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THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S COLD WAR AGAINST CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION OF SUBVERSION

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REPORT

AND

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT CARRILLO RONSTADT

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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HENRY C. SCHADEBERG, Wisconsin

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FRANK S. TAVENNER, Jr., *General Counsel*
ALFRED M. NITTLE, *Counsel*

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(This is the first of a series of reports based, in whole or in part, on executive hearings held by the committee in Los Angeles April 25–27, 1962. The other reports will be published in the near future.)

PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946]; 60 Stat. 812, which provides:

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

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * * * *

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

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * * * *

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

(A) Un-American activities.

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

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

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

* * * * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 87TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 8, January 3, 1961

* * * * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * * * *

(r) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * * * *

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* * * * * * *

27. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S COLD WAR AGAINST CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION OF SUBVERSION

REPORT

AND

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT CARRILLO RONSTADT

INTRODUCTION

Before the bank can be robbed, the guards must be disposed of.

Before subversive forces within this country can achieve their goal, the country's internal security instruments and agencies must be destroyed or rendered powerless.

Laws against subversion, the agencies charged with formulating such laws, and those charged with investigating violations of them are integral parts of this country's internal security guard, a guard which the Communists must destroy before their objective of imposing a Soviet-style dictatorship on this country can be attained.

It is only logical, therefore, that the U.S. Communist Party should do everything in its power to discredit, weaken, and destroy—

(*a*) the security laws, regulations, and programs of this country;

(*b*) congressional committees created to investigate subversive activities for the purpose of formulating legislation designed to frustrate its efforts; and

(*c*) The FBI and State and local police subversive squads which have the special mission of obtaining evidence of Communist lawbreaking.

Because the Communist Party knows that, operating under its own name, it cannot win the support of the overwhelming majority of Americans for these or any of its objectives, it uses fronts—false faces—to promote its aims in this as well as in other areas. The fronts, in turn, use false words to present to the American people a concept, idea, or picture that is the opposite of the truth.

Thus, for example, the names of the fronts will indicate, and their propaganda will assert, that they promote and defend civil liberties, fundamental rights, and the Constitution. Behind this camouflage, however, their immediate aim is the destruction of a certain agency or law designed to protect American liberties, rights, and the Constitution—and their ultimate aim is the imposition of a tyranny which would tear the Constitution to shreds and strip the American people of every liberty and right that flows from observance of it. The party's fronts use lip service to the principles this Government was created to establish and preserve in order to destroy this Government and those principles.

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A typical Communist operation of this type was revealed in hearings held by this committee last year.[1] In this case, a concerted, world-wide Communist campaign to nullify the Internal Security Act of 1950, one of this country's major anti-subversive laws, was (as it still is) being spearheaded by a U.S. Communist front called the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties. The real aim of this group was—and still is—the very opposite of that expressed in its title.

This report is designed to bring up to date, for the benefit of the Congress and the American people, developments on another front in the Communists' "cold war" against the United States Government. It deals primarily with the party's efforts to bring to a halt all congressional efforts to investigate subversion, with special emphasis on its greatly stepped-up drive to have this committee abolished.

Publication of this report, without doubt, will provoke repetition of the now hoary charge that the committee attempts to link all its opponents with the Communist Party, stating or implying that they are Communists, fellow travelers, or dupes of the party. This is not true. The committee makes no such charge or implication for the simple reason that this is not the case.

It is an unquestioned fact, however, that the Communist Party actively solicits, welcomes, and does everything possible to capitalize on, non-Communist opposition to the committee. It does this regardless of the nature of the persons or groups expressing opposition, their motive in doing so, and their attitude toward the party. For the committee to recognize what is patently beneficial to the Communist Party is not the same as to imply that all who take any action helpful to it, for whatever reason, are its witting or unwitting agents.

It is also an unquestioned fact—as this report makes clear—that abolition of this committee is a top priority goal of the Communist Party, its sympathizers, and supporters.

Abolition of the committee would no doubt bring immense satisfaction to certain non-Communist, self-proclaimed defenders of the Constitution and the "civil liberties" of the American people. It cannot be denied, however, that it would also be a strategic victory of the first magnitude for the U.S. Communist Party and its Kremlin manipulators.

FRANCIS E. WALTER, *Chairman.*

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[1] See "Manipulation of Public Opinion by Organizations Under Concealed Control of the Communist Party," Committee on Un-American Activities (House Report No. 1282, Parts 1 and 2, 87th Congress).

THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S VIEW OF CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATING COMMITTEES AND OF ANTI-COMMUNISM

The main political resolution adopted by the Communist Party of the United States at its 17th National Convention in New York City in December 1959 included the following as one of its major planks:

> Abolish the witchhunting House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Committee.

These objectives by no means reflected new party policy, but rather served to reaffirm and emphasize long-standing Communist goals which had been expressed on numerous occasions through the years. The provision was also adopted for the purpose of stimulating a well-organized and continuing Communist campaign that had already been under way for more than 2 years to fulfill the party's objectives of having the Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee abolished and the Federal Bureau of Investigation greatly reduced in effectiveness.

Communists and Anti-Communism

A militant drive against anti-communism in all forms, including the party's campaign to abolish this committee, is in keeping with the current openly proclaimed strategy of the world Communist conspiracy. It is based on the knowledge Communists have always had that they must smash anti-communism if they are to achieve their final goal.

In the fall of 1960, representatives from most of the world's 87 Communist parties met in Moscow for a period of weeks to analyze the world situation from their viewpoint and to outline the strategy and tactics they believed would best serve the most rapid achievement of their goal of world conquest in the years immediately ahead. On December 5, 1960, 81[2] of these Communist parties issued a 20,000-word doctrinal and strategy statement which said, in part—

> conditions are particularly favorable for expanding the influence of the Communist Parties, *vigorously exposing anti-communism*, a slogan under which the capitalist class wages its struggle against the proletariat, and winning the broadest sections of the working masses for Communist ideas.
>
> Anti-communism arose at the dawn of the working-class movement as the principal ideological weapon of the capitalist class in its struggle against the proletariat and Marxist ideology. As the class struggle grew in intensity, particularly with the formation of the world socialist system, anti-communism became more vicious and refined. Anti-communism, which is indicative of a deep ideological crisis in and extreme

[2] Representatives of the U.S. Communist Party were in attendance at this gathering but, for tactical and propaganda reasons, they, like some of the other representatives present, did not sign the statement.

> decline of bourgeois ideology, resorts to monstrous distortions of Marxist doctrine and crude slander against the socialist social system, presents Communist policies and objectives in a false light, and carries on a witchhunt against the democratic peaceful forces and organizations.
>
> To effectively defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realize the socialist ideals of the working class, *it is indispensable to wage a resolute struggle against anti-communism*—that poisoned weapon which the bourgeoisie uses to fence off the masses from socialism. [Emphasis added.]

This statement was quite obviously intended as a signal for Communists everywhere to step up their drive against anti-Communist activity of all kinds, both public and private.

On January 6, 1961, just a month after the adoption of the 81-party statement in Moscow, Soviet dictator Nikita Khrushchev made a major address in which he summarized and analyzed the principal doctrines set forth in the 81-party statement. The text of this address was published in international Communist organs, in numerous languages, so that his message would be conveyed to the party faithful in all parts of the globe. In this speech, Khrushchev made the following statement:

> Comrades, the greater the successes of the socialist system, the greater becomes the international army of Communists, and the more the bourgeoisie rages. In its rage it resorts to fascist methods of government and to other forms of tyrannical rule. It musters all its means of propaganda in an attempt to whitewash the capitalist system, to besmirch socialism and our communist ideas. Bourgeois propaganda is becoming more insidious and subtle. *It is using anti-communism as its principal weapon in the struggle against the socialist camp and the Communist parties. We must vigorously expose this anti-scientific ideology* * * *. [Emphasis added.]

On January 20, 1961, Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S., made a report to a meeting of the party's National Committee in New York City. This report was primarily an analysis and interpretation, for the party faithful in the United States, of the 81-party statement and Khrushchev's January 6 address. To emphasize the importance the party attached to it, the full text of it was subsequently published both as an article in the party organ *Political Affairs* and as a separate pamphlet entitled, *The United States in Today's World.* In this report, after complaining about the effectiveness of the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act, and "anti-communism generally," Hall said:

> Spearheading the attack [of anti-communism] are the un-American Activities Committee and its Senate counterpart, the Internal Security Committee, both of which wage an increasing assault on the liberties of Communists and all other Americans. Both are monstrosities which must be abolished.

The official policy statement issued by the U.S. Communist Party for May Day, 1961, also placed much emphasis on the need for fighting anti-communism.

It is significant that this 1961 May Day statement of the Communist Party's National Committee and Gus Hall's January 20, 1961, report to the National Committee stressed abolition of the Committee on Un-American Activities as the No. 1 task of the Communists insofar as U.S. internal affairs were concerned. All tasks assigned to party members in the above statements as being of greater importance than the abolition of the committee involved questions of U.S. foreign policy relative to the Soviet Union and called for its alteration in such manner as to serve Soviet interests.

Early Party Demands

The history of the Communist Party's struggle to discredit and abolish congressional investigations into its affairs dates back to the earliest days of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (Dies Committee), forerunner of this committee. The following is by no means a complete list of party statements on this subject, but it is sufficient to demonstrate that abolition of such committees has always been a party aim and one that the party has never lost sight of.

The September 1938 edition of *The Communist*, official Communist Party magazine of that day, denounced the Dies Committee which, it said, was set "to launch a smearing expedition, branding all opponents of reaction as 'Reds' * * *."

In a pamphlet published in 1943 under the title *The People and the Congress*, Communist Party National Chairman William Z. Foster charged the Dies Committee with carrying on "subversive activities" and called upon the American people to demand its "liquidation."

The Rankin Witch Hunt was the title of another pamphlet written by Foster in 1945. In this publication, he said:

> The Red-baiting by the so-called House Committee on un-American Activities * * * signalizes a danger that should put every worker and progressive in the country on guard.
>
> * * * * *
>
> This form of political terrorism remains a most sinister menace and it has to be fought with every means at hand. Organized labor must especially wake up to the danger presented by Rankin's [3] Red-baiting and go all-out against it * * *.
>
> The Rankin Committee is a dangerous enemy of everything that labor is fighting for; it is the agent of all that is reactionary and fascist; it represents the most un-American forces in our country. *It must be abolished.* [Emphasis in original.]

On November 10, 1947, the *New York-World Telegram* exposed a Communist Party directive signed by Henry Winston, then the party's organization secretary, calling on all members to work toward obtaining 500,000 signatures in support of a resolution, introduced in the House, which called for abolition of the Committee on Un-American Activities. Although it was apparent that the signature-soliciting

[3] Congressman John E. Rankin (D-Miss.) who introduced the resolution which made the committee a standing one in 1945.

campaign was a party project, the directive explained that the petition would be presented to Congress by "a delegation of distinguished citizens," acting in behalf of the Civil Rights Congress.[4] In this way, the Communist Party would not appear to be the major force behind the petition and it might, therefore, have a greater impact upon the lawmakers.

On August 6, 1948, at its 14th National Convention in New York City, the party adopted an election platform which contained a demand to—

> Abolish the Un-American Committee.

In the May 25, 1950, *Daily Worker*, official party newspaper, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the USA, bylined an article about a meeting of the Communist Party National Committee on May 22 and 23, 1950. She wrote:

> Joe Brandt, who is now in charge of the defense campaign of the Party, then reported that the Non-Partisan Committee for the Defense of the 12 Communist leaders [5] [Smith Act violators] and the Civil Rights Congress are planning activities to assure a campaign for the abolition of the Un-American Committee * * *.

On March 18, 1957, the *Daily Worker* said editorially that there should be a public demand for Congress to vote the Committee on Un-American Activities out of existence.

The Communist Party has concentrated most of its fire on this committee, but it has not done this to the exclusion of other Federal agencies. As FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover wrote in his book, *Masters of Deceit*—

> any organization which has the duty to investigate or expose communist activity is singled out for attack. For years the Party has campaigned against the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee, and the Senate Investigating Committee. The Department of Justice and the FBI have not been spared, and we have come to judge our effectiveness by the intensity of communist attacks.

THE PARTY'S ABOLITION FRONTS

A number of Communist fronts have played key roles in the Communist Party's drive to bring about the abolition of any congressional committee established to investigate subversive activities. Following are brief accounts of those which are today spearheading the party's drive to abolish congressional investigations of communism:

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee was formed in 1951. Five years later, in a report entitled *A Handbook for Americans*, the

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[4] Subsequently cited as a Communist front by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, the Subversive Activities Control Board, and the Attorney General of the U.S. (At the time, it had already been cited as a Communist Party front by this committee.)

[5] Actual name, National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the 12 Communist Leaders.

Senate Internal Security Subcommittee made reference to ECLC as follows:

> To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * Emergency Civil Liberties Committee * * *. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these fronts offer a bulwark of protection.[6]

The early years of ECLC's service to the Communist Party were primarily of a defensive nature. By 1957, however, the ECLC had shifted to the attack against congressional committees investigating communism.

On June 11, 1957, the Philadelphia Council of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee ran an "open letter" advertisement in the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* attacking hearings scheduled to be held in that city the next day by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. The ad falsely charged that the hearings "serve no valid legislative purpose" and that the subcommittee destroys civil liberties by "unconstitutional inquiries." It asked citizens to write their Congressmen and Senators "urging an end to these purposeless inquiries."

