witness' handbook states the authority

upon which the committee relies. If you mean whether there has been any new resolution in this session of Congress, there has not. The committee's fiscal year is from the end of January to the end of January.

Mr. SHORE. Has there been a vote by a majority of the subcommittee on this investigation?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. SHORE. Can I have a moment with counsel, please?

Mr. SOURWINE. Surely.

Mr. SHORE. You see, what I am concerned about is whether this is pertinent to the inquiry as you describe it in this, as Senator Dodd has it outlined in here, the pertinency of this particular question of going back to my employment that far back.

Now, in this sense, it seems to me it is kind of an infringement on my rights under the first amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. The question, in pertinence, sir, if you are, as we believe, and admit to being, the Schwartz who held the position I have asked about, that is, regional director of the United Office & Professional Workers of America, CIO, during the period 1933 to 1940, and held the same position under the name of "Shore" after February 1, 1940, until 1943, the committee has information respecting other activities of that man, and we will ask you about those.

I think this is a proper question as foundation, as identification.

Mr. SHORE. Pardon me.

I must continue to refuse to answer the question on the grounds that I do not think that it is pertinent for the reasons I gave a moment ago.

Senator Dodd. You do not want to tell us if you had this job at that time?

Mr. SHORE. You see, I do not think that it is really pertinent to the inquiry, Senator Dodd.

Senator Dodd. I think I should inform you that the Chair rules that it is pertinent.

Mr. SHORE. I will refuse to answer on the grounds that I stated, and also exercising my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Shore, after you got out of the Army, did you resume your connection with the UOPWA?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to refuse to answer the grounds that I have previously stated.

Mr. SOURWINE. Including the fifth amendment claim of privilege?

Mr. SHORE. Including the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you still maintain any connection with UOPWA?

Mr. SHORE. The question implies that I have a continuing connection with UOPWA.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will change the question. Do you presently have any connection with the United Office & Professional Workers of America?

Mr. SHORE. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that organization in existence?

Mr. SHORE. So far as I know, it is not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know when it ceased to exist?

Mr. SHORE. I am not sure.

Senator DODD. What is your best recollection?

Mr. SHORE. Somewhere around 1949 or 1950.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the organization when it ceased to exist?

Mr. SHORE. May I have just a minute?

Mr. SOURWINE. Sure.

Mr. SHORE. I will have to refuse to answer that.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, Mr. Shore.

Mr. SHORE. On the previous grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Including the fifth amendment?

Mr. SHORE. Including the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever attend any Communist Party training schools?

Mr. SHORE. I would have to decline to answer that, based on the previous grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you aware that in 1942 your name appeared on a list maintained by the Communist Party which contained names of members scheduled for biweekly classes in a leading cadre training?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. The sessions of this leading cadre training in the list which I have referred to were to commence September 18, 1942. Did you begin any form of training or schooling on or about that date?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to refuse to answer on the previous grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you not in 1946 or 1947 attend a Communist Party school in Chicago?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to refuse to answer that on the previous grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Including the fifth amendment?

Mr. SHORE. Including the fifth amendment and the right not to be a witness against myself.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is the fifth amendment privilege.

Did you teach at the Communist Party training school in Chicago in 1946 or 1947, or thereafter?

Mr. SHORE. Can I have a moment?

Mr. SOURWINE. Surely.

Mr. SHORE. I will have to refuse to answer that question.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, sir.

Mr. SHORE. Based on previous grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you subsequently attempt to organize, or help organize, a Communist Party leadership school in Detroit, Mich.?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to refuse to answer that question.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you or did you know Earl Browder?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to refuse to answer that question.

Senator DODD. State the grounds.

Mr. SHORE. Based on the previous grounds.

Senator DODD. On the same grounds?

Mr. SHORE. On the same grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you connected with the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to refuse to answer that question, based on previous grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you aware that the Daily Worker of November 10, 1941, described you as then being a member of what was referred to in the paper as the newly formed Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder?

Mr. SHORE. Would you repeat the question, please?

Mr. SOURWINE. I asked you whether you knew that the Daily Worker of November 10, 1941, the Daily Worker being a Communist newspaper, described you as a member of what the paper referred to as the newly formed Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to refuse to answer that question, based upon previous grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Including the fifth amendment privilege?

Mr. SHORE. Including the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you not attend an Earl Browder victory rally on November 12, 1942, in Detroit, which featured speeches by Communist Party leaders?

(At this point, Senator Hruska entered the hearing room.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Before you answer the question, may I point out you do not have to claim the fifth amendment if you do not remember. You can always say you do not remember.

Mr. SHORE. Thanks very much. I just do not remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever attend any functions of that nature, that is, meetings of the Communist Party, at which Communist Party leaders spoke?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to refuse to answer, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SOURWINE. In other words, it is only the particular meeting I spoke of in Detroit on the particular date, November 12, that you do not remember?

Mr. SHORE. That is not exactly true.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do remember others?

Mr. SHORE. No, no. There are some of the others that you mentioned which I have no recollection of.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you saying that you have no recollection of ever having attended a Communist Party meeting at which Communist Party leaders spoke?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to refuse to answer that, based on the previous grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Including the fifth amendment?

Mr. SHORE. Including the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you attend a secretariat meeting of the Communist Party in Detroit in 1946?

Mr. SHORE. I will refuse to answer.

Senator HRUSKA. Where were you living at that time, Mr. Witness?

Mr. SPEISER. Was the date 1946?

Mr. SOURWINE. 1946, yes.

Mr. SHORE. Pardon me a minute.

I got out of the service sometime, I believe it was April that I was disconnected from the Army, and then for a period I was in New York City, a very short period, and then I went back to Detroit, Mich.

Mr. SPEISER. You do not have a specific date on that?

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where you were living at the time of the secretariat meeting of the Communist Party in Detroit in 1946?

Mr. SHORE. It would be very difficult for me. I cannot recollect.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you not know when a meeting of the secretariat of the Communist Party was held in Detroit in 1946?

Mr. SHORE. I have to have a specific date.

Mr. SOURWINE. Not to answer that question. The question is: Do you not know when a meeting of the secretariat of the Communist Party was held in Detroit in 1946?

If you do not know, you can say so.

Senator DODD. I would not suggest any answers.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am sorry, Mr. Chairman.

Senator DODD. He can answer it himself.

Mr. SHORE. I just do not know. Without a specific date, I just do not know how to answer that question.

Senator DODD. All right. Wait a minute, Mr. Sourwine. I am a little confused. You mean you do not know when the meeting was held or you do not know where you were living at the time it was held?

Mr. SPEISER. Both.

Mr. SHORE. I guess both. I really do not know. Let me just say, if you just pardon me for a second, I want to be as candid as I can be and, at the same time, protect what rights I have, and I do not want to waive my rights. Consequently, I have got—you know, I just do not know how to move unless you can give me a specific date, or something like that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that counsel is telling the witness time after time what to answer. The witness is then mouthing the words as to what counsel has told him. I ask a ruling as to whether this is proper.

Senator DODD. I do not think counsel is telling him what to say. The witness has a right to consult with his counsel, and he has asked to do so.

I think Mr. Speiser has conducted himself very well yesterday and today, and has been helpful to the committee, and I do not think any criticism of him is justified.

Mr. SOURWINE. I accept the Chair's ruling.

Were you living in Huntington Woods, Mich., in January 1959.

Mr. SHORE. Pardon me a moment.

The answer is yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you in January 1959, entertain Carl Winter and his wife, Helen, at your residence in Huntington Woods?

Mr. SHORE. I have to decline to answer that on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SOURWINE. Including your claim of privilege under the fifth amendment?

Mr. SHORE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Winter as a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A. and chairman of the Michigan State Communist Party?

Mr. SHORE. I will just have to refuse to answer that, based upon the reasons I gave before.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know James Jackson?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to refuse to answer that, based upon previous grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Including the fifth amendment?

Mr. SHORE. Including the fifth amendment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know James Jackson as a member of the Communist Party, indicted for violation of the Smith Act in 1940?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to decline to answer that, based upon my previous answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you not prepare a farewell party for the James Jackson family on July 15 in Detroit?

Mr. SHORE. I just do not remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember ever attending a farewell party for James Jackson and his family?

Mr. SHORE. I just do not remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you the same Jerome Shore who signed a statement that if American Communists are denied the right to political activity, employment and all basic American freedoms, then the entire labor and progressive movement of the Nation is faced with oppression, discrimination, and defeat?

Mr. SHORE. Can you give me some idea what the date of that was?

Senator DODD. And where.

Mr. SOURWINE. The announcement that you were one of the signers of this statement appeared in the Daily Worker of May 25, 1947, in an article under the head, "550 Union Officials Assail the Red Hunt."

Mr. SHORE. I will have to decline to answer that, based on previous grounds.

Senator DODD. Do we have a copy of the publication?

Mr. SOURWINE. We can get a photostat of it, sir. Do you want it inserted in the record at this point?

Senator DODD. I think that would be the proper thing to do.

(The article referred to follows:)

[From the Worker, May 25, 1947]

550 UNION OFFICIALS ASSAIL "RED-HUNT"

Five hundred and fifty CIO and AFL union officials warned last week that the House Un-Americanans are spearheading the drive of big business against labor "in the name of hunting Communists." The warning was contained in a statement released by the Civil Rights Congress.¹

TEXT OF STATEMENT

Through the thick smoke of hysteria and the forest of newspaper headlines, the witch hunt raging in our Nation is emerging as a streamlined, modern version of the Palmer raids that followed World War I.

The American labor movement well remembers the Palmer raids of 1919; the thousands of trade unionists jailed and beaten, the unions that were smashed, the open-shop crusade launched by the big industrialists heavy with war profits—all in the name of a hunt for "bomb-throwing Bolsheviks."

Therefore, we American citizens and trade union officers, concerned with the future of democracy and the safety and integrity of the organized labor movement, address this urgent appeal to our fellow-Americans.

A tribunal of ill repute and evil antecedents sits in Washington, the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It presides over today's witch hunt. Its chairman, J. Parnell Thomas, has announced to the Nation that his intended victim is the American trade union movement. It has provided a forum for every labor-hater in America.

Some call his committee the Un-American Committee. Others—labor leaders, writers, scientists, antifascists who have been called before it—remember it as a Hitler star chamber. Still other thoughtful Americans, recalling the Dies committee which was its predecessor, see it as the shame of this Nation.

What would you call it? What would you call this committee whose real and spiritual leader is John E. Rankin of Bilboland; the man who hates unions,

¹ EDITOR'S NOTE.—The Civil Rights Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released Dec. 4, 1947, and Sept. 21, 1948.

hates all wage and hour laws, hates price control, hates Negroes, hates Jews, hates the foreign-born—who hates democracy.

It is no wonder this committee cries: "Does he talk peace? Does he want decent housing? Is he for the right to strike? Is he grumbling about inflation? Does he want a living wage?"

"Then he is a Communist. Report him; expose him. Drive him out. Then we will not suspect you of being Communist. You are buying peace of mind, and the right to be left alone."

The committee might well add: "You are also buying fascism. Hitler named the price. And the price is death to all freedom."

It would be comforting to declare this latter-day witch hunt a failure. But, while opposition is growing, even some liberals have allowed themselves to be strong-armed into joining in the hysteria.

The attack on labor is an attack against the most basic rights and freedoms of all Americans. If labor goes, free America goes.

Redbaiting is nothing new. It is the historic weapon of fascism and nazism. On a tide of redbaiting Hitler and Mussolini rode into power.

Many sincere people do not subscribe to the theories of the Communists. But he who stoops to redbaiting can lay no claim to sincerity. He is a dupe of reaction, judged and proven by history and the fruits of fascism—the 20 million dead.

Every American has the right to membership and activity in a political party which functions fully within the Constitution. If American Communists are denied the right to political activity, employment and all the basic American freedoms, then the entire labor and progressive movement of the Nation is faced with repression, discrimination, and defeat.

The aim of the House Committee on Un-American Activities is not security for our Nation and freedom from fear. This committee aims to create fear, doubt, and suspicion and thus to shatter the unity of American trade unions and progressives generally.

In the name of hunting Communists the committee is seeking their basic freedoms—freedom of speech and religion, freedom from involuntary servitude through abrogation of the right to strike.

We oppose redbaiting and the baiting of any minority group.

We take our stand against the perversion of constitutional government—the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

We call on all trade unions and progressives to unite, to defeat this program of reaction.

Names of signers are listed below:

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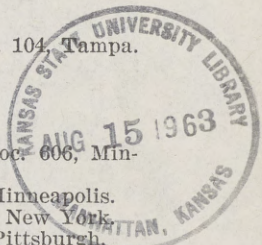
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 (All organizations and titles listed for purpose of identification only.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you married, Mr. Shore?

Mr. SHORE. No, I am not.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were married at sometime prior to July 2, 1947, to Anne Davis Fleischer?

Mr. SHORE. I am wondering at this time whether the Chair could make some kind of a ruling with regard to the husband-wife relationship.

Mr. SOURWINE. You said you are no longer married to her. I asked you that question first.

Senator DODD. I think it is purely for purposes of identification.

Mr. SOURWINE. Begging the Chair's pardon, the committee has information that this lady was a Communist and that the present witness knew it, and I want to ask him about that.

Senator DODD. Very well, I did not know that.

Mr. SHORE. Does not the privilege extend itself with regards to the husband-wife?

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest the privilege has to do with disclosures and not as to the fact of a marital relationship.

Senator DODD. Yes; I am sure that is so.

Senator HRUSKA. This is a foundational question, and I would suggest it is entirely proper and should be answered.

Senator DODD. Yes. The Chair is of the same opinion.

Senator KEATING. If he knows.

Senator DODD. Yes, if he knows.

Senator KEATING. He can say, "I don't know."

Mr. SHORE. If the ruling of the Chair is that this does not apply, that the husband-wife privilege does not apply, then I will be compelled to refuse to answer this, based upon previous grounds as well as the husband-wife privilege.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you know Anne Davis Fleischer?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Shore, between the time that you were divorced from Anne Davis Fleischer, the former Anne Davis Fleischer, then your wife on July 2, 1947, and the time you remarried her on May 27, 1950, did you know her as a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A.?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to refuse to answer that, based upon previous grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you admit that you were divorced from her for the second time on November 2, 1960, at Detroit, Mich.?

Mr. SHORE. I will just have to refuse to answer that, based upon previous grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it not true that you know her as having been a Communist Party member since at least 1925, and that in 1960 she was still an active member of the party, a member of the 12th Street Communist Party Club, Michigan District?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to refuse to answer that, based upon previous grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you not know that she served as a director and as administrative secretary of the Civil Rights Congress of Michigan?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to refuse to answer that, based on previous grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Shore, were you ever connected with the Progressive Party?

Senator DODD. What Progressive Party? I think there has been more than one. Perhaps if you said what time.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will revise the question. Were you, Mr. Shore, in 1949, employed by the Progressive Party in Michigan?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to refuse to answer, based on previous grounds.

Senator DODD. In 1940, Mr. Sourwine?

Mr. SOURWINE. In 1949, Senator.

Mr. Shore, what has been your connection with the Labor Youth League; specifically, the Michigan chapter of the Labor Youth League?

Mr. SHORE. Pardon me.

I will have to decline to answer that, based upon previous grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you not on June 10, 1950, attend a meeting sponsored by the Michigan chapter of the Labor Youth League at which there was shown a Communist propaganda film?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to decline to answer that, based on previous grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that the Labor Youth League had been cited by the Attorney General of the United States as a Communist front?

Mr. SHORE. No; I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. What has been your connection with the Michigan Council for Peace?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to refuse to answer that, based on previous grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you aware that the Michigan Council for Peace was organized and controlled by district 7 of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to decline to answer, based on previous grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you the same Jerome Shore who was State chairman of the Progressive Party of Michigan in April of 1952?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to decline to answer that, based on previous grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you the same Jerome Shore who made a tour outside of Michigan in 1950 in behalf of the Progressive Party of Michigan?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to refuse to answer that, based on previous grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you the same Jerome Shore who, in 1952, attended the National Convention of the Progressive Party?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to refuse to answer, based on previous grounds.

Senator DODD. When you say "previous grounds," you mean the claim of privilege under the fifth amendment?

Mr. SHORE. And also the infringements, I believe, with regards to the first amendment.

Senator DODD. The first amendment and the fifth amendment?

Mr. SHORE. That is right.

Pardon me, sir. It has to do also with those objections I raised originally as to the pertinency.

Senator DODD. Yes, I just want the record to show you are reiterating the same grounds.

Mr. SHORE. Right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you aware, Mr. Shore, that campaign literature issued in Michigan in 1952 by the Progressive Party of Michigan bore your name as State chairman?

Mr. SHORE. I must decline to answer, based on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you aware that the program and activities of the Progressive Party of Michigan were participated in by the Michigan Communist Party, which also had a hand in shaping the policies of the Progressive Party in Michigan?

Mr. SHORE. I would refuse to answer, based upon the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Shore, when a Progressive Party rally in Flint was postponed in the middle of October 1952, did you not issue a statement as campaign director for the Progressive Party of Michigan asserting that the denial of a hall to the Progressive Party of Michigan was another expression of the conspiracy of silence that has prevented the debate of real issues?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to decline to answer, based on previous grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever head of the Michigan Labor Committee for Peace?

Mr. SHORE. Do you have a date on that, sir?

Mr. SOURWINE. I asked if you were ever head of the Michigan Labor Committee for Peace. That does not require a date.

Mr. SHORE. It would help if there were a date.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are going to take the fifth amendment on it, anyhow.

Mr. SHORE. Mr. Sourwine, I want to deal—

Senator DODD. Wait just a minute, please. I think, clearly, the question asked is whether at any time you were the head of this organization.

Mr. SHORE. I will have to refuse to answer, sir, on the basis of the previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you aware that the Michigan Labor Committee for Peace has been described as among the Communist fronts operating in Michigan?

Mr. SHORE. Will you rephrase that question, please?

Mr. SOURWINE. Rephrase it?

Mr. SHORE. I mean reread it, I am sorry.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will be glad to rephrase the question. Are you aware that the House Committee on Un-American Activities has cited the Michigan Labor Committee for Peace as one of the Communist fronts operating in Michigan?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to refuse to answer, sir, based on the previous reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, sir.

Are you the same Jerome Shore who was employed in 1953 by the I. Begun Co., 2430 Market Street, Detroit?

Mr. SHORE. I would decline to answer, based upon previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Mr. Isadore Begun, the head of that company?

Mr. SHORE. I would refuse to answer, based upon previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that Mr. Isadore Begun was a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A.?

Mr. SHORE. I would refuse to answer, based upon previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. What has been your own personal connection with the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. SHORE. Pardon me a moment.

I will have to decline to answer, based upon previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it not true, Mr. Shore, you attended the meetings and functions of the Civil Rights Congress on a number of occasions, including January 27, 1951, June 16, 1951, February 2, 1952, March 28, 1952, May 5, 1952, May 10, 1952, November 22, 1952, March 3, 1954, June 5, 1954, and August 23, 1954?

Mr. SHORE. The thing is it is almost impossible to, you know, recall any of these dates.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, I will leave the dates out. Is it not true that you attended meetings and functions of the Civil Rights Congress on a number of occasions during 1951, 1952, and 1954?

Mr. SHORE. I would decline to answer, based upon previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. It did not make any difference whether you remembered the dates, did it?

Mr. SHORE. I want to be honest in the sense that I cannot recollect.

Senator DODD. However, it is clear that that is not your reason for failing to answer.

Mr. SHORE. Well, you see—pardon me, sir. You see, the problem that I am faced with is the problem of waiver, as I am sure the gentlemen here know.

Senator DODD. Well, I understand that, but you say you do not recall the dates, but you are not going to tell us anyway.

Mr. SOURWINE. Let us try your memory on one particular date, the meeting you attended on November 22, 1952, the eight top leaders

of the Michigan Communist Party were also in attendance. Do you not remember that?

Mr. SHORE. I would just have to decline to answer, based on previous stated reasons.

Senator DODD. Counsel is trying to refresh your memory. You told us you could not remember. I think it is perfectly proper for him to do so, if you say you cannot recall. He is asking you specifically with helpful, reminding questions.

Mr. SHORE. I cannot remember that, Senator, that meeting.

Senator HRUSKA. Did you ever have a meeting with those Communist Party officials?

Mr. SHORE. I would have to decline to answer, sir, based upon previous stated grounds.

Senator HRUSKA. Did you know the Communist Party officials referred to by Mr. Sourwine's question?

Mr. SHORE. I would have decline to answer, sir, based on previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it not true, Mr. Shore, that most of—I will revise that—much, if not most, of the activity of the Civil Rights Congress was devoted to agitating for the release of those under indictment for violation of the Smith Act?

Mr. SHORE. I would refuse to answer that, based upon the previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Shore, what has been your connection, if any, with the Michigan Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born?

Mr. SHORE. May I have a moment?

I would refuse to answer, based upon previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it not true that you attended a number of meetings and social activities of this organization, including those on September 6, 1954, September 17, 1954, October 23, 1954, December 10, 1955, May 18, 1957, and June 24, 1958?

Mr. SHORE. I would have to decline to answer, based upon previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, the meeting on June 24, 1958, was a victory celebration for Stanley Nowak, at which he thanked his friends for the work done on behalf of the Stanley Nowak Defense Committee. Do you not remember being there?

Mr. SHORE. I would have to decline to answer that, based upon previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever connected with the Stanley Nowak Defense Committee?

