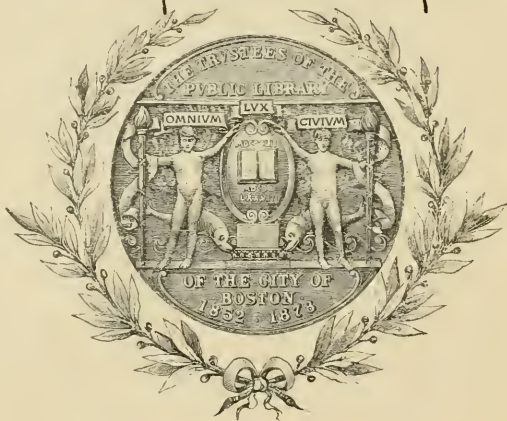




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**HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN LABOR UNIONS  
IN THE UNITED STATES**

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**HEARINGS**

BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES**

**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

**EIGHTIETH CONGRESS**

**FIRST SESSION**

---

**Public Law 601**

(Section 121, Subsection Q (2))

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**FEBRUARY 27; JULY 23, 24, AND 25, 1947**

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# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN LABOR UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1947

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

The record will show that the following members of the committee are present: Mr. McDowell, Mr. Nixon, Mr. Vail, Mr. Rankin, and Mr. Peterson.

Mr. RANKIN. And Mr. Thomas.

Staff members present: Mr. Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator and Mr. Louis J. Russell, investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Right after the organization meeting of this committee we announced an eight-point program to be followed as closely as possible by the committee over the coming year or two years. The second point in that program reads as follows:

To spotlight the sorry spectacle of having outright Communists controlling and dominating some of the most vital unions in American labor, unions which are now being used as Moscow pawns for ambitious and unscrupulous Communist leaders; this should also be the first order of business for the rank and file of labor for this type of leadership and exploitation can only destroy the labor movement.

Now, gentlemen, today we have the first step in that second plank. We have some witnesses from the Allis-Chalmers union. I would like to ask Mr. Stripling if all of the witnesses, either subpoenaed or requested to some here today, are present today.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, the committee had originally subpoenaed Mr. Joseph Julianelle, business agent of Local 203 of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America to be present. We also subpoenaed the president of that local, Mr. Beresick. Mr. Beresick and Mr. Julianelle have advised the committee by telegram, which I would like to read.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the local up in Bridgeport?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is right. [Reading:]

J. PARNELL THOMAS,

*Chairman, Un-American Activities Committee, Washington, D. C.*

Beg for relief from appearing before your committee on Thursday, February 27 because of superior court case involving us in Bridgeport. May we suggest another date at your earliest convenience.

JOSEPH JULIANELLE,  
*Business Agent Local 203, Bridgeport, Conn.*

Mr. Chairman, they have been tied up in litigation for approximately 2 weeks with the international. This local was suspended by the international after they had dismissed from the local union 26 alleged Communists, and there is a court fight going on now as to whether the international will assume administration of the local or whether it will remain in the hands of the local officers.

I would suggest that the committee consider hearing Mr. Julianelle and Mr. Beresick at a later date.

The CHAIRMAN. Unless there is any objection by the committee we will hear them at a later date.

Mr. RANKIN. What union is that unit affiliated with?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America. They are employees of the General Electric plant in Bridgeport.

Mr. RANKIN. That is the CIO?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We will hear them at a later date. You have other witnesses?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir.

Since April 29, 1946, Mr. Chairman, the members of Local 248, United Automobile Workers, CIO, employed at the Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co. at West Allis, Wis., have been out on strike. This strike is still in progress and there have been numerous charges that the strike was Communist-inspired, and that it has been prolonged through Communist influences within the leadership of the local.

The purpose of this hearing this morning is to receive testimony from employees and members of Local 248 concerning the Communist influences within the union.

The first witness will be Mr. Floyd Lucia.

Mr. PETERSON. Since what date was that?

Mr. STRIPLING. Since April 29, 1946.

Mr. RANKIN. The strike has been going on for 10 months?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. The first witness, Mr. Chairman, will be Mr. Floyd Lucia.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, can we be informed what the Allis-Chalmers Co. manufactures?

The CHAIRMAN. That will be done in the testimony.

Mr. RANKIN. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. We will swear the first witness.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

### TESTIMONY OF FLOYD D. LUCIA

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Lucia, will you state your full name and your present address?

Mr. LUCIA. My name is Floyd D.—Donald—Lucia, 411 North Twentieth Street, Milwaukee 3, Wis.

Mr. STRIPLING. Your last name is spelled L-u-c-i-a?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born, Mr. Lucia?

Mr. LUCIA. I was born June 24, 1907, in Milwaukee, Wis.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where are you presently employed?

Mr. LUCIA. I am employed at present at Allis-Chalmers in the electrical control division.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that located in West Allis, Wis.?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes, sir; that is at West Allis, Wis.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been employed at Allis-Chalmers?

Mr. LUCIA. Since June 18, 1941.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you a member of Local 248 of the United Automobile Workers, CIO?

Mr. LUCIA. As far as I know I am still a member; I haven't been cited for trial. I am also a member of the independent because I am in the plant working at present.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been a member of Local 248?