ECLC's Philadelphia Council later published and circulated reprints of this advertisement with a supplementary message calling for abolition of both the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

In the summer of 1957, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee drew up plans for a nationwide drive to have the Committee on Un-American Activities abolished. A short time earlier, on June 17, 1957, the Supreme Court had reversed the contempt of Congress conviction of John T. Watkins, a witness before the Committee on Un-American Activities who, declining to invoke the fifth amendment, had simply refused to answer certain questions asked him by the committee on April 29, 1954. The Supreme Court held only that the pertinency of the questions Watkins had refused to answer had not been made sufficiently clear to him. The ECLC, however, tried to capitalize on this decision by completely distorting the holding of the Court. In announcing its abolition campaign, it said:

> Honor and Up-hold the Recent Decision of the
> UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT
> (Watkins v. U.S. — June 17, 1957)
> ABOLISH THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON
> UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

ECLC's abolition campaign against the committee was formally launched at a rally in New York City's Carnegie Hall on September 20, 1957. More than half of the 61 persons serving on ECLC's National Council at that time had records of Communist Party or Communist front affiliation.

Featured speakers at the Carnegie Hall rally included identified Communists Harvey O'Connor, chairman of ECLC, and Dalton

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[6] This committee cited ECLC as a Communist Party front in its Annual Report for 1958.

Trumbo, one of the "Hollywood Ten," who had served prison terms for contempt of Congress, following appearances before this committee in 1947.

The immediate objectives of ECLC's campaign were to get individuals to write to their Congressmen and to editors of newspapers, saying they supported the abolition drive; to stimulate anti-committee rallies and petitions and the formation of abolition groups in cities and towns throughout the country; to stir up resistance to all committee hearings; and to raise funds for national coordination and direction of the campaign.

Ten days after the Carnegie Hall rally, ECLC Executive Director Clark Foreman embarked on a coast-to-coast tour to put the abolition drive in motion. ECLC also published a pamphlet prepared by Harvey O'Connor entitled *For Abolition of the Inquisitorial Committees of Congress.*

Among other things, this pamphlet made the flat, all-embracing, fantastic statement that:

> The committees insist that our social structure is honeycombed with disloyal persons, that public officials are spies, teachers are subversive, scientists weak links in our security set-up, the movies tainted with foreign propaganda.

The O'Connor booklet provided a good example of the double talk and self-contradiction which frequently characterize Communist propaganda in general, as well as party-inspired charges against this committee, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. One section of the pamphlet was titled:

"UN-AMERICANISM" NARROW, DARK, AND BRUTAL

Yet the first sentence in that section read:

> "Who can define the meaning of *'un-American'?"* the U.S. Supreme Court asked in the Watkins decision. [Emphasis added.]

Also, in this pamphlet, O'Connor implied that the ECLC sportingly accepts and abides by Supreme Court decisions, even while he twisted completely the meaning of a Court decision. The pamphlet stated:

> The United States Supreme Court has spoken! On June 17, 1957, it rendered its historic rebuke to the Committee on Un-American Activities—The Watkins Decision.
>
> NOW—YOU CAN HELP! Urge Congress to END APPROPRIATIONS and ABOLISH the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee placed an ad in the June 1958 issue of the magazine, *Monthly Review,* announcing a contest in which a prize was offered to the writer of the best slogan in support of the abolition campaign. What was the prize? An original oil painting by identified Communist Party member Rockwell Kent. (Kent recently paid an extended visit to the Soviet Union, where he was made an honorary member of the Soviet Academy of Arts. During his visit, an exhibition of his paintings was held in Sverdlovsk.)

Early in 1959, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee opened a Washington, D.C., office and started publishing a monthly newsletter called *CONGRESS AND YOUR RIGHTS* (not to be confused with *Rights*, another anti-committee periodical which has been published by ECLC since 1953).

On June 8, 1959, the Supreme Court rendered its much-publicized Barenblatt decision, in which it upheld the conviction of another witness for contempt of this committee. In this case, the Supreme Court also found that "in the domain of 'national security' the House has clothed the Un-American Activities Committee with pervasive authority to investigate Communist activities in this country." Significantly, there was no subsequent direction by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee for its followers to "Honor and Up-hold the Recent Decision of the United States Supreme Court," as there had been following the Watkins decision in 1957. Instead, ECLC reprinted and distributed the texts of the Court's dissenting opinions in the Barenblatt case and stated that it would continue to work for the abolition of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

On October 11, 1960, Dr. Linus Pauling appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. He invoked the fifth amendment when asked to identify the persons who had helped him circulate a petition to the United Nations calling for cessation of nuclear bomb tests. (The petition had been circulated not only in the U.S., but also in foreign countries, where the great majority of its signers were enlisted. Approximately one-third of the signatures were obtained from Iron Curtain countries. Nearly as many names came from Rumania as from the United States.) Three days before, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee had circulated a letter to its followers urging them to attend the hearing so Pauling would "feel the support of friendly faces in the audience." A follow-up letter by ECLC commended those in the hearing room who "laughed at some of the committee's questions and applauded Dr. Pauling's answers."

Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms

In January 1952, the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms was organized in Los Angeles as the West Coast front for the Communist Party's abolition operation. The CCPAF boasted that it was created "with the single purpose of arousing the public to abolish all Un-American Committees." It has been extremely active in pursuing that purpose ever since.

During its first year, the CCPAF published two editions of a tabloid newspaper which attacked the House Committee on Un-American Activities by using all the smear devices in the party's extensive arsenal of propaganda trickery.

In September 1952, it sponsored a rally to stir up opposition to hearings of this committee which were scheduled for the next month in Los Angeles. CCPAF subsequently produced and sold 1,500 copies of an album featuring recordings of testimony of hostile witnesses who had attacked the committee during their appearances in those hearings.

During 1953 this same organization published and sold 40,000 copies of a pamphlet called *Courage is Contagious*. Its message: Members of the Committee on Un-American Activities are villains; persons who attack them are heroes.

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On March 27, 1953, CCPAF sponsored another Los Angeles rally to promote agitation against the Committee on Un-American Activities. A handbill advertising the affair listed as one of the featured speakers John T. Bernard, former Congressman from Minnesota who was later identified as having been a Communist Party member in sworn testimony before this committee. Bernard was subsequently a witness before the committee and invoked the fifth amendment when questioned about party affiliation.

In 1954 the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms co-sponsored publication of a pamphlet entitled *Smear and Run.* The title was appropriate. The obvious purpose of the numerous distortions and outright falsehoods in it was to discredit the committee and its members, while appearing to cite facts and the truth.

The CCPAF further characterized itself in 1954 by sponsoring a banquet in honor of the National Lawyers Guild, an organization which had already been cited as a Communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities and was later to be similarly cited by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

This committee held hearings in Los Angeles in September 1958. On this occasion the CCPAF published and distributed a pamphlet entitled *Operation Un-American*—which was reminiscent, in a contradictory fashion, of the ECLC's anti-committee propaganda slogan "Who can define the meaning of 'un-American'?" It urged support for a "Fight-Back Movement" against the committee when its hearings began.

Still another anti-committee rally staged by the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms was held on June 29, 1959, in Los Angeles. It was addressed by Lloyd Barenblatt, the person whose contempt of Congress conviction had just been upheld by the Supreme Court, and by Dr. Willard Uphaus, whose contempt convict on had also been upheld by the Court on June 8, 1959. Uphaus had refused to give the Attorney General of New Hampshire a list of the guests who had attended a "summer camp" he operates in that state.

On April 4, 1960, the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms organized a San Francisco chapter for the specific and immediate purpose of opposing hearings by the committee which were to be held in that city the following month.

On May 13, 1960, the highly publicized riots against the committee took place in San Francisco. The Communist Party's planning, direction, and participation in these riots have been reported in detail by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, the California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, and by this committee. In describing the extensive and varied pre-hearing activity by the Communist Party and its fronts which paved the way for the riots, Mr. Hoover wrote in his report:

> Much of the literature that was distributed during the campaign, for example, emanated in the name of the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms * * *.
>
> [and]
>
> The Communist Party furnished funds to the CCPAF to defray the expense of mailing literature during the campaign * * *.

National Committee To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee

An announcement on August 15, 1960, revealed the formation of a new abolition front. It was called the National Committee To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee. The mailing address of the organization, 617 North Larchmont Boulevard, Los Angeles, 4, California, was the same as that of the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms. Seven of the 13 persons named as leaders of the new organization had previously been identified as Communist Party members.

The National Committee To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee disclosed that its program would include:

(1) distribution of reprints of an anti-committee speech delivered in the House of Representatives by Representative James Roosevelt on April 25, 1960;

(2) preparation and distribution of special literature opposing the committee;

(3) endorsement of a national political action tour by a field representative designed to elect anti-committee candidates to Congress and, after the election, to convince newly elected Congressmen that they should support an expected Roosevelt resolution for the abolition of the committee;

(4) establishment of a Washington office for a month to lobby for the committee's abolition between January 2 and 4, 1961, and then to lobby for a reduction of the committee's appropriations.

A New York Council To Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities was formed in October 1960. Its co-chairmen, Otto Nathan and Russ Nixon—both identified as Communists—were also national committee members of the National Committee To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee.

The relationship between the New York Council To Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the National Committee To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee was clearly established when the New York Council's letterhead appeared with the names of the National Committee's officers on it.

An organization called Youth To Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, with offices in New York City, was also formed and, still later, a Washington [D.C.] Area Committee for the Abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The New York Council and Youth To Abolish have since worked as one on numerous anti-committee ventures, using the name "N.Y. Council and Youth To Abolish HUAC".

Abolition propaganda and agitation have been a major and specialized function of the ECLC, CCPAF, and the NCAUAC. They have led the party's fight in this field. These organizations, however, by no means comprise all of the officially cited Communist fronts which have attempted to undermine Federal investigations into the party's activities. In 1955, for example, the Labor Research Association, which had previously been cited, respectively, as an "affiliate" and as an "auxiliary" of the Communist Party by the Attorney General and by this committee, attacked both this committee and the Senate

Internal Security Subcommittee for using "FBI paid informers." It accused the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee with "specializing in anti-labor activities" as part of a "smear program."

A few of the many other Federally cited Communist-front groups which have attacked and propagandized for the abolition of this and other congressional committees assigned the task of investigating Communist subversion include the Civil Rights Congress, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, the Methodist Federation for Social Action, and the National Lawyers Guild.

The attack has not been limited to internal Communist forces. Foreign Communist parties have frequently assailed U.S. congressional investigating committees and the Soviet Union itself has often joined in the offensive, making this committee a special target. On April 6, 1961, for example, in an English-language radio broadcast beamed from Moscow to North America, a Soviet propagandist said that the Committee on Un-American Activities "has no right to exist as long as America has a constitution."

THE LAST TWO YEARS

With the words of the December 1960 Moscow 81-party statement, Khrushchev's speech of January 6, 1961, and Gus Hall's report of January 20, 1961, ringing in their ears, the U.S. Communists, ever obedient to the dictates of their bosses, have stepped up their attacks on anti-communism in all its forms in the last 1½ to 2 years.

On January 2, 1961, the New York Council and Youth To Abolish HUAC sent four busloads of picketers from New York to Washington to demonstrate in front of the White House for abolition of the Committee on Un-American Activities. This operation was planned to coincide with the opening session of the 87th Congress.

On April 21, 1961, the New York Council and Youth To Abolish HUAC sponsored an "abolition" rally at St. Nicholas Arena in New York City.

On September 22, 1961, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee sponsored another rally in Carnegie Hall. This one was in support of the alleged "victims of the Hollywood blacklist." Literature distributed to the audience asked pledges of money to be used in putting an end to the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Since October 1961, the New York Council and Youth To Abolish HUAC have published a periodic newsletter called *Abolition*. The first edition reported that Frank Donner [7] had addressed a conference of student representatives from 14 college and university campuses who met in New York City to map plans for the fall semester's "abolition activity."

In the fall of 1961, the National Committee To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee, along with the New York Council and Youth to Abolish HUAC and the Chicago Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights (whose secretary is identified Communist Richard Criley), announced the sponsorship of a nationwide anti-committee speaking tour by Burton White, one of the student leaders of the anti-committee agitations which resulted in the San Francisco riots in May 1960. Mr. White concentrated his efforts on securing engagements to address college and university groups.

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[7] See next page.

The New York Council and Youth To Abolish HUAC sponsored another "abolition" rally at the Manhattan Center in New York City on December 6, 1961. One of the speakers was Ring Lardner, Jr., an identified Communist who, as a member of the "Hollywood Ten," served a prison sentence in the early 1950's for contempt of Congress.

In April 1962, the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms joined with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and quickly formed a group called HUAC Reception Committee to organize picketing demonstrations against executive hearings held by the committee in Los Angeles beginning on April 24, 1962.

SUPPORT OPERATIONS

The Communist-inspired campaign to abolish this committee is a many-sided one. Following are examples of a few of the more diversified methods the party is using in its abolition drive:

Books

In July 1961, Ballantine Books, Inc., published a paperback book entitled *The Un-Americans*. The book was written by Frank J. Donner. It was billed on its front cover as "the first fully documented account of the notorious House Committee on Un-American Activities—how their abuse of power is being met by a growing opposition."

Donner acknowledged in the book that it was based, among other sources, on interviews with identified Communists, literature of the ECLC, and a number of pro-Communist publications. He also stated that he was "under heavy obligation" to identified Communist Party member Bertram Edises for assistance in writing the book and named other persons (with extensive records of Communist-front activity) who had been "most helpful."