Mr. SHORE. I would have to decline to answer that, based on previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you contribute to the Nowak Defense Committee?

Mr. SHORE. I would refuse to answer that, based on previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what the victory was that Nowak was celebrating at the meeting on June 24, 1958?

Mr. SHORE. I do not have any idea.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have not any idea?

Mr. SHORE. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you not know that it was a Supreme Court decision reversing the U.S. district court and U.S. courts of appeals' decisions canceling Nowak's citizenship for concealing Communist affiliations at the time of his naturalization?

Mr. SHORE. I have no recollection of that.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have no recollection.

Did you know Stanley Nowak?

Mr. SHORE. I would decline to answer, based on previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. I put it to you as a fact and ask you to deny it if it is untrue that you did know Stanley Nowak and that you knew him as one-time educational director of the Communist Party, U.S.A., for the State of Michigan.

Mr. SHORE. I would decline to answer that, based on previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you not aware that the Supreme Court in its decision in the *Nowak* case had held that Nowak's membership in the Communist Party during the time he was educational director was not evidence that he knew of the Communist Party's purpose to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence?

Mr. SHORE. I would refuse to answer, based on previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. That decision is part of the indoctrination of all good Communists, did you know that?

Mr. SHORE. I do not know exactly what you are saying.

Mr. SOURWINE. I said an explanation of that decision is a part of the indoctrination of all good Communists. Did you know that?

Mr. SHORE. I do not know it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not know that?

Mr. SHORE. No, I did not know that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you aware that the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, with which the Michigan Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born is affiliated, had been designated as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States?

Mr. SHORE. I would decline to answer that, based on stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Shore, you were employed by the East Side Shopper newspaper, Detroit, Mich., in 1955. Will you tell us when you left there?

Mr. SHORE. Pardon me, sir. I think the dates are wrong on that, Mr. Sourwine.

Mr. SOURWINE. Please correct the record.

Mr. SHORE. I believe that it was sometime in 1953.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were first employed in 1953?

Mr. SHORE. I believe so.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were employed in 1955?

Mr. SHORE. No, I was not there.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you leave?

Mr. SHORE. Sometime either in the end of 1953 or sometime in the early part of 1954.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were only employed there briefly, perhaps less than a year?

Mr. SHORE. I think so, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Where did you go from there?

Mr. SHORE. I then went to work for an advertising, a small advertising firm, for a very brief period of time. I think it was Glick Advertising.

Mr. SOURWINE. In Detroit?

Mr. SHORE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you leave Glick?

Mr. SHORE. Sometime in 1954.

Mr. SOURWINE. And where did you go after that, I mean to work?

Mr. SHORE. I was then employed by the Prudential Investment Co., which was a construction company.

Mr. SOURWINE. And how long were you with them?

Mr. SHORE. I was with them, or a branch of the same firm, from 1954 to, let us see, I believe until sometime around October, 1960.

Senator DODD. Was the Prudential Investment Co. the name of the concern?

Mr. SHORE. Yes. They had a number of construction companies with it, and at one time I was with one of the branches, as a matter of fact, with two of the branches.

Senator DODD. Did this have any association or connection with the Prudential Insurance Co.

Mr. SHORE. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were employed by the Hamilton Construction Co. of Detroit from 1957 to 1959?

Mr. SHORE. I believe that is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. That, you say, is a branch of Prudential Investment?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, in 1962, you were employed by the Horvitz Realty Co., Palo Alto?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Has that employment continued?

Mr. SHORE. Presently?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. SHORE. No, sir.

Senator KEATING. Where were you between 1960 and 1962?

Mr. SHORE. In 1960, December of 1960, I left Michigan and came to San Francisco and arrived sometime around the first of the year. Let us get this straight. I left Detroit in, I believe it was December, 1960, and arrived here somewhere around the first of the year of 1961.

Senator KEATING. In San Francisco?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, sir.

Senator KEATING. And from that time until you were employed by Horvitz, how were you employed?

Mr. SHORE. I spent some time trying to find the kind of a job for myself that would suit my talents, and I went to work for something called the Financial Counselors in San Francisco.

Do you want me to bring it up to date?

Senator KEATING. Yes.

Mr. SHORE. And then sometime in the end of that year I left and went to work for an insurance agency.

Senator DODD. What was the name of it?

Mr. SHORE. Berney Insurance Agency.

Senator DODD. B-u-r-n-e-y?

Mr. SHORE. B-e-r-n-e-y.

Senator DODD. San Francisco?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, sir.

Senator DODD. Was that a general insurance agency?

Mr. SHORE. Yes.

And then after that, was employed, went to work on this real estate agency.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you come to leave Detroit and go to California? Why did you move?

Mr. SHORE. I wanted to leave and go to the west coast for many years.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did anyone ask you to move at that time?

Mr. SHORE. Nobody.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had no promises of a job offer or any connections?

Mr. SHORE. None at all, no.

Mr. SOURWINE. In California, did you reestablish connection with the Communist Party, U.S.A., or any of its branches?

Mr. SHORE. Pardon me, sir.

I did not establish any connection with the Communist Party in California.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you telling us that you do not now have any connection with the Communist Party?

Mr. SHORE. The answer is "Yes."

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not now?

Mr. SHORE. I do not now have.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have any connection with the Communist Party during the year 1960?

Mr. SHORE. I had none, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have any connection with the Communist Party during the year 1959?

Mr. SHORE. I did not, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have any connection with the Communist Party during the year 1958?

Mr. SHORE. Can I, just to save time, can I make this statement? That I have not had any connection with the Communist Party going back 9 years from now.

Mr. SOURWINE. That takes us back how far?

Mr. SHORE. It would be 1954.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are telling us you did not have any connection with the Communist Party in 1954, is that right?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have any connection with the Communist Party in 1953?

Mr. SHORE. Prior to that period, the period I just stated, the 9 years, I would have to claim the privilege on all matters prior to that time.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you are quite sure that in 1960 you had no connection with the Communist Party whatsoever?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was not your wife in 1960 an active member of the 12th Street Communist Club, the Michigan District of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHORE. Again, the question of the husband-wife privilege comes up, and perhaps the Chair can advise me.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am not asking you for a disclosure she made to you in marital confidence. I am asking you for your knowledge.

Mr. SHORE. In the absence of any ruling on that, I have to decline to answer, based on previous statements.

Senator DODD. You will have to answer. I so rule.

Senator KEATING. In other words, is it the ruling of the Chair that, since he testified positively that he had no connection, he has opened the door?

Senator DODD. Yes.

Senator KEATING. To testify as to whether he knew that his wife was a member?

Senator DODD. Yes, that is included.

Mr. SHORE. Can the Chair rule on that, Senator Dodd?

Senator DODD. Yes.

Mr. SHORE. Whether or not the husband-wife privilege does not extend itself to that situation?

Senator DODD. I do not think it does in this instance.

Senator KEATING. As I understand it, Mr. Chairman, counsel did not ask him what he had learned from his wife. He just asked him whether he knew that his wife was a member of the Communist Party.

Senator DODD. Yes.

Mr. SHORE. Pardon me.

In view of the ruling of the Chair, I am going to have to change my testimony in the following way to read that I have not been a member of the Communist Party for the past 9 years, and, so far as the specific question that has been raised, that I will have to decline to answer, based on previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have just told us that you have not been a member of the Communist Party for the past 9 years. Prior to that, you had told us you had no connection with the Communist Party since the close of the year 1953. Is your latest answer intended to wipe out the previous one completely?

Mr. SHORE. Yes; it is.

Mr. SOURWINE. For instance, you had earlier taken the fifth amendment, a claim of privilege, in refusing to answer a question as to whether you had entertained a certain Communist Party functionary and his wife at your home in 1959. Are you still claiming your fifth amendment privilege with respect to that question?

Mr. SHORE. Yes; I am.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you explain to the committee, if you were not connected with the Communist Party and were not a member of the Communist Party, how it came about that you continued to have this kind of close association with top functionaries of the party?

Mr. SHORE. I just will have to decline to answer that, based upon previous stated reasons.

Senator DODD. I have the feeling you could be very helpful to us, Mr. Shore. None of us here are trying to badger you or harass you. I think you could help us in our efforts to get some basic facts.

Mr. SHORE. I do not want to be obstinate, either, and I appreciate what you are saying. I am divorced from my wife, and I am put in a very peculiar position which I am not in a position to deal with without taking—you know, protecting certain rights.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Chairman, I am a little bit uncertain as to what that change of testimony involves. You say you change your testimony now to the point that you had not been a member of the Communist Party since 1954. Previous questions were whether you had any connections with the Communist Party, and you gave answers to those questions by saying "No, you did not."

Are you now, by that change of testimony, seeking to retract those answers of denying any connection with the Communist Party from 1954 to 1963?

Mr. SHORE. Well, it really has to do with the waiver problem, as well as the husband-wife privilege.

Senator HRUSKA. The wife is not in this question. The question is: Did you have any connections with the Communist Party from 1954 to 1963, or any part of that period?

Mr. SHORE. Pardon me.

You see, I think where the confusion is, it is really a question of semantics. I was talking about membership when I said "connection," and that is what I meant.

Senator HRUSKA. I am asking that further question, however, now.

Did you have any connections with them?

Senator KEATING. Other than membership.

Senator HRUSKA. Other than membership.

Mr. SHORE. I will have to decline to answer that because, otherwise, I am going to be faced with a problem on waiver, and, you know, I want to protect my rights, the constitutional rights, that I have.

Senator HRUSKA. For fear that "connections" might be a vague and indefinite word, let me ask you whether at any time during 1954 to 1963 you have attended any Communist Party meetings or conferences?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to decline to answer that and claim the privilege that I stated before, plus the husband-wife privilege.

Senator KEATING. Have you attended any such meetings in 1962 or 1963?

Mr. SHORE. No, sir.

Senator KEATING. 1961?

Mr. SHORE. No, sir.

Senator KEATING. 1960?

Mr. SHORE. No, sir.

Senator KEATING. 1959?

Mr. SHORE. You see, I was divorced in 1959.

Senator HRUSKA. This has nothing to do with the wife.

Mr. SHORE. The answer is "No."

Senator KEATING. Let me ask you this:

After you terminated any connection you might have had with the Communist Party, did you still attend meetings of the Communist Party with your wife?

Mr. SHORE. Pardon me.

I will have to decline to answer that, based upon previous stated grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Shore, was the occasion in January 1959, January 18, to be specific, when you entertained Carl Winter and his wife, Helen, at your residence at Huntington Woods, Mich., a purely social occasion?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to decline to answer that.

Mr. SOURWINE. I beg your pardon. Now, let me explain why. You had previously taken the fifth amendment and claimed your privilege against self-incrimination in refusing to answer whether you had entertained them, but you have since answered the Senator specifically that you did not attend any Communist conferences in 1959.

Now, we know that you did entertain the Winters at your home. You may deny it on the record under oath, if you wish. I give you that opportunity, but we know that you did, and I think it is, therefore, perfectly proper to ask whether on that occasion it was entirely social, an alternative being, of course, that party business was discussed.

Mr. SHORE. Well, you know, I guess it is your privilege to interpret that in any way that you want to. It is just that I will have to decline to answer that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then I will ask you specifically:

Did you take part in any discussions of Communist business with Carl Winter at your residence in Huntington Park, Mich., on January 18, or the morning of January 19, 1959?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to decline to answer that, based upon previous stated grounds.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is your present salary from Pacifica Foundation?

Mr. SHORE. \$12,000 a year.

Mr. SOURWINE. What other salary or compensation do you receive?

Mr. SHORE. None.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any income from investments?

Mr. SHORE. No; I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. From real estate?

Mr. SHORE. No; I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your total income is, then, \$12,000 a year?

Mr. SHORE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you, since leaving Detroit, received any income or compensation of any kind from the Communist Party?

Mr. SHORE. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you receive mail in Detroit?

Mr. SHORE. Say that again, sir?

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you get mail in Detroit? Does mail for you come to Detroit to be received by you or some other person for you?

Mr. SHORE. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have a mailing address in New York City?

Mr. SHORE. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does mail reach you through a mailing address or contact in New York City.

Mr. SHORE. No, sir. Pardon me. I am sorry, sir. Let me get the record straight. I might, if I am visiting New York City, might receive mail there.

Mr. SOURWINE. No; I meant did you maintain an address in New York City?

Mr. SHORE. A permanent mailing address?

Mr. SOURWINE. Either under your name or anyone else's name where mail comes to you and is then forwarded to you?

Mr. SHORE. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Were you a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A., when you were 21 years old?

Mr. SHORE. I decline to answer, sir, based on previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were a member of the Detroit West Side Communist Party in 1943; were you not?

Mr. SHORE. I decline to answer, sir, based on previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were a member of Local 26 Club of the Communist Party in 1946?

Mr. SHORE. I must decline to answer, sir, based on previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were a member of Communist Party District 7 in 1947 and 1948 and in 1954?

(At this point Senator Keating left the hearing room.)

Mr. SHORE. Will you repeat the question?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

I am asking you if it is true that you were a member of Communist Party District 7 in 1947, 1948 and in 1954?

Mr. SHORE. I decline to answer that, based upon previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, sir.

Were you a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A., while you were in the U.S. Army?

Mr. SHORE. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A., a month before you entered the U.S. Army?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to decline to answer that, sir, based on—

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A., a month after you got out of the U.S. Army?

Mr. SHORE. I must decline to answer that, based on previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. While you were in the U.S. Army, did you receive any communications from Communist officials?

Mr. SHORE. I decline to answer that, based on previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, sir.

Were you a member of the State Committee of District 7 of the Communist Party from 1948 through 1950?

Mr. SHORE. I must refuse to answer that, based on previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it not true that you transferred your Communist Party membership from New York to Detroit immediately after your discharge from the Army?

Mr. SHORE. I must decline to answer that, based on previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you contact Carl Winter in 1946, while he was in a Federal penitentiary for violation of the Smith Act?

Mr. SPEISER. 1947, Mr. Sourwine?

Mr. SOURWINE. I cannot hear you, Mr. Speiser. Speak up for the record if you want to ask questions.

Mr. SPEISER. Was the date 1947?

Mr. SOURWINE. No.

Mr. SPEISER. Could I have the date?

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you in doubt about what the date is, sir?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, I am.

Mr. SOURWINE. I asked you whether you contacted Carl Winter in 1946 while he was in a Federal penitentiary for violation of the Smith Act.

Mr. SHORE. I do not believe that there was anybody, any Communists were in the penitentiary in 1946.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you contact Carl Winter in 1946?

Mr. SHORE. I must refuse to answer, based on——

Mr. SOURWINE. Is not Carl Winter the person you went to, to get your membership in the Communist Party transferred from New York to Detroit?

Mr. SHORE. I must decline to answer, based on previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was it that Carl Winter went to the Federal penitentiary for violation of the Smith Act?

Mr. SHORE. I just do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you on February 9, 1952, attend a meeting sponsored by the Michigan edition of the Worker in Detroit, Mich.

Mr. SHORE. I have no recollection, but I decline to answer, based on previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. What kind of an answer is that: "I have no recollection, but I decline to answer?"

Senator DODD. I think it would be more responsive if you told us one or the other. Do you recollect? Do you recall?

Mr. SHORE. Say that again, sir.

Senator DODD. Do you remember?

Mr. SHORE. I do not recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. Let me help refresh your recollection. At that particular meeting a speaker made this statement: "We love this country, but we cannot love this Government. We must learn to hate this Government. We cannot serve two governments." Do you not remember that?

Mr. SHORE. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not.

Senator DODD. Was this something that the witness said?

Mr. SOURWINE. No.

Senator DODD. Was alleged to have said?

Mr. SOURWINE. No.

Did you attend a private showing of the film, "Salt of the Earth"?

Mr. SHORE. It is very hard to say——

Mr. SOURWINE. I am trying to get the date from the witness. I do not need the date to ask if he ever attended a private showing of a particular motion picture. If he remembers, he can tell me. If he does not remember the date, he can tell me.

Mr. SHORE. Can I have a moment, please?

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Chairman, I do believe counsel is here for the purpose of consultation with the witness. He is not here to supply answers for the witness, nor to suggest questions to him. I respect the counsel's right to be here and his presence, but I think we ought to separate the function of a witness and counsel for the purpose of response to questions.

Senator DODD. I am sure that is so. I think Mr. Speiser is also sure. Of course, it is a little difficult. The witness wants to talk to his lawyer. I do not know what he is saying, and I do not want to know.

Mr. SOURWINE. I do not know, either, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SPEISER. May I just respond to that, Senator Hruska?

If in my view the question has ambiguities in it, then it seems to me part of my function in advising my client as to whether he can or cannot answer a question would be to insure that the ambiguities are cleared up before he responds to it.

Senator HRUSKA. It is up to the witness, if he does not understand the question or if he thinks it is ambiguous, to speak up and say so, or to ask you whether he has a right to do that. But for you to constantly advise and to tell him that it is ambiguous, it seems to me, confounds the role of witness and counsel.

Mr. SPEISER. There may be some hidden ambiguities that create some legal dangers.

Senator HRUSKA. That is up to him to say. Any answer, particularly from a witness like this, creates some legal dangers, and he is going to find that out increasingly as he goes along.

Mr. SPEISER. But it is my function, in trying to advise him, to avoid as many of those as possible. I am not trying to supply answers for him.

Mr. SHORE. I refuse to answer that question, based upon previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it not a fact, Mr. Shore, that you did attend a private showing of the film, "Salt of the Earth," at which all of those present were there by invitation only, and the entire audience consisted of Communist Party members and their invited friends?

Mr. SHORE. I would refuse to answer, based on previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what the motion picture, "Salt of the Earth," is about?

Mr. SHORE. I would decline to answer, based on previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you in March 1954, attend a dinner in Detroit where donations amounting to \$3,000 or \$4,000 were received for the benefit of the bail fund for Smith Act defendants?

Mr. SHORE. I decline to answer, based on previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. I thought you had told us that you had not been a member of the Communist Party for the past 9 years, and that would include the year 1954. I have given you a date within 9 years. Were you a member of the Communist Party March 2, 1954?

Mr. SHORE. Pardon me, sir.

Would you read that question, please?

(The question was read, as requested.)

Mr. SHORE. The answer is I was not a member.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you still claim your privilege against self-incrimination in refusing to answer whether, on that date, you attended a dinner where \$3,000 or \$4,000 in donations were received for defense of the bail fund for Smith Act defendants?

Mr. SHORE. I would decline to answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, sir.

Will you tell us what functionaries of the Communist Party, United States of America, you have known?

Mr. SHORE. I would decline to answer, based upon previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you on April 20, 1956, attend a function at which were present at least five members of the Communist Party who had been convicted for violation of the Smith Act, in addition to other prominent members of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to decline to answer, based up previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will put it to you as a fact, sir, that you did, the committee knows you did, and I want to give you this opportunity, if you wish, to make any explanation you wish on the record as to why, if you were no longer connected with the Party and had not been for more than 2 years, you were invited to, and attended, that particular function?

Mr. SHORE. Pardon me.

I must decline to answer, based upon previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Shore, did you have a party at your home on August 29, 1956?

Mr. SHORE. I have not any recollection, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not remember?

Mr. SHORE. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember an occasion during a party at your home when one of the guests stated he was tired of hearing the claim that the Communist Party had built the United Auto Workers?

Mr. SHORE. I have no recollection, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you not disagree with your guest about that statement, and did you not say that you had been a paid organizer for the Communist Party in the early days, and that, in your opinion, the Communist Party had initiated action in each plant?

Mr. SHORE. I just do not recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you not say at the time on that same occasion that when you were an organizer for the Communist Party, you were paid \$75 and kicked back \$50.

Mr. SHORE. I do not recall that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you, in fact, ever an organizer for the Communist Party, U.S.A.?

Mr. SHORE. I will have to decline to answer, based on previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it a fact that for a time the Communist Party paid you \$75 and you kicked back \$50?

Mr. SHORE. I must decline to answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Shore, did you ever tithe your income for the benefit of the Community Party, U.S.A.?

Senator DODD. Did he ever what?

Mr. SOURWINE. Tithe. Do you know what "tithe" means?

Senator DODD. Yes, I know.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am asking the witness. I am sorry. The witness seemed in doubt.

Mr. SHORE. I did not understand you at first. I thought you said "tie."

Mr. SOURWINE. You know what "tithe" means?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. To give a tenth of one's income. Did you ever tithe your income for the benefit of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHORE. I decline to answer, based on previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Shore, is it true that in October 1956, you were still giving 10 percent of your income toward the support of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHORE. The answer is "No," but it carries the implication that I might at one time.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you want to deny that at one time you gave 10 percent of your income to the Communist Party, please do it.

Mr. SHORE. I just cannot answer. The answer is "No" to your previous question.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is not a question of cannot answer the other one. You have explicitly refused to answer the question of whether you did give 10 percent of your income to the Communist Party, have you not?

Mr. SHORE. Pardon me.

I will have to decline to answer that, based on previous stated reasons.

Senator HRUSKA. Have you given any financial support to the Communist Party since 1954?

Mr. SHORE. Not so far as I know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Specifically, did you not contribute to the Communist Party in 1956?

Mr. SHORE. I just do not have any recollection.

Mr. SOURWINE. A minute ago you denied that you had given them 10 percent. Now, you are saying you do not have any recollection. You mean you know you did not give them 10 percent, but you do not remember whether you gave them some lesser sum?