Mr. LUCIA. I joined Local 248 about May 1943. I am an accountant by profession and when I first started to work for Allis-Chalmers I went to work in the industrial tractor division, the sales division, which is up in the main office, as an accounting clerk. Three months later I transferred to work for which I received more money out in the shop.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present job in Allis-Chalmers?

Mr. LUCIA. Well, I do some assembly work, light assembly work.

Mr. STRIPLING. In what division of the plant?

Mr. LUCIA. In the Hawley plant.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Lucia, will you speak up as loud as you can, please?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever held any office in Local 248?

Mr. LUCIA. I held a minor position, as a group committeeman, from approximately February 1944 until February 22, 1946. I took care of the union needs of approximately 160 people—I believe it was around 180 people—in a small department, which is part of the mill shop at Allis-Chalmers. The main-line work is up on the top of the hill. This department is called the DE mill shop and was the beginning of a new endeavor on Allis-Chalmers' part to manufacture motor starters.

Mr. STRIPLING. What were your general duties as group committeeman?

Mr. LUCIA. Well, any time an employee felt aggrieved, due to personal dislike on the part of foremen, or felt his wages hadn't been increased, weren't high enough, that he hadn't received his regular wages—any sort of a grievance that arose in our small department, why, I was always called in on it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Since you have been a member of Local 248, have you ever observed any Communist influences within the union, either in the ranks or in the leadership of the union?

Mr. LUCIA. Well, you see, I went to work at Allis-Chalmers just prior to the time that America entered the war on December 7, 1941. After I became a union minor official—we were involved in this terrible war—and I didn't see any evidence at all over in DE mill shop of communism or Communist tactics. I never went to too many meetings until January 10, 1945. The present leadership of Local 248 sort of cracked down on those of us who didn't attend the joint council meetings and general membership meetings, and they made it a point of law in their local union, the bylaws were changed, so we had to

attend at least two meetings a month or we would be ousted as officials of the union.

Then I made it a point to appear at these meetings more often. I never actually heard any communistic utterances all the time America was in the war. I think it was just about 2 months prior to VE-day one of the stewards for the stores division, Mr. Casey Walker, asked for the floor, and he was all for calling an immediate strike; he wanted to call an immediate strike at Allis-Chalmers, and—this was just a couple of months before the war in Europe was over—on the grounds of wages alone. He wanted to call a strike.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt you there? Are you going to bring out, Mr. Stripling, what the Allis-Chalmers Co. manufactured during the war?

Mr. STRIPLING. I have a statement here, Mr. Chairman, which the committee requested from Allis-Chalmers Co. as to what they manufacture and as to the cost in man-hours, production, and so forth, of the strike. I can read it now or later.

The CHAIRMAN. You use your own judgment, but the witness brought out the fact that there was a demand for a strike 2 months before VE-day; is that correct?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes, sir. This was on one individual's part; he took it upon himself, I imagine, at the time. He probably was a so-called right-winger. Immediately after he got up and spoke about calling this strike, and gave his reasons for such, John Burja got the floor and—I since found out that he is a Communist—and he spoke at some length on our patriotism, that we were still in the war, that our allies, Russia, needed our aid, that we had to keep on working, and not talk about a strike.

He was followed by Mr. Fred McStroul, recording secretary of local 248, and the president of the union at that time, Robert Buse, and Herbert Nagi, bargaining committeeman, member of the executive board. All these men spoke very strenuously against the strike. Of course, there weren't so many of us there at the time that wanted to have a strike anyway. It was just this one employee's disgruntled attitude, because of his lack of wages, but it goes to show how the Communist minds were working at that time, because shortly after VJ-day, only 3 weeks after that, they started an awful lot of strike talk.

Then the war was over, Russia didn't need more aid, they started to distribute Communist literature at all of the meetings, at all the clubhouse meetings, they distributed it throughout the shops, through the medium of certain minor union officials.

I have certain samples of that type of literature here.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Lucia, we will get to that in a moment.

You stated that you were employed in the DE shop. What is the DE shop?

Mr. LUCIA. It was a new department started in an old-line shop. The mill shop itself manufactured flour milling equipment, very, very important equipment for the entire flour milling industry in the United States. In fact, I understand that it is so highly important that it held up the flour-making industry all over the country—due to this long strike. Over in one corner of the mill shop they started a new department in Allis-Chalmers to make motor starters.

This department, the nucleus of this department, was started with 10 old-time workers, who had been with the company for 10 or 15 years. The other 170 were all brand new, mostly young people, that first started to work for Allis-Chalmers in 1941, never had access to any Communist influence. Up until the time that this DE mill shop, of which I was a part, was transferred down to the electric control shop, there were none of us who ever came in close contact with the Communists at Allis-Chalmers.

But after we were transferred to the electric control shop down on Hawley Road, approximately six blocks away from the mill shop, and down at the bottom of the hill—two new plants were built on order of the United States Government, one plant is known as the Hawley plant and one is known as the electrical control plant. The Hawley plant was devoted exclusively to the Manhattan project.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you refer to the Manhattan project you are referring to the atomic bomb project?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you familiar, or has it been publicly stated as to the type of equipment which was being manufactured—

Mr. LUCIA. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. At the Hawley plant?