Donner has been identified as having been a member of the Communist Party by a number of witnesses before the committee. When he appeared before the committee himself on June 28, 1956, he invoked the fifth amendment when questioned concerning party membership and affiliation.

Donner was subpenaed to testify before the committee again for a March 11, 1959, hearing in Pittsburgh on security procedures in defense plants and facilities supporting defense industries. He was then the general counsel for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, a union expelled from the CIO as Communist dominated and, at the time of the hearing, having contracts with various firms in the Pittsburgh area doing important defense work for the Federal Government.

He was a completely uncooperative witness in this hearing. He denied having been a member of the Communist Party since his 1956 testimony but refused to answer questions about membership in the party prior to that earlier hearing.

In a statement released July 17, 1961, Committee Chairman Francis E. Walter described Donner's book, *The Un-Americans*, as—

> a volume which most perfectly embraces and epitomizes the Communist line and technique in the present energetic program of the Communist Party to discredit a necessary and useful Committee of Congress * * *.

The chairman further described the book as "an absurd attempt to link the Committee to anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-Catholic, and anti-immigrant prejudices."

SONGS

The February–March 1961 issue of *Sing Out*, an alleged folk song magazine, featured a propaganda song about the 1960 Communist-instigated riots against the committee. *Sing Out* is edited by Irwin Silber, who was identified as a member of the Communist Party in testimony given this committee in 1952. An associate editor of the magazine, Pete Seeger, has also been identified as a party member. The magazine frequently features favorite Communist Party songs and newly composed party-line lyrics.

Following, as one example of *Sing Out's* numerous anti-committee melodies, are the lyrics of the San Francisco riot song, written to the tune of "Billy Boy":

Did they wash you down the stair, Billy Boy, Billy Boy,
Did they wash you down the stair, Charming Billy?
Yes, they washed me down the stair,
And they rearranged my hair
With a club, in the city hall rotunda.

Were there pigeons in the square, Billy Boy, Billy Boy,
Were there pigeons in the square, Charming Billy?
There were pigeons in the square,
And stool pigeons on the air,
And they fouled up the city hall rotunda.

Did they set for you a chair, Billy Boy, Billy Boy,
Did they set for you a chair, Charming Billy?
No the D.A.R. was there,
And there wasn't room to spare,
So we stood in the city hall rotunda.

Was the house committee there, Billy Boy, Billy Boy,
Was the house committee there, Charming Billy?
The committee, it was there,
Throwing slander everywhere,
While we sang in the city hall rotunda.

Did the people think it fair, Billy Boy, Billy Boy,
Did the people think it fair, Charming Billy?
No they didn't think it fair,
And they notified the Mayor,
And he wept, and he wept,
And he wept, and he wept,
While they mopped up the city hall rotunda.

CARTOONS

The Liberty Prometheus Book Club, New York City, has announced publication in the near future of a book entitled *A Quarter Century of Un-Americana*. The book will be composed of derogatory cartoons and similar "art" work created over the years by opponents of the committee.

Liberty Prometheus Book Club was founded by Angus Cameron and Carl Marzani. Cameron has been identified as a member of the Communist Party in testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Marzani has served a prison term for perjury in falsely denying, while employed by the State Department, that he was a Communist Party member.

Films

The great success of "Operation Abolition," the committee-sponsored documentary fiim about the San Francisco riots, has fired the Communist Party with the idea of producing a counter-film which will serve as a major weapon in its abolition drive. Activity on this project has centered in California. Harvey Richards, a reporter for the *Peoples World*, West Coast Communist Party newspaper, and an identified member of the party, has played a major role in the production of a clever, subtle, smear-the-committee film. The party hopes to be able to release the film in the near future—but not, of course, under its own name.

The Communist Lexicon

"good guys" and "bad guys"

Communists are careful students of propaganda techniques. All well-trained Communists are well-trained propagandists. They know how to fit the many weapons in the arsenal of the propagandist to the time, the place, and the target. They know that in the United States, as in other countries, there are certain words that have good, noble, and wholesome connotations and, therefore, almost automatically evoke support and sympathetic response. They also know that there are other words which have evil and repulsive connotations and therefore tend, just as surely, to evoke feelings of hatred, resentment, and disgust.

"Democracy," "rights," "liberties," "unity," "progressive," and "the people" are good in their original connotations. The Communists, therefore, always attach these and similar words and phrases to themselves and what they stand for.

"Fascist," "Nazi," "Hitler," and "police state" are, in the political sense, the most evil words in the American language. For this reason, Communists always attach these epithets to their enemies. It is an old trick. They have been doing it for years. They are still doing it and too often, to the detriment of the Nation, finding it effective.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the party's greatly intensified propaganda drive against anti-communism and against congressional investigating committees is characterized by liberal use of these terms. References to the party and its camp followers are replete with "good guy" words. Any manifestation of anti-communism, on the other hand—whether it be a Federal or State agency or law, a private group or individual—is, whenever spoken of, engulfed in "bad guy" words.

A few of the many examples of Communist Party use of this device which could be cited, follow:

The Communist Party's 1961 May Day statement said:

> *Unity* can be achieved if *the people* fight the vicious campaign of "anti-Communism." This is directed not only against the Communists, who are persecuted because they are front-rank *fighters for the people*. "Anti-Communism" is a *Hitler-like* weapon against all *progressive* fighters, against *democracy* itself. The center of this campaign is the House Un-American Committee, headed by the *fascist* Congressman Walter and the Senate Internal Security Committee * * *. Abolish the Un-American Committee. [Emphasis added.]

Gus Hall, secretary of the U.S. Communist Party, made a major speech in early May 1962. Its title, echoing a major Soviet propaganda theme, was "End the Cold War!" Many thousands of copies of the speech have since been printed and distributed throughout the Nation. The following are some of the propaganda epithets used by Hall in the course of this speech when he referred to anti-communism:

> Like Hitler * * * Hitler-like * * * warped Nazi mentality * * * Goebbels-like anti-Communism * * * Hitler-like falsehood * * * Hitlerite weapon * * * Hitlerite anti-Communism * * * Hitler virus of anti-Communism * * * anti-Communism of the Goebbels variety.

In a speech delivered at Reed College, Portland, Oregon, in February 1962, Gus Hall made the following statement:

> The McCarran [Internal Security] Act is a *police state, fascist* enabling Act. * * *
>
> This law not only violates every Constitutional *liberty* and *democratic* tradition of our land, but would practically turn over the government process of this land to the spokesmen of the Ultra Right and of the *fascist* gangsters in our land. [Emphasis added.]

The July 1, 1962, edition of *The Worker* quoted Communist Party leader Elizabeth Gurley Flynn as saying that the McCarran [Internal Security] Act "tries to foist a *Hitlerite* caricature of the Communist Party on the American people, and to use this trick to smash the *liberties* and *rights* of the *people*." [Emphasis added.]

Benjamin Davis, national secretary of the Communist Party, wrote in the August 28, 1962, issue of *The Worker* that this committee "is notorious for its *fascist-like* violations of *civil liberties*" and "*fascist* persecution of Negro Americans." He also said the Internal Security Act was "intended to convert America into a *Hitler-like police state*." [Emphasis added.]

An excellent summary of the current phase of the Communist Party's war against anti-Communist investigations and legislation appeared in the September 1962 issue of the Veterans of Foreign Wars' newsletter, *American Security Reporter*. It is herewith quoted in full:

NEW ATTACKS ON COMMUNIST CONTROL MEASURES DUE THIS FALL

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, the House Un-American Activities Committee, and the Internal Security Act of

1950 (the McCarran Act) will come under increasing attack from a variety of sources during the next few months.

U.S. Communists are launching a souped-up campaign to break the back of Government agencies and laws which now restrict Communists' freedom to deceive and to subvert.

A primary target for this campaign will be the McCarran Act. It is under this act that the U.S. Communist Party and certain Communist leaders have been ordered to register with the Attorney General as agents of a foreign power.

Such registration would destroy U.S. Reds' pretense that they are a domestic, American political party. Once registered they would be tagged as agents seeking support in the United States for the foreign policy aims of the Soviet Union.

The campaign—which also will attack the FBI and the House Un-American Activities Committee—will get its main steam from three regional mass meetings scheduled for September, October, and November. One will be on the east coast, one in the Midwest, and one on the west coast.

Political Affairs (August 1962) says that the meetings will be designed to expand local activities aimed at "deluging the Attorney General and the President with demands to halt all the proceedings under the McCarran Act."

Political Affairs further urges like-minded individuals and groups to demand that candidates for public office in November "take a stand against the McCarran Act" and to step up the distribution of "anti-McCarran Act" bulletins, leaflets, and pamphlets.

Being a hard-hitting political campaign, its climax is scheduled for early January 1963. Two national conferences are scheduled for Washington, D.C., then to coincide with the opening of the new Congress.

One will be composed of some of the civil liberties and peace groups. The other is being set up by forces in the "anti-House Un-American Activities Committee movement." Both are expected to demand the repeal of the McCarran Act and abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The aim of non-Communists who become involved in such attacks is a matter of debate. Each individual is guided by his own conscience. But it can be stated without reservation that the Communist aim is to work through such mass rallies and conferences to force Congress to repeal the Internal Security Act of 1950 and to deny operating funds to the House Un-American Activities Committee if not to abolish it entirely.

U.S. Communists want more freedom for their efforts to win support for Soviet foreign policies, to undermine our free society, and eventually, to gain political power for Communist leadership in the United States.

The most effective countermeasure at this time [is] to (a) make the general public aware of Communists' interest in abolishing the Internal Security Act of 1950 (McCarran

Act), and their active support of any and all meetings, conferences, and demonstrations which promote this end, and (b) make sure that Congress and the administration as well as the general public are fully aware of your positions in respect to the Internal Security Act of 1950, the House Un-American Activities Committee, and the Communist Party, U.S.A.

"MR. ABOLITION"

The name of one man continues to crop up, time and time again, in any study of the Communist Party's efforts, through fronts, to discredit and bring about the abolition of this committee.

This man became executive secretary of the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms, the party's West Coast abolition agency, in 1953. He was appointed to the National Council of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee shortly thereafter and served as field director of its 1957 nationwide drive against the Committee on Un-American Activities.

He was named field representative (chief agitator) of the National Committee To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee when it was formed in 1960. His present activities, like his activities of recent years, reveal that he is the Communist Party's "Mr. Abolition." He makes his living by anti-committee agitation.

His name is Frank Wilkinson.

Wilkinson first made news in 1952 while employed by the Los Angeles City Housing Authority. The episode was described as follows in the 1953 report of the California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities:

> Early in September, 1952, the Los Angeles City Housing Authority was engaged in a condemnation proceeding in the Superior Court of Los Angeles County * * *. One of the witnesses for the Housing Authority was Mr. Frank Wilkinson, its information officer, who was asked to take the witness stand and testify as an expert on behalf of the Authority. In the process of cross-examining the witness concerning his qualifications, opposing counsel asked him about the organizations to which he had been affiliated, and when Wilkinson showed some hesitancy in giving a full and complete reply, pressed him to the point that he eventually refused to answer the question on the advice of his attorney, Mr. Robert W. Kenny.
>
> The attorneys for the defendants in the case immediately charged that Mr. Wilkinson was a secret member of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County and had been affiliated with the Communist Party there during the entire time that he was employed by the Housing Authority in a responsible position. In the light of his continued refusal to answer questions concerning his organizational affiliations, Mr. Wilkinson was suspended by the Housing Authority pending a further and more thorough investigation of his background.

The Los Angeles Housing Authority requested the California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities to investigate

Wilkinson and any other employees of the organization whose loyalty was open to question.

Wilkinson appeared before that State committee on October 28, 1952, and invoked the fifth amendment on all questions about Communist Party membership, associations, and affiliations. Immediately following his testimony he was dismissed by the Housing Authority.

In its 1953 report, the California Senate Fact-Finding Committee included the following in its summary of the Housing Authority investigation:

> Basing its conclusions on the information with which Frank Wilkinson, his wife, Jean, Frances Eisenberg, Sidney Green, Adina Williamson, Elizabeth Smith and Jack Naiditch were each confronted, and the refusal of each to answer questions concerning their Communist affiliations and activities, the committee finds that each of them was a member of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County, and associated together for the purpose of maintaining and expanding Communist units in the Los Angeles City Housing Authority and in the Los Angeles City School System.

On March 27, 1953, not long after his dismissal from the Los Angeles City Housing Authority, Wilkinson appeared as a speaker at a rally against the Committee on Un-American Activities sponsored by the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms.

In 1953 and 1954, Wilkinson, as previously mentioned, assumed key posts with the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms and the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

Some 2 years later, on December 7, 1956, Frank Wilkinson's name was introduced before the committee by Mrs. Anita Schneider, former undercover operative for the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the Communist Party. Following are excerpts from her testimony concerning the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms:

> Mrs. SCHNEIDER. I had some contact with that committee.
> Mr. ARENS. Was it Communist-controlled?
> Mrs. SCHNEIDER. Yes.
> Mr. ARENS. Who was the ringleader in that organization?
> Mrs. SCHNEIDER. I didn't work in that organization, and I don't know who the ringleader was. My contact on that occasion was with Frank Wilkinson, I believe.
> Mr. ARENS. Do you know him as a Communist?
> Mrs. SCHNEIDER. Yes.

On the same day Mrs. Schneider testified, Wilkinson appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities and, when asked his occupation, said:

> I am answering no questions of this committee because the House Committee on Un-American Activities stands in direct violation * * * of the first amendment to the United States Constitution. This committee should be abolished, and the question is none of your business.