Mr. SHORE. You are talking about a tithe before?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, that was 10 percent. You denied giving 10 percent. Now do you not remember whether you gave anything. I am asking if you mean that you do not remember giving—please, Mr. Speiser. I am sorry, Mr. Chairman. Wait until I finish the question, if you do not mind, and then consult with your attorney.

Mr. SHORE. Very well.

Mr. SOURWINE. Here is the situation, sir. I believe the record will show that you have claimed your fifth amendment privilege in refusing to answer on the question of whether you ever gave 10 percent of your income to the Communist Party. You have specifically denied having given 10 percent of your income to the Communist Party in October 1956.

If I understand correctly, you have said you do not remember whether you contributed to the Communist Party in 1956.

I am asking you if you mean by that that you remember you did not give 10 percent of your income but do not remember whether you gave some lesser portion of your income?

Mr. SHORE. May I consult?

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, if you want to consult, please do.

Mr. SHORE. I will have to decline to answer that, based upon previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, sir.

Mr. Shore, did you not state in February 1946 that, and I quote, "The Democratic and Republican Parties are not for the people. Now, the Communist Party has all the things you are looking for."

MR. SHORE. I must decline to answer, based upon previous stated reasons.

MR. SOURWINE. All right, sir.

What is your connection, if any, with the Liberties Appeal Committee for Michigan Smith Act Defendants?

MR. SHORE. I have to decline to answer based upon previous stated reasons.

MR. SOURWINE. Did you not attend a meeting sponsored by the committee in 1957?

MR. SHORE. I do not recall.

MR. SOURWINE. Mr. Shore, do you know Elizabeth Gurley Flynn?

MR. SHORE. Pardon me, sir.

I decline to answer, based upon previous stated reasons.

MR. SOURWINE. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn is a top member of the Communist Party, U.S.A., who has been convicted for violation of the Smith Act. Do you not know that?

MR. SHORE. I decline to answer for previous reasons.

MR. SOURWINE. Did you ever attend a reception honoring Elizabeth Gurley Flynn?

MR. SHORE. I must decline to answer that, based upon previous stated reasons.

Senator DODD. I think you might ask: "When you said do you know Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, do you know who she is?"

MR. SHORE. I must decline to answer that, based upon previous stated reasons.

MR. SOURWINE. Did you not in 1957 attend a reception honoring Elizabeth Gurley Flynn?

MR. SHORE. I have no recollection of that.

MR. SOURWINE. Will you tell the committee when you last saw Elizabeth Gurley Flynn?

MR. SHORE. I will decline to answer, based upon previous stated reasons.

MR. SOURWINE. Here, again, we are in the position where 3 years, now, after you said you had left the party—I will tell you the committee knows that you did attend the reception for Elizabeth Gurley Flynn in 1957. Do you not want to say anything on the record as to why, after you say you had left the party and had no more connection with it, you went to that reception?

MR. SHORE. I think you recognize that I have a waiver problem, and I just must decline to answer that question, based upon previous stated reasons.

MR. SOURWINE. Mr. Shore, what has been your connection, if any, with the Liberty Book Club in Detroit, Mich.?

MR. SHORE. I must decline to answer, based upon previous—

MR. SOURWINE. Including the claim of the fifth amendment?

MR. SHORE. Including the claim of the fifth amendment.

MR. SOURWINE. Do you honestly believe that a truthful answer to the question as to what your connection with the Liberty Book Club of Detroit is would tend to form even a small link in a long chain to connect you with any criminal activity at all?

MR. SHORE. Mr. Sourwine, I must decline to answer that, based upon previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you declining, Mr. Shore, because you know that the Liberty Book Club is one of the main assembly lines for the works of Communist authors and party-line hacks?

Mr. SHORE. I must decline to answer because of reasons given before.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you not, in 1959, participate in affairs sponsored by the Liberty Book Club in Detroit?

Mr. SHORE. I must decline to answer, based upon——

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you not, in fact, chairman of at least one meeting sponsored by the Liberty Book Club?

Mr. SHORE. I must decline to answer, based upon previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you not at that meeting seek and accept donations from the audience to help defray the cost of newspaper advertisements which were to be used for promoting books sponsored by the club?

Mr. SHORE. I must decline to answer, based upon previous stated reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. The committee has been told that you are one of the two individuals who has the power to hire and fire and control policies of the Pacifica Foundation, is that correct?

Mr. SHORE. On the question of hiring and firing, this may be true, but certainly not with regards to policies.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have anything to do with the policies of the Pacifica Foundation or its radio stations?

Mr. SHORE. In a sense, no. The board makes policies, the Pacifica board makes policies, and I am not a member of the board.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your functions, you said, are purely administrative?

Mr. SHORE. That is right.

Senator DODD. Does the board ever consult you with respect to any policy or policies?

Mr. SHORE. Well, I might attend board meetings.

Senator DODD. Where policy is discussed?

Mr. SHORE. Where policy is discussed.

Senator DODD. And participate in the discussions?

Mr. SHORE. And I would participate in the discussion.

Mr. SOURWINE. I gathered from what Mr. Binns told us that you had hired him?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And that he has sole authority over programing and conduct of the radio station in New York, subject to instructions which he got from you?

Mr. SHORE. Well, just to clarify it, I mean what you are saying, basically, is true—that he has responsibility for the station, but he, as the station manager, he interprets policy that is established by Pacifica's board, the board of directors.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you give Mr. Binns any instructions when you hired him?

Mr. SHORE. Only on the administrative questions.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not give him any instructions about policy?

Mr. SHORE. I did not develop—I helped develop with him policies with regard to some of the administrative matters in the station.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have any discussion with him about the policy of the station, or the foundation, with respect to programing?

Mr. SHORE. There was some discussion on that. That was a very small portion of what my responsibilities were.

Mr. SOURWINE. Has he had instructions, to your knowledge, from anybody else with respect to the policies concerning programing?

Mr. SHORE. For the most part, he gets it from Mr. Thomas, who is the president of the foundation.

Mr. SOURWINE. The record will speak.

I was of the impression Mr. Binns had indicated he had no instructions on policy from anybody but you. It is possible I am in error on that. I will accept your testimony on that.

Mr. SHORE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you consult with Mr. Thomas respecting policy?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you and he, together, formulate policies, agree on policy, or does he instruct you with respect to it?

Mr. SHORE. For the most part, on programing policies he interprets the policies of the board that the board formulates, and, to the extent that I am involved, I have to either, you know, carry these out or put them into effect.

Mr. SOURWINE. To what extent are you?

Mr. SHORE. As I said, to a very small extent.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is a conclusion?

Mr. SHORE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you not tell us just what you do do with regard to the formulation of policy?

Mr. SHORE. Mainly what I have been doing, I have been trying to work with each of the stations from the point of view of setting up their administrative organization; that is, serious problems in this respect.

Mr. SOURWINE. Hiring people, firing them, demoting them, promoting them, giving them jobs?

Mr. SHORE. No, that is, again, a minor part of the thing. It happens once in a while. It is mainly from the point of view of developing lines of demarcation of what the areas of responsibility for various people in the stations are, and so forth, to get them to—

Mr. SOURWINE. I mean giving them jobs to do?

Mr. SHORE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have anything to do with the negotiations for the tape recording of the 17th Convention of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHORE. I believe I testified "No" before. It was before my time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any knowledge respecting the negotiations for receiving tapes from Radio Moscow?

Mr. SHORE. None at all.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not know who has negotiated that?

Mr. SHORE. No, I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. In the conduct, generally, of the affairs of the radio stations of the Pacifica Foundation, who, if anybody, has more authority than you?

Mr. SHORE. I think Mr. Thomas does.

Mr. SOURWINE. Anybody else?

Mr. SHORE. No, outside of the board.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you report directly to the board?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Frequently?

Mr. SHORE. And to Mr. Thomas. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. How often?

Mr. SHORE. Well, the board meets on a monthly basis, and, ordinarily, I would be there at those meetings.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do attend most of the monthly meetings?

Mr. SHORE. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does Mr. Thomas attend most of the monthly meetings?

Mr. SHORE. I believe so; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. At those monthly meetings, do you report on your activities?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do those reports include information with respect to programing, who is on and who is off the station?

Mr. SHORE. For the most part, the board does not get involved in the programing, actual programing, because of the details involved. Each station, for the most part, handles its own affairs in that respect.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you saying that you do not report with respect to programing when you go to the monthly meetings of the board?

Mr. SHORE. Very little.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does anybody else report with respect to programing?

Mr. SHORE. I believe Mr. Thomas does, because he is more involved in the programing.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is a matter that the board does not, itself, attempt to control. It just gets reports on what is being done?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, and checks this against the existing policies to the extent that they exist; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you ever at any time consulted concerning Pacifica Foundation affairs with anyone you knew, or had reason to believe, was a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A.?

Mr. SHORE. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have not?

Mr. SHORE. No.

Senator DODD. Is a record kept of the board meetings, the minutes?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, they are.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, yourself, ever arrange for the appearance of anyone on the air over any of your stations?

Mr. SHORE. I believe not.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not?

Mr. SHORE. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no more questions of this witness, Mr. Chairman.

Senator DODD. Senator Hruska?

I have one or two I would like to ask.

Mr. SHORE. Yes?

Senator DODD. What is your educational background?

Mr. SHORE. High school graduate.

Senator DODD. In New York?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, sir.

Senator DODD. And I think you told us but I do not recall, were you born in New York?

Mr. SHORE. Yes. On education, I took additional courses at the New School of Social Research.

Senator DODD. In New York?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, sir.

Senator DODD. What experience did you have in radio prior to your engagement by the Pacifica Foundation?

Mr. SHORE. None, sir.

Senator DODD. None at all?

Mr. SHORE. No.

Senator DODD. And tell me again, if you will, who it was that first talked to you about a job opportunity with Pacifica?

Mr. SHORE. Mr. Sam Kaplin.

Senator DODD. Who is Mr. Sam Kaplin?

Mr. SHORE. He was a person that I met since I had come out to San Francisco. As a matter of fact, he worked in the same place that I did.

Senator DODD. Where was that?

Mr. SHORE. The Financial Counselors.

Senator DODD. In San Francisco?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, sir.

Senator DODD. And just how did he bring this to your attention, this opportunity with Pacifica?

Mr. SHORE. I guess he was aware of it, and he called me and wanted to know whether I would be interested in this kind of a job.

Senator DODD. Did he know that you had no experience at all in radio?

Mr. SHORE. Yes; but, you see, the job, as it was explained to me, was primarily an administrative job.

Senator DODD. You never had any administrative experience in radio, either?

Mr. SHORE. No; not in radio, sir.

Senator DODD. And who first interviewed you for Pacifica?

Mr. SHORE. I guess Trevor Thomas.

Senator DODD. I want to go back a little bit to Mr. Kaplin again.

Mr. SHORE. Yes?

Senator DODD. You say you knew him when you were working for this investment outfit?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, Financial Counselors.

Senator DODD. Financial Counselors?

Mr. SHORE. Yes.

Senator DODD. Was he employed there, too?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, he was.

Senator DODD. What was his job?

Mr. SHORE. He was, I think, I am not quite sure, but I think he was vice president of the company.

Senator DODD. When did you first meet him?

Mr. SHORE. Out there, sometime after I had the job.

Senator DODD. And how did you first get the job?

Mr. SHORE. Somebody referred me to Financial Counselors, that they were looking for an administrative person.

Senator DODD. Who referred you?

Mr. SHORE. I believe it was a Mr. Sidney Winer.

Senator DODD. Who is Mr. Sidney Winer?

Mr. SHORE. He owns a large credit agency in Detroit.

Senator DODD. What is the name of it?

Mr. SHORE. I cannot remember the name of it, to be honest with you.

Mr. SOURWINE. His name is spelled W-e-i-n-e-r?

Mr. SHORE. I believe it is spelled W-i-n-e-r.

Senator DODD. Do you know his address in Detroit?

Mr. SHORE. No; I do not.

Senator DODD. How would you get in touch with him, or how would you suggest that we might?

Mr. SHORE. I can supply you with that information.

Senator DODD. Fine.

When did you first meet him?

Mr. SHORE. Shortly before I left Detroit.

Senator DODD. Will you tell us how, what the circumstances were?

Mr. SHORE. What is that?

Senator DODD. How did you meet him, what the circumstances were?

Mr. SHORE. I think we were at a party somewhere.

Senator DODD. Who introduced you to him?

Mr. SHORE. I cannot remember that, Senator, but I was at a party, and, somehow or other, we were introduced to each other, and I told him that I was coming out to San Francisco.

Senator DODD. Do you remember the occasion?

Mr. SHORE. No; I do not. It was a social affair.

Senator DODD. You know it was a social affair, and it was in Detroit?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, sir.

Senator DODD. Do you remember anything about it at all?

Mr. SHORE. You mean whether it had any significance?

Senator DODD. No; just what I asked. Do you remember anything about this social occasion?

Mr. SHORE. Not at all.

Senator DODD. Do you remember anyone else who was there, besides you and Winer?

Mr. SHORE. Pardon me, sir. I am trying to remember.

Senator DODD. Name one person other than yourself and Winer.

Mr. SHORE. It was at the home of—I could supply that to you if I had a moment to think about it.

Senator DODD. It interests me that your memory is so poor about it. Was it in the daytime or the nighttime?

Mr. SHORE. Nighttime.

Senator DODD. What time?

Mr. SHORE. I think it was an evening affair, around 7 o'clock.

Senator DODD. What is in your mind? What kind of a mental picture do you have?

Mr. SHORE. It was a social party like a cocktail party at somebody's home.

Senator DODD. What part of Detroit?

Mr. SHORE. The northwest section.

Senator DODD. And you do not know whose home it was?

Mr. SHORE. You know, I will remember it.

Senator DODD. You do not remember anybody else who was there?

Mr. SHORE. At the moment, I do not, but I could get you the name of the person whose home it was, and I could get you Mr. Winer's address.

Senator DODD. That was the first time you met him?

Mr. SHORE. Yes.

Senator DODD. Who helped you get the job with the Prudential Investment Co.?

Mr. SHORE. I applied for that one.

Senator DODD. How did it come to your attention there was a job there?

Mr. SHORE. As a matter of fact, I had developed some ideas with regards to marketing and merchandising and decided to go there because I knew it was one of the large building companies in Detroit.

Senator DODD. Who was the head of that company?

Mr. SHORE. Mr. Barney Katzman is the person that was responsible for, I guess, hiring me there.

Senator DODD. What is his address?

Mr. SHORE. I think it is the address of what is now the Hamilton Construction Co., and that is on Wyoming Street.

Senator DODD. Where?

Mr. SHORE. In Detroit.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that K-a-t-z-m-a-n?

Mr. SHORE. K-a-t-z-m-a-n.

Senator DODD. Before you worked for Prudential, who did you work for? Again, you have told us, but I have forgotten.

Mr. SHORE. You mean prior to—

Senator DODD. Prudential.

Mr. SHORE. Yes. It was the Glick Agency, advertising agency.

Senator DODD. This is a small advertising agency?

Mr. SHORE. Right.

Senator DODD. This was in Detroit, too?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, sir.

Senator DODD. There is a man named Glick in charge of that?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, Michael Glick.

Senator DODD. And his address is in Detroit?

Mr. SHORE. Yes, sir. I think it is in Oak Park, which is a suburb of Detroit.

Senator DODD. And how did you get that job?

Mr. SHORE. I am trying to remember how I met him, but I met him, I think—I cannot really recall, sir.

Senator DODD. You do not seem to remember how you got any job, very much.

Mr. SHORE. That is not true. In the case of the Prudential Investment Co., I know how I got the job, and it is just a question of my getting you the actual names.

Senator DODD. Who did you work for before Glick? Are you asking for advice from counsel whether you want to answer or not? Do you know the answer to the question?

Mr. SHORE. No, sir. I just want to make sure that the record is clear on the thing.

There was a place that I worked prior to that, the East Side Shopper, and there I applied for the job.

Senator DODD. While you were working at the East Side Shopper? You applied to East Side Shopper?

Mr. SHORE. For the job.

Senator DODD. Who was in charge of the East Side Shopper?

Mr. SHORE. A man by the name of Ben Nathanson.

Senator DODD. Did you know him a long time? How did you know him? How did you come to apply?

Mr. SHORE. I had not known him.

Senator DODD. You had not?

Mr. SHORE. No.

Senator DODD. How did you meet him?

Mr. SHORE. There was an ad in the paper, and I went to see him.

Senator DODD. You answered an ad in the paper?

Mr. SHORE. Right.

Senator DODD. How long did you work for him?

Mr. SHORE. I cannot rightfully recall exactly how many months, but it was a comparatively short period of time.

Senator DODD. What year was that?

Mr. SHORE. Somewhere around 1953, and I think the latter part of 1954. I am not quite sure about those dates.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Shore, the committee does have information of various of your meetings with Communist Party officials and functionaries and also your attendance at various meetings of some of their front organizations and party. Was Mr. Thomas aware of those things when he interviewed you and finally engaged you to work for the Pacifica Foundation?

Mr. SHORE. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he know you were, or had been, a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A.?

Mr. SHORE. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. May I ask one more question?

Senator DODD. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. I have no further questions.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you present at the going-away party for the Pacifica witnesses that was given in San Francisco just before they left to come to this hearing?

Mr. SHORE. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were not there?

Mr. SHORE. No, sir.

Senator DODD. Do you know about it, Mr. Shore?

Mr. SHORE. I am not sure. About a Pacifica going-away party?

Mr. SOURWINE. According to the newspaper reports, and I have no other information, there was a going-away rally held in honor of the Pacifica witnesses. Mr. Thomas was there. I think he spoke. I do not know who else was there, and I was going to try to find out. If you were not there, you cannot tell.

Mr. SHORE. No, I was not, and I was not aware of the thing.

Senator DODD. I just want to say to you what I said earlier. I have the feeling, I do not speak for any other member of the committee, that you could be very helpful to us, and I wish you would be.

We are trying to find out if there has been any serious infiltration of the radio industry. We have a legislative responsibility here. I think you could help us a lot. I wish you would think it over. You impress me as the kind of a man I think would like to help us, and we would like to get your help.

(After pause.) That is all.

Mr. SHORE. Thank you, sir.

(Whereupon, at 12:10 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.)

PACIFICA FOUNDATION

FRIDAY, JANUARY 25, 1963

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER
INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS, OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:40 a.m., in room 2300, New Senate Office Building, Senator Olin D. Johnston presiding.

Present: Senators Johnston, Roman L. Hruska, and Hugh Scott.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; Alan D. McArthur and Warren Littman, associate counsels; Samuel J. Scott, assistant counsel; and Frank Schroeder, chief investigator.

(Present at this point: Senators Johnston (presiding), and Hruska.)

Senator JOHNSTON. Will you please raise your right hand and be sworn? Do you swear the evidence you give before this subcommittee to be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. Gumpertz. I do.

Senator JOHNSTON. Have a seat.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, simply for the record, because it belongs in the record, not because it has anything to do with this witness, I would like to offer at this time for insertion in the record the text of an intercept from Moscow Tass in Russian, a broadcast. This is from the official U.S.S.R. International Affairs Intercept Series, with which I believe the chairman is familiar. If that might go in the record.

Senator JOHNSTON. This shall become a part of the record.

(The document referred to follows:)

[From the U.S.S.R. International Affairs, Jan. 11, 1963]

PROBE OF PACIFICA FOUNDATION

(Moscow TASS in Russian to Europe 2128 GMT 10 January 1963—L)

New York, by TASS Correspondent Harry Freeman: Today a Senate group studying questions of internal security began an investigation of the case of Pacifica Foundation, a group of three independent radio stations. These radio stations are located in New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. They do not broadcast commercials and operate exclusively on funds collected from their permanent radio listeners.

This circumstance alone makes Pacifica Foundation a suspicious organization for the fanatics of the Senate group. However, the special fury aroused among members of the group was caused by the fact that these radio stations, in an

effort to broadcast various points of view on disputed questions, have enabled Communist orators to broadcast from time to time.

The body began the investigation with a session behind closed doors to which several workers of the Pacifica Foundation were summoned to give evidence. Trevor Thomas, acting president of the Pacifica Foundation protested such a procedure and demanded that the public and press be allowed to attend hearing sessions.

Among those summoned to give evidence are acting president of the Pacifica Foundation, Thomas (several words indistinct), a professor of political sciences at California, director of the Pacifica Foundation, Peter Odegard, Harry Plotkin, a lawyer of the organization, and Joseph Binns, manager of the foundation's station in New York.

Mrs. Dorothy Healey, one of the executives of the Communist Party organization in southern California, who during a 2-week period broadcast 15-minute commentaries over the foundation's radio station in Los Angeles, has also been summoned to appear before the groups.

Ernest Besig, leader of the Union of Defense of Civil Rights branch in northern California and a director of the Pacifica Foundation, has condemned the investigation, characterizing it as an attempt to strangle the free expression of views over the radio.

The attack by the Senate group on Pacifica Foundation has caused a wave of protests, especially in California where two of the foundation's stations have a large and loyal audience. It seems that in replying to the public protest, Senator Clair Engle said that he had requested the group to explain the aims of the present investigation and to guarantee witnesses an opportunity to make known their positions at public sessions. In a vain attempt to justify the actions against Pacifica Foundation, Thomas Dodd, deputy chairman of the body, used the old "witch hunt" trick by stating that the group had allegedly received "information" that "Communists are trying to penetrate the organization."

Senator Dodd is more notoriously known as a zealous anti-Communist and witch hunter than is Eastland, chairman of the body and a racist from Mississippi. Recently Dodd again drew attention to himself by his loud speeches in support of Tshombe.