Mr. LUCIA. No. That has never leaked out. The newspaper stories were that it was part of the Manhattan project.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you familiar with any of the employees of the Hawley plant?

Mr. LUCIA. Well, one or two, slightly. One that I became acquainted with showed me—he had a nice little button, I guess it was given to him by the United States Government, showing he had worked on the Manhattan project.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know who the bargaining agent for the Hawley plant was?

Mr. LUCIA. The head—the executive board member and the present leadership at Allis-Chalmers, who was the chief bargaining agent for the Hawley plant, was Joseph Dombek, the present president of the Hawley plant. In July 1945 our entire department, 180 employees, with the machinery and equipment were moved down into the electrical control plant, and that was when I first became acquainted with communism in 248, because there was plenty of it prevalent down there.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you state to the committee what evidences of communism you came in contact with after your department was transferred down there?

The CHAIRMAN. Am I correct in interpreting the remarks that he was transferred down to the Hawley plant or a plant right next to the Hawley plant?

Mr. LUCIA. Right next to the Hawley plant. It is all one building, but during the war the building was split in half and actually walled off, but today the partitions have been taken down.

The CHAIRMAN. So the atomic bomb parts were made in the Hawley end of the building?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were in the same building, but—

Mr. LUCIA. In the electrical control building.

The CHAIRMAN. On the other side of the building.

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Getting back, Mr. Lucia, to Joseph Dombek, you said he was the bargaining agent. That doesn't necessarily mean that he was employed in the Hawley plant?

Mr. LUCIA. I don't believe he was employed in the Hawley plant at all. There were two stewards in the Hawley plant and several committeemen. I don't know them by name.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you give the committee any evidence that you might have or relate to them any contacts you had after you were transferred dealing with Communist influences in the Allis-Chalmers plant?

Mr. LUCIA. Shortly after we were transferred down to the electrical-control plant, these Communists in control down there called a meeting at the clubhouse, to which I was invited, and which consisted of Arne Hansen, who was the acting bargaining committeeman at that time for local 248, and an executive board member—he had taken Mr. Harold Christoffel's place on the executive board—he took Harold Christoffel's place after Christoffel went into the United States Army——

Mr. STRIPLING. Harold Christoffel was the president of local 248?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Until he went in the Army?

Mr. LUCIA. Then Robert Buse became——

Mr. STRIPLING. B-u-s-e?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes. He became president.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, when you name these people, if you will identify them so far as their official position in the union is concerned, the committee would appreciate it.

Mr. LUCIA. All right.

Arne Hansen technically was the steward of the electrical-control plant, but became bargaining committeeman and executive board member of local 248 after Harold Christoffel went into the Army.

William Ostovich, a group committeeman in division 16, electrical-control plant, also guide of local 248.

Robert Wartchow, a steward in DK department.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is the DK department?

Mr. LUCIA. That is the entire second floor, the electrical-control plant.

Owen Lambert, group committeeman.

Mr. STRIPLING. He held the same position——

Mr. LUCIA. That I did, in the same department. I might touch on that for a moment. I ran into an awful lot of disillusionment there in my first experience with communism. These people who had gone into the electrical-control plant with me were used to having their grievances settled in the first step. We didn't go into lengthy written agreements. I took things up with our immediate superior and it was either "yes" or "no."

This Owen Lambert, sometimes, when I was busy some of my people had occasion to call him in on grievances. I began to receive complaints about it. Different girls in our department would call me and ask me, "What is the idea. I call Owen Lambert in on a grievance, expecting to get a raise, or the right price on this job I am working on, and he talks to me hour on hour about joining the American Youth for Democracy, or he wants to sell me a subscription to the New Masses

or to In Fact, or the Daily Worker, and he gives me booklets to read, and we never get around to the handling of my grievance."

These people were not used to that kind of conversation. That is when I had my eyes opened and really started to investigate this thing. Some of the other men in this electrical control plant of the same ilk are: Max Maker, also a group committeeman; Samuel Guthrie, group committeeman; Harold Johnson; and Tavy Krisberg. All of these people were, apparently, members of the Communist Party and were openly engaged in party-line activity in our shop.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you acquire any evidence of a written nature concerning the Communist activities of which you speak on the part of any of these individuals?

Mr. LUCIA. Most of the evidence I acquired was after I came back into the shop on December 18, 1946.

In the meantime management had seen fit to change a lot of the departments around. The former department, DK department, was transferred into the Hawley plant. The Army released the Hawley plant from the Manhattan project and at present that is where I am, on the first floor of the Hawley plant, which formerly was the site of the Manhattan project.

When I came to work my superintendent took me to my place of work. There was two altogether different benches than I had used before, except that my equipment was all in place, on top of the benches, so I opened the drawer, there was no lock on the drawer, and it evidently had been the place of work and had been formerly assigned to Owen Lambert.

Mr. STRIPLING. Owen Lambert was a group committeeman as you were?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Approximately how many members did he represent as group committeeman?

Mr. LUCIA. A group committeeman is supposed to represent no more than 75, but when I was up in the DE mill shop I actually represented 180.