Wilkinson refused to answer any questions pertaining to Communist Party affiliation.

The following year, 1957, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee borrowed Wilkinson from the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms (of which he was then executive secretary) to help plan its Carnegie Hall rally against the committee and to serve as field director of its campaign to abolish the committee.

In July 1958, ECLC sent Wilkinson to Atlanta, Georgia, to organize opposition to hearings being conducted there by the committee. The committee subpenaed Wilkinson to obtain, if possible, from one who was apparently in a position to know, facts on Communist strategy and techniques in carrying out the conspiracy's subversive activities.

Wilkinson was just as contemptuously defiant of the committee on this occasion as he had been in 1956. He not only refused to answer all but a few of the questions asked, but also refused to invoke the fifth amendment as his reason for not being responsive.

For this performance, Wilkinson was cited for contempt by the Congress on August 13, 1958, convicted of this charge by a Federal District Court in Atlanta on January 23, 1959, and sentenced to a year of imprisonment. He appealed the conviction and was released on bail pending the outcome of his appeal.

About a month later, on February 24, 1959, the committee held a series of executive hearings in Los Angeles. Wilkinson was observed distributing anti-committee literature outside the building in which the hearings were held.

In his previously mentioned report on the May 1960 San Francisco riots, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover stated that, after the hearings had ended, Mickey Lima, chairman of the Northern California District of the Communist Party, praised Wilkinson "for the role he had played in organizing the demonstrations."

Subsequent to the formation of the National Committee To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee in August 1960 and being appointed its field representative, Wilkinson, still out of prison on appeal of his contempt conviction, made the earlier described political action tour of the country for the new organization.

On January 29, 1961, *The Worker* reported that Frank Wilkinson had recently completed his third coast-to-coast tour since the previous May for the purpose of organizing "action for the abolition" of the committee.

It was at about this time that Wilkinson prepared a year's program, covering the period from March 1961 to February 1962, for the National Committee To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee. In it, in addition to the continued circulation of NCAUAC petitions for the abolition of the committee, Wilkinson called for petitions in opposition to:

> (a) such new hearings as HUAC may schedule; (b) all forms of governmental sponsorship of the HUAC-aided film "Operation Abolition"; (c) HUAC's appropriation; (d) other.

Other proposals in the Wilkinson program were that—

> all future hearings called by the HUAC be countered by every possible, effective public demonstration * * *. Persons subpoenaed to the Capital from distant cities should be honored by send-off and welcome-home rallies at airports.[8]

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[8] See appendix, pp. 1512-1514 for entire text of the Wilkinson-drafted program.

He also urged continued acquisition of all the anti-committee literature possible and its distribution to a mailing list of between 5,000 and 10,000 key groups and individuals. He proposed the formation of anti-committee student groups and close coordination of their activities.

On February 27, 1961, the Supreme Court upheld the contempt conviction of Frank Wilkinson and on May 1, 1961, he began serving his one-year sentence. Ten days before he entered prison, Wilkinson had been a major speaker at the previously mentioned anti-committee rally at St. Nicholas Arena in New York City.

Wilkinson was released from prison on February 1, 1962, after serving 9 months of his sentence, and, on the evening of that same day, was given a reception in New York City by the New York Council To Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. The affair was chaired by Otto Nathan. Identified Communist folk singer Pete Seeger provided the entertainment.

Wilkinson wasted no time in reestablishing himself as the number one paid anti-committee agitator. He was named executive director of the National Committee To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee at a meeting of that organization in Chicago on March 3, 1962.

In the March 1962 edition of *Abolition*, a by-lined article by Wilkinson outlined NCAUAC's program for the period between then and the convening of the 88th Congress in January 1963. The text of Wilkinson's article follows:

NATIONAL ABOLITION PROGRAM OUTLINED

by FRANK WILKINSON

January 3, 1963, will mark the 25th anniversary of the founding of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) by former Congressman Martin Dies (D. Texas), and the 18th year since its establishment as a Standing Committee of the House of Representatives by former Congressman John Rankin (D. Mississippi).

January 3, 1963, also marks the opening of the 88th Congress and a new climax in the mounting campaign to abolish HUAC.

The National Committee to Abolish HUAC in Chicago on March 3 determined to launch an intensive drive at the Congressional District level aimed at producing the maximum number of votes for abolition of the Committee when its mandate is presented for ratification on the opening day of the new Congress.

The Congressional Districts selected for this concentrated effort include not only those Districts whose representatives voted against HUAC in 1961 but the balance of the 100 Congressional Districts whose incumbent Congressmen have privately expressed criticism of the Committee's inquisitorial tendencies.

NCAHUAC's (revised) 125 page "Collection of Editorials & Resolutions in Opposition to the Un-American Activities Committee" will be presented by Congressional

> District abolition committees to all candidates for Congress during the primary and Congressional elections. In addition, this remarkable summary of nationwide support of the abolition campaign will be carried by similar delegations to the 50 most prominent community leaders within each of the Congressional Districts. These editors, churchmen, labor and political leaders will be urged to take steps to raise the question of HUAC's abolition as one of the prime domestic issues in the 1962 Congressional races.
>
> As additional educational literature the full page ad which appeared in the *New York Times*, February 22, 1962, over the signature of more than 600 nationally distinguished community leaders will be reprinted.
>
> The reverse side of this re-print will carry Congressman William Fitts Ryan's courageous attack on HUAC's 1962 $350,000 appropriation, delivered in the House of Representatives on January 24, 1962, a "Box Score on HUAC's 'Legislative Record'" for 1961 and a compilation of the organizations and newspapers which have opposed or called for abolition of HUAC. A minimum goal of 5,000 copies of this new literature will be distributed by each of the Congressional District Abolition Committees at political rallies within each District prior to the November elections.
>
> In undertaking this national education and political action work against HUAC, abolition committees will stress the interconnection between HUAC and the anti-integration groups, and the rising intolerant right-wing extremists organizations; and HUAC's responsibility for the McCarran Law, the only piece of legislation for which it can take credit.
>
> Between September 1st and December 1st, each C. D. Abolition Committee will be asked to undertake the circulation of petitions to the Congressmen to be elected in November with a minimum goal of 10,000 signatures within each Congressional District.
>
> On the day prior to the opening of the New Congress, January 2, 1963, petitions will be delivered in persons by community leaders coming to Washington for this purpose.

Professional agitator Frank Wilkinson has been busy speaking to any and every group he has been able to collar since his release from prison. The March 1962 issue of *Abolition* reported that he had "spoken at a total of 23 meetings between March 9 and March 23, in New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Washington, D.C. Nineteen of these were in New York, including six meetings on New York college campuses."

The April-May 1962 edition of *New Horizons for Youth*, a periodical identified as an official Communist Party publication by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in its annual report for the fiscal year 1961, quoted Frank Wilkinson extensively on the campaign to abolish this committee. Referring to the 1962 elections, Wilkinson said:

> Our National Committee to abolish HUAC is developing an intensive program for concentration on the formation of an intensive program of education and political action beginning

> in the primary elections through the final elections, getting candidates to declare themselves for abolition. Our committee is going to establish fifty or seventy committees in Congressional districts. On my present trip, we are going to get a good deal of this established in the East Coast, and then I return to the West Coast to carry on the same program in the Western States.

Wilkinson also revealed that in the course of the abolition campaign, the Communist Party is continuing its age-old tactic of trying to use American youth to aid its causes. He said:

> I met a group of students in the Midwest last week. I was very pleased to hear that they were working on an independent program that the students will formulate and will carry out and which may include a student petition for abolition and a student visitation to Congressmen; student meetings and student discussions. All of these things, I hope, will parallel the independent part of the national abolition movement. The National Committee will cooperate in every way, providing literature and help of any kind.

Wilkinson is now making preparations for the release of a large-scale anti-committee propaganda barrage at the close of this year and the beginning of 1963. The objective, of course, is to pressure the 88th Congress into writing an epitaph to the Committee on Un-American Activities.

On September 8, 1962, Wilkinson was the chief agitator at an all-day conference in New York City sponsored by the New York Council and Youth To Abolish HUAC. Representatives from 40 Eastern "abolition" groups, which have been formed as a result of Wilkinson's paid organizing performances, were in attendance.

The conference mapped plans for:

(1) stepped-up abolition work on campuses throughout the East;

(2) fall anti-committee petition campaigns;

(3) an "Elect Anti-HUAC Congressmen" pre-election rally in New York's Manhattan Center on October 24; and

(4) the sending of anti-committee lobbyists to Washington, D.C., for the convening of the 88th Congress.

In addition to Wilkinson, conference speakers included previously mentioned Richard Criley and Burton White.

Inasmuch as Wilkinson has, without a doubt, been the driving force behind the Communist Party's front campaign to have the committee abolished, the committee deems it appropriate to close this report with additional party background information about him obtained in an executive hearing in Los Angeles on April 25, 1962. The witness who testified on that occasion was Robert Ronstadt, an undercover FBI operative in the Communist Party from the middle of 1947 through the end of 1954.

In the course of his testimony, Ronstadt mentioned that in 1949, after he had been in the Communist Party for about 2 years, he was assigned by the party in Los Angeles to "the Altgeld group, and this was strictly a security group." He explained that those put in that group were people "the Communist Party felt were true and loyal,

and that they wouldn't break under questioning and things of that nature." Members of the Altgeld group, the witness stated, normally concealed the fact that they were Communist from the rank-and-file members of the party.

Following are excerpts from the transcript of Ronstadt's testimony beginning immediately after the committee counsel asked the witness how many persons composed the Altgeld club:

Mr. RONSTADT. There were about seven or eight at the beginning. Frank Wilkinson was a member.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did he hold at that time?

Mr. RONSTADT. At that time, he was the executive secretary to the Los Angeles City Housing Authority.

* * * * * * *

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well. How long did you know these particular individuals you have identified as members of this particular club? How long did you know them as members of this club?

Mr. RONSTADT. Well, let's take them one by one.

Frank Wilkinson, from 1949, I'd say, to the end of 1953, and it might have even gone over a little bit into 1954, but I am reasonably sure it was the end of 1953.

As a matter of fact, he and I were the last two members of the club. They gradually transferred people from this club into smaller groups or into other activities, they kept Frank and me together. I think it was in 1952 that he had to appear before the California Senate Committee on Un-American Activities.[9] My specific instructions at that time were to hold Frank up and to keep him from breaking, because he was close to breaking. The hierarchy of the party at that time felt that there was a possibility of breaking Frank, and, as a result, I used to pick him up just about every evening when he was before the committee or waiting to be heard. Of course, I instructed him to plead nothing else but the fifth, and to give his name and to plead the fifth, and this was it, and this I hammered home to him.

Mr. SCHERER. As a matter of curiosity, do you know why Frank Wilkinson was about ready to break, as you have testified?

Mr. RONSTADT. Well, he had been under considerable pressure. Number one: From the Housing Authority, Mr. Holtzendorff [executive director], I think, was aware of the fact that Wilkinson used to receive the *People's World* and things of this nature. I think that Holtzendorff really suspected that Frank was a member of the Communist Party.

As a matter of fact, Frank related to me that Holtzendorff had requested him to make a statement that he was not a Communist. Frank would never do this.

Mr. SCHERER. Afraid of perjury, you mean?

Mr. RONSTADT. No, I think with him at that particular time in his development it was a matter of principle you might say. If you want to call it weakness, it can be that from the point of view of a Communist Party member.

In other words, he wouldn't deny that he was a Communist to Holtzendorff, and he was finally placed on leave by the Housing

[9] Wilkinson appeared before the California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities October 28, 1952.

Authority, and so this pressure had built up in relation to him and his employer. The party was cognizant of the strain that he was undergoing, and we were at that time afraid—I mean afraid that he would break. Of course, I had a selfish interest in this respect, that in all probability, had I been called before the Senate Committee at that time, I probably would have pleaded the fifth, too, in order to continue my work that I was doing, and I didn't particularly want to do that either.

So, as I said before, I kept Frank together.

Mr. SCHERER. Frank Wilkinson didn't have any independent wealth at that time, did he? Was he dependent upon his job with the Housing Authority for his security, financial security?

Mr. RONSTADT. Well, he comes, from what I understand, from a fairly wealthy family here in Los Angeles, and whether he received any income from them or not, I don't know.

I do know though that after he lost his job, that he did receive pay from the party—he started then to perform various functions for the party, and did receive pay from the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you know that?

Mr. RONSTADT. Well, because I offered to loan Frank money my-myself, and to help him, because I knew he had a family—I felt that under normal circumstances, when you lose your job, and you don't have an income, you need money, and at the time, of course, I was working and it was only right that I should offer.

Mr. SCHERER. That's what I meant. Wilkinson wasn't thinking about breaking, as you put it, because of any change in ideology, but because he was worried about this loss of income, if he should lose his job?

Mr. RONSTADT. Well, that was part of it. The other thing is the actual pressure—that Holtzendorff—and perhaps other people that he knew and who Holtzendorff knew—were bringing on him to either come out and admit that he was a Communist or to deny completely that he was.

This is my understanding of that situation during that period.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the interest of the Communist Party in Frank Wilkinson?

Mr. RONSTADT. Well, the interest, as I stated before, he is a very intelligent person. He makes a very good appearance. He's a good speaker. I think that he was a loyal party member, and he could carry on the work of the Communist Party. So, this was their chief interest, and when he lost his job in the Housing Authority, as I say, the Communist Party then picked up the tab, and they supplied money to him, in what amounts, I do not know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what title or function he played in the Communist Party at the time the party was paying him money?