Mr. SOURWINE. I also want to place in the record at this time a photocopy of a news story appearing in the People's World of Saturday, January 19, 1963, and I say again this is not put in as binding in any way on this witness. I put it in at the beginning of the hearing before she has testified at all. It belongs in the record. We have other material in the record.

Senator JOHNSTON. This will be placed in the record and become a part of the record of these hearings.

(The article referred to follows:)

[From the People's World, Jan. 19, 1963]

PROTESTS SLOW PACIFICA PROBE

(Special to the People's World)

WASHINGTON.—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has finished one round of its "investigation" into Pacifica Foundation.

And, in spite of opposition ranging from the New York Times to the American Jewish Congress, the American Civil Liberties, and dozens of other well-known Americans, the subcommittee apparently intends to pass out more subpoenas for another session.

Executives of the Pacifica Radio Foundation appeared before a closed session of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee Thursday (January 10), to face a probe described by Trevor Thomas, acting president of the foundation, as "dangerous and unwarranted."

Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat, of Mississippi, chairman of the subcommittee, together with Senators Thomas Dodd, Democrat, of Connecticut, and Roman Hruska, Republican, of Nebraska, questioned five witnesses, allegedly seeking "Communist infiltration" of the foundation, which runs three listener-sponsored FM radio stations; KPFA-FM, Berkeley-San Francisco; KPFK-FM, Los Angeles, and WBAI-FM, N.Y.C.

The same day, a full-page ad appeared in the western edition of the New York Times condemning the investigation and asking that readers of the ad—taken out by Friends of Free Radio in America, protest to Senators, Congressmen, and Federal Communications Commissioner Newton Minow.

In Washington, members of the press, radio, and TV were not permitted into the hearing room. The subcommittee's excuse for carrying on the investigation behind closed doors was allegedly to "protect the innocent," even though the people subpoenaed had requested the hearing be public.

California's Democratic Senator, Clair Engle, also requested witnesses be given the opportunity "to testify publicly at hearings open to the press and public."

Engle said also he had received more than 300 wires from California protesting the investigation.

So secret was the hearing that a statement issued to the witnesses by Senator Dodd was not permitted outside the hearing room. It was not even issued to the press.

This reporter was told the investigation was being held to ferret out "Communist infiltration of radio, TV, and the press," and to consider possible legislation along these lines.

An example of legislation that "could be considered," according to the statement, was a law that would require a reporter to list all organizations with which he is affiliated, beneath his byline in each article he writes.

Protests against the investigation reportedly came from within the subcommittee, as well as outside of it. Senator Kenneth B. Keating, Republican, from New York, and a member of the subcommittee, protested publicly on a technical point, and a source close to the subcommittee said there was a "real hassle" privately among the subcommittee members over the hearing.

Mrs. Dorothy Healey, of Los Angeles, subpoenaed by the subcommittee, said she was asked if she was the same Dorothy Healey cited by the Subversive Activities Control Board as a member of the Communist party. Mrs. Healey has a bimonthly commentary over KPFFK in Los Angeles.

She said she replied: "Since the SACB order is being litigated I will not be part of any attempt to entrap me."

To newsmen Mrs. Healey defined the investigation as "an attempt to enforce a concentration camp over the minds of Americans, to provide a 'Good House-keeping seal of approval' as to who could and could not be heard over TV and radio."

The New York Times (Jan. 14) characterized the investigation as "harassment" and said: "The subcommittee's inquiry looks like an attempt to make Pacifica conform to a concept of speech that is pleasing rather than free."

In addition to Thomas and Mrs. Healey, five other individuals were subpoenaed: Jerome Shore, executive vice president for Pacifica; Harry Plotkin, attorney for Pacifica; Joseph Binns, station manager for WBAI; Mrs. Pauline Schindler, subscriber from Los Angeles, and Dr. Peter H. Odegard, member of Pacifica's board of directors.

At the close of the hearings on Friday, January 10, Senator Dodd announced the subcommittee will continue hearings. But he would not say when, where, or who will be subpoenaed. Nor would he say whether hearings will be open to the public.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I have, also, a letter from A. E. Siegman, associate professor of electrical engineering at Stanford University, which the vice chairman requested be placed in the record, together with my reply.

Senator JOHNSTON. It will be received and will become a part of the record of this hearing.

(The above-described material follows:)

STANFORD UNIVERSITY,
Stanford, Calif., January 16, 1963.

Mr. JAY SOURWINE,
Counsel, Internal Security Subcommittee,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SOURWINE: I should like to express one critical listener's support for the management and the programming policies of radio station KPFA and the Pacifica Foundation generally.

I have been a subscriber and enthusiastic supporter of this radio station for a number of years. In my judgment, this one small station offers more genuinely valuable and informative programming than is available on the average even from the vast resources of the major radio networks. KPFA probably comes closer to achieving those ideals for use of the airwaves which the FCC professes than any other broadcasting station in America. It is, to put it briefly, a beacon of quality in the general mediocrity of commercial radio.

For all I know, KPFA and the Pacifica Foundation may possibly be secretly controlled and managed by Communists. Moreover, I do not necessarily quarrel with your subcommittee's right to make a reasonable and fair investigation as to this possibility. But in any case, I should like to assert that if KPFA is run by Communists, they are putting out a quality, depth, and variety of radio programming which is not equaled by any non-Communist domestic source.

Finally, I should like to express support specifically for a programming policy which permits Communist supporters, properly labeled as such, to be heard on the air, along with supporters of all other varieties of political viewpoints. I am fully aware of the threat which communism poses, but I am not afraid of being harmed by a limited espousal of their views in our society, which is based upon a policy of free speech.

If this communication can be made a part of the subcommittee's official records in this matter, I should like it to be so entered.

A. E. SIEGMAN,

Associate Professor of Electrical Engineering.

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
January 19, 1963.

Prof. A. E. SIEGMAN,
*Stanford University,
Stanford, Calif.*

DEAR PROFESSOR SIEGMAN: Thanks for your letter and congratulations on the maturity of mind which causes you to reserve judgment until you have reason to believe you know all the facts.

You will understand, I am sure, that under the committee's policy of protecting the security of executive sessions, I cannot discuss any particular executive session matter which has not already been made public.

However, it is certainly not improper to send you the enclosed two documents: First, the short statement made by Senator Dodd and released to the press on the morning of January 10, in response to an urgent request by Senator Engle for a statement; and second, the text of Senator Dodd's opening statement at our hearings on the same date, which Senator Dodd released to the press in midafternoon on January 10 after this statement had been misdescribed and misconstrued by Dorothy Healey, head of the Communist Party for southern California, who had testified in the morning.

You are correct in your implicit assumption that the question of control and management by Communists is the committee's objective in a case such as this. We know it is part of the Communist conspiracy's grand strategy to infiltrate all media of mass communications in a country before attempting to take it over; and though the tactics do show some variance from country to country, there is great similarity even in tactics in Communist efforts to accomplish this objective. If the Communist Party, by direct power (as through ownership) or by influence (as through employment in top managerial posts or policymaking posts) gets into a position to control what goes over the air on any American radio or TV station, it is certain this power will be used to further Communist objectives, and both such use and the potential for such use constitute threats to the security of the United States. You have an absolutely tenable position in advocating a programming policy which permits Communist supporters, properly labeled as such, to be heard on the air, along with supporters of all other varieties of political viewpoints. Your inclusion of the phrase "properly labeled as such" shows that you have a very considerable understanding of the situation, and a recognition of the importance of letting listeners know from whom and in whose

behalf they are hearing particular statements or advocacies. Lincoln has been quoted as having said that, "the people can be trusted to make the right decision." He also said: "You can fool some of the people all of the time and all of the people some of the time, but not all of the people all of the time." Perhaps it would not be reaching too far to assume Lincoln's philosophy was that all of the people can be trusted, as a group, to arrive at a correct consensus, if they know the truth, and all of the truth. No man, of course, can count upon making a sound decision based upon partial information or misinformation. The human brain is still the finest computer ever made, but no computer which is fed and which accepts erroneous data can be relied upon thereafter with respect to any answer in which such data is a factor, at least until the erroneous data has been erased or fully superseded.

Since you are, as you say, fully aware of the threat which communism poses, you have indeed no reason to be afraid of being harmed by a limited espousal of Communist views in our society. The fact that you have used this qualification in your statement indicates your understanding that one who is not aware of the threat of communism, and the nature of that threat might be subject to harm. But the freedom of speech guaranteed by our Constitution may not be limited for the purpose of protecting an individual, but only in the national interest.

I shall ask permission of the chairman to include your letter in the official records of the committee, as you request.

Sincerely,

J. G. SOURWINE, *Chief Counsel.*

TESTIMONY OF MRS. DONNA GUMPERTZ*, ACCOMPANIED BY JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., AND HARRY M. PLOTKIN, ATTORNEYS

Mr. SOURWINE. Your attorney is Mr. Joseph Rauh?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are represented also here by another attorney, Mr. Harry Plotkin?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Plotkin's name and address are already on the record of this hearing. I do not believe Mr. Rauh has appeared in this hearing yet. Would you give the reporter your address, Mr. Rauh?

Mr. RAUH. My name is Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. I was here with Mr. Odegard.

Mr. SOURWINE. I beg your pardon, of course you were. I am sorry. You have been represented by Mr. Lawrence Speiser?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask the question, Mr. Chairman, because I discussed the appearance of this lady with Mr. Speiser, and was under the impression at the time that he was representing her. As the Chair knows, I should not have discussed the matter of an executive session with any person not representing the witness. Your attorney in Los Angeles is Mr. Joseph L. Wyatt?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You knew that I had discussed your appearance with him?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know whether he had authorized Mr. Speiser to talk to me about the matter?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you had not done so?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

*Mrs. Gumpertz' name was inadvertently misspelled in the original transcript. The correct spelling is Mrs. *Donald* Gumpertz.

Mr. SOURWINE. I must apologize to the Chair and to the committee for having discussed this matter with Mr. Speiser, but when he called me about it, it was my understanding that he was representing this lady. I do not think any great harm has been done.

Senator JOHNSTON. Knowing you as I do, I know that you would not have done anything wrong, knowing it at the time, and you thought he was representing her when you discussed the matter with him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Both of these counsel who are here today are counsel of your choice and you want them both here?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes, sir.

(At this point Senator Scott entered the hearing room.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you give the reporter your full name, please?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Mrs. Donna Gumpertz.*

Mr. SOURWINE. Senator Scott, do you know Mrs. Gumpertz, the witness, Mr. Rauh, and Mr. Plotkin? The two gentlemen are counsel for the witness.

Senator JOHNSTON. This is Senator Hruska, whom I do not believe you have met.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. How do you do.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is your address, Mrs. Gumpertz?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. 4217 Navajo Street, North Hollywood.

Mr. SOURWINE. North Hollywood, Calif.?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Right.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is your residence address. Do you have a telephone there?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the number?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Triangle 7-7278.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you employed?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. And what is your business or profession?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I am a housewife.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you here under subpoena?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you tell us if you have any important or major business connections, Mrs. Gumpertz?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you an officer or director of any corporation or organization?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I am director of Pacifica Foundation.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you an officer of Pacifica Foundation?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I am a vice president.

Mr. SOURWINE. How many vice presidents are there?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. At the present time, two.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are one of two?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. The other being Mr. Jerome Shore?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. He is known as the executive vice president?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think that is—

Mr. SOURWINE. And you are just a vice president?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

*See footnote on preceding page.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you first become connected with the Pacifica Foundation, Inc.?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think my first conversations even about it were in early 1959.

Mr. SOURWINE. What conversations do you refer to?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think I was asked to serve on an advisory committee in southern California. It was before the station opened.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say 1959?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think it was 1959.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who asked you to do this, do you remember?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes. I think the man who was then a vice president in southern California, Mr. Webb, William Webb.

Mr. SOURWINE. Webb, W-e-b-b?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he still connected with Pacifica?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he alive?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Senator JOHNSON. What was his first name?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. William.

Senator JOHNSTON. William Webb, W-e-b-b?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What positions have you held with Pacifica since you first came with them in 1959?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Well, I was in a voluntary capacity as a member of the advisory committee, and then at some point a little later that year I was asked to become a member of the board of directors, still in a voluntary capacity, which I did. I do not remember the exact month. Excuse me, did you ask—

Mr. SOURWINE. What positions you have held with Pacifica.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Then I was asked to come to work for the new station in southern California, KPFFK, which I did in about September of that year. We do not allow board members to be employees, so I resigned as a member of the board and went to work as a community relations fund raiser for the station in September, I think September of 1959.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was a paid position?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes; it was.

Then in about January of 1960, I became the station manager when the man who had been the manager needed to go do his Army service.

Mr. SOURWINE. And how long were you station manager of KPFFK?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Approximately 2 years.

Mr. SOURWINE. Until?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Until, I think it was January of 1962.

Mr. SOURWINE. January of last year?

Senator JOHNSTON. Just for the record, who was the gentleman that went into the Army, resigned, and you took his place?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. His name was Terrell Drinkwater.

Senator JOHNSTON. Proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Terrell, T-e-r-r-e-l-l?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. To get back for just a moment to your subpoena, you knew that arrangements for your attendance here were made through your attorney in Los Angeles?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Wyatt?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. The subpoena under which you are here is the first subpoena with which you had been served; is it not?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that an earlier subpoena had been issued?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes; I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you in Los Angeles during the period between December 26, 1962, and January 10, 1963?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Part of the time.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were out of the city part of the time?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes; I was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you tell us what part was in and what part was out?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not think I can tell you the exact days. My mother is 80 years old, and she fell and broke a bone.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am sorry.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. And I was up caring for her for about a week during that period. I cannot tell you—

Mr. SOURWINE. Is this near Los Angeles?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes; about 2 hours away.

Mr. SOURWINE. And did Mr. Watts know where you were?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Who?

Mr. SOURWINE. Your attorney. Did he not know where you were?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I am sorry, I thought you said Mr. Watts.

Mr. SOURWINE. Perhaps I did. If I did, I misspoke myself, Mr. Wyatt.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not know whether he knew. He was away, too, I know, part of that time. I do not know if—

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he tell you a subpoena had been issued for you?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not know whether he knew at that time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you not on the occasion of the issuance of the earlier subpoena seek to have that subpoena quashed?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. When I first received the information that the marshal had been to see me, I telephoned the marshal's office to find out what it was about, and they did not know what it was about.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who did you talk to there, do you know?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not know. I left my name.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you authorize your attorney, Mr. Wyatt, to tell Senator Dodd that you were willing to appear here, but that you preferred not to appear under subpoena?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not remember that conversation.

Mr. SOURWINE. At that time of the first subpoena, was it your choice, then, that if you were to appear, you would rather appear without a subpoena?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I did not think it made any difference.

Mr. SOURWINE. But on this appearance you wanted a subpoena; did you not?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not know that it matters.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you not authorize Mr. Watts to tell the committee you would like to have a subpoena?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I am sorry, I do not know who Mr. Watts is.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have misspoken myself again, I am sorry. I do not know how that word crept in. I am talking about your lawyer, Mr. Wyatt. Did you not tell Mr. Wyatt that you wanted a subpoena this time?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I really do not care either way. I do not know what is the difference.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is of no great importance.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I mean I wanted to have my way paid, if the subpoena made a difference.

Mr. SOURWINE. No; it does not. The subpoena is only evidence of your having been summoned by the committee. If the committee summons you, the committee will pay your expenses. I should like to say for the record, Mr. Chairman, that I was told by Mr. Wyatt that the witness desired to have a subpoena, and he asked that it be mailed to her at his office by airmail special, and this was done.

As you know, Senators had been informed earlier that Mrs. Gumpertz was willing to come but wanted a date arranged and would come without a subpoena.

I wanted the record to show that this subpoena was not my idea but was suggested by her attorney.

Mrs. Gumpertz, you were born in 1922?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Hemet, Calif.?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do I pronounce that correctly?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were educated in California, receiving your A.B. degree from the University of California at Berkeley in May of 1942?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your maiden name was Catherine Lovell Hanck?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have also been known as Kaki Cory? Kaki, K-a-k-i.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. That is what my family calls me.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is just a nickname?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have also been known as Catherine Corbett and as Kaki Corbett?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that a married name, Corbett?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were, until recently, Mrs. Forrest Fitzpatrick Cory?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. You married Edward M. Corbett in March 1944?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were divorced from him on July 26, 1951?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. About. I do not know the exact date.

Mr. SOURWINE. You married Forrest Fitzpatrick Cory at Washington, D.C., in 1953?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he living?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you divorced?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes. No——

Mr. SOURWINE. You are divorced from him, I meant.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You and Mr. Cory are divorced?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then you remarried your present husband recently?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I married him last December. I mean a year ago last December.

Mr. SOURWINE. A year ago last December?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. That would have been December of 1961?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you the same Catherine Cory who, in 1960, was a member of the board of directors of the American Civil Liberties Union?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Don Kirschner, who was one of the original incorporators of the Pacifica Foundation?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not think so; no.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether Mr. Don Kirschner, who used to be chairman of the Marin County chapter in California of the American Civil Liberties Union, still has a connection with that chapter?*

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not have any idea.

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to explain that last question.

The Marin County chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union has published at its expense, as a paid advertisement, an open letter to this committee questioning the motives of the Internal Security Subcommittee, and if a founder and original director of Pacifica were, in fact, active and influential in the Marin County chapter, it might be of some significance.

I think this letter has enough pertinence to be made a part of the record. I would like to suggest at this time that it go in.

Senator SCOTT. Do you have any objection?

Mr. RAUH. I do not know that I have the right to object.

Mr. SOURWINE. This letter is not offered to be binding on this witness. She has testified she does not know the man, and it does not purport on its face to bind this witness in any way.

Senator JOHNSTON. This letter just shows what he has to say concerning the matter, not her.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is correct.

*EDITOR'S NOTE.—The American Civil Liberties Union News of March 1962, reporting on the annual meeting of the Marin chapter, ACLU, listed Naomi Kirschner of Mill Valley among the 21 directors elected. In its February 1959 issue it had listed her as a director. Don Kirschner was chapter chairman in 1957.

This paper, in June 1958, listed Naomi Kirschner as member of a committee to arrange for an affair at Kent Woodlands at which former Congresswoman Helen Gahagen Douglas would speak. In July, the same publication, in its account of the affair, listed Mrs. Don Kirschner as a committee member.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not know if this Mr. Kirschner is still connected with the A.C.L.U.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is what I asked. We can determine it, probably.

Senator JOHNSTON. This will become a part of the record.

(The text of the advertisement referred to follows:)

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION,
MARIN COUNTY CHAPTER.

SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY COMMITTEE,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATORS: Is it true that you are trying to drive radio station KPFA off the air because this station stands for the right of people to speak and hear all kinds of views and opinions?

You have summoned and questioned the directors, commentators, and listeners in secret hearings before your committee. This investigation has caused us to question your motives. We believe this investigation infringes on constitutional liberties of free speech.

As you well know, Senators, KPFA is a listener-sponsored, nonprofit radio station. Our concern for the welfare of KPFA is part of our concern for the basic constitutional rights of free speech in the marketplace of ideas. We oppose your attempt to censor the airways. We urge you to cease further hearings.

We hope that those who agree with us will write you or clip this letter and sign their own names.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS,
MILEN DEMPSTER, *Chairman*.

NOTE.—The cost of this ad and of meeting the expenses of this program of the A.C.L.U. may be aided by your contributions sent to Marion Miller, secretary, Marin County chapter, A.C.L.U. 6 Hill Drive, Mill Valley, Calif.

Senator HRUSKA. Senator Scott wants to see it.

Senator SCOTT. Thank you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mrs. Gumpertz, are you the same individual who, under the name of Catherine Cory, was, in January 1961, invited by the Cuban Government to visit Cuba?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I received a telephone call from an airline saying, "We are inviting a number * * * there are tickets here from the Cuban Government to go see Cuba." It was news to me, and I said, "No, thank you," and that was the end of the matter.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was the airline?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not remember. It might have been Western.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never picked up your tickets?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Oh, no.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was this?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not know exactly. You gave the date. I remember that several other—

Mr. SOURWINE. It was in January 1961, according to the information of the committee.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. It was?

Mr. SOURWINE. But that does not date it.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes. Well, I do not know, except I remember talking to a couple of the people from other radio stations about that time in the normal course of business, and they had also received them.

Mr. SOURWINE. There were a number of radio people?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. To go on this trip?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Not to go.

Mr. SOURWINE. But who were invited?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were at that time office manager of radio station KPFK?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Not office manager.

Mr. SOURWINE. Station manager?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Station manager.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were station manager?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. In, let us see, January 1961.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, Mrs. Gumpertz, ever visit the Cuban consulate?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never went to the Cuban consulate to get a visa for travel to Cuba?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Certainly did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever ask for a visa to travel to Cuba?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. By mail or otherwise?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not, specifically, on January 6, 1961, go to the Cuban consulate?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Certainly did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. For the purpose of canceling your visa to go to Cuba or your request for such a visa?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Or for any other purpose?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you did not go to Cuba as a result of the invitation extended to you?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you ever been in Cuba?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you receiving any compensation from the Pacifica Foundation now?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. As station manager at KPFK, what were your duties?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Well, I have responsibility for the general management of the station, for the oversight of the staff, for the business matters, financial control, all the duties that a manager would—

Mr. SOURWINE. You are in full charge?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you given a free hand? Was there somebody from the directors looking over your shoulders, telling you what to do, or were you given some kind of a general outline of policy and allowed to operate freely within that policy?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Well, I knew at all times that I was responsible to the president.