In the electrical control plant they stayed to the line. He represented 75 and I represented 75. It was all one department so we sort of took over each other's work whenever possible.

Mr. STRIPLING. Go right ahead, then.

Mr. LUCIA. I found some of this type of literature in my drawer (indicating). Being interested in exposing this communism I brought it along.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you find a receipt book of Owen Lambert there?

Mr. LUCIA. I found a receipt book in this drawer signed by Owen Lambert which shows that some of these receipts were made out when he would collect the \$1 dues he collected.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you read to the committee, go through the book and read each receipt?

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of a receipt book is it?

Mr. LUCIA. Just an ordinary receipt book that the man had for his own information. He was a union official. If somebody was not yet checked off and owed a dollar assessment or a dollar dues, why, he would collect for it and write it in this receipt book. He probably

<sup>1</sup> See appendix, p. 229, for exhibits 1-3, hearing, February 27, 1947.

<sup>2</sup> See appendix, p. 229, for exhibit 4, hearing, February 27, 1947.

would endeavor to get himself called in on a grievance so he could collect these moneys from the people and tender a receipt to them.

In an effort to prove that he was engaged in communistic activities—this book will prove that instead of taking care of his union duties, why, he was doing these other things.

August 1945 dues, this receipt says, \$1, Joseph Paul, signed by Owen Lambert.

The next receipt is made out to a girl employee there for 80 cents. It just says "for papers."

The next receipt is for papers.

The CHAIRMAN. What has that to do with Communist activities?

Mr. LUCIA. The next receipt, August 6, 1945, is for \$1 for an international assessment.

While he was taking care of his union work he collected the international assessment.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was \$1 the usual international assessment?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

The next receipt is for workers' papers.

The next is for workers' papers.

Workers' papers.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you think that he is referring to the Daily Worker?

Mr. LUCIA. It could be.

Mr. STRIPLING. Or the shop paper?

Mr. LUCIA. No; not the shop paper. The Daily Worker, I think it is—I am pretty sure.

This one here states 50 cents is received for the paper In Fact.

Mr. MUNDT. Is that George Seldes' paper?

Mr. LUCIA. That is correct; George Seldes.

Here is a receipt made out to Simon Rudy for \$5. It states "for a subscription to the New Masses."

At the time he talked to me about a subscription to the New Masses he told me it was \$1.50. This \$5, to my way of thinking, represents the initiation fee to the Communist Party itself.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever approached by anyone in the plant about joining the Communist Party?

Mr. LUCIA. No; I never actually was. I think they were a little afraid to ask me. I don't know why. There were a lot of others they did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you have a record of being anti-Communist?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. At the time you entered the union—

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. May I see the receipts?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes. [Handing paper to counsel.]

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever receive any complaint from any of the employees whom you represented as group committeemen concerning the solicitation of subscriptions for Communist publications—

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. On the part of Lambert?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes. They couldn't understand why he was allowed to get away with it. The people didn't like it at all. They couldn't understand why he was allowed to do it, but I guess—it was explained to them—

The CHAIRMAN. Louder, please.

Mr. LUCIA. I attempted to explain it to them, that the law was such that they actually couldn't do anything about it until they could prove that he was preaching Communist activities and endeavoring to get them to join the party, and so forth, and no one wanted to sign a statement to that effect, but several of them told me he had asked them to join the party, especially the girls, to become members of the American Youth for Democracy, and other such organizations.

Mr. STRIPLING. After you received your notice that you should attend the meetings more regularly, did you take an active part in the local's affairs?

Mr. LUCIA. I attended the meetings, and I listened. I actually didn't take an active part.

Mr. STRIPLING. At the meetings you attended were any resolutions ever introduced which would indicate to you that the top leadership of the union was seeking to follow the Communist Party line?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes. I would like to read an article which I wrote in June 1946 to the Journal. I asked them to publish it in their column From the People.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the Journal?

Mr. LUCIA. A newspaper in Wisconsin; Milwaukee.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did they publish it?

Mr. LUCIA. No; they didn't.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead and read it.

Mr. LUCIA (reading):

Three rousing cheers for the anonymous American who wrote that swell article about "ambitious labor leaders" at Allis-Chalmers.

I, more or less, answered another article. [Continuing:]

This handful of egotistic individualists have successfully promulgated through their "pressure group" methods and "packed" meetings the most unwarranted strike in State history.

It is time to call a halt on reckless action and careless thinking. This will not be easy, because the professional labor agitator and the alien Communist have the attention of many easily duped people today.

These peddlers of lies, half-truths, sedition, and anarchy are very clever and well organized, whereas those of us who believe in the American system—which has given to us the highest standards of living, the greatest luxury, and the most common comforts the world has ever known—are not organized. We may talk about the inability of someone to "do something" but we ourselves are to blame for our own lack of organization.

Cracker-box ballot boxes and a communistic election committee who make a pretense of counting the ballots behind the locked doors and sanctuary of the union's clubhouse with not even a union member allowed to observe or challenge the tabulation of the vote? This is democracy at local 248!

To one and all it must certainly be quite obvious by now that this type of "leadership" is primarily interested in self-glory and love to bask in the lime-light of newspaper notoriety. Every printed article mentions their names; and to their warped minds, this is a form of prestige which will eventually lead to national and international recognition, if you please, on the so-called labor front.