Mr. RONSTADT. Well, one of the things I know that he was assigned to was this—the Citizens Committee for Freedom, the one that's downstairs——

Mr. SCHERER.—To Preserve American Freedoms, yes. He was assigned to that position by the Communist Party?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. When was the last time that you knew, of your own knowledge, that Frank Wilkinson was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RONSTADT. In, let's say, about the middle of 1954.

Mr. SCHERER. Was that when you left the party?

Mr. RONSTADT. No, I left a few months after that.

Mr. SCHERER. But at the time you left the party, you knew him to be a member of the Communist Party, up to that time?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you any knowledge as to his present membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. RONSTADT. No, I do not.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you have any knowledge as to his membership in the Communist Party, following the 1954 date?

Mr. RONSTADT. No, I do not.

Mr. SCHERER. Can you tell the committee just how the arrangements were made for Frank Wilkinson to take over the executive secretaryship of the Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms?

Mr. RONSTADT. I don't know all the details, but the only thing that I can relate is that in association, you might say, with any of these groups, there has to be a central organizing figure that will take, you know, charge of the thing and to do a good job. Of course, he was not known, you see, as a Communist, and he had refused, of course, to testify before the California Senate Committee, but this, *per se*, as you probably know, does not make a person a Communist. I have heard this though, in later years, that he has denied that he was a member of the Communist Party.

For instance, people that have circulated petitions in relation to him. I have spoken to people that have heard him speak when he has stated that he has not been a member of the Communist Party or never has been.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which you know is untrue?

Mr. RONSTADT. Which I know definitely to be untrue.

Mr. JOHANSEN. But those denials were not made at any time under oath, the denials of membership that you refer to?

Mr. RONSTADT. As far as I know, they were not made under oath. This was at places where he has spoken to various groups and things like this, where the question has been asked.

Yet, I can truthfully say, I was present with him at these various party meetings. Not only that, but I delivered instructions to him on—during the latter part—well, part of 1952 and through 1953, and I was at that time receiving my own instructions from a fellow by the name of Dave Elbers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Spell the last name.

Mr. RONSTADT. E-l-b-e-r-s.

And Dave had direct contact with the County Central Committee, and he used to get instructions to me as to what my job would be.

Mr. TAVENNER. He was a liaison person between the executive committee, you, and other persons who were performing the same services that you were performing?

Mr. RONSTADT. That's right.

As a matter of fact, for a long time, every conversation, for instance, that I had with Wilkinson, I was questioned about this, and I would relate exactly what had transpired in the conversation. In 1952, for instance, during that period, one of the things that I had to answer

was the fact that, did I really believe that this guy was a real, dedicated person to the Communist movement?

And this information, of course, I passed on that he was, as far as I knew. There was nothing in his conversation to indicate that he was not.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know whether Dorothy Marshall knew that Wilkinson was a member of the Communist Party at the time he took over the directorship of this Citizens Committee To Preserve American Freedoms?

Mr. RONSTADT. This, I do not know.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know Dorothy Marshall?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes, I know of her, but I don't know her as a party member, as such.

Mr. SCHERER. In other words, you don't know whether she is or is not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RONSTADT. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe to the committee a little more in detail the activity of Frank Wilkinson in the Communist Party during the period of your acquaintanceship with him?

Mr. RONSTADT. Well, I don't quite——

Mr. TAVENNER. What actually did Frank Wilkinson do in aid of the Communist Party?

Mr. RONSTADT. Well, we did several things. I mean, from the point of view of contributing money, things of this nature. The professional people in the party, we had an added tax, you might say. Roughly a 4 or 5 percent of our gross salary, and I remember it because there was quite a bit of discussion as to whether it should be gross salary or net, you know, after taxes, and it was finally decided that it would be gross, before taxes.

Mr. JOHANSEN. In other words, not only take-home pay, but on base pay?

Mr. RONSTADT. That's right. So we contributed money and the other thing—whenever we could, we would organize fund-raising parties; for instance, like Frank would have acquaintances on the other side of town and might get one of those people to have a fund raiser—it could be almost any liberal cause—to raise money. Perhaps, like today we have the Freedom Riders. It might be to raise money to provide, you know, transportation for these people in the event they are jailed or something like that, to get them out of jail.

* * * * * *

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Frank Wilkinson pay his 4 percent?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes, I'm pretty sure he paid his 4 percent, and over and above that amount.

* * * * * *

Mr. RONSTADT. As far as Frank Wilkinson is concerned, this is exactly how I felt. Number 1: That his philosophy is completely contrary to what mine is of course.

I know that he is a dedicated Communist from my past experience, but not only that, in direct answer to your question, I wouldn't hesitate to make his name public for this reason, that he is misleading a lot of good liberals in this country.

In other words, by stating in public that he is not a Communist, they're helping his cause. If it were known that he was an actual

Communist I know that the petitions and other things that have been circulated in his behalf, would not be.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Now, I want to go one step further, as to the threat that he poses to the young people of this country, whether of liberal tendencies or otherwise, I'd like to have you comment on that, because of his activities on campuses.

Mr. RONSTADT. On this, I think here, too, he represents a real danger to the young people. As I stated before, he is a man that makes a good appearance. He has the right vocabulary, you might say, to appeal to the average college student, and he is very convincing in his approach, or discussions, or things of this nature.

As a matter of fact, he would make a top opponent, let's put it that way, in a political race.

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The following pages contain the complete transcript of the testimony of Robert C. Ronstadt, exclusive of the lengthier quotations concerning Frank Wilkinson contained in this report.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT CARRILLO RONSTADT

EXECUTIVE SESSION[10]—WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, APRIL 25, 1962

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will reconvene, please.

Let the record show that all members of the subcommittee are present, Messrs. Tuck, Scherer, Johansen, and Doyle.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Ronstadt, will you be sworn?

Mr. DOYLE. Will you please rise and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RONSTADT. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Mr. Ronstadt?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes, my full name is Robert Carrillo Ronstadt.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you reside, Mr. Ronstadt?

Mr. RONSTADT. 5406 Hazeltone Avenue, Van Nuys, California.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is noted that you are not accompanied by counsel.

It is the practice of the committee to advise all witnesses that they are entitled to have counsel with them if they so desire. Do you desire counsel?

Mr. RONSTADT. I do not desire a counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Ronstadt?

Mr. RONSTADT. I was born March 18, 1917, if you want the exact date.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. RONSTADT. In San Diego, California.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you raise your voice just a little, please?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present occupation, Mr. Ronstadt?

Mr. RONSTADT. I am presently one of the directors at the Guidance Technology Incorporated, located in Santa Monica, Calif.

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[10] Released by the committee and ordered to be printed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you advise the committee, please, of your formal educational training?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes; I attended grammar school and high school here in the Los Angeles area, and the University of Notre Dame from 1937 to 1941.

I graduated in 1941, and did graduate work in 1941 and 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what fields did you take postgraduate work?

Mr. RONSTADT. In sociology and administration.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you graduated cum laude, did you not?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes, I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you in the Armed Forces of the United States?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. During World War II?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes, I joined the Marine Corps in 1943 as a private and was discharged as a lieutenant in 1946.

There is one thing I might add, that in October 1942 I took the FBI exams and passed them, and was placed on their waiting list. However, I decided to enlist about one month later.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at any time employed by a private investigative agency?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes, starting in 1946, roughly I'd say it was about March 1946 that I was contacted by Mr. Joseph P. McCarthy, who was a former FBI agent. He at that time was in partnership with Mr. Joe Dunn—Joseph D-u-n-n, who was formerly chief agent in charge of the FBI here in Los Angeles.

Mr. TAVENNER. This was a private investigative agency?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes. In 1946 I was contacted by them to go to work for them. I had several interviews with Mr. McCarthy, and then he disclosed to me a particular assignment that he had in mind. The assignment that he had in mind was this:

That he had been contacted by one of the manufacturing companies here in Los Angeles, which was producing communication material for the United States Government. The president of the company, Mr. Broadhead, was quite concerned, because he felt that there was one or two, or even more, Communists within this particular company, this manufacturing company, so that he contacted Mr. McCarthy to find out if Mr. McCarthy could determine who the Communists were within that plant.

This was part of the assignment. In addition to that, I was assured by Mr. McCarthy that all information that I might secure in relation to the Communist Party of the United States would be transferred and given to the FBI here in Los Angeles.

I did accept the assignment with Mr. McCarthy. I did go to work for this manufacturing company and finally in about October, I was approached and given an application to fill out by a member of the Communist Party at that time.

I filled it out, and for all intents and purposes I associated at that time, I'd say, from October 1946, to around May or June 1947, with several Communists.

I delivered and sold the *Daily People's World*. I spoke off of the back end of trucks. I spoke at various meetings. I don't know if you recall that the big hue and cry at that time was to bring the boys

(the American troops) back from all the overseas bases. It wasn't until later, when I was actually in the party, that I really found out the real reason as to why the Communist Party was so anxious to bring the boys back home.

As we withdrew the troops from the overseas bases, if you will recall, the Soviet troops, or people who believed in the Soviet system, in the Communist philosophy, moved in as our troops moved out. I guess it wasn't until Harry Truman put his foot down that that finally stopped. He called it his "Police Action" and it marked a turning point in history.

That was, of course, you know, the Korean situation.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the name of the person who gave you the application to sign to become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes, perhaps I should go back a bit.

The person, Mr. McCarthy felt was a Communist at that time, was a lady by the name of Leona Chamberlain, and I was, of course, to contact her and try to get on her good side. We felt that she would be the person who would recruit me, but it turned out that the person who really got interested in me was a fellow by the name of Don Wheeldin.

Mr. TAVENNER. Donald C. Wheeldin, the committee will recall, was shown in the testimony taken here in 1958, to be a high functionary of the Communist Party in Los Angeles.

Mr. RONSTADT. Well, back in the record, I said he was the fellow who worked on me to become a member of the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you, in the course of your investigation there, learn that the person you first mentioned, the woman, was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes, after I was in the party, I mean—she was introduced to me as being a member of the party.

As a matter of fact, I think it was—I attended one meeting, wasn't an official closed meeting, I don't believe, but there were several people from the——

Mr. DOYLE. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will take a short recess.

(The committee recessed at 3:15.)

(After recess: 3:40 p.m.)

Mr. DOYLE. The committee was in recess for 25 minutes in compliance with the order of the United States marshal, who appeared in person at our committee meeting and notified us that he had received official communication or a report that a bomb had been placed in this building where we are holding our hearings. The witness, the committee, and its staff adjourned to the ground floor, pursuant to the direction of the United States marshal.

At 3:40, we returned to our hearing room—under the expressed authority of the United States marshal, who had previously told us to vacate our hearing room for the reason stated.

The hearing will be resumed.

Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Ronstadt, at the time of the recess, you were telling us about Don Wheeldin having a part in your filing an application for membership in the Communist Party.

Were there other persons that you met during the period of your employment by this company, whom you afterward found to be prominent in the Communist Party?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes, those people that I met during this period.

One of the persons that used to appear when we were speaking from the backs of trucks and various meetings, was Hursel Alexander, who was a very able and capable speaker, and did a very good job.

Another person that I met during the early period was Carl Brant. He was associated with the United Electrical Workers at the time, I believe, as business agent.

Mr. TAVENNER. Carl Brant, Mr. Chairman, appeared before this committee on December 6, 1956, at which time he refused to answer questions relating to his own Communist Party activities, relying on the fifth amendment.

Mr. RONSTADT. The other person that I had close association with at the time was Bill Elconin.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that William Elconin?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, William B. Elconin testified before this committee on June 30, 1955, at which time he likewise refused to answer questions about his own Communist Party activities, and relied on the fifth amendment as the grounds for his refusal to answer.

Mr. RONSTADT. I am trying, you know, to recall some of the details, the things that we did.

Another thing that we were attempting to do at that time was to organize the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America. I understand that this was a nationwide organization, and the real work here in the Los Angeles area was done by myself and Don Wheeldin.

This was one of our prime assignments, to bring veterans into the organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you employed by the private investigative agency in this work?

Mr. RONSTADT. I started, as I related before, roughly around March of 1946, and remained in their employ until around January or February of 1947. At that point, the contacts with the Communist Party, of course, were getting heavier and heavier and finally in May, I believe of 1947, I was accepted, let's put it that way, after careful screening by the party.

At the time I was accepted into the Communist Party and at that time, I reported directly to the FBI.

In other words, the FBI didn't want to particularly share information with anyone, and although all the reports up until this point had been accessible to them, they felt that they wanted to have direct access at all times.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you remain employed from that time on by the private investigative agency, Dunn & McCarthy?

Mr. RONSTADT. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who made the arrangements for you to report directly to the Bureau?

Mr. RONSTADT. Actually, it was Mr. McCarthy. It was in October of 1946 that I met an FBI agent. Later on, probably January or February, I was introduced to another FBI agent, who became my contact from there on in.

In other words, all the information that we had compiled up to that point was turned over to the FBI, and then when I started to report directly, which was about June, I guess, of 1947, I reported directly to an FBI agent. He was my contact; he also informed me at the time that he had contacted the FBI office in Washingon, D.C., and that I had been given full clearance to go ahead with the work.

Mr. TAVENNER. How is Mr. Joe McCarthy employed now, if you know?

Mr. RONSTADT. For the past 10 years or so, he was director of security for Hughes Aircraft, and the last two, well, the last year, he has been down at Newport Beach. Hughes has a plant down there. I don't know what his particular function is with the company today.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, we anticipated having Mr. McCarthy here as a witness to verify facts so far introduced in evidence, but Mr. McCarthy's doctor would not permit him to come because of illness. However, the staff will interrogate him, take an affidavit from him, and I would like to have it inserted in the record as Ronstadt Exhibit No. 1. (See p. 1499.)