Mr. SOURWINE. Oh, yes, of course.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Of the foundation, and to the board of directors, who met regularly, and laid out the policies.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did they interfere with you in such things as programing?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Hours of work or schedule of work?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have the power to hire and fire people on the station?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes, I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. To fix salaries, to give raises?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Well, salaries are more or less fixed within—you know, by the foundation within the three stations, but within reason, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you required by the board of directors to make periodic reports?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Oh yes, every meeting.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were those reports oral or in writing?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. They were oral but put into the minutes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did those reports go into detail with respect to such matters as programing, or were they more general in nature?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Well, programing is published.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, I know.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Hour by hour, so it was not necessary to repeat that to them, because they all had it regularly.

Mr. SOURWINE. While you were a director of Pacifica, before you became a paid employee and after you had been a paid employee, what had your duties been?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. As a director?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Attendance at board of directors meetings and discussion of the policies.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you paid for attendance at the meetings?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do that at your own expense?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And how often are the meetings held?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Monthly with the exception of a couple of months out of the year.

Mr. SOURWINE. How does one get to be a director of Pacifica?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. You must be elected by the board.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were elected both times, then?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does that require a majority vote, or unanimous, or two-thirds; do you know?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I am sorry, it is either a majority or two-thirds, and I do not recall which.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who keeps the books and records of the Pacifica Foundation?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. The secretary of the foundation.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is that?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Mr. Lloyd Smith.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where the books and records of the foundation are kept?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. You mean where they physically reside?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. At the moment?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think in different places. If you could be more specific about which ones.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, you intrigue me. The records of the corporation, I am talking about, not the records of the stations. Obviously, WBAI would have records in New York, and KPFK would have records in Los Angeles, and KPFA would have records in San Francisco.

But the records of the Pacifica, for instance, the books of the corporation, the bankbook, the checkbook, the minutes of the meeting—

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Those would be in the president's office in Berkeley.

Mr. SOURWINE. All of those would be in the president's office?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. But they are kept by the secretary?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes. He is responsible for them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is his office at the same place as the president's office?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No. His office is in Los Angeles.

(At this point Senator Johnston left the hearing room.)

Mr. SOURWINE. His office is in Los Angeles. Where is the president's office?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Berkeley.

Mr. SOURWINE. Perhaps I misunderstand. I think the record will now read that you have said that the records of the corporation which are physically in Berkeley are kept by a man in Los Angeles.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I am sorry. I though you asked me who was responsible for the records.

Mr. SOURWINE. I said "kept," but that is a reasonable interpretation. The secretary is responsible for them, but they are not in his hands, is that right?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, they are not physically in his hands.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does the president keep the books?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. We have a bookkeeper and a treasurer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where is the bookkeeper located?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. In San Francisco.

Mr. SOURWINE. In San Francisco; and your treasurer, in San Francisco?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I did not mean San Francisco. I meant Berkeley.

Mr. SOURWINE. In Berkeley?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes, that is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. And the bookkeeper is in Berkeley?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is the bookkeeper?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. His name is—his first name is Del and his last name is something like Michelenko, or something like that.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not have to guess, if you do not know. I do not know any reason why you are supposed to know. I just thought you might.

The situation, then, to restate it so that the record may be clear: You have a secretary who has certain responsibilities with respect to records, but the books and records, as I have delineated them, are physically kept in Berkeley in the office of the president, now the acting president, Mr.—

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Trevor Thomas.

Mr. SOURWINE. And the persons who work on those books are the treasurer and the bookkeeper, is that right?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know the name of the treasurer?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes, the treasurer of the Board is Mr. Zapf.

Mr. SOURWINE. Z-a-p-f?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. Would counsel yield?

Mr. SOURWINE. Of course, Mr. Chairman.

Senator HRUSKA. When you say "books," do you mean books of accounts or the corporation charter?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. That is why I am puzzled.

Senator HRUSKA. Or minutes of the corporation or correspondence?

Just what are you talking about when you say "Berkeley," and what are you talking about when you say the "offices in Los Angeles," Mrs. Gumpertz?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Well, I do not know whether he is asking me—he seems to be asking me about the financial records now.

Senator HRUSKA. All right, the financial books, then, are books of account.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. And there are expenses and there is income and, I presume, rent and other bills.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. Where are those books kept?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. In Berkeley.

Senator HRUSKA. They are physically?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. The bookkeeper actually enters them in Berkeley.

Senator HRUSKA. And where are the books that record these; in Berkeley?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. In the radio station office there?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. In the president's office or someplace in the building. I do not know exactly the room.

Senator HRUSKA. Where are the corporation records, the minutes, the charter, the bylaws, resolutions, and so on? Where are they kept?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I cannot tell you that exactly. I do not know.

Senator HRUSKA. You are a member of the board of directors or you have been. Where did you hold your board meetings?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. We hold them alternatively between Berkeley and Los Angeles, for the most part.

Senator HRUSKA. And when they were held, I presume minutes were read, were they not?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. And records were submitted?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. Who submitted them and who read the minutes?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. The office secretary—I mean the stenographer reads them. They were mailed out. I do not think we read them.

Senator HRUSKA. At those meetings did they have the minute books? Did they have the minute book that contained all the records?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think the office secretary, the stenographer, usually has those available.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mrs. Gumpertz, do you know Louis Schweitzer?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I have met him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know his brother, William P. Schweitzer?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you had any dealings with either of them?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I had lunch once with Mr. Louis Schweitzer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Mr. Louis Schweitzer had transferred control of radio station WBAI to Pacifica Foundation as a free gift?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes. I do not know the details.

Mr. SOURWINE. I do not want to trap you. I may have put too much in that question. I put in that question the matter that it was a free gift. Do you, in fact, know whether there was any consideration for the transfer?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think there is, but I do not know the details.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what the consideration was?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not know the details exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. What makes you think there was consideration?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think I heard some discussion at one time in the board of directors about, you know, that we must pay him for certain percentages of the stock. I do not know the exact details.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does he own stock in Pacifica now?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. We do not have stock in Pacifica.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does he own stock in WBAI?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not know whether there is stock or not.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not know whether WBAI has stock?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Not exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will say that the best information we have been able to get so far—and I think the public understanding of what happened—was that the stock in WBAI was turned over to Pacifica as a gift. Now, if that were true, I am a little at a loss to figure out what the obligation would be to pay Mr. Schweitzer anything, unless there was a separate contract with him.

Do you know anything about that?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I did not have anything to do with negotiating. I do not know the details.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where was the meeting and when was the meeting at which there was discussion of the obligation of Pacifica to pay Mr. Schweitzer?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I really cannot answer that specifically.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it a meeting you attended as a director?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not think so. No, it could not have been.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was a meeting you attended as station manager?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. You see, as a staff member, we might be in the directors' meeting part of the time and out part of the time.

Mr. SOURWINE. I understand, but it was during that period.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think it was when we received the gift.

Mr. SOURWINE. We can fix it in time, then, as between the time Mr. Schweitzer gave the stock, or transferred the stock, to Pacifica and the time you left as station manager, which was in December of 1961, is that not right?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think it would be in that period.

Mr. SOURWINE. Sometime during that period, however many months it may have been, you were in a meeting of the board of direc-

tors, or part of the meeting, for some time during the meeting, and heard discussion of an obligation to make some sort of payments to Mr. Schweitzer, is that right?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. And that is really all you know about it?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes, it is.

Mr. SOURWINE. I do not mean to push you for details that you may not have.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. OK.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you had your meeting and conversation with Mr. Schweitzer, did you discuss the business of Pacifica?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was just social?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Mr. Schweitzer was a native of Russia?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. What help, if any, has the Pacifica Foundation, or any of its radio stations, received from educational or charitable foundations? Perhaps I misspoke. Maybe Pacifica is not in any sense a foundation. What help has Pacifica, if any, received or what has any of its radio stations received, from educational or charitable foundations, if you know?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Well, you know, I cannot give you all the details.

Mr. SOURWINE. I understand.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. We have received from time to time small contributions from foundations.

Mr. SOURWINE. Which foundations?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Well, we received \$1,000 from the du Pont Awards Foundation when we—KPFK is the only one I can really speak about.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. When we received the award as the best station of the year. That was accompanied by a check for \$1,000. I remember we received a contribution from Consumers' Union Foundation. I do not remember the exact amount. We received a contribution from the Clairmore Foundation—no, a loan, not a contribution, I think, at one time, to help us purchase a transmitter.

There may be a few small family foundations that have given us contributions. I cannot remember all of them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever receive help from any of the big foundations?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I can only speak for KPFK, and I do not know whether you consider the du Pont or those big foundations—what do you mean by "big"?

Mr. SOURWINE. Let us take one of the biggest. Did you ever receive, did KPFK ever receive, any grants or other contributions from the Ford Foundation?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Guggenheim?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Not while I was—

Mr. SOURWINE. From the Guggenheim Foundation?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Not Guggenheim.

Mr. SOURWINE. Not from any of the large foundations, that you can remember?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I know that KPFA did from the Ford Foundation.

Mr. SOURWINE. They did?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. But KPFA did not?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, not while I was there.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long has station KPFA been owned or controlled by the Pacifica Foundation?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. We just went on the air in 1959, and it was always a part of Pacifica.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was licensed to Pacifica then?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is there a separate corporation that runs KPFA, or does Pacifica own them? Is it wholly owned?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Pacifica.

Mr. SOURWINE. Pacifica wholly owns the station?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who are the other officers of radio station KPFA? Let me put the question this way:

Who were the other officers of radio station KPFA at the time you were station manager?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. By "officers," do you mean other employees?

Mr. SOURWINE. Who are the officers. Yes, it would be other employees. The officers of the station are all employees, are they not?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. We do not have officers of the station. We have officers of the foundation, but not of the individual stations.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had a production director, did you not?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Oh, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he not an officer?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not know what you mean by "officer."

Mr. SOURWINE. I will follow your term on it. Top employees, then.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Top employees.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was your production director?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Production director—there were several while I was manager. This is the boy that, you know, gets the tapes ready to put on the air and so forth. I think the first one was a young man named John Harris. Let us see who he was followed by. He went away to go back to school. I think he was followed by a young fellow from Dartmouth, Flint Ranney. Then, I think, after that was—I can see him as plain as anything before my eyes—his name was Bob Reeves.

Mr. SOURWINE. R-e-e-v-e-s?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And who is production director now, if you know, for KPFA?

(At this point Senator Scott left the hearing room.)

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think it is a boy named Lee something.

Mr. SOURWINE. First name Lee?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you do not know his last name?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No. I do not, for sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your music director, who was music director when you were station manager?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. The first one was James Middleton, and then it was Dr. Robert Trotter.

Mr. SOURWINE. And who is now the music director?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Well, we have an acting music director. I think it is Lois Baum.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you spell that last name?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. B-a-u-m.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you have a director of literature and drama?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. It is very difficult for me to answer specific questions about the station now because I am not there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have a director of literature and drama while you were station manager?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

The first one was a young man, I think, named Andrew Dowdy.

Mr. SOURWINE. D-o-w-d-y?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. And after him?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. And then he went to do his Army service, and after him was Safford Chamberlain.

Mr. SOURWINE. And after him?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Let us see, he was still doing it when I left, and it is a woman now. I think her name is Ruth Hirschman.

Mr. SOURWINE. "H-e-r" or "H-i-r"?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think it is "H-i-r".

Mr. SOURWINE. "S-c-h-m-a-n"?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you had a chief engineer while you were there?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was he?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Two different ones. The first one was Stephen Haas.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. William Acord.

Mr. SOURWINE. A-c-o-r-d?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And is Mr. Acord still there, as far as you know?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes, he is, I think.

Mr. SOURWINE. These were all paid employees, were they not?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes, modestly.

Mr. SOURWINE. What connection did Dr. Harold Winkler have, if any, with Station KPFA?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. He was president of the foundation.

Mr. SOURWINE. Of the foundation?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where is Mr. Winkler now?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. He is traveling, and I cannot tell you exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you not heard that he is in New Zealand?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No. I think he is in Europe, maybe.

Mr. SOURWINE. You think he is in Europe now?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Or Asia, I do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you hear from him? Does he correspond with you?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have any part in the drive in 1958 to raise funds for the Pacifica Foundation to assist it in establishing a radio station in southern California?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. In 1958?

Mr. SOURWINE. 1958.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did assist in 1959?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes, I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a paid employee?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No. I assisted a trifle before I was.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a volunteer before you were paid?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you became a paid employee, were your duties approximately the same at that time as they had been as a volunteer?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Oh, no. As a volunteer, I did not have much time to give, and as a paid employee, I worked full time.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were soliciting contributions in both instances?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I might have asked a few people to give contributions, you know, among my friends, before I was on the staff.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. But very few.

Mr. SOURWINE. Very few?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I did not have time.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were soliciting full time after you were employed?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Well, I was asking people to contribute to the station.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is what I mean.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And can you tell us to what extent the Pacifica Foundation, or any of the radio stations it operates or controls, is engaged in the dissemination of radio programs to other stations in the United States?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. We occasionally get asked for tapes from other stations. I cannot tell you the exact number. It is not many.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any organization or setup for distributing tapes to any particular group of radio stations?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, not to my knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are not in the tape distribution business, either?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. For free or for pay? By "you," I mean the station is not, as far as you know.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No. When we get requests, we try to make the tapes available.

Mr. SOURWINE. I understand.

But you do not have a regular client to which tapes are supplied?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. How about dissemination outside the United States? Is there any dissemination of your tapes outside the United States?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No. We have exchanged musical programs primarily with other countries occasionally.

Mr. SOURWINE. With whom have such exchanges been made?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not know the details of that, because, you know, that would be handled by a staff member.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know any of the countries?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think almost every country in the world.

Mr. SOURWINE. Almost every country in the world?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Have gotten some musical thing, particularly.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have dealt with the country, itself, in each instance?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I have never dealt.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not know how it has been arranged?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. In any instance?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, I cannot—let us see. Well, we use a lot of programs from the BBC, and I do know how that is arranged.

Mr. SOURWINE. How is that arranged?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Well, they send us an order book of offerings, you know, which they make to all the commonwealth countries, and I think our various program directors look through the book and see if there is anything they want to get from the BBC, and then—the reason I know is because we paid a modest sum for these programs.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have a similar or reciprocal agreement with them? You give them a book of your offerings or material available, and they sometimes order some of your programs?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Well, see, we do not have a book of offerings.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. They might see our program folio and ask for a certain program.

Mr. SOURWINE. As far as you know, is there any substantial amount of programing of your tapes by BBC?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I cannot answer that.

Mr. SOURWINE. I call your attention to the fact that a news story appeared in the Palo Alto Times in February 1961. The story is in our record, which was about a Mr. Felix Greene, former BBC correspondent, who had interviewed Mao Tse-tung in 1960, the story stating that when Greene made a trip around the world in 1958, he taped on-the-spot commentaries even in Russia and mailed them to KPFA-FM in Berkeley for dissemination to radio stations around the world.

Do you know anything about that?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did KFPK carry any of Greene's tapes while you were there?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I would have to look in the program folio to answer that precisely.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know of any programs that are, or have been, disseminated around the world by KFPK?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether KPFA has an arrangement for the dissemination of programs around the world?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you aware, Mrs. Cory, of the efforts of the Communist Party, U.S.A., to get its own broadcasting outlet in the United States?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mrs. Gumpertz, I should say. I must apologize and I am sorry.

What is the connection between the Pacifica Foundation and the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. None that I know of.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that in October 1959, the Pacifica Foundation used the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms in a fundraising drive?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I doubt that very much.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean you doubt it is true?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes, I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that the foundation had sent a letter to the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms, the letter to be sent out to a list of selected individuals, soliciting funds for station KPFA?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I am not aware of any such letter.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms had been cited in 1959 by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as one of the Communist Party's front operations in the southern California district?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I never paid much attention to that committee. I would not know whether they were cited or not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Frank Wilkinson, the executive secretary of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I know what he looks like.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him to speak to?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Faintly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Frank Wilkinson as an identified Communist?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not know him, you know, to that extent.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not know that he had been identified as a Communist?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Is the Pacifica Foundation a nonprofit educational institution?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes, it is.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is tax exempt; is it not?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Well, gifts to it are exempt for income tax purposes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does the foundation itself pay taxes?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. It does not pay taxes on its real estate?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Oh, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. It pays real estate taxes?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes. We do not have—

Mr. SOURWINE. Does it pay an income tax?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, no income tax.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any knowledge of a controversy about the screening of program contributors or other persons permitted to broadcast over any of the Pacifica stations?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Of a controversy about it?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not take part in any arguments or recriminations over that question of who should be permitted to broadcast?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were not connected with Pacifica or its stations in any way in 1954?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know of any influence over radio station KPFK or its policies exercised by, or on behalf of, the Communist Party, U.S.A.?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Any influence over the Pacifica Foundation or its policies exercised by, or on behalf of, the Communist Party, U.S.A.?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know any persons now or in the past in authority in Pacifica or any of its radio stations who were known to you to be members of the Communist Party, U.S.A.?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does Dr. Winkler have any present connection with Pacifica, Dr. Harold Winkler?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, except as ex-president.

Mr. SOURWINE. He is ex-president, past president, but he is not a director at the present time?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. And not employed?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know how he came to be president of Pacifica?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, I do not. It was before I was there.

Mr. SOURWINE. You knew Dr. Winkler, or know him?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, or do you know Dr. Winkler as former chairman of a State rally of the Independent Socialist League held at Berkeley, Calif., in November 1961?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you aware that the Independent Socialist League has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States as a subversive organization?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Never heard of it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Jerome Shore?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you aware of any connections he may have with the Communist Party, U.S.A.?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you aware of any connections he may have had in the past with the Communist Party, U.S.A.?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you ever discussed this with Mr. Shore?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, I have not.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have not seen Mr. Shore since he testified before this committee?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, I have not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are there any persons employed by Pacifica Foundation, or any of its owned or controlled radio stations, whom you know, or have reason to believe, are present or past members of the Communist Party, U.S.A.?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A.?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes, I have.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was this?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. This was in 1944 for a few months, and then I left the Communist Party in 1944.

Mr. SOURWINE. In 1944. You entered and left in the single year?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where was this?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. In Vallejo. I cannot be sure of the date I entered, I do not know, but I know the date when I left very clearly.

Mr. SOURWINE. What county is Vallejo in?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not know if it is in Solano or Contra Costa.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is very close to the bay, is it not?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is in the bay area?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes, it is.

Mr. SOURWINE. The San Francisco Bay area?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. How old were you at the time?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Twenty-one or twenty-two.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you attending the university?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I had just graduated.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had just graduated from the University of California at Berkeley?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was this a professional section or a Communist club, or what was it you joined?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I am not really clear about that. It was a club. I think. It was a long time ago, and I do not know exactly. I do not know what it was called.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you attend meetings?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. A few.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where were they held?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Let's see if I can remember that. I think possibly in somebody's house.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whose home it was held at?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Always in the same place?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I really do not know that, it was so long ago.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you tell us who recruited you into the party?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not think I know that specifically.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not know who asked you to join?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, I really do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was the head of the club or unit to which you belonged?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. That I cannot remember, either. As I say, it was a long time ago. It was a few meetings. You know, it was kind of a foolish period, and I really do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was a membership card issued to you?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not know. There possibly was, but I do not remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did pay dues, did you not?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not remember that, either. I have been racking my brains about that, but I must have, because I think they collected dues from people. But I do not specifically remember paying any.

Mr. SOURWINE. I understand. You do not remember having had a party card?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. And naturally, therefore, you would not remember what you did with it, if you did have one?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. I was going to ask you whether you had sent it back.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Ceremoniously burned it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Torn it up or thrown it away, but if you do not remember, you do not remember. Did you send any letter of resignation, or otherwise, signifying your break with the party, when you did break and leave the party?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, I did not send any letter, but I remember specifically when I broke, because I left the State of California at that time.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was that?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. In 1944.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was in 1944?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes, it was. I remember, because it was the day after the election of Roosevelt. That year I remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. The day after President Roosevelt's election?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. You broke with the party?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was there some particular thing that brought this about?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Oh, well, just general disagreement, disillusionment.

Mr. SOURWINE. The fact that you were going away, did that have anything to do with it?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No. I was going away, and it was a good time to make the clean break.

Mr. SOURWINE. In other words, you had been coming to this over a period of time?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was not a sudden decision?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. We have established definitely the time you broke with the party. You say that was just the day after election?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I mean that is when I left the State.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is when you left the State?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you never had any connection with the Communist Party since that time?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. And your earliest connection with the party was sometime in the year of 1944?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you say spring, summer?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I have a feeling it might have been spring, but I just cannot tell you that specifically.

Mr. SOURWINE. You want us to understand, then—and I am not trying to pin you down as to exact dates—that you were a member of the party for approximately 6 months, perhaps, at the most, 8 months, during the single year of 1944?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever attend any Communist Party training schools?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you, while you were in the party, subject to Communist discipline?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I did not consider myself to be.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you do any party work?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Not—no.

Mr. SOURWINE. No tasks were assigned to you?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were not required to come into the office and do any work?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. To be present at any particular meetings?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never got any orders from the party or the heads of the club?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, I do not think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you the same individual who, under the name of Catherine Corbett, attended, in July of 1948, the Asilomar summer vacation school sponsored by the California Labor School?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not think I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not go to Asilomar in the summer of 1948?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know where Asilomar is?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes, I have been to Asilomar at a Quaker conference, but never a Communist conference, I am sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were not there in 1948?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not think so. I do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. In 1948, that would have been 4 or 5 years after you got out of college?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. More than that.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you graduate from the university?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. 1942.