These strike leaders are not suffering any hardships out of the present situation but, rather, have "milked" the good businessmen and merchants of our community out of thousands of dollars in cash and commodities under the guise of donations for the rank-and-file membership. Ask any member you know who don't belong to the "select" group if he received any of this "charity." I didn't, and neither did any other loyal American worker. Nearly all of the officers of local 248 have outside income: they handle insurance, sell real estate, sell cars, operate taverns, gift shops, and hosiery stores, and one member of the bargaining committee is a State legislator with an annual income of more than \$1,700.

Are you burning a little, Joe American? Listen—this discrimination clause the union has argued for weeks about, demanding protection for race, creed, color, and political affiliations, means simply that contractually you and I couldn't call one of these "leaders" a "Communist" without fear of reprisal in the form of losing our jobs. This is America!

The clause in debate about check-off of dues and maintenance of membership means simply that if the company consents to this, all union members are subject to having all dues—fines—penalties—initiation fees—special assessments, etc., automatically deducted from our checks by the company and that as a condition of employment all rules of the union must be adhered to.

For example, you may be drummed out of the union and subsequently from your job at A. C. if you fail to vote "yes" for certain resolutions as per these two passed some months ago at a local 248 "packed meeting."

Now, these resolutions were read off by Mr. Fred McStroul, recording secretary.

A resolution asking that 248 send a telegram to President Truman demanding that the United States turn over the secret of atomic energy to Russia was passed.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that resolution?

Mr. LUCIA. That resolution asked that 248 go on record, the entire membership, and send a telegram to President Truman demanding that the United States turn over the secret of atomic energy to Russia. This was passed shortly after VJ-day. [Continuing:]

Another resolution asking President Truman to remove all United States armed forces from China and India was passed.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the vote on the first resolution?

Mr. LUCIA. Everybody voted "yes." I mean, down in one corner of the meeting hall—the hall is usually packed with these Communists and fellow travelers, and anybody that opposes them is usually booed down or they find some way to get them out. [Continuing:]

One brave soul, an American, I believe (for apparently there are so few left it really is hard to tell) got up and demanded that a telegram be sent to President Truman and that he request the Russian Government to remove all Russian troops from Iran. This resolution was immediately shouted down, and the only bright spot was that this courageous soul was allowed to escape this meeting with his life.

If it were only possible to hold a referendum vote on the right to strike or our right to change the "leadership" when it is proven they have misled us as in the present strike.

Votes should be deposited in ballot boxes of steel construction, properly padlocked, and stationed in the shops we work in and taken from thence directly to the police station or the courthouse, where the tabulation of the vote must be done by trustworthy persons chosen by lot from the roster of our own county election board. Then I am confident these forces of evil would be dethroned once and for all.

#### ANOTHER AMERICAN WHO DARE NOT SIGN HIS NAME.

Mr. STRIPLING. You say that was not published?

Mr. LUCIA. That was not published. This is the type of literature they passed out [indicating].

The CHAIRMAN. Before you go on, you made the statement that—in that article—that one could not call any of them a Communist without losing his job.

Mr. LUCIA. That is true. I can prove that by another—

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any instances where someone called them a Communist and they lost their job?

Mr. LUCIA. No. It came very close to it, though. When I was informed I was to be present here as a witness, I was given some voluntary statements from some people in the shops who wanted to testify in this matter by just sending a statement.

This is a statement from Frederick W. Lutz:

I, Frederick W. Lutz, was transferred from the mill shop in October 1945 to the electric control department. Was assigned to assembling converters. Owen Lambert, committeeman for local 248, was transferred to the same line about November 1945; in this way we were in close contact. The said Owen Lambert would average from 2 hours to 2 hours and 20 minutes per day in selling and advocating Communist papers, pamphlets, and books. Every week Owen Lambert would bring into the shop department a bundle of Daily Worker newspapers, to distribute to his customers. The bundles still had the shipping wrapper on. On this day he would not work on the line but insisted on sitting on a stool at a bench located on the aisle so that he could watch for his customers. He walked around the shop with various pamphlets sticking out of his shirt pocket and hip pockets—he never made any effort to conceal his activities. One day I remarked that United States of America trucks and cars saved Russia. Lambert said: "Oh, I don't know; they only got about 1,200." The next day he brought to me a Daily Worker to prove his point. The Daily Worker showed 378,000 autos, trucks, and cars—to Lambert this was only a slight difference.

Max Maker, also a committeeman, openly admitted that the Communists were in control of local 248. I heard him on two occasions.

Elmer Drichter, a deputy Committeeman, also appeared against me as a witness when 248 tried me for (as they stated) conduct unbecoming a union member. His testimony was that I said: "It's time we get rid of the Communists."

This man went to trial before the trial board committee of local 248 for using that phrase against them [continuing:]

Owen Lambert, Max Maker, plus the urging of Bill Ostervitch, preferred the union charges against me. The trial lasted 2 hours; about 1½ hours were spent in asking me what I thought about the Communists.

I was sentenced to read all the books in local 248 library, which I did not do as I was acquainted with many of the authors, who were Communists, plus \$5 fine for each regular meeting I did not attend. If my report to the secretary was not to his satisfaction, I would still be fined.