Mr. DOYLE. That may be done, without objection.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at any time under the employment of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in doing undercover work within the Communist Party?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes, as I stated before, from June of 1947 to about the end of 1954, I was directly associated with the FBI.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, the employment that you took in order to engage in your first work, with the private investigative firm, was with the Allied Records, was it not?

What did you do after leaving the employment of Allied Records, which I believe was in 1947, you say?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes, in about February of 1947, Don Wheeldin secured some—oh, several books on carpentry, and I studied these books for roughly 4 or 5 weeks, actually.

Then, I went down and I took the examinations at a local union and qualified as a journeyman carpenter.

This is on a written and a verbal examination. In addition to that, of course, I practiced with the saw and hammer. I learned how to use a square and, as a matter of fact, I became, after awhile, a very good journeyman carpenter, and it's actually developed into my hobby.

At the present time I have a completely equipped cabinet shop. My wife has designed our furniture, and I have built it. So that is one of the good things that has come out of this.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did that work continue?

Mr. RONSTADT. That continued on up into, I'd say, roughly around October or November of 1948.

In 1948, I went back East briefly, to the State of Connecticut, and was there for about 6, 7, or 8 months. During that course of my work back there, I worked as a carpenter. I took my tools with me, and then I returned to California in early 1949.

RONSTADT EXHIBIT NO. 1

February 10, 1961

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

During 1946, while engaged in private investigation in Los Angeles, California, I first met Robert C. Ronstadt. At that time, much of my work was devoted to combating internal and external Communism. I had been an F. B. I. agent for several years; however, immediately prior to 1946, I had spent six years with Naval Intelligence and O. S. S. in combating Communism.

In order to infiltrate the Communist Party of the United States, I located areas in which known Communists lived and places where they worked. The next project was in the selection of the right man to infiltrate the Communist Party.

Experience had proven that too frequently this effort was thwarted by the philosophy of the Party, causing the undercover man to lean sympathetically toward Communism. Therefore, extreme care was exercised to find a man of high courage, fine intelligence, and complete devotion to Democracy.

Robert Ronstadt was that man. He had just returned from the war as an officer in the Marine Corps. He realized the risk and sacrifice such an assignment would entail, but he also recognized the enormous contribution he might make to our way of life. In remarkably short time, he became the object of interest of local Communists. He was screened and tested by them for months and was finally invited to become a Party member.

During all of this time, Bob Ronstadt lived in danger of exposure. It became necessary for him to change his entire pattern of living. His associates were largely Fellow Travelers and Party members.

While I was not employed by the F. B. I. at that time, nevertheless, all pertinent information gathered by Ronstadt was furnished the Bureau.

At the end of a two-year period, Ronstadt was deeply entrenched in the Communist Party and had become an extremely valuable source of information. The F. B. I. requested that he continue his assignment as a counterspy. Ronstadt was destined, because of his love of country, to lead this double life for an additional eight years.

Joseph P. McCarthy

Subscribed and sworn to before me this

19th day of December 19 61

Shirley Jane Cervantes

Notary Public in and for the County of

Orange State of California.

My Commission Expires October 25, 1964

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any connection with the Communist Party in Connecticut?

Mr. RONSTADT. The only connection that I had, I met Don Wheeldin's sister and his brother-in-law back there, and if I recall correctly, they lived in a small town just outside of either Bridgeport or New Haven, in that area. To my knowledge they were not in the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you returned to California, what did you do?

Mr. RONSTADT. When I returned to California, I picked up my contact again with Don Wheeldin. There was a slowdown at that point in the building trades, and I secured a job as a social worker here with the city of Los Angeles, which, after a few months, was turned over to the State, so that I ended up working both for the city and the State as a social worker; this covered roughly the period 1949 to 1950, although I took a leave in 1950 to return to school and attended graduate school at UCLA. At the end of the year, in 1951, I had my job waiting for me, actually with the State here in California, but I left it to go to work with Mr. McCarthy at Hughes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Hughes Aircraft?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes, and I joined their personnel department.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your next employment?

Mr. RONSTADT. I worked at Hughes from 1951 to 1955, and then in August of 1955, I went to work as a consultant for Daniel, Mann, Johnson & Mendenhall. They are architects and engineers here in the city. I accepted the assignment from them to set up an industrial relations or personnel division for them.

Their turnover at the time was very great, and they needed a great deal of help. I set their industrial department or division up, hired a new director of industrial relations for them, and then in April of 1956, I received an offer—actually, I received the offer in January—from the Rand Corporation to join them in Santa Monica. The Rand Corporation is one of the top corporations from the point of pure research, and a very fine company.

So I accepted their offer and went to work for them actually in April. I was with Rand, and also with System Development Corporation, which was formerly a division of Rand—broke off into a separate corporation. I was requested to join them to set up an industrial relations division.

We recruited scientists from all over the country to set up SDC.

The System Development Corporation is engaged at the present time, and was also at that time, consultants to the Air Force from the point of view of training and defense of this Nation. The last 2 years that I was with them, I was assigned to the entire southern part of the United States, and I acted in an advisory capacity on training to the generals of that region.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did that require any type of classified clearance or security clearance?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. On your part?

Mr. RONSTADT. It carried a top-secret clearance.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you granted a top-secret clearance?

Mr. RONSTADT. I was granted the top-secret clearance.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, I would like to go back to the time when you returned to California and took your employment within State government.

What work did you do within the Communist Party during that period?

Mr. RONSTADT. At that time, in early 1949, I was assigned to—well, first of all, when I came back and with Don Wheeldin, I was assigned at that time to an industrial club here in the Los Angeles area, and if I recall it correctly, the name was McNamara Club. We

operated out of the—I am trying to think of that particular area. It's Echo Park area, and most of the people that belong to this club were people that worked in industry throughout the area.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like for you to describe that club a little more fully, as to the character of the people that made up that unit of the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. And about how many in it.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many were in it and the names of any of them that you can recall.

Mr. RONSTADT. In that particular club, I'd say there were roughly 25 to 30 members.

There may have been more, but I attended one or two or three meetings, that's all I attended in that particular club. There were 25 to 30 people at each meeting.

I didn't become particularly well acquainted with the people in the group. Right at that time, right around 1949, 1950, I guess, the party was starting to feel kind of nervous as to names and last names.

If you will recall, I think that right around 1950, the Smith Act came into action. The Government had this big trial back in New York of the top leaders of the party, so they were starting to get security conscious. I'd say, in 1949, that first names were generally used, and I didn't inquire too much of last names at this particular period.

I'd get the person's first name, and give a complete description to the FBI, and then they would do the identification work that was necessary.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you transferred out of the industrial club?

Mr. RONSTADT. Roughly, I'd say around May of 1949, and I was transferred to the Altgeld group, and this was strictly a security group.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by "a security group"?

Mr. RONSTADT. Well, the persons that were in the security group were people that the Communist Party felt were true and loyal, and that they wouldn't break under questioning and things of that nature.

In other words, it was the type of people that they felt that they could depend on to continue in the Communist movement. There were interviews and things of that nature to determine loyalty.

For instance, I was asked about other people that I had come in contact with, as to whether they had ever said anything that might indicate that they were working for the FBI or something of that nature. So that we went through this careful screening before we were assigned into the club.

Mr. TAVENNER. And was the identity of the persons in the security clubs kept secret from the rank and file of the Communist Party?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes.

As a matter of fact, in the security clubs we weren't to engage in any outside activities that might create notice. In other words, for instance, on speaking—if we went out and spoke perhaps to little groups or something like this, we would not identify ourselves as being members of the Communist Party. As a matter of fact, if it came up, we were to deny it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, whether the selection of individuals to be members of these security groups was based in part upon the individual's evident position of leadership in the community or importance in the community?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes, I think that to some degree, that was very true. The people that we had, or the people that I contacted or got to know after a while in the security clubs, were certainly people that had fairly responsible positions, either in the city or State government. So this was the nature of the people, at least, that I came into contact with.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let us begin first with the security group to which you were first assigned.

I believe you called it the Altgeld?

Mr. RONSTADT. Altgeld.

Mr. TAVENNER. Spell it, please.

Mr. RONSTADT. A-l-t-g-e-l-d.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Former Governor of Illinois connected with the Haymarket riot episode.

Mr. RONSTADT. That is true.

I'll just jump ahead for a second; come back.

After I was in this club I found though that it was a group of clubs, rather than one particular club. We all carried the same name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Oh, yes.

Mr. RONSTADT. You see?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. RONSTADT. But in the club, for instance, that I belonged to, there were about six or seven people.

In other words, in the security clubs, the number of people in each one was cut down drastically.

As a matter of fact, I understand that they ranged maybe from four to eight people, nine people at the most.

Mr. TAVENNER. So this group that you were a member of was one of a series of groups?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have personal contact with the members of the Altgeld clubs of which you were not a member?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes; after awhile I was given an assignment of liaison work to some of the other clubs, and I did have this contact with other clubs in the particular group, the individual clubs.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right, let us begin with the club of which you were a member.

How many composed that club?

Mr. RONSTADT. There were about seven or eight at the beginning.

Frank Wilkinson was a member.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did he hold at that time?

Mr. RONSTADT. At that time, he was the executive secretary to the Los Angeles City Housing Authority.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well, can you give us the names of any others, and positions they held that were in that group with you, that is, the seven or eight members?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes.

The other members of the club were Oliver Haskell, and he was also with the Los Angeles City Housing Authority. He was director

of one of the projects. There was another person from the Housing Authority, Sidney—or Sid—no, Sid Green, and he also was one of the directors of one of the housing projects here.

And then we had a fellow by the name of Bryant—his last name was Bryant; first name was Drayton.

Mr. TAVENNER. Spell the name, please.

Mr. RONSTADT. I imagine, B-r-y-a-n-t.

Mr. TAVENNER. And the first name?

Mr. RONSTADT. Drayton, I imagine that's spelled D-r-a-y-t-o-n. Peculiar first name.

He was with us a relatively short period, and by this I mean, oh, several months, when he accepted a job to direct a housing project back East, either in Philadelphia or New York, so that he left the immediate area.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know about when he left?

Mr. RONSTADT. This was roughly the beginning of 1950 when he left.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any knowledge of his present occupation?

Mr. RONSTADT. Well, as far as I know—I mean, he is still in the Housing Authority. I have lost contact with him. His wife, incidentally, Adaya, was also a member of the group, but I say this in respect to her, that I don't think that she was as a person very sympathetic with our work. I sort of gathered this from—well, short discussions that I had with her. One time I recall she said that the best thing to do was to get out of the party. She felt that she had been, I think, misled, and was quite upset about what her husband was doing.

And I might say this about Bryant, that he was probably one of the most brilliant individuals that I have met, and this includes some very top people that we could compare, like Wilkinson, or people like Don Wheeldin, within the party.

I think that his IQ was probably 140 or above. Mr. Bryant, I felt was one of the top people, no question about it—very able and capable.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you mentioned Frank Wilkinson. Do you know his wife's name?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes, his wife is Jean Wilkinson. She was not a member of our particular club.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned Oliver Haskell. I am not sure whether you said he was a member of this group.

Mr. RONSTADT. He was a member of the group and, of course, I attended meetings with him from, well, 1949 to 1952.

Mr. TAVENNER. And he was also a member of this security group?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did he hold in the community while he was a member of this security group?

Mr. RONSTADT. As I stated before, he was one of the directors of one of the housing projects here.

Mr. DOYLE. When you say you attended meetings with him, you mean closed Communist Party meetings?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes, I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his wife's name?

Mr. RONSTADT. Rosemary, Rosemary Haskell.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she a member of this group?

Mr. RONSTADT. At the beginning she was. She was with us in 1949, and then she left the group at about the end of 1949. The reason that she left, she and Oliver were having some marital difficulties.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether she is the same person as Rosemary Lusher?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes, that is one and the same person.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the committee will probably recall that Rosemary Haskell Lusher testified before the committee in 1958, at which time she invoked the fifth amendment and refused to answer material questions regarding her membership in the Communist Party, and at that time she was the executive secretary of the American-Russian Institute.

Now, were there others in this original group, the group that you were a member of, whose names you can recall?

Mr. RONSTADT. No, that's about it right there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall a person by the name of Fay?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes, excuse me, Fay Kovner.

Mr. TAVENNER. K-o-v-n-e-r?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes, she was a member of the group also.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was her occupation, if you know?

Mr. RONSTADT. I wasn't sure. I think at one time she worked with the Housing Authority, but I don't believe that she was employed with them at the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Carole Andre?

Mr. RONSTADT. No; Carole, I believe was a member of the Altgeld group, but I think she belonged to another club.

* * * * * * *[11]

Mr. TAVENNER. Would that money go for the purposes for which it was raised?

Mr. RONSTADT. This is hard to say, except that the total amount never would, because for instance, there was a great amount of literature and things like that that we used to purchase. I know this because one of my jobs was to pick up the literature, various books and things of this nature.

Mr. JOHANSEN. This was party literature?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Not related to the project for which the funds were raised?

Mr. RONSTADT. True.

Mr. SCHERER. Did Wilkinson do any recruiting for the party, membership recruiting?

Mr. RONSTADT. Well, we did recruiting in this manner:

We were very careful in our approach, and for instance, if we felt that a person was fairly close to being recruited—in other words, to take the next step, then we would pass the word on upward and somebody else would get in touch with these people from some other club, or some other group, and would carry on from there.