Mr. SOURWINE. I made my mistake because you had said earlier, at least I thought you had said, that you had just gotten out of college when you joined the Communist Party.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I said recently.

Mr. SOURWINE. Actually you graduated in June of 1942?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. May or June.

Mr. SOURWINE. May or June of 1942?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And, then, as the record shows, about 2 years later, in 1944, give or take a month or so, you joined the party?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Eight months or so, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am not trying to confuse you. Perhaps my choice of questions may not have been good. We had established that you had joined the party in 1944, probably in the spring, is that right?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You graduated from the university in the late spring of 1942?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. So you would have joined the party approximately 2 years later, not give or take eight months, right?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Fine, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. If it is not right, tell me.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Did you ever have any connection with the California Labor School?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that the California Labor School had been cited by the Attorney General as a Communist organization?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think I remember reading that, yes, at the time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you the same Catherine Corbett who was at one time secretary of the California Legislative Conference?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes, I am.

Mr. SOURWINE. For the record, Mr. Chairman, I will say that this fact was reported by the Daily People's World.

Do you know whether the California Legislative Conference is connected in any way with the Communist Party, U.S.A.?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not know anything about it now. It was not when I went there.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was not?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, it was not.

Mr. SOURWINE. At the time you were there. Are you the same Catherine Corbett who, in 1947, was acting executive secretary of the Northern California Committee to Win the Peace?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think I might have worked there a week or so.

Mr. SOURWINE. This was reported by the People's Daily World of January 17, 1947.

Did this organization; that is, the Northern California Committee to Win the Peace, have any connection with the Communist Party?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Not that I know of.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you the same Catherine Corbett who, in December 1946, was secretary of the San Francisco Veterans Housing Committee?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not remember that. I really do not remember that.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will state, Mr. Chairman, that the Daily People's World of December 20, 1946, reported that a Catherine Corbett held

this position. I think it might improve the record if the newspaper items to which I referred should be ordered inserted at the appropriate place where they are mentioned. May I suggest that be done?

Senator HRUSKA. Very well.

Do you have the text?

Mr. SOURWINE. I do not physically have them with me, but they can be photostated. They have been identified sufficiently for the record to accomplish this.

(The newspaper articles referred to are as follows:)

[From the People's World, Jan. 17, 1947]

WIN-PEACE GROUP NAMES NEW EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

SAN FRANCISCO, January 16.—The Northern California Committee to Win the Peace today announced appointment of Mrs. Catherine Corbett as acting executive secretary to replace Hans Hoffman, who resigned to continue work at the University of California. The committee will resume immediately the campaign to withdraw U.S. troops and equipment from China, and is inaugurating a drive for 5 thousand new members in 1947, Mrs. Corbett stated.

Hoffman, in a report of the committee's work for 1946, said:

"The California delegation to the National Win the Peace Conference, lobbying on Capitol Hill in April, caused our California Congressmen to change their votes on a number of vital issues.

"In October, it educated and mobilized the Nation generally and west coast particularly in one of the most important campaigns that faces our people—that of cessation of intervention on the side of a feudal government against the people of China. The Win the Peace Committee has won its place as a force for peace and will continue to be a greater force in 1947."

[From the People's World, Dec. 20, 1946, p. 1]

VET HOUSING GROUP MEETS TONIGHT

SAN FRANCISCO, December 19.—Organizations and individuals concerned about the housing shortage were urged today to attend the first formal meeting of the San Francisco Veterans Housing Committee, 8 p.m. Friday, at 83 Sixth street.

Katherine Corbett, committee secretary, appealed to "all unions to send representatives" to the meeting which will plan a "short-range and a long-range" program to get more veterans housing in San Francisco.

The American Veterans Committee affiliated with the SF-VHC last week and delegates from its local chapters are expected to attend.

The housing committee today sent a letter to the board of supervisors asking action on these points:

Vote the necessary funds and give the go-ahead signal for immediate conversion of Hunters Point Barracks into 120 family units.

Vote the necessary funds and ordinances and approval for 380 temporary units towards which the State government has agreed to contribute \$2,000.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have something to say, Mrs. Cory?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No. Mrs. Gumpertz.

Mr. SOURWINE. I beg your pardon. I do not do that willfully. I am going to write your name down here in big letters to remind me. I might say, just to explain to you, I have a very good friend by the name of Cory who used to be clerk of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate. I have known him for 20-odd years, and that may be why that name sticks in my mind, rather than the name Gumpertz.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. That is all right.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not remember being connected in any way with the San Francisco Veterans Housing Committee?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No. I was always interested in housing, but I do not remember that committee.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you the same Catherine Cory who was employed for 20 months, prior to April 1953, by the American Friends Service Committee in San Francisco.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you were employed as of January 1954, by the Friends Committee on National Legislation in Philadelphia?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you the same individual who, under the name of Catherine Lovell Hanck, was a member of the Young Communist League at the University of California at Berkeley in 1942?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No; I was never.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you attending the University of California at Berkeley in 1942?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes; I was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know of any other Catherine Lovell Hanck?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Attending the university at that time?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No; there was not.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was your name, was it not?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you say you were not connected with the Young Communist League?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Absolutely Not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever pay a portion of your income for the benefit of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Unless it was dues, which you said you do not remember having paid?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember ever having made a contribution to the Communist Party?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Not specifically.

Mr. SOURWINE. Not dues. Other than dues.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, I do not remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you say that you did or did not make a contribution to the Communist Party, aside from your dues?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I cannot, you know—

Mr. SOURWINE. You might have?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I might have during that period in 1944.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you or did you ever know Elizabeth Gurley Flynn?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No; never knew her.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever attend a function at which she was present?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever attend a private showing of the film, "Salt of the Earth"?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No. I have never seen it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did KPFFK broadcast the 2-hour program concerning the proceedings of the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., which was broadcast over WBAI on January 26, 1960?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I am not positive whether we broadcast it or not. We might have.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not remember?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Not for sure. I would have to look.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not remember whether you advertised that program?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I certainly—not to my knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not advertise many programs, do you?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. The newspapers always list our offers.

Mr. SOURWINE. I mean to buy paid ads. You do not buy very many paid ads, the station?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Occasionally.

Mr. SOURWINE. Occasionally?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not remember whether this was such an occasion?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any knowledge as to how the broadcast of this Communist Party convention, the taping of it, was arranged?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I know it was prior to the time that I was manager, so I do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have never been told how it was arranged?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, I have not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you or did you ever know Herbert Aptheker?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as editor of Political Affairs, the monthly theoretical journal of the Communist Party, U.S.A.?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I might have heard that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does Herbert Aptheker have a program on KPFFK?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he ever have such a program?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I cannot answer that specifically. Again, I would have to refer to the folio.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know he has broadcast on WBAI and on KPFA?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Again, I would have to specifically look at the folio to tell you.

Mr. SOURWINE. On November 28, 1961, Mr. Aptheker broadcast over WBAI in a debate entitled "Should the Activities of the Com-

munist Party Be Restricted by Law?" Do you know if KPFFK carried this program?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I would have to look at the folio.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that a talk by Herbert Aptheker dealing with his experiences before a grand jury investigating violations of the Subversive Activities Control Act was broadcast over WBAI on April 24 and 25, 1962?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I would have to look at their folio, again.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did KPFFK carry this program?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Again, I do not know. It is all in the folio, and I would have to look.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did KPFFK carry the series by Herbert Aptheker which was broadcast over KPFA from February to April 1959, on the title "On the Nature of Revolution," with the subtitle, "The Marxist Theory of Social Change"?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Again, I do not recall the series, and I would have to look at the folio.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that this series had been compiled into a pamphlet with the same title and published by the New Century Publishers, the official publishing house of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. When Pacifica began broadcasting in Los Angeles over KPFFK, was it stated over the air that the station was happy that among its regular political commentators were both Marxist Aptheker and conservative Republican Russell Kirk?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not remember the specific quote. Did you say, did I know it was said?

Mr. SOURWINE. I asked if it was so stated; yes. If you do not remember, you cannot tell me whether it was or not.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, I cannot tell you.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had nothing to do with the announcement?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. If it was made?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, I did not, I am sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Has William Marx Mandel ever gone on the air over Station KPFA?

Mr. RAUH. KPFFK?

Mr. SOURWINE. I beg your pardon, I meant KPFFK. We know he was on the air over KPFA.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think he is. I am quite sure of that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Mr. Mandel as a Communist?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I have never met the man.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know that he is a Communist?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. The thumbnail biography of Mr. Mandel is in our records, Mr. Chairman, in connection with the testimony of another witness. May the record at this point show a reference to the place where that appears in the earlier record?

Senator HRUSKA. That would be in order, and it shall be done.

(The material referred to may be found at p. 113 of part 2 of this series on "Pacifica Foundation.")

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you aware that William Mandel had claimed his privilege under the fifth amendment in refusing to answer under oath the question whether he was engaged in sabotage or espionage against the United States?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not know it, you know, personally. I think I might have heard that he did that before a committee, but I——

Senator HRUSKA. If this had been called to your attention, would it have made any difference in your scheduling Mr. Mandel over KPFK?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I personally did not do the scheduling, but, you know, it is difficult for me to answer that question, but I do not think so.

Senator HRUSKA. As a board member, if that information had come to your attention, would you have commented upon it as a basis for refusing any broadcast by him?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Well, you see, our broadcasting is designed to take in the whole spectrum of opinion and commentary, so we do broadcast people of, you know, controversial opinion.

Senator HRUSKA. Now, coming to my question again——

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA (continuing). Had you known this record of this man, would you have approved or disapproved, by your comment in board meeting, his broadcasting on your station?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think I would have approved it in the right context.

Senator HRUSKA. Notwithstanding the record which was referred to by Mr. Sourwine?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes; I think so, depending on what he was saying, of course.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not censor people on your station on the basis of what they say; do you?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Well, we cannot allow anyone to break the libel laws or advocate sabotage or anything on the air.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you precensor what a person is going to say on your station?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No; we do not precensor.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do they talk from scripts and have to get the scripts cleared before they go on the air?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. How are you going to prevent a man from doing these things, then?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Well, you have an operator there who is operating the station at the time.

Mr. SOURWINE. He is supposed to cut him off the air, if he does?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Well, if he is doing libel, certainly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your operator is an expert on libel?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. What are your operator's instructions in regard to cutting a man off the air? You mean an engineer who is monitoring the program; do you not?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not know what you mean. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You said a man would cut him off the air. No one monitors your program while it is going on except an engineer. Now, you do have a number of programs that are broadcast live?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you have a tape, does anybody listen to the tape, preaudition the tape, to see if it is suitable to go out over the air before you put it on?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Many tapes, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do.

Are the tapes of Mandel, William Mandel, and Herbert Aptheker always listened to before they go on the air to see if they are suitable?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I cannot answer that question specifically.

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to point out what we are getting into.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Because I do not want you, again, to fall into any trap. If you do this, that is, if the tapes are always preauditioned to see if they are suitable, then the station is taking responsibility for what the man says. If you are just providing a forum for free speech, then the station might not be responsible, at least it could contend it was not. I would have presumed that your answers would have been that they were not monitored; that the people were given freedom. You tell me there is a difference on the basis of what they say and that you would not let them libel and you would not let them advocate sabotage, and you think the tapes are premonitored to see if they are suitable before they go on the air, is that right?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I did not say all tapes are.

Mr. SOURWINE. Some tapes?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I am sure you discussed this at much more length with the president, who is better able to answer this.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were station manager.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And I am trying to find out what happened in your station.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Well, we had a program director in the station, you know, always.

Mr. SOURWINE. He was the man that would have handled this phase of it?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You would not have been concerned with preauditioning tapes?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You would not have been concerned with what the people might have said? It would be up to the program director?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Did your station, like other Pacifica stations, have a practice of repeating programs?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. So that, for instance, you might have scheduled Mr. Mandel or Mr. Aptheker or somebody else for a particular frequency, but the tapes would be played back with greater frequency?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No. The repeat broadcasts are scheduled, also.

Mr. SOURWINE. They would appear in your schedule?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. But, I mean, you would say, "We have John Doe or Herbert Aptheker scheduled for twice-a-month programing." That meant he would make a new tape every 2 weeks, approximately. He would be on the air live twice a month, but the tapes of his appearance would be on the air at other frequencies, is that not true?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. It would all be in the program folio.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. When he would rebroadcast.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is right.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Dorothy Healey?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I have met her.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know her as the publicly identified chairman of the Southern California District of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes, I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have anything to do with arranging for her to broadcast over KPFK?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have anything to do with keeping her on the air?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Not specifically.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was there ever any controversy about the fact that she was broadcasting over KPFK?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. There were newspaper articles, you know, letters sometimes about it, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did the station always insist upon and defend its right to have Mrs. Healey on the air if it wanted to?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Not because the station—you never said you did this because you believed in what she was saying.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. But because you believed in her right to say it?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Right.

Mr. SOURWINE. You think that a member of the Communist Party, even a functionary of the Communist Party, has a right to use radio facilities to tell her story and to explain her slant or his slant over the air?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I would not say that they have that right. What I would say is that the people have the right to hear, you know, even very bad people. I would say it is the right of the people, not the right of her to broadcast.

Senator HRUSKA. Would you say, Mrs. Gumpertz, that the substance of Mrs. Healey's talks were on the order of explaining a political philosophy?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. That gets into a very difficult area, about whether, you know, the Communist philosophy is political.

Mr. SOURWINE. Dorothy Healey appeared on KPFK on June 24, 1960. Were you station manager at that time?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I am sorry?

Mr. SOURWINE. June 24, 1960.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes, I was station manager.

Mr. SOURWINE. She made a speech on July 6, 1961, over KPFK. Were you station manager at that time?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes. I cannot tell you that she made a speech, but I was station manager at that time.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am perfectly willing to make this statement for the record. It appears in your own programing.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. In our folio?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, ma'am.

She spoke on KPFK on October 25, 1961. Were you station manager at that time?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes, I was.

Mr. SOURWINE. She spoke on KPFFK on November 22, 1961. Were you station manager at that time?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. She spoke on KPFFK on December 6, 1961. Had you left the station yet?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. She spoke on January 3, 1962. You had left the station at that time?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think I left around the middle of that month.

Mr. SOURWINE. The middle of January?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. 1962?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Officially, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Rather than in December of 1961?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think so, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You know that Dorothy Healey has been appearing on KPFFK every 2 weeks?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. That when she is absent, her place is taken by either Ben Dobbs or William C. Taylor?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I recall the name Dobbs, but I do not, the other.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long has Dorothy Healey been in this relationship to KPFFK?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. She was on when I first became manager.

Mr. SOURWINE. Practically from the beginning?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I cannot tell you the first date she started.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does she pay anything for the privilege of appearing on the air?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No. We do not—

Mr. SOURWINE. Is she paid anything for her appearances?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know William C. Taylor as a member of the Communist Party and a Communist functionary?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not know. I never heard his name before.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know he was section organizer of the Moranda Smith section of the southern California district of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Don't know him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Ben Dobbs as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I have heard his name said in that connection, but I do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. On July 2 and 8, 1962, KPFFK broadcast a tape-recorded interview with six individuals identified as members of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Did you have anything to do with arranging this?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know the Abraham Lincoln Brigade as a Communist-controlled organization? Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, I am sorry.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not know. I have never had any dealings with them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you or did you know Marion Berman?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he have a daily program for children on KPFK while you were station manager?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, I do not think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any information respecting Mr. Berman's broadcasting over KPFK?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I do not think—I do not think I ever heard of him.

Mr. SOURWINE. If he did, you are not aware of it?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not know he was connected in any way with the Communist Party?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, I do not.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Does Sidney Roger go on the air over KPFK?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Not regularly, certainly not, but I cannot answer. I would have to refer to the folio if he has ever been on.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Mr. Roger?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know that Mr. Roger is, or has been, a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A.?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Material about Mr. Roger is also in our records, Mr. Chairman, if there may be a reference inserted here.

Senator HRUSKA. That will be ordered. It will be done.

(The material referred to may be found at p. 120 of pt. 2 of this series on "Pacifica Foundation.")

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Never met him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Tigar is London correspondent for station KPFA, according to the committee's information. Does he have any connection with KPFK that you know of?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Not specifically that I know of.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Mike Tigar as a feature writer for the Communist People's World?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not know that he was a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you or did you know Vincent Theodore Lee?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever have any dealings with him?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Lee is the present head of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee nationally.

In August 1962, he volunteered to perform an assignment for radio station WBAI in which he would travel to Cuba and conduct tape-recorded interviews of specific questions prepared in advance with Fidel Castro, Ernesto Guevara, and others. Can you tell me whether any of these program have been carried on KPFK?*

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Not to my knowledge. I would like to say many people tried to volunteer, you know, to be our correspondents.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were choosy about them, were you not?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. You know, they might say they were, or something, and they might not be.

*See testimony of V. T. Lee in part 1 of the subcommittee's series on "Castro's Network in the United States."

Mr. SOURWINE. But, actually, everybody who volunteered did not actually get to be your correspondent, did he?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, I am sure not.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the policy of KPFA, if you know, with regard to having commentators identify themselves?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. We ask them to identify themselves.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where a commentator has an affiliation with the Communist Party, is it KPFA policy that this fact should be made known to the listeners on each program?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes, if—

Mr. SOURWINE. How do you find out? Do you take the commentator's word for it?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. We pretty much have to, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you ask any of your commentators if they are connected with the Communist Party?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. For instance, in Mrs. Healey's case, we knew that that was her title.

Mr. SOURWINE. I know that. I am asking you if you make a practice of asking your commentators if they have Communist connections.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. In the commentator series, do you mean?

Mr. SOURWINE. Any of your commentators.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think it would depend if it had a bearing on the subject matter.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it not a fact that you do not ask anybody whether he belongs to the Communist Party?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Has the station ever asked any of its commentators or anyone else appearing on the air if he or she belonged to the Communist Party, U.S.A.?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I cannot answer that because I am not the program person.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever ask anybody?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever issue any instructions that that question was to be asked?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. That each commentator was? No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never issued any instructions?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. That anyone be asked if he or she was a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you do not know of any case in which anyone ever was asked?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Not specifically.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it not a fact that your commentators, persons who have a series of programs, are asked for a little thumbnail biography, something about themselves, and they are identified from that, but you do not ask any questions about it; you accept whatever they give you?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I think that the people would be, you know, asked to come as a commentator because we have some idea of what range in the spectrum they would fall.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thus, a man in an important editorial capacity on a Communist newspaper might be identified on your station in his own

words as a political commentator or an expert on world affairs or something like that?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Or, more likely, as the correspondent for the New York Times, or whatever he officially was; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you would not necessarily identify him as being a Communist, even though you knew that his association with the paper made it necessary that he be a Communist?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Well, we have very specific libel laws in California, and we have to be careful, I think, about doing that.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean you might be sued by one of your commentators?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you identify them?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. We certainly might, if it was a misidentification.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that a recorded tape of a KPFFK program relating to economics in the United States and what would happen if the economy of the United States were no longer able to support the defense industry had been taken to a meeting of the Juarez Club of the Southern California District of the Communist Party in July 1960, to serve as background for the club educational program at that meeting?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I would not have any way of knowing that, no. Anyone can tape a program off the air.

Mr. SOURWINE. This was a tape furnished by the station, according to the committee's information. What is your policy with respect to furnishing tapes. Do you have a small charge for them?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And they are available to anyone who wants to buy?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Yes; or they can take them off the air.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

If anyone can buy one of your tapes by asking for it, then you would not be responsible for who bought it, would you?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Definitely not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I have three more questions. Will time permit?

Senator HRUSKA. Yes; if they are not too long. I say that because I have an obligation to be on the floor very shortly.

Mr. SOURWINE. I understand. The committee has received various allegations that, at least in the case of Dorothy Healey, she was not identified as a Communist. I should like to read you, if you do not mind—I will do it rapidly—one of these allegations, and give you an opportunity to make any comment that you would care to:

For several months my wife and I listened to one of the regular news commentators over the Los Angeles station KPFFK. We knew that we despised the constant villification of the American Government and that of the free world by this commentator. Of course, this was KPFFK. Finally, after many months, the commentator reported that so many listeners had written in wondering who she was that it was now necessary to identify herself. "I am Dorothy Healey," she proudly reported, "Secretary of the Communist Party for Southern California." We were bitter that we had been purposely subjected to Marxist propaganda. Had we know the actual identity of the speaker, we could have alerted our intellectual defenses to properly counter this thought poison. In fact, it was the responsibility of the radio station to properly introduce their "selected" commentators, especially in the case of a Communist.

We believe in free speech. And Mrs. Healey believes in the first amendment, too (unless the Communists are in power—then the entire Bill of Rights would be junked). But when a hardened Communist, who admittedly believes in the violent overthrow of our Government, is given an opportunity to speak over the radio, who, for months, was never identified, this appears to have been not irresponsibility of the radio station, but a calculated attempt to influence.

Do you have any comment you would care to make on that?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Well, I think we had, perhaps, a slightly naive idea in the early days that it would be better for the people to judge for themselves, but I know, when I was the manager, we definitely began to identify all people, certainly Mrs. Healey.

Mr. SOURWINE. And it was that policy of not identifying your commentators that let Mrs. Healey go on for months unidentified?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I could not say how long she went on unidentified.

Mr. SOURWINE. For however long it was.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. It may have been a short time.