I have a couple of other real short ones [reading:]

During the month of October 1945, another girl and I had an occasion to call—

Mr. STRIPLING. Who is this making the statement?

Mr. LUCIA. Marion L. Heaney, 2906 South Wentworth Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Miss Heaney?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is she employed at Allis-Chalmers?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. In what division?

Mr. LUCIA. In the electric control plant, department 1211.

Mr. STRIPLING. Go right ahead.

Mr. LUCIA reading:

\* \* \* another girl and I had an occasion to call Owen Lambert on a grievance. Most of Lambert's conversation had to do with joining the American Youth for Democracy organization instead of our grievance. He gave me some literature, which I discarded because I believed the organization to be communistic.

" I have one from Joann A. Casler, 2041 West Wisconsin Avenue [reading:]

A one-time member of local 248, I have heard this remark that one member said to me: "I was born by Uncle Joe in Russia. Why didn't I stand by him?" He liked what 248 stood for. He hoped they would win out.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who is that written by? The one you are about to read?

Mr. LUCIA. This is the last one. Frederick W. Kluhsman.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Mr. Kluhsman?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is he employed in Allis-Chalmers?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Go right ahead.

Mr. LUCIA (reading) :

This is to state and certify that sometime during the month of April 1946 Samuel Guthrie, a coworker and former committeeman, did in my presence make the statement that he would refuse to fight for the United States in case we became involved in a war with Russia. Also, that on numerous occasions he brought the Daily Worker into the shop.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. Tell me, what job did this man Owen Lambert have in the plant other than spreading Communist gossip?

Mr. LUCIA. He was an incentive worker on piecework. It was his job to turn out as many pieces as he could, for himself and the war effort, and the company. His average rate, however, was 88 cents an hour, which proved that he was so lax on his job that he could only make that much, 88 cents an hour.

I brought along a sheet of paper showing my average rate, by way of comparison. It is \$2.21 an hour, on the same type of job. He could only make 88 cents an hour for himself.

Mr. MUNDT. He might have made some commissions from all these pamphlets?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. I notice he sold a great many subscriptions to the magazine called In Fact. Is that considered a Communist magazine?

Mr. LUCIA. I think it is. I never subscribed for any of these publications. I never authorized them to send them to me. I live in a large apartment house, and it is embarrassing for them to come to me in the mail. Yet I received In Fact, Research, American News; I get letters from the American League for American-Soviet Friendship.<sup>3</sup> I have never heard of many of them, I don't know what it is about.

Local 248 takes it upon itself to pay for these subscriptions, these pamphlets, and sends them to the members. We don't even solicit those magazines. It is just propaganda that they try to cram down the throats of the members.

Mr. MUNDT. Did they ever make a report to the membership as to how they are using the local?

Mr. LUCIA. No. You couldn't get a financial statement out of local 248 for the last 10 years. They never bring it up. If somebody on the floor brings it up they hush it up.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you finished, Mr. Mundt?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bonner.

Mr. BONNER. May I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. Those statements you read, are they in affidavit form?

Mr. LUCIA. No, sir. I didn't have time enough. Some of the people in the plant told me that they would draw up statements in affidavit form. This is just a plain piece of shop paper [indicating].

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Chairman——

<sup>3</sup> See appendix, p. 229, for exhibits 5-9, hearing, February 27, 1947.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. Is there more than one local involved in this long strike?

Mr. LUCIA. More than one local?

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes.

Mr. LUCIA. No; 248, that is all.

Mr. McDOWELL. Just one local?

Mr. LUCIA. Just 248.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you employed at Allis-Chalmers when local 248 went out on strike in April 1946?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you vote on the strike?

Mr. LUCIA. No. I ran for office against Wartchow in an effort to unseat the Communists——

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you spell that name, please?

Mr. LUCIA. W-a-r-t-c-h-o-w.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is his first name?

Mr. LUCIA. Robert.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was his position?

Mr. LUCIA. He was a steward.

Mr. STRIPLING. Steward in what division of the plant?

Mr. LUCIA. Electric control. I thought that if this right-wing element which I headed, consisting of myself, Mr. Jeff Wells, and Richard Jackson, if we could put ourselves in power in the electric control shop we could possibly frustrate this strike as far as the electric control division in the Hawley plant was concerned.

So I ran for office on the ticket against Robert Wartchow, and Jeff Wells ran for office on the ticket against Andrew Kopcha.

I thought we had provided for every emergency. I took a checking device with me, counted the people, number of ballots put in the boxes. I figured I had won by probably 90 or 100 votes. When the time for the polls to close, at 8 o'clock, came, these cracker boxes were taken up into Robert Buse's office, and I followed after the election commission, of which Owen Lambert was a member; I followed after them, went up into this room and sat down, and Lambert said, "What do you want in here?" And I said, "I came to watch the tabulation of the vote. I am a party to this; I am a candidate for election."

He said, "You can't watch the tabulation of the vote; we don't allow it."

I said, "What do you mean by 'you'?" John Burja said, "It is in the constitution." I had an international constitution and I demanded that he show it to me, and he couldn't find it and neither could Robert Buse. I was getting more angry, and I suppose I raised my voice, because I was warned a couple of times that I shouldn't get noisy or I would be ousted.