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[11] Asterisks in dicate deletions of testimony concerning Frank Wilkinson which have been quoted in the foregoing report.

Mr. SCHERER. That was done in order not to reveal your identities?

Mr. RONSTADT. That's right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Over how long a period did you pay the 4 percent tax on your salary?

Mr. RONSTADT. Until I got out. It wasn't only the 4 percent. It was expected that if we had any surplus of money, that as a good party member we would, you know, donate this money to the party.

Mr. DOYLE. What would determine whether or not it was a surplus?

Mr. RONSTADT. Well, you have this kind of a pressure. In other words, you have people that belong in a small group, and for instance, if you are drawing $8,000 or $10,000 a year, and if you can get by on $6,000 or $7,000, you are expected, as a good party member, to contribute. And, of course, as a good party member, I always contributed.

Mr. SCHERER. You mean over and above your 4 percent?

Mr. RONSTADT. Over and above what was expected.

Mr. DOYLE. How much more money did you contribute than your 4 percent? How much more than your expected contribution?

Mr. RONSTADT. I'd say anywhere from $40 to $50, that's what I was contributing.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Above the 4 percent?

Mr. RONSTADT. Above the 4 percent. Because the party at that time, you know, was running the *People's World*. That particular function has never paid off.

In other words, they always needed additional money, because they give a great number of newspapers away. In other words, the *People's World* becomes not only a newspaper to sell, but also a newspaper to give to friends, or distribute, or pass around, wherever you think that they might be taken, you know, or accepted.

For instance, I will give you an example of this. I know that when I was trying to get subscriptions for the *People's World*, we'd go house to house, and we would talk to the occupant to see if they would take the paper. We would also leave a copy there, and would come back maybe two or three times, you know, and leave copies free of charge, so that the people could get acquainted with the newspaper. We would sell it on the basis that it was the only independent newspaper in Los Angeles. You know, we don't have any real independent newspapers here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Frank Wilkinson pay his 4 percent?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes, I'm pretty sure he paid his 4 percent, and over and above that amount.

Mr. DOYLE. Let me ask this, was this payment of more than the 4 percent an established requirement of other members of your particular club?

Mr. RONSTADT. Everyone in the club paid, with the exception to some degree of Fay Kovner. I'd say probably she was the one that had the lowest income, you might say, but just about everybody contributed more than requested.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you pay that excess to the same person, all of you?

Mr. RONSTADT. In most cases, yes. For a period of time, yes. Fay Kovner picked up the money and turned it over to whatever contact she had in the party.

Mr. DOYLE. Never got receipts for it?

Mr. RONSTADT. No, no, they stopped writing receipts and all those things, you know. They were real security-conscious in the group.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Do you have reason to believe that the money actually went where it was supposed to go?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes.

Mr. JOHANSEN. All of it?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes.

In other words, it was passed on up to headquarters.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by "headquarters"?

Mr. RONSTADT. Well, I would imagine in this particular case it would be the Central Committee here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, tell us what your association was with other security groups in Altgeld?

Mr. RONSTADT. The other group that I had direct contact with was where I met Carole Andre. That's A-n-d-r-e. She was in a club that used to meet over around Melrose and Vine, over in that area of the city.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know how she was employed?

Mr. RONSTADT. Here again, I think she was with the State in some capacity, but I don't know for what branch of the State she worked. As the liaison, I would give her various instructions and things of this nature, which she in turn would pass on to the club.

Now, the other person that was also a member of that Altgeld Club, in another group was Dave Elbers.

He was a member of a particular group, and he was, as I pointed out before, the latest contact that I had.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you told us how he was employed?

Mr. RONSTADT. He was employed by the State. I believe he was with the State Employment Service at the time. I don't know his exact capacity, what it was.

In other words, when you meet these people, you couldn't ask too many direct questions. You know, we couldn't take a chance of creating suspicion.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you ever sit in a closed Communist meeting with this fellow, Dave Elbers?

Mr. RONSTADT. Well, closed meeting in this respect. I would go to him and we would spend maybe 2 or 3 hours discussing various things or information he had received and that he was passing on to me, to pass on to Frank.

Mr. DOYLE. As a fellow Communist?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, you talked with Elbers as a fellow comrade?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. On many occasions?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Dealing with party business?

Mr. RONSTADT. Dealing strictly with party business.

Mr. TAVENNER. It would seem then that with so many of these people in the security section, being State and city employed, that really the State and city were substantially supporting the Communist Party, without knowing it.

Mr. RONSTADT. Well, I mean, this is a conclusion I imagine you could draw.

The other people that were in the other clubs, I met once or twice.

Now the actual employment or where these other people worked, this I don't know.

Mr. DOYLE. Was your assignment ever for you to try to get into the party any one or more top public officials at any government level, either Federal, State, county, or city in California?

Mr. RONSTADT. For awhile there, in 1952, I was given a particular assignment, for instance, to bring back to the Communist Party people that had been given a leave from the party due to the Taft-Hartley Act.

If you will recall, when that was passed, part of it states that you can't be a Communist. So what the party did was to give these people a leave. In other words, cut them off, but the party found out that these people who had been cut off were drifting away from the Communist Party. I was given the assignment to contact these people and to bring them back into the party.

One of them was Sidney Moore. He was associated with one of the unions. My job was to talk to him and to bring him back into the Communist movement. However, I wasn't very successful.

After several meetings with him, he got the impression across to me that he was functioning just as well, and that he didn't need the organization of the Communist Party to help him in the labor movement.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you know of any other assignment that was given to any fellow comrade, to get into your club or any club, or into the party, any of the top or leading citizens in this area, who were public officials in State, county, or local government?

That's what I'm getting at, Frank Wilkinson, for instance, in the Housing Authority. He was there and then one other you mentioned being with the State, this man Elbers.

Mr. RONSTADT. No, our assignment never was, as such. In other words, our assignment was always if you find a person that is perhaps—that tends to be, let's say, sympathetic to the Communist philosophy—is to meet with him, develop his friendship, and to give him more and more information about the Communist philosophy of life and things of this nature. As I related before, when you get a person to a certain point, then you would turn this person over to somebody else.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Well, you made the remark, I believe you stated that Moore felt he was functioning just as well without being a member of the party.

Do you mean functioning with respect to the Communist cause or functioning with respect to the labor movement?

Mr. RONSTADT. Well, actually both.

In other words, he was functioning just as well in the labor movement, and I think he felt that he didn't need the Communist Party to help him or to guide him or to direct him. As a matter of fact, I would say that actually from the point of view of the philosophical discussions that we had during this period he felt that the party was a hindrance. My job was to determine if it was possible to bring him back; in addition, to determine if we could trust this man if we brought him in. My final report was that we could not trust him if we brought him in.

He had had a change—in other words, he was away from the party too long and he had had a change of heart in relation to the philosophy of the party.

Mr. JOHANSEN. That clarifies the point.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, have you stated to the committee why this particular man, Sidney Moore, got out of the Communist Party?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes, I stated that as a result of the Taft-Hartley Act, people who were in responsible positions within the labor movement were given this leave from the Communist Party.

In other words, officially they didn't have to attend any meetings or anything of that nature. The party found out that to cut a person off completely was a mistake. The party started losing some of them, and what they finally decided was that it was better to have them back in the party and to take their chances in that respect.

Mr. TAVENNER. But the understanding under which these persons left the party, as I construed your testimony, was that this was merely an organizational severance of membership?

Mr. RONSTADT. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that the individual was expected still to continue as an affiliated member of the party, though not an actual member?

Mr. RONSTADT. That's right.

Well, no, I think no—in other words, when you say actual member, I'd put it this way:

That he was still an actual member, but not a participating member since he would not meet with anyone else to carry on any activity.

As a matter of fact, Moore had had no contact that I know of, officially, until I contacted him, and as I say, I spent several weeks over a period of time, talking to him and trying to get him back in.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have personal knowledge of any other instances where members left the party under similar circumstances? On account of the Taft-Hartley Act?

Mr. RONSTADT. All of the people, like Elconin and Brant were all placed on a similar type of leave. The other one that was contacted was Eleanor Grennard, and here again——

Mr. JOHANSEN. How do you spell that name?

Mr. RONSTADT. G-r-e-n-n-a-r-d. And here, my discussions with her were going on when Frank was called before the Senate Committee here in Los Angeles. At that particular time my principal assignment was to keep Frank Wilkinson together, so that I was pulled off of other assignments. I was getting much the same feedback from Eleanor as I was getting from Mr. Moore.

It's a funny thing—you break them loose and it's pretty tough to get them back.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, this self-work or group-work on your part as a Communist member, must have taken a vast amount of your time away from your home, so that it must have consumed most of your time outside of your actual employment hours, did it not?

Mr. RONSTADT. It consumed a great deal of my time. I might add that during part of the period, of course, I wasn't married. I met my present wife actually in late 1951. About the middle of 1953, Marlene was getting kind of suspicious and she popped the $64 question one evening as to whether or not I was a member of the

party, or whether I was a Communist. I told her at that time that I was, and I didn't see her for several days.

After consultation with the contact that I had, I made the decision to reveal my true identity to her, namely; that I was not a Communist; that I was one perhaps only in name only; I told her about my past work; brought her up to date on my present standing.

Mr. DOYLE. That didn't break up your home then?

Mr. RONSTADT. No, not only that, I acquired a wife and two additional children.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances under which you terminated your work in the Communist Party?

Mr. TUCK. That is exactly what I have been wondering.

Mr. RONSTADT. Well, the circumstances are these: starting around 1953, I had been approached by the party as to whether I wanted to accept an assignment to go completely underground. By this I mean, moving from this city to some other city in the United States, assuming another name, and going completely underground.

Now, one of the reasons, and several reasons why I was approached on this, was the fact of my so-called working-class background. During the course of my life, I have worked as a truck driver; I have worked in the auto industry; I have worked, of course, as a carpenter, as I revealed here; I worked in the record industry and I worked as a laborer. I have had a vast amount of experience. It would not be difficult for me to lose my identity. I could go into a city and start making a living.

In that respect, for instance, I will give you a good example. A carpenter's journeyman's card is something that could be very easily forged.

When I went back to Connecticut and started working back there as a carpenter, I stated I was a member of the local here in Los Angeles and they just started to pick up my dues there. There was never any clearance as far as I know from the Connecticut local to the Pasadena local.

I was under pressure from the party to go completely underground. On the other hand, I was also being pressured by the FBI. They wanted me to continue my work and to accept, if possible, the underground assignment. The third element that I mentioned, of course, was the fact that I was engaged at that time. Marlene knew of my past activity since I had told her. I was really faced with 3 groups, you might say, or 2 groups and one individual, and, of course, Marlene voted against it. She didn't want this and the FBI was very understanding about it.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Was there any indication, in the feelers that were put out by the party about your going underground as to what your subsequent assignments would be?

Mr. RONSTADT. No, there wasn't any particular discussion on that.

The discussion went along this line, namely; that due to the build-up of pressure against the Communist Party in the United States, that we had to face the possibility of going underground, and that this would be really the beginning, or part of that movement.

I remember Seattle was mentioned, namely, that I would go to Seattle and that I would go underground there. Whether I would be sent from there to some other city, I do not know.

Mr. JOHANSEN. When you spoke of it being partly because of your working-class background, did that indicate or intimate to you that your assignment might be in the union field?

Mr. RONSTADT. Well, it could have been, but not necessarily in the union field. It would have been, I think, in any area where I could get a job without attracting any undue attention, and probably holding that job for a year or two.

Mr. DOYLE. You mentioned pressures put on you to go underground. From what level, what pressures—what do you mean by pressures?

Mr. RONSTADT. Well, by pressure—actually I received this from Dave Elbers, and it was a proposition that had been made to him to pass on to me. I was to think about it, and to make a decision. They wanted a decision within 3 or 4 weeks.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, from what level did that invitation come to Elbers for you?

Mr. RONSTADT. As far as I know, he had direct contact with the Central Committee.

Mr. DOYLE. Of the county or the State?

Mr. RONSTADT. I am not sure whether it was the county here or the State, or even if the county organization was aware of it.

Mr. DOYLE. Governor Tuck asked you what terminated your work. What did?

How did he get out entirely, is that what you mean?

Mr. TUCK. I was wondering whether or not these conflicting circumstances, which have been related, triggered your separation from the Communist Party.

Mr. RONSTADT. Well, part of it was the fact that:

First, I refused this assignment; that was part of it. Second, was the fact that I was working in a defense industry and that I might be subject to imprisonment. I kept bringing this up and, of course, one of the things was for me to leave that work and go some place else.

Mr. DOYLE. When did they discover that you were a phony Communist?

Mr. RONSTADT. I don't think that they ever really discovered that until probably January of this year when I started campaigning for Congress—I am running for Congress in the 27th Congressional District, and I felt that in order to let the people there know, and in order to avert, for instance, a last-minute accusation that I was a Communist, I felt that it would be wise to tell the various Democratic groups where I spoke some of my background. This I did, and one of the newspapers, unfortunately picked it up, and got the thing twisted.

In other words, they came out with a statement that Robert C. Ronstadt, former Communist, turned FBI informer—was running for Congress. Well, this created kind of a bad impression, so I turned around and I sued them.

So, as a result of this, I imagine that by now the party is well aware of my past activities; not only that, but a couple of days ago here, as a matter of fact, I guess it was, Monday or Tuesday—I believe, Tuesday afternoon, between 4:30 and 4:45, for instance, I received a threatening call, telling me not to appear down here as a witness.