Mr. SOURWINE. In other words, it was not a policy special to her. You just were not identifying anybody?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that Ben Dobbs had been publicly identified as the executive secretary of the southern California district of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I know that he substituted for Mrs. Healey once or twice, and I think we gave his identification at the time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did KPFK ever ask Moscow for material for inclusion in its programs?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I cannot specifically answer that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever make such a request?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No; I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever authorize such a request?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No; not to my knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your station carries programs courtesy of Radio Moscow, does it not?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Musical programs.

Mr. SOURWINE. How does it get them?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. We may have received some. I just do not know what the details are.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not know where they came from?

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. No, I do not, but is conceivable that they came from Russia, but it would be music and not anything in the talk area.

Mr. SOURWINE. I understand.

I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well.

May the witness be excused?

Mr. SOURWINE. I should like to just say one thing briefly. I very much appreciate both the apparent forthrightness and the succinctness of your answers, Mrs. Gumpertz.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Thank you.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think you have answered every question directly, and you have given every appearance of having answered in accordance with your best knowledge and recollection, and you give no appearance, to counsel at least, of hiding anything.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. I am trying not to, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. I want to say I associate myself with the comments of counsel. It was with great interest that I listened to your testimony, and I had the same feelings and have had the same reactions to the things you have testified to.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think you can recognize from the line of questioning that it may be true that information which has reached the committee is at variance in some respects with the answers you have given, but we will look into that matter, and, if our information is in error, we will have to thank you for correcting it.

Thank you.

Mrs. GUMPERTZ. Thank you very much.

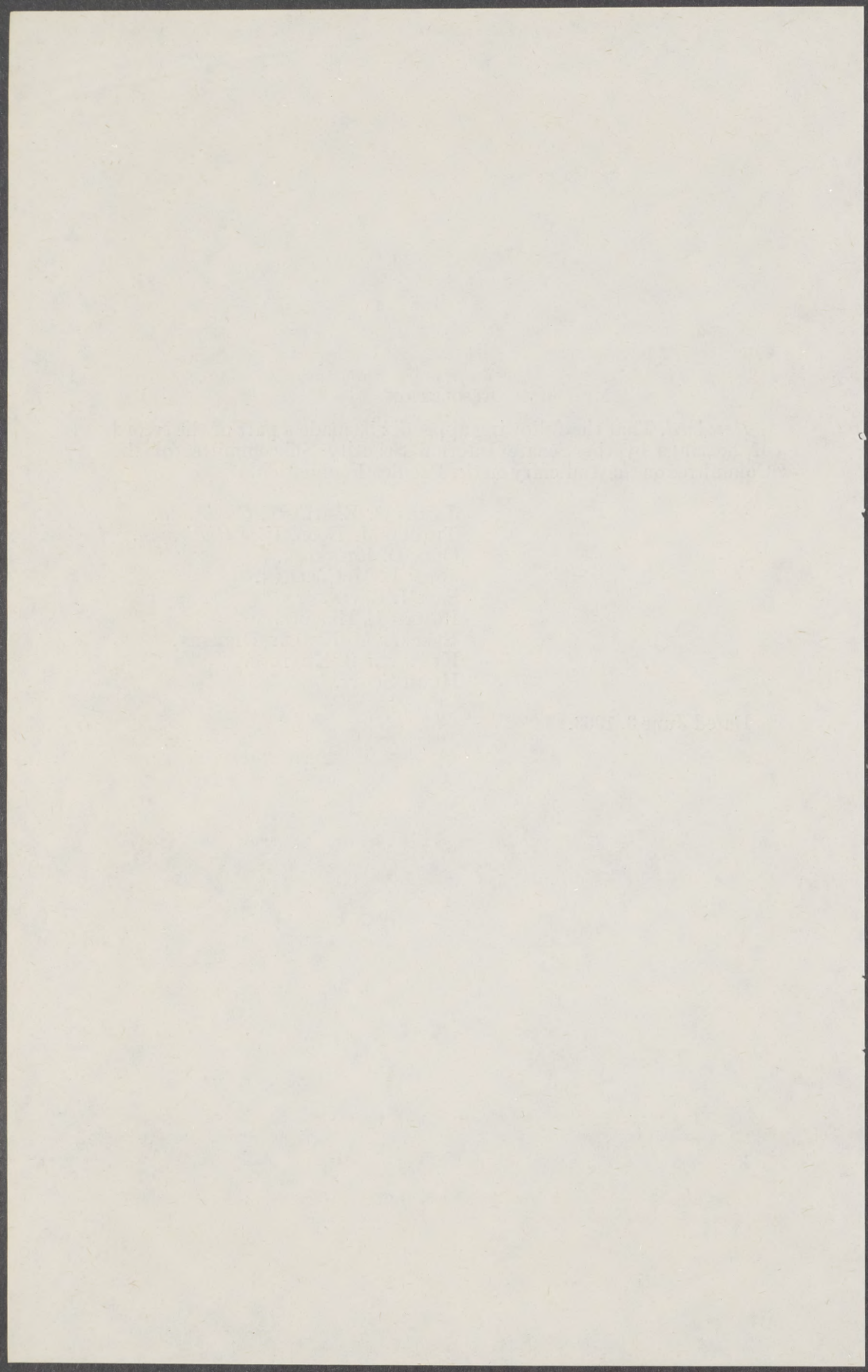
(Whereupon, at 12:15 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.)

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the following appendix be made a part of the record of hearings by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary on the Pacifica Foundation.

JAMES O. EASTLAND, *Chairman*.
THOMAS J. DODD, *Vice Chairman*.
OLIN D. JOHNSTON.
JOHN L. MCCLELLAN.
SAM J. ERVIN.
ROMAN L. HRUSKA.
EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.
KENNETH B. KEATING.
HUGH SCOTT.

Dated June 3, 1963.



APPENDIX

A radio or TV station would appear to have the right to give air time to any person with an interesting or important message. This right probably is subject to some limitations or exceptions (for instance, few will contend the right extends to the planned or anticipated advocacy of treason), but would not seem to be lost because the person given air time, or the subject of discussion, is merely controversial.

Recognition should be given to the two important distinctions: (1) Between the right of a station to give air time, and the right of an individual or organization to have air time; (2) between the giving of air time to an individual or organization, and the glamorization or promotion of an individual or organization through planned use of air time. While a station may have a clear right, in certain instances, to use its facilities for the advancement of particular causes, the station undoubtedly is responsible for the causes it so advances. Such factors are properly for consideration in any determination of the public interest, convenience, and necessity of the station's operation.

The glamorous description of two subjects of personality interviews programed by the Pacifica Foundation station KPFK at Berkeley provided sharp contrast between the autobiographical data presented to radio listeners and the facts as revealed by public records.

The subjects were Dorothy Healey and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Each interview was billed by the station as a "Portrait of a Dedicated Woman"—a title strikingly reminiscent of the term "agrarian reformers," used a decade ago to glorify the Chinese Communists. Each woman is indeed dedicated. Each has dedicated her lifetime to the furtherance of the international Communist conspiracy. Each is dedicated to the overthrow of the United States by force and violence. Each is dedicated to serving a government which has already conquered a billion people and one-third of the earth's surface and is still threatening other areas of the free world with enslavement and starvation.

But nothing was said about this in the program folio of station KPFK, which listed the offerings in this way:

TUESDAY, JANUARY 29 (1962). 11 A.M.

An uncommon study of Dorothy Healey as a personality: as wife, mother, and inescapably as a labor organizer.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 31 (1962). 11 A.M.

A biographical interview with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, whose busy life still continues at age 72.

In view of the fact that the lives of these two individuals have been so dedicated, the subcommittee believes the interviews (transcribed by the subcommittee's official reporting service from tapes supplied by Trevor Thomas, president of Pacifica Foundation) should be printed as an appendix to this hearing record, together with the facts respecting their professional careers as reflected in the public prints and official records.

DOROTHY HEALEY—THE FACTS

Dorothy Healey has been active in the Communist movement for more than 30 years, having first joined the Young Communist League in 1928 at the early age of 14. She presently serves as chairman of the Communist Party of Southern California and has been chairman of the Los Angeles County Communist Party, a member of the Northern California District Committee of the Communist Party and has been married to Philip M. Connelly, also a Communist Party leader.

On December 21, 1951, she was indicted by a Federal grand jury in the Southern District of California, along with 14 others, on the charge of having conspired to violate the Smith Act. She was convicted and the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed the conviction on March 17, 1955. However, as a result of an administrative decision made by the Justice Department on the basis of the U.S. Supreme Court's opinion in the *Yates* and *Schneiderman* case, the case against Dorothy Healey and her codefendants was dropped while an appeal before the U.S. Supreme Court was pending.

In 1962 the Subversive Activities Control Board ordered her to register as a member of the Communist Party under the terms of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950. Dorothy Healey has failed to comply with the order of the Board and has publicly stated that she will not register.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN—THE FACTS

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn has referred to herself as a Communist since 1926 and was elected chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A., in 1961. Throughout her long career as a Communist, she has held the following posts in that organization: National committee member, 1938 to present; chairman of its women's commission; member of its ruling political bureau, later called the national board, 1945 to present. In addition, she has served as columnist for the Communist newspapers "Daily Worker" and "The Worker" and was a candidate for Congress on the Communist Party ticket in New York City during the 1940 elections. In October 1961 she was a featured speaker at the 22d Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in Moscow.

On June 20, 1951, a Federal grand jury in the Southern District of New York indicted Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, along with 20 other members of the Communist Party, charging her with having unlawfully conspired, in violation of the Smith Act, to advocate and teach the duty and necessity of overthrowing the Government of the United States by force and violence. Mrs. Flynn was convicted of the charge and sentenced to imprisonment of 3 years, plus a fine of \$6,000. She served her sentence at the Alderson Reformatory for Women and was released on May 25, 1957.

Full texts of the two glamorizing "Profiles", as broadcast by KPFK, appear hereafter.

PORTRAIT OF A DEDICATED WOMAN

DOROTHY HEALEY INTERVIEW

(Broadcast over Radio Station KPFK, Los Angeles, at 11 a.m. Tuesday, January 29, 1962)

ANNOUNCER. Here is Dorothy Healey, chairman of the Communist Party of southern California. She is about 45 years old, about 5 feet tall, she weighs about 110 pounds. She is very attractive. She has a very vivid manner and her life has now reached a crisis, and I would like to find out how it happened.

Where were you born?

Mrs. HEALEY. I was born in Denver, Colo.

ANNOUNCER. Describe your childhood.

Mrs. HEALEY. Well we moved to California when I was 6; my mother says to avoid the chilblains that I was suffering from, from Colorado. My father was a traveling salesman, but the kind that liked his family with him. As a result we moved around a great deal during my childhood, from Los Angeles, to Long Beach, to Oakland, to Berkeley, back again to Los Angeles, back again up north. I once counted up the total number of schools I went to; I think it came to 16.

Otherwise I would say the childhood was a normal childhood. The usual.

ANNOUNCER. Were you an only child?

Mrs. HEALEY. No; I have a brother and three sisters, two sisters.

ANNOUNCER. What sort of interests did you have in these school years?

Mrs. HEALEY. I would say very typically, typical of most children. I played a great deal and I read a great deal.

ANNOUNCER. And what kind of a student were you in school?

Mrs. HEALEY. Well, those subjects which I liked I was a very good student in. And those subjects which bored me I was a horrible student in.

ANNOUNCER. How did you finally graduate? With honors, or not?

Mrs. HEALEY. No, as a matter of fact, I, although I went to the 12th grade in high school, I left high school about 2 weeks before graduation to go to work in a cannery some 100 miles away from where I was living.

ANNOUNCER. And that was your first major job?

Mrs. HEALEY. That was my first job.

ANNOUNCER. What did that lead to?

Mrs. HEALEY. Well, I had gone to the cannery to go to work there because the canneries at that point, this was in 1931, were not organized, the conditions of the workers were pretty horrible, and I thought that maybe I could help in organizing the workers. As a matter of fact, while I was working in a cannery we did organize into a union and the strike took place about 2 months after I went to work. Several thousand cannery workers asking for a nickel increase, 5 cents per hour increase, this actually became my introduction into the life of a union organizer, which I then did.

ANNOUNCER. And how old were you then?

Mrs. HEALEY. I was 16.

ANNOUNCER. And you were already in politics and in union activity at that time?

Mrs. HEALEY. Yes, I was.

ANNOUNCER. Why so early?

Mrs. HEALEY. Well, I had actually gotten into politics earlier. I joined political organizations in 1928 when I was 14. I had first been stirred up to the question of politics, I would say the first question was the question of reading. I was very much stirred, deeply impressed by the writings of Mark Twain, of Thoreau, of Emerson, of Walt Whitman, Jack London, and I would think probably most influential in my life as a writer was Upton Sinclair.

And my whole feeling at that point was a great indignation against the injustice that I saw being perpetrated on my fellow man. It was so graphically described, most particularly by Jack London and Mark Twain and Upton Sinclair.

I wanted to do something about what I had read and what I saw going on in my own society.

ANNOUNCER. When did you get married?

Mrs. HEALEY. I got married when I was 16.

ANNOUNCER. And did this go along with the politics?

Mrs. HEALEY. Well, it wasn't any contradiction to it. My husband shared my political views and was in agreement with my activities as a union organizer.

ANNOUNCER. What kind of a man was he?

Mrs. HEALEY. A very gentle man. A very kind person. An intelligent man. A good man.

ANNOUNCER. Was he big and husky or—

Mrs. HEALEY. Yes, he was a very tall man. He was about 6 feet 1; a very slender man. And as I say the biggest memory I have of him was as a very good, and kind and very decent human being.

ANNOUNCER. Did you have children?

Mrs. HEALEY. No, we had no children.

ANNOUNCER. Now when you went into this union activity what were your expectations?

Mrs. HEALEY. Well I was an organizer of cannery and agricultural workers. Most of my time was spent with the migratory agricultural workers. My expectation was a—was centered around one thing: The desire to organize the section of our society which is the most depressed and most discriminated and the most exploited, and the organization of a union among migratory workers and cannery workers seemed to me to be the No. 1 demand that was present in California to have any guarantees of decent living for these people.

ANNOUNCER. What did your activity consist of?

Mrs. HEALEY. Well after the strike in San Jose I traveled around mainly in the Imperial Valley and Orange County and later in Kern County helping to set up unions for the agricultural workers, and migratory workers. The biggest episode of that period was in the Imperial Valley strike of 1934.

The agricultural workers there had sent up a delegation to Los Angeles asking for assistance of some union organizers. I went down at that time, I think I was 18. The lettuce workers were making 10 cents an hour. They were living in the most filthy conditions possible. The only drinking water they had, and this is under the hot sun of the Imperial Valley, it gets awfully hot, the irrigation ditches going through the fields, which were also used for every other purpose of sanitation. Our demands were really very simple. The demand was for 15 cents an hour, for clean drinking water to be furnished to the workers in the fields, for adequate sanitary facilities in the hovels where they were living, and for recognition of the union. The strike was brutally assaulted by the vigilantes, the arm of the Associated Farmers; a number of us were arrested and at that point I spent 6 months in jail, in the Imperial Valley jail on charges of vagrancy and inciting to riot, rout and unlawful assembly.

ANNOUNCER. This was your first time in jail?

Mrs. HEALEY. No. I had been the first time—the first time I was arrested was when I was 15 in a demonstration in Oakland in 1930—the unemployed demonstrations that ultimately led to unemployment insurance and WPA.

I was arrested and sent to a juvenile detention home for 2 weeks at that point and then released.

ANNOUNCER. Did your husband accompany you in this work?

Mrs. HEALEY. No, he didn't.

ANNOUNCER. You were by yourself?

Mrs. HEALEY. Yes, I was.

ANNOUNCER. This was the period of John Steinbeck and his "Grapes of Wrath," and how people—

Mrs. HEALEY. That's right.

ANNOUNCER. How faithful was that book?

Mrs. HEALEY. I think it was a pretty graphic and realistic description of the conditions. If anything it underestimated the poverty, the despair, and the horror of the lives of these people. And as a matter of fact John Steinbeck and Helen Gahagan Douglas who organized the committee to aid agricultural workers were of some assistance, not a great deal, in helping to focus attention. Particularly Steinbeck's book on this horrible area of our life.

I should say to you however, that skipping ahead many years, I just recently looked at the conditions in the agricultural fields, examined again, and I must say that the conditions today are not very much better than they were in the thirties when we were organizing to get conditions—these people still represent the unwanted, and the outcasts of our society.

ANNOUNCER. They are still unorganized?

Mrs. HEALEY. They are still unorganized. We did succeed in one thing, and that was the organizing of the canneries of California. As a matter of fact, I think I organized and got the first union contract of any cannery in California in 1937 or 1938—my memory is a little hazy—at the California Canning Co. here in Los Angeles, which we organized in the CIO at that time.

However, I should tell you the conditions of union organizers at that point were very different from what you read about in the papers today. I remember for instance that we, when I was first a union organizer, for the Trade Union Unity League, until the CIO was organized, we never received a salary. We, at the most, would get \$5 or \$10 a week to take care of our expenses, but it didn't occur to us or anyone else that we should be paid for doing something that we believed in.

Then when I became a CIO organizer, we got a \$40 paycheck from the CIO directly and we used to split that paycheck and take only \$20 in order to see that another organizer came on the payroll. And quite often we would take that \$20 in order to buy CIO pins and put out leaflets to explain conditions and so forth to the workers. So that the wife of a union organizer in my youth was a very different one than what it is described today.

ANNOUNCER. What happened after the Imperial Valley?

Mrs. HEALEY. Well, I—when I came out of jail I went to San Pedro for about a year. While I was there I, in San Pedro, I was mainly concerned with the building of the Young Communist League. From there I went to San Francisco—

ANNOUNCER. Excuse me, is this the time when you first joined the Communists?

Mrs. HEALEY. No. I joined the Young Communist League in 1928. On December 1, 1928. But as I said, most of my activity was spent in organizing unions and not in the Young Communist League.

In 1937 I first went to work for the CIO. Then in 1939 I took a civil service exam for deputy labor commissioner. The prerequisites for taking the exam was either a—2 years as a practicing attorney or 4 years in labor relations, and I had had many more than the 4 years in labor relations. I passed that civil service exam. As a matter of fact, I have been told I was the first woman appointed a deputy labor commissioner in the State of California.

I worked for the State of California as a deputy labor commissioner in San Francisco for 3 years until my son was born in 1943 and then returned to Los Angeles, oh, a year and a half later, I went to work for the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union. All the men had gone into the service and they were desperately in need of union organizers with experience. And then in 1945 I became a secretary for the Communist Party.

ANNOUNCER. Now let's go back a little bit; why did you join the Young Communist League?

Mrs. HEALEY. I joined the Young Communist League because I was convinced that it wasn't enough simply to view with horror the exploitation of men by man and the horrors that resulted from that, the injustice, the bigotry, the intolerance, the insecurity, the unemployment. That one had to get at the basic cause of why.

While I would say my first motivation was primarily emotional, simply a hatred of injustice, and a hatred of oppression, I started the pursuit then of trying to understand what causes it. Is it simply that people are bad, that human nature is so vile that man can't stand man; or is there a more basic reason that produces it and I became convinced that the reason was the existence of an economic system that had within it all of these built-in characteristics that provided the horrors of society that I so detested. I might say that there has been nothing subsequently in my life that would change my opinion in regard to this as the basic reason for man's inhumanity to man.

ANNOUNCER. I would like to know now, somewhere along the way, did you divorce your first husband?

Mrs. HEALEY. Yes. When I came back from—I think when I came back from the Imperial Valley in 1934, but before I had gone to jail, I went to jail from May 1 to November 1, I had to serve the full 6 months, I didn't get any time off for good behavior because I had helped some juvenile prisoners that were in jail, and they found out that I was doing it.

My husband and I most amicably agreed that we really—it wasn't working out as a marriage. We, I think, shared a mutual respect for one another, which we still have. But it just wasn't a working marriage, and we agreed, because

I was going back to jail, that he would get the divorce. It was much easier here in Los Angeles.

I then got married again in 1940 and my second marriage was also to a very fine human being, a man for whom I still have a great respect for and by the way the father of my son, who is now 19 years old. We were married until 1947. I think, looking back, that the main reason for our ultimate divorce was he had been in the Army for many years; when he came home again we found the problem of finding mutual interests.

Although as I say we were, and remain, very good friends. Again it was an amicable agreement that both of us would, while remaining friends, would both be happier without marriage.

ANNOUNCER. Describe him a little bit.

Mrs. HEALEY. He is 6 feet 2, probably the handsomest of all the men I have known. A black Irishman. As a matter of fact it is his name, Healey, that I have kept as my public name as well as my private name.

ANNOUNCER. And there is a third one?

Mrs. HEALEY. Yes. Then in 1947 I married Slim Connelley, the former head of the State CIO in California and the head of the Los Angeles CIO, an old time newspaperman here in Los Angeles. Slim and I stayed married for 10 years and again I would say a very amicable parting. With all three, it has remained a relationship of friendship without the desire for marriage.

ANNOUNCER. So then at present you are single again.

Mrs. HEALEY. And planning to stay that way. I have done my duty to posterity.

ANNOUNCER. How does the present period look to you? What do you see for yourself?

Mrs. HEALEY. For myself?

ANNOUNCER. In all this?

Mrs. HEALEY. Oh, well, for myself, I see just a continuation of what I have always done, and that is, first of all an insistence on my right to think as I please. I was arrested in 1951 under the Smith Act for alleged conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence. Some 7 years later the Department of Justice had to admit they had no evidence that could hold up in court to secure a conviction on this charge, after the Supreme Court had insisted on higher standards of evidence.