They told me it was somewhere in the local bylaws, and I demanded to see it. I guess they were stuck there; it probably wasn't in there either, but I was escorted out of this room and down the stairs.

Mr. McDOWELL. You say you were escorted from the room. Just what do you mean?

Mr. LUCIA. I was taken by the arms and escorted out of the room. Not too forcibly, but I knew what would happen if I didn't go on. I

was allowed, however, later on—Buse came downstairs and said, “You can send up your challengers now.”

This was an hour and 15 minutes; these fellows had 1 hour and 15 minutes after 8 o'clock to do something with the ballots.

My theory is that they took 101 ballots of mine out of the boxes and substituted others, and at the same time fixed up the poll list. They had plenty of time to work in.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was the vote tabulation? By how many were you defeated?

Mr. LUCIA. One hundred and fourteen votes.

The CHAIRMAN. You were defeated by 114 votes?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes. All I can go by is these rough figures. The election result was supposed to be published in the Wisconsin CIO News, but it never appeared. They had a little box in the Wisconsin CIO News where it said that the final results for the steward election of February 19 and 20, 1946, would be published in the following edition, but it never appeared.

Mr. McDOWELL. How many votes were cast and how many were entitled to vote?

Mr. LUCIA. They all voted. It was 362—I have here.

Mr. McDOWELL. How many were entitled to vote in the election?

Mr. LUCIA. Twelve hundred.

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bonner.

Mr. BONNER. How many people worked in Allis-Chalmers?

Mr. LUCIA. The entire empire, you mean, or just the West Allis workers?

Mr. BONNER. Local 248; what is the membership?

Mr. LUCIA. I believe 11,448 people belong to the bargaining unit—that is, production workers, that belong to the bargaining unit at West Allis.

Mr. BONNER. Is there that much of a membership in local 248?

Mr. LUCIA. No; the membership would be about 8,100.

Mr. BONNER. In 248?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. They bargain for the whole group at Allis-Chalmers?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. And only how many voted?

Mr. LUCIA. This is just one little division. There are 17 divisions. I was a member of division 16—just one portion of the shop. Their buildings are scattered all over.

The CHAIRMAN. You are just speaking for division 16?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Your knowledge is only of division 16?

Mr. LUCIA. Of the division in which I worked; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. BONNER. In division 16, how many employees are there?

Mr. LUCIA. I believe that I was given a short count in this election. In fact, the report was brought back to me—there is a tavern there, in Milwaukee, which I visited just a couple of weeks after the election, which is run by a former union steward—I came in there, ordered a drink, and this man said to me, “Lucia, I see they gave you a short count.” I said, “Where——”

Mr. BONNER. You didn't answer my question.

Mr. LUCIA. What was that?

Mr. BONNER. This division, how many employees are there in it?

Mr. LUCIA. Twelve hundred. I answer that.

Mr. BONNER. Excuse me. Twelve hundred in division 16?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes, sir.

Mr. BONNER. And they voted on you for the stewardship of 248?

Mr. LUCIA. No; 1,200 didn't show up to vote, there was only a little over 350; 362 went out to vote.

Local 248 has ways and means to bar you from voting. If you are not paid up on dues, or haven't paid your special assessment, or haven't contributed a dollar to the CIO—they have many ways.

Mr. BONNER. You don't have the check-off system?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes; we do.

Mr. BONNER. Don't they then check off the dues?

Mr. LUCIA. The dues are checked off, but not special assessments or contributions to the PAC.

Mr. BONNER. They are not checked off, then?

Mr. LUCIA. I don't understand.

Mr. BONNER. They are not checked off? Only the dues are checked off?

Mr. LUCIA. That is correct.

Mr. BONNER. And your bylaws prohibit one from participating in an election if he hasn't paid the assessments?

Mr. LUCIA. Well, I am not sure of that, but that is the way they—I am not sure.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not sure that that is in your bylaws, but that is the way they do it?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wood.

Mr. WOOD. Let me see if I understand you. Who passes on the qualifications of those who want to vote?

Mr. LUCIA. An election committee.

Mr. WOOD. And who appoints the election committee?

Mr. LUCIA. The election committee—they hold a mass meeting for the entire membership and they drag this mass meeting out. They start the meeting at 8 o'clock at night, and by 11 o'clock a lot of the business has taken place, and it drags on and on and on, and they always reserve the election of the election committee until the last, and the election committee chosen for this strike ballot in 1946 was chosen after 12 o'clock midnight, after nine-tenths of the people had gone home. The only ones left to vote were the members of the election committee themselves; they were there and chose themselves.

Mr. WOOD. So then nobody can vote except those whose qualifications are approved by this election committee; is that true?

Mr. LUCIA. That is true.

Mr. WOOD. And in this particular division that you speak of, 16——

Mr. LUCIA. Division 16; yes.

Mr. WOOD. Normally 1,200 employees, approximately, would be eligible to vote if they complied with the requirements?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes. In this instance there was a lack of interest, which had been true of the last two or three elections. In fact, 362 turning out was really a big turn-out for this election.