Not only that, my brother at the campaign headquarters, received one yesterday, and when he told them that he wasn't Bob Ronstadt, evidently the person on the other side either didn't believe that he was not Bob Ronstadt, but at any rate, the person went on to tell him that they weren't fooling about the fact and for me not to appear down here.

Mr. DOYLE. That call was from a man or woman, did your brother say?

Mr. RONSTADT. The one that my brother received was from a man, and the one I received was also from a man.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, this is all that I desire to ask, but I do think the witness should be kept under subpena for his own protection.

Mr. DOYLE. Any objection to that by any member of the committee?

Mr. JOHANSEN. I certainly concur.

Mr. TUCK. I do, too.

Mr. DOYLE. Without objection, that will be the order.

Have you any questions, Mr. Johansen?

Mr. JOHANSEN. Let me say—off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. JOHANSEN. On the record.

Would you care to make any comment on the basis of your experience, actually your acquaintance with such a man as Frank Wilkinson, as to the——

* * * * * * *[12]

Mr. JOHANSEN. I'd like to have the record show that in my judgment, the service that you've rendered and the service of the type that you and others have rendered is of the greatest importance and the country is in your debt in my judgment.

Mr. RONSTADT. Thank you.

Mr. DOYLE. Governor Tuck, have you any questions?

Mr. TUCK. I have no questions.

Mr. DOYLE. I have no further questions.

You have heard Mr. Johansen on behalf of the committee, I want to thank you.

(Witness excused.)

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[12] Asterisks indicate deletions of testimony concerning Frank Wilkinson quoted in foregoing report.

APPENDIX

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE *May 3 1961*

pp. 6770, 6771

NATIONAL ABOLITION CAMPAIGN PROGRAM MARCH 1961–FEBRUARY 1962—PRELIMINARY RECOMMENDATIONS (DRAFT)

(Prepared by Frank Wilkinson, field representative, National Committee To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee)

PETITIONS TO CONGRESS

Previous petitions: It is proposed that the petition which appeared in the Washington Post, January 2, 1961, and New York Times, February 9, 1961, under the sponsorship of the Princeton Ad Hoc Committee, and which is now being printed by this committee as an 8½ by 11-inch booklet in newsprint, be distributed nationally in the greatest possible quantity. The ad hoc committee estimates that this can be purchased for $2 or less per 1,000, plus freight.

Circulation of new petitions: It is proposed that as many new petitions as possible be circularized throughout the country.

Content: In addition to petitions which call upon Congress to abolish the HUAC, it is proposed that the following petitionable proposals be considered: (a) Opposition to such new hearings as the HUAC may schedule; (b) opposition to all forms of governmental sponsorship of the HUAC-aided film "Operation Abolition"; (c) curbs on HUAC's appropriation; (d) other.

To whom: Depending upon subject matter of petition and geographical areas covered, it is proposed that petitions be directed to: (a) An individual congressman from the constituents of his congressional district; (b) all congressmen within a section, metropolitan area or State; (c) a general petition to the House of Representatives, addressed to the Speaker.

From whom: All possible groups of citizens should be urged to petition Congress, including: (a) Ministers and rabbis; (b) faculties; (c) student bodies; (d) union memberships; (e) political councils and clubs; (f) a cross section of prominent citizens in the community; (g) general public petitions.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

Educational meeting offense: It is proposed that abolition committees in all communities organize "town hall" types of public meetings where discussion and debate will stimulate interest in specific action projects to abolish the HUAC. Meetings of all kinds should be encouraged, including: (a) Neighborhood-home meetings; (b) congressional district meetings; (c) area-wide meetings; (d) church, synagogue, union, fraternal clubs; (e) other.

First amendment cases: There are approximately 45 persons in the country today who have various legal challenges of the authority of the HUAC and other inquisitorial committees of government pending before the courts. As these cases are proccessed through the courts, they become valuable focus points in the abolition campaign, providing an excellent opportunity for educational-protest meetings. Examples: (a) Dr. Willard Uphaus who has already served a year in prison rather than cooperate with a witch-hunting New Hampshire committee, has volunteered to speak across the country in behalf of campaigns to abolish all such committees; (b) Peter Seeger, nationally recognized and beloved folk artist, is scheduled to go on trial for his contempt of the HUAC sometime in March; he has agreed to accept invitations for public meetings in support of the abolition campaign during April and May—after his trial, and depending on his schedule openings (for further information, telephone Mrs. Toshi Seeger: Beacon, N.Y.—Beacon 2652). (c) For further information on other cases, write William Price, Coordinator, Committee of First Amendment Defendants, P.O. Box 564, Radio City Station, New York 19, N.Y.

EDUCATIONAL MEETINGS-DEFENSE

HUAC hearings—protest meetings: It is proposed that all future hearings called by the HUAC be countered by every possible, effective public demonstration, including public meetings. The newly formed Greater Washington (D.C.) Committee to Abolish the HUAC has offered to provide both housing accomodations and, where desirable, to organize public protest meetings and stimulate public attendance at hearings which the HUAC may schedule in Washington. Persons subpenaed to the Capital from distant cities should be honored by send-off and welcome-home rallies at airports. Those subpenaed from areas closer to Washington should be accompanied (by chartered bus, etc.) by those supporting the abolition of the HUAC.

Pro-HUAC meetings: Meetings called in support of the HUAC should be opposed by every effective means. The HUAC should be countered by public protest against each activity it initiates to perpetuate itself.

Due to the fact that the committee has issued such false, inflammatory literature, speeches and films to discredit its critics and, has repeatedly warned and forecast "violence" from its critics, it is extremely important that all aspects of the abolition campaign be planned with special care to achieve models of peaceful assembly; such planning should include written instructions on the best techniques and discipline for such demonstrations, advance notification of plans and fullest cooperation with police authorities, etc.

LITERATURE

Previously prepared literature available: (a) Washington Post-New York Times pe-

titions to Congress by Princeton Ad Hoc Committee: $2 per 1,000 or less, plus freight.

(b) "In Search of Truth," a student analysis of San Francisco demonstrations of May 1960: $2 per 1,000, plus freight.

(c) "Collection of Editorials and Resolutions in Opposition to the Un-American Activities Committee," now expanded by 25 additional pages, and to be increased and indexed as new materials become available: 25 cents each, plus postage. It is urged that a maximum number of copies be secured by every abolition committee for personal delivery to key community leadership.

(d) "Sounds of Protest"—12-inch, long-playing records of the San Francisco student demonstrations—prepared by and available through SLATE at the University of California at Berkeley: $2 each, plus postage.

(e) Summary of San Francisco student demonstrations, Congressman Roosevelt's historic April 25, 1960 speech, and supporting editorials, prepared by the United Electrical Workers (11 East 51st Street, New York City): $3 for tape recording; $3.50 for 12-inch, long playing.

NEW LITERATURE PROPOSED FOR PREPARATION AND/OR NOW AVAILABLE

(a) Summary of analyses and criticisms of HUAC-sponsored film "Operation Abolition," including Herblock cartoons; San Francisco News-Call Bulletin article, "The Truth About the San Francisco Riots"; the resolution of February 23, 1961, by the National Council of Churches of Christ of the United States, cautioning against film showing without presentation of factual data regarding the films admitted and alleged distortions; and, a montage of editorial criticisms from the following: The Christian Century; the Methodist's Concern, Marquis Childs; Paul Jacobs, the Washington Post, the Northern California Council of Churches, and other bay area critiques, etc. Price not determined; estimated at 3 cents to 5 cents each, plus postage (offset; 8½ by 11 inch three-fold booklet).

(b) National Council of Churches of Christ's February 23, 1961, resolution and "Some Facts and Some Comments" regarding "Operation Abolition," (37 pp.) available through NCCUSA, 475 Riverside Drive, New York City.

(c) "Curb the HUAC's Appropriations," the carefully documented, hard-hitting attack upon the HUAC's lack of legislative purpose or product, presented by Congressmen JAMES ROOSEVELT and WILLIAM FITTS RYAN before the House Administration Committee on February 21, 1961. Price not determined; estimated at $3 to $4 per 1,000, plus freight.

(d) "The Truth About the San Francisco Riots," a series of eight articles in the San Francisco News Call-Bulletin, available without charge by writing to the paper, San Francisco, Calif.

(e) "Collection of Cartoons in Opposition to the HUAC," proposed offset collection, similar to those presented in the "Collection of Editorials and Resolutions in Opposition to the HUAC" (see above). Price not determined; estimated 10 cents to 20 cents each, plus postage.

(f) "Facts Regarding the HUAC" proposed short history of the HUAC; a summary of the legal arguments supporting the unconstitutionality of the HUAC (Supreme Court decisions and dissents); and other critical facts regarding the mandate and practices of the HUAC. This type of literature has been requested by many student groups and others; a draft is being prepared for possible publication by the students and lawyers committees of the New York Council To Abolish the HUAC. Price undetermined.

(g) A new 12-inch LP recording of a summary of all materials now available in opposition to HUAC, presented in recorded form. This material has been tentatively suggested by a committee within the New York Council To Abolish HUAC.

(h) "A Collection of Editorials and Resolutions From Religious Leaders and Organizations in Opposition to the HUAC," proposed literature being considered by the Religious Freedom Committee, Inc. for distribution to churches and synagogue leaders. Price not determined.

Other program recommendations:

Student abolition committees: There are now abolition committees on a score or more college and university campuses. The NCAUAC will continue to provide literature, speakers and every other possible assistance requested by the various student groups. While the spontaneous nature of this student concern in the abolition of the HUAC is undoubtedly its most significant and valuable characteristic, it is important that the various student abolition groups find the means to coordinate their activities, exchange information of their experience, etc.

In this regard, student groups in Washington, D.C. have considered a national student conference on abolition of the HUAC; the New York Youth To Abolish the HUAC Committee is preparing a summary of known information regarding student activity in this field—for national distribution to student groups and editors; the National Student Association has conducted a 6-region, 100 college-university conference-discussion, which included a study of the HUAC; etc. The NCAUAC will continue to include editorials and resolutions from student groups in the "Collection of Editorials and Resolutions in Opposition to the HUAC."

Conventions: At all forthcoming conventions, conferences, seminars, etc. of church, labor and other organizations, special attention should be given by the abolition committees located in the areas where such meetings are scheduled to see that—(a) literature is made available; (b) speakers are made available if requested; and (c) resolutions in opposition to the HUAC are solicited.

The 1962 campaign to curb HUAC appropriations: Long-range plans should be borne in mind by all abolition committees to seek the maximum congressional vote in opposition to the HUAC appropriations for 1962. It is proposed that the NCAUAC should again establish a temporary Washington, D.C. office for this purpose in late December 1961 to February 1962.

National coordination, NCAUAC relations

to abolition committees:

Local abolition committees: It is proposed that as many local abolition committees as possible be established throughout the country—undertaking as much as possible of the above program recommendations. These committees may identify and coordinate their efforts as closely as they desire with the NCAUAC, still maintaining their autonomy for as flexible and independent a program as possible.

Regional coordination: To insure maximum efficiency and economy, it is proposed that the national abolition campaign undertake self-coordination by regions, as follows:

Atlantic coast: coordinating organization—New York Council to Abolish the HUAC, No. 442, 150 West 34th Street, New York City 1, PE 6-3228.

Mid West: coordinating organization—Chicago Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights, No. 811, 189 West Madison Street, Chicago 2, Ill., DE 2-7142.

Pacific coast: coordinating organization—Los Angeles Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, 617 N. Larchmont Blvd., Los Angeles 4, Calif., HO 2-1329.

NCAUAC activities:

The NCAUAC shall assist the national abolition campaign by providing the following:

(a) General coordination, in liaison with regional coordinating organizations, through correspondence, telephone (where essential) and travel. If manpower is available, two to four national coordinating trips should be undertaken. In addition, coordinating assistance should be encouraged from others in connection with their business and vacation travel throughout the year.

(b) Literature preparation: As indicated above, the NCAUAC should be responsible for the preparation or procurement of all literature needs of the national campaign. Local literature preparation to service local campaigns with local information is to be encouraged at all times; the Chicago and San Francisco committees have made outstanding contributions of this kind.

(c) National mailings: It is proposed that the NCAUAC maintain a national mailing list of 5,000 to 10,000, covering key national leaders and organizations—as well as key personnel in the various abolition committees. As circumstances require and material is available, it is proposed that NCAUAC undertake national mailings five or more times during the year to this list.

NCAUAC budget

PROPOSED EXPENSES

Item	Minimum	Maximum
Salaries	None	None
National trips, at $500 each	$1,000	$1,500
5 national mailings of 5,000 each:		
Postage	1,000	1,000
Printing	2,000	2,000
Special mailings (collections of editorials, resolutions, etc.)	----------	2,000
Long-distance phone calls, at $50 per month	•• 600	600
Washington, D.C., office 1962 appropriations:		
Rent, etc. (1 month, plus)	300	300
Travel and food (1 month, plus)	500	500
Stenographic services (part time)	----------	2,000
Stationery, postage, etc., at $50 per month	600	600
Total	6,000	10,500

PROPOSED SOURCE OF INCOME

Area	Minimum budget		Maximum budget	
	Year	Month	Year	Month
New York	$2,500	$205	$4,000	$330
Chicago	600	50	1,500	125
Washington, D.C.	600	50	1,500	125
Philadelphia	600	50	1,200	100
San Francisco	600	50	1,200	100
Miscellaneous [1]	1,100	90	1,100	90
Los Angeles	(2)	--------	(2)	--------
Total	6,000	--------	10,500	--------

[1] Massachusetts, New Jersey, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Missouri, Michigan, etc.

[2] Los Angeles pays salary of field representative.

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