At that time I refused to give in to the pressures that were quite enormous. I think that my feeling today is identical with what it has been all my life. I still feel as passionately and as vehemently that the injustice of man to man is something that people cannot sit by as observers and not want to do something about.

I can't be a detached observer of these things and not want to do something. While my party has many weaknesses, and I could probably go into more detail on our weaknesses than the professional anti-Communists, the fact remains that at this point there is no other organized alternative in our society that tries to provide a view of what to do about it.

Well, in view of those circumstances I propose to do exactly what I have been doing all the past of my life and to continue in it.

ANNOUNCER. What has happened to your expectations that you had when you were 16, and started out on this idealistic course?

Mrs. HEALEY. Well, first let me correct the term "idealistic." It is not particularly idealistic, because I am convinced that that ancient Biblical question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" can really only be answered by saying, "I am my brother's keeper because otherwise I cannot keep myself." It is my own self-interests that have motivated me. I don't believe that I could find happiness nor security unless I seek at the same time to find my fellow man's happiness and security. And, therefore, it hasn't been idealism. It has been self-interest that has motivated me. That I don't live on an island by myself. That all of mankind is involved in me, and I am involved in all of mankind.

Well, since the years that I started—since I was 14 actually, not 16—I have seen over a third of mankind choose the Socialist solution for their future.

When I was a child, when I was 14 and started in this activity, it didn't appear there would be anything beyond what was, at that point, considered only an experiment in the Soviet Union, and nobody could tell whether it would work or not work economically. Well, the answer of its economic working has, of course, been established by the fact that it is today the second industrial country in the world.

But it has been joined by a whole number of Socialist countries.

Secondly, in my lifetime the colonial peoples who were so enormously enslaved to empires have fought for and achieved a measure of at least political liberation even though they may not have achieved economic emancipation. But this is a great big development.

And third, even within my own country. Well, first of all, unions in my day were outcasts and pariahs. Workers who went on strike were shot down, clubbed, jailed.

At least today, unions, no matter what else may be said, have a firm rooting in American life. They are established. A lot might be said about their inadequacies in fighting on behalf of their members or their acceptance of the cold war philosophy as their motivating factor for their demands, but, nevertheless, they are there and they weren't when I was young.

I think that my generation and many Communists helped to achieve this status of labor today; that without what we did in the thirties when we were beaten and clubbed and went to jail for it, and what millions of other Americans did for that same purpose, unions today would not be established as they are.

And all this really establishes is that man achieves what he fights for and because there in the thirties we fought, there was the achievement of unemployment insurance, which was considered absolutely ridiculous at that point. There was the achievement of the status of the right of workers to bargain collectively, and many of the social welfare concepts that have become quite acceptable.

At the point where I started in they were considered Bolshevick plots. Today they are accepted truisms that must be fulfilled.

I would suggest that many of the things that today appear to be simply impossible, such as the public ownership of public utilities that everybody needs and depends on—like the telephone company that has this monopoly—another few years will see more and more Americans taking for granted, that of course the public should own something that all of the public has to use.

I am very excited by what I see. The potentials of what I see. A new generation, a young people coming along. They are not motivated by all the same things I was. They, for instance, are not as affected by the economic situation as my generation. They are more interested in questions of morality and of ethics. But they are a wonderful generation and they are refusing to be cowed. They are refusing to live in an atmosphere of conformity. I think there is great promise for America.

ANNOUNCER. You sound very hopeful, and very optimistic. How does your son fit into this. Is he going to follow your footsteps, do you think?

Mrs. HEALEY. Oh, I doubt it. I think—I've hoped always that my son will do what I think all human beings should do, and that is be true to their own psyche, to their own needs, their own temperament. My son had a very hard time as a youngster, because of his mother's activities, and the publicity and the arrests. But all in all it has, I think, helped to develop him into a very mature, very intelligent young man who is most self-possessed and very well adjusted. He goes to college. He won a scholarship. He always has known that if he was going to college he would have to find some way of doing it besides his mother's resources. And he is doing very well in school. He has great intellectual excitement about questions, he insists on knowing for himself and thinking for himself and beyond that what could any mother ask?

ANNOUNCER. This is almost like a religion, is it, to you?

Mrs. HEALEY. No.

ANNOUNCER. Your work.

Mrs. HEALEY. No, because a religion is dependent upon a faith. A faith really in supernatural powers. My faith is based only on my feeling for my fellow man, that man is the most important thing in the world, and that man has the innate capacity to do the most beautiful and glorious things that could be asked for in society. But it lacks the religiosity because I know that my beliefs are not fixed in the sense of having a rigid dogma, that my beliefs only equip me for one thing and that is to use a method of analysis of thinking that bases itself on what is the real world like, and therefore provides always for the changes in my thinking as the real world changes.

If you are trying to compare the feeling of dedication to that of religious people, I don't think that is the property of just religion. I think that human beings who recognize that they aren't an island unto themselves, who recognize that their fate is bound up in society, usually are willing to live lives that,

where the prerequisite is not "What am I going to get out of it," "What's in it for me," but "What is in it for my fellow man." I have never had any desire to advance at the cost of my fellow man. I want to see my fellow man advance with me.

ANNOUNCER. How do you compare your activities with other women's activities. Now for example, just as an example, some of the peace groups that women are engaged in. How do you compare these with your work?

Mrs. HEALEY. Well, I think what they are doing is very exciting and very important. I think that for most of them that registers the first time that they have started to feel their responsibility to themselves and to their country for what is taking place as far as nuclear testing and the fight for peace is concerned.

I think it is an enormously important and significant development, the spread and development of these women's peace activities. They are really answering the question of what is the role of women in society in a very important way, as far as these activities.

As a matter of fact, they are going beyond that. The Greeks used to define the term "idiot" as representing one who is not active in civic or political affairs. And they are proving that at least a large section of women refuse to be characterized or cataloged under the term of idiots by insisting on taking the fight for their destiny in their own hands. And I think it is quite natural, by the way, that women should be the leaders in this, because we who give birth to life, are not going to allow others to take that life away, including the unborn generations yet to come.

I think as they continue their activities that they will start to widen out their own understanding, that they will start to do what I did, at least numbers of them will—to ask questions why. Not simply to deal with the results of something, namely a foreign policy, but to want to know why do these things take place—why do wars take place? And when they start to ask those questions a good number of them in my opinion will start to deal then with the basic question of the capitalist system and of imperialism in this, our country.

ANNOUNCER. It always comes back to that.

Mrs. HEALEY. Yes, it does. And that is, of course—it sounds grim, but it really isn't because when you start dealing with basic causes you are not easily distracted then by momentary things: For instance I am under—the Attorney General has gone to the Subversive Activities Control Board and asked for an order for me to register under the McCarran Act.

I am not going to register under the McCarran Act because it would be repudiation of all that I believe about my own activities as an American loving my own country and being patriotic to my own country by fighting for what I think is in its best interests.

But if I didn't have an understanding of why things take place, then every single event, every time a Negro is arrested, every time a Negro child can't go to a school where another goes, every time a new incident of brutality takes place, then I would simply be overwhelmed with despair with the totality of misery and corruption in our society. But because I do look for the basic cause of things, instead of being overwhelmed with the totality of misery and corruption, I see that which is bright and new and promising and I therefore, I think, am able to maintain my own personal happiness and balance as well as a political perspective.

ANNOUNCER. What do you see in the future for yourself? Are you going right down the same path?

Mrs. HEALEY. I think so. I don't see anything at least at this point, it is always risky to predict, but I see nothing that would in any way cause any great basic changes in my life. I can't imagine myself ever wanting to be detached from the activities I am carrying on, critical as I may sometimes be of those activities and wanting them always to be better. But nevertheless I would want to continue to do what I am doing.

ANNOUNCER. Someone else has said in another context, that when you become aware of a problem you also become responsible for it.

Mrs. HEALEY. Yes. That is true.

ANNOUNCER. What is the solution on it?

Mrs. HEALEY. That is a very fine thing.

ANNOUNCER. I have just been talking with Dorothy Healey, the chairman of the Communist Party for southern California.

Thank you very much.

Mrs. HEALEY. Thank you.

PORTRAIT OF A DEDICATED WOMAN

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN INTERVIEW

(Broadcast over Radio Station KPFK, Los Angeles, at 11 a.m. Thursday, January 31, 1962)

ANNOUNCER. Here is Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a prominent spokesman for the Communist Party, in an interview which will show her as a human being. Now, Mrs. Flynn is the one that Joe Hill wrote, "The Rebel Girl" for in 1914. How old are you now, Mrs. Flynn?

Mrs. FLYNN. 72.

ANNOUNCER. And where were you born?

Mrs. FLYNN. I was born in Concord, N.H.

ANNOUNCER. And what sort of childhood did you have?

Mrs. FLYNN. Well, a happy childhood, but a childhood of moving around from one place to another, because my father worked as a civil engineer and had many different jobs. And in the course of which he became a Socialist and both my father and mother were Irish Nationalists, and my mother was a very ardent suffragist, so I heard all of these subjects discussed during the period of my childhood. It was rather a household where many very serious and controversial subjects were under discussion continuously.

We finally came to New York, and lived there from then on, in the year 1900.

ANNOUNCER. Are you one of many children?

Mrs. FLYNN. No. I had two sisters and a brother. It was a comparatively small family.

ANNOUNCER. What sort of schooling did you have?

Mrs. FLYNN. I went through high school and by that time I had become so involved in socialist activities, especially speaking and so forth, that I made this my life work and didn't continue in school.

ANNOUNCER. When did you graduate from high school?

Mrs. FLYNN. In 1906.

ANNOUNCER. And what happened after that?

Mrs. FLYNN. Well, I had made my first speech at a Socialist forum on the subject of "Women under Socialism," and I became quite in demand as the girl orator and I proceeded to travel and finally became connected with the IWW, which is pretty well known in the western part of the country. The full name is Industrial Workers of the World. And I became an organizer for that industrial union movement and was involved in many of its early strikes.

ANNOUNCER. What labor cases were you involved in?

Mrs. FLYNN. Well, the first one was the Moyer-Hayward-Pettibone case in 1907. They were the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners, who were tried in Boise, Idaho, defended by Clarence Darrow, and acquitted. And I made many speeches on their behalf.

Then I was active in the Lawrence strike, a textile strike of the IWW in 1912, and the leaders, Edda and Joe Vanichi, were arrested and I became active in their defense. And after that—well, the defense of Mooney and Billings, the Joe Hi defense. Joe Hi was the IWW songwriter who was imprisoned in Utah and executed there in 1915.

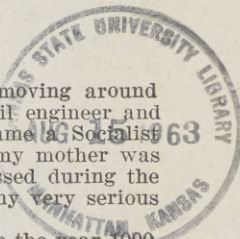
And later the Sacco-Vanzetti case in New England, in which I was active for 7 years, until the execution of these two men, innocent men we firmly believed, and I believe to this day.

Many other cases, sometimes group things like the results of the Palmer raids in the 1920's, which resulted in a whole slew of deportation cases and also criminal syndicalism cases, many of them here in California. My friend Anita Whitney was involved in such a case here, in California.

So I became, in a way, specialized to this type of work, and that explains my present post.

ANNOUNCER. Were you directly involved in these labor cases or were you sort of a vocal bystander?

Mrs. FLYNN. No. I was directly involved. I was active in the Lawrence strike, and I was active in many of the struggles out of which some of cases grew. The strike on the Mesaba Range in 1916, and many others. I—those early strikes were really unorganized, unskilled foreign-born workers who—many of whom could hardly speak English, and who were struggling against intolerable working conditions. And sometimes, like in New England and Massachusetts, they were actually fighting against a cut in wages and a shorter



workday; 54-hour week it was called at that time, came into—was declared legal.

So I used to speak in these big strikes. We used to speak seven and eight times a day, with interpreters. It was a very dramatic and very interesting period, and I was associated in this work with William D. Haywood and many others, now famous labor people.

ANNOUNCER. What was your part in the Palmer raids?

Mrs. FLYNN. At the time of the Palmer raids, it was after World War I, and there was a real drive here for the open shop, not only in Los Angeles but all over the country. And for company unions, and Mr. Palmer had the idea that everybody was a Red who opened their mouths and so they had on the same day raids all over the United States. And they gathered these people up and then separated the foreign-born for deportation; the native-born for prosecution under the criminal syndicalism law.

This is where Mr. J. Edgar Hoover first appeared, because he was the one to whom all the reports were sent in of these raids; how many were arrested and how they should be divided and so forth. And subsequently, a few years later, in 1924, the FBI was set up. So that Mr. Hoover and I have been feuding over a very long period of time. And I may say quite frankly that I hope I will outlast him.

So these raids, of course, were very terrible things and a pamphlet was issued at that time called "The Illegal Practices of the Department of Justice," which was signed by a man like Felix Frankfurter, and Professor Chaffe and others, and as a result, while a few people were deported, and a few were sent to prison, the majority were finally released. So that I look back upon that period as one in which I have really struggled, but some very substantial victories.

ANNOUNCER. When did you become interested in the Communist Party?

Mrs. FLYNN. Well, of course, we all became interested in the Communist Party after the Russian revolution. And there was great enthusiasm in this country for the Russian revolution, among workers and among people, the poorer people in general, especially, and among many liberals and intellectuals, of course, who knew of the brutality and cruelties of the Czar's government.

And, while we hadn't ever heard of Lenin at that time, subsequently his books were published in England and they came here and we began to read them, and the Communist Party itself was organized in Chicago in 1919. And contrary to popular notions, it grew out of the All-Socialist Party. In fact, it took the majority out of the All-Socialist Party, to set up this new party, the Communist Party. And at that time I would say that most everybody who was in the left-wing movement became very much interested in this new, then, new type of socialism. And new type of organization.

I was so involved in this labor defense work that I didn't join the Communist Party at that time, but I worked with it very closely, defended many of its leaders, like Charles Ruthenberg in New York. And I always had the most friendly relations with the Communist Party.

I would say that my—actually becoming a Communist or calling myself a Communist took place about 1926, when the IWW practically disappeared and when most of the left-wing people began to function then through the Communist Party.

ANNOUNCER. How old were you then?

Mrs. FLYNN. In 1926, well, I would have been 36 in 1926.

ANNOUNCER. Previous to that you had been married?

Mrs. FLYNN. Yes, I was married and had one child, my son who died, and, well, I wasn't married for very long because I guess my heart and soul was so much in the movement that it was rather difficult to have a domestic life; not much time for domestic life.

I always lived at home with my family, they took care of my son, which made it very much easier for me to continue my work.

ANNOUNCER. And you continued working with the labor movement?

Mrs. FLYNN. Yes, I've really made that my life's work. I consider—well, from three points of view, I would say. First, whatever struggles, we helped to bring about better living and working conditions. Secondly, for the defense of the rights of labor through the legal struggles. And, thirdly, that I am a devoted believer in socialism. And to those three things I really have dedicated my life.

ANNOUNCER. How old were you when you first went to prison?

Mrs. FLYNN. Well, I was arrested a great many times, and oddly enough it seemed every time I was arrested on a conspiracy charge, in strikes. In Paterson I was—Paterson, N.J., during the silk strike in 1913—I was tried twice. I was arrested both in Spokane and Missoula, Mont., back in 1909, 1910 in some of the IWW free speech fights.

But none of these resulted in imprisonment.

My final last arrest was under the Smith Act, which you know about here in California. The people who were arrested out here were lucky, in a way, because they had a favorable decision from the U.S. Supreme Court and were not called upon to go to prison. But we were already in prison under the Smith Act at that time. We used to call ourselves premature Smith Act victims.

I was in the women's reformatory, as they call it, at Alderson, W. Va. And I went there in January of 1955 and I came out in May of 1957—3-year sentence. I have written a book about it because it was really quite an experience.

ANNOUNCER. How old were you then?

Mrs. FLYNN. Well, when I went in I was 65, and I had my 65th birthday in prison, and I came out—well my 68th birthday, right after I came out.

ANNOUNCER. What kind of an experience was this for you?

Mrs. FLYNN. Well, it was a very interesting experience. It's the kind of experience you would say, "I wouldn't give a million dollars to have missed it, but I'd give a million dollars not to go through it again." There were about 800 women there, and women from all over the country; now they don't send them from the West. Now they go to Terminal Island, here. But with all kinds of Federal offenses, from most serious like kidnaping down to, well, what they don't consider too serious in the South, you know, moonshine, and many crimes that are connected with the passing of checks, which is a new sort of crime, because years ago checks were not in circulation among people to the extent they are today. And now they are a temptation, I suppose, to people. So, it was a cross-section. Well, no rich people were there, but it was a cross section of women of the country.

Some very good, and then some not so good—not so kind, I mean; some that might be called selfish, but most of them were very good people. Very good women.

ANNOUNCER. What did you do with your time?

Mrs. FLYNN. I was sewing while I was there. I sewed my way through all this. And we passed intelligence tests and there were two other of our people with me and we all passed very high. So then they came to give us tasks and they said, "Well, there is nothing here for you," and I said, "Well why did they send me here, if there is nothing here for me?" "Well," she said, "You see, we would like to put you in the library, but Pegler and Winchell would give us the works outside for being soft on Communists, so we don't dare to," so I was doing cottage mending, most of the time that I was there, but toward the end I worked in the craft shop, which was the—what should I say—it was the place where they brought all the visitors, and the visitors would gaze at us, you know, as if we were animals in the zoo.

But it wasn't hard work and some women worked very hard, because they do all the work of the prison; painting, and farming and everything. But with my age they gave me—and I suppose publicity, as she said—I had a reasonably easy job there, and so I said I can't reform and I can't readjust and I can't do any of those "re's" so I'll try to reduce. And I made a project of reducing and I lost 75 pounds while I was there. But I gained it all back, all the meals—people would look at me and say "Oh, you poor thing, you're starved." So that didn't do me too much good.

But it was a great experience. However, it was also a great injustice, because under the Smith Act, you know, in the period of the cold war and McCarthyism it was practically impossible not to get convicted when you were charged.

ANNOUNCER. How does the McCarran Act affect you now?

Mrs. FLYNN. Well, under the McCarran Act I am affected in a manner that I take very seriously. My passport has been canceled. I had a passport that still runs for another year. It has been once renewed, and I had traveled quite generally, in the last few years. I was in France, England, Copenhagen, Denmark, and in some of the Socialist countries. But, under the McCarran Act a member of the Communist Party cannot use—apply for or use a passport.

And so two of us are test cases; Dr. Herbert Aptheker and myself. And we were notified by the State Department that our passports were canceled.

We had a hearing. When they canceled them, they asked us to return them. But after all I paid \$10 for the passport and I consider it belongs to me and I would not return it. Nor did Dr. Aptheker. Then we had these hearings and it was rather odd; the hearings are held by the State Department, not by the Department of Justice and they had no machinery for it, they had to set up machinery. So they borrowed an officer, an examiner from the Utilities Commission. So I thought, my goodness, this puts me in the realm of a public utility now, at the end of my long life. And he decided that the evidence was, from my own testimony and my trial, and from a young radioman who interviewed me, that the evidence was that I was a member of the Communist Party. And then they had a further review of it by a board, and now, it is in the process that I am suing the Secretary of State—that this procedure is illegal, is unconstitutional, and we will carry that to the U.S. Supreme Court.

So I say I started by being arrested on the street in a free speech fight, you know, and I am finished by suing the Secretary of State, I'm getting promoted as I go along. But it is a very serious business because they are taking my right to travel, my passport away from me just on the—nothing that I have done or said—but just on the fact that they consider that I am a member of the Communist Party and of course that can be extended to these so-called Communist-action organizations, Communist-front organizations, and eventually could be extended, especially through the use of FBI stoolpigeons, to anyone that they would say is a Communist. So in fighting for myself I am also fighting really for the rights of everybody to have the right to travel, regardless of politics, regardless of your personal views. And the passport is supposed to be simply an identification and a protection when you are in a foreign country.

But it is not a permission to travel. It shouldn't be so considered. So that is where the McCarran Act hits me. Others have been indicted and have been cited as respondents, you know, because they—under the membership clause—but personally I am involved in the passport issue.

ANNOUNCER. What further ambitions do you have?

Mrs. FLYNN. Well, I am hoping that this McCarran Act fight will be won, and I think the fate of proposition 24 here in California is very helpful, the defeat of 24, because it is the first time that people, anywhere, have had a chance to become familiar with and to voice their opinion on this kind of legislation. It is a sort of people's mandate. And I think it will influence the course of events in connection with the McCarran Act.

Well once this McCarran Act is out of the way, as I hope it soon will be, then I'd like, at my age, to retire from more active pursuits and specialize in writing and speaking. Speaking, I find, is very easy and writing is not too hard, but traveling and being involved in all kinds of other kinds of meetings is not as easy as it once was.

ANNOUNCER. You have just written a book?

Mrs. FLYNN. I have just written a book of my Alderson experiences, yes. I was No. 11710. And I think that will be in the title of the book. Maybe it will be the "Rebel Girl Goes to Prison and Becomes 11710," or something like that. And it will be out shortly. And then I would like to write. I have written one volume of the early part of my life, called "I Speak My Own Piece"; I'm not trying to advertise it, because I don't think it is available even. But that brought my life up to 1927. Then I had to go to prison and I couldn't finish it. And now I want to write the second volume of 1927 to date.

So I have certain ambitions for the future if I can help to win this struggle against the McCarran Act and see Mr. Hoover retire; I'll feel that I have accomplished my lot.

He is almost as old as I am, he really ought to retire.

ANNOUNCER. Thank you very much Mrs. Flynn.

I have been talking with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who is a prominent spokesman for the Communist Party.

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