Mr. WOOD. How many more would, in your opinion, would there have been who could have turned out; in other words, that were qualified under the regulations laid down by the election committee, how many qualified?

Mr. LUCIA. About 400 more.

Mr. WOOD. About 750 out of 1,200 you think were qualified?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. That makes about 450 of the employees in the plant that belonged to this division 16 who were disqualified from voting by the election committee for one reason or another?

Mr. LUCIA. I believe so.

Mr. WOOD. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. Did the management of Allis-Chalmers Co. at any time remonstrate or attempt to discipline this gentleman for his activities among the employees?

Mr. LUCIA. Not to my knowledge, sir. I wondered as to the reasons.

Mr. VAIL. Was 88 cents an hour the day-work rate?

Mr. LUCIA. No; that was his incentive rate, because the union, if you please, made it a—I actually believe that they sabotaged the workers' wages all during the war. The union was responsible for the sabotaging of the American workers' wages during the war. We were instructed at meetings to not let anybody hand in over a dollar an hour, and the reasons were, the union reasons were, that that would break down the piece-work rate, the job would be retimed, and cut to such an extent that you couldn't make any more money, if you didn't hold back and not hand in \$2 an hour, but hold it down to a dollar an hour.

The way I see it now they did it that way just so that the worker would always be a slave to his union officials—be so disgruntled that he would have to turn to the union officials for aid and guidance.

Mr. VAIL. The foreman of the department was not a member of the union, was he?

Mr. LUCIA. No.

Mr. VAIL. Wouldn't he take note of the discrepancy between your wages and this other man's wages on the same job?

Mr. LUCIA. This man was on the same type work, assembly, but it wasn't the same job.

Mr. VAIL. He had the opportunity of reaching the same earnings that you had?

Mr. LUCIA. I would say so; yes. I had no difficulty in making \$2.21 an hour.

Mr. VAIL. To your knowledge, there was no action taken by the foreman on the lack of production of Lambert?

Mr. LUCIA. No, sir; not to my knowledge.

Mr. VAIL. In other words, he was permitted by management to pursue his activities without any disciplinary measures being taken; is that it?

Mr. LUCIA. That is correct.

Mr. VAIL. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. I recall during the Seventy-ninth Congress, Members of the House received a great many communications from different people about the Allis-Chalmers strike. The burden of those com-

munications always ran to the point that the Government should take over the plant. Would that have been in accordance with the desires of the Communist leaders that called the strike or would that have been against those desires?

Mr. LUCIA. That would have been in accordance with their desires, but not with the desires of myself and the rest of the right-wingers, because we felt we could handle the local situation. We understood the situation, and we knew that people as far away as Washington, them trying to run our affairs, they might lean a little bit in this direction or that direction, and we thought we could handle the situation.

Mr. MUNDT. In other words, you believe that the strike leaders—

Mr. LUCIA. The strike leaders wanted Government intervention.

Mr. MUNDT. Wanted the Government to take over the plant?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes, sir. But the membership did not. It was just the strike leaders themselves.

Mr. MUNDT. It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, it would be interesting, if we had the time, to find out how that objective of the Communist strikers was pipe-lined out through the country and back to Washington, for one great common cause, that the thing to do was to take over the plant.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, this time I would like to read into the record the statement from Allis-Chalmers Co. as to the cost of the strike. This statement was requested by the committee from the president of Allis-Chalmers:

The Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co. is one of the largest manufacturers of electrical and mechanical power equipment and one of the world's foremost producers of mining, flour milling, sawmill and processing equipment. It is also a leader in the farm equipment field and in the construction machinery field. Through many years of engineering research, development, and experience the company has the technical knowledge and tools necessary to produce machinery required by basic industries throughout the Nation and the world.

The strike at the West Allis Works, declared April 29, 1946, by Local 248, UAW-CIO has had a direct and pronounced effect on the economy of the entire Nation. Many orders for equipment essential to the safety, health, welfare, and prosperity of a large number of the Nation's people have been delayed because of this strike.

Mining equipment used for refining, selecting, separating, sorting, and melting mineral ores, electrical generating, distribution, and transmission equipment to provide electric power for new homes, hospitals, and industries, production machinery for steel mills to produce steel sheets for refrigerators and automobiles, farm equipment to raise more food for home consumption and for starving millions overseas, road-building equipment, heavy tractors to haul logs from forests, and many other products all necessary to the Nation's economy have been delayed by the present strike.

During the period of May 1, 1946, to February 8, 1947, there has been an approximate total of 14,649,688 man-hours lost resulting in a loss of wages totaling approximately \$18,240,000.

The backlog of orders in the general machinery division has been steadily increasing with an approximate value of \$82,031,903, as of January 31, 1947. With the present personnel in the shops production cannot begin to meet this staggering figure. The chart (6087) of shipments and backlogs of orders for general machinery division shows an increase of orders received from \$37,987,863 to a total of \$82,031,903, whereas the actual shipment of materials dropped from \$3,868,836 in January 1946 to \$1,956,257 for January 1947. Over 50 percent of the annual shipments were made in the first 4 months of 1946. During May 1946 there were no shipments from the West Allis works. It is estimated that the loss to the general machinery division, West Allis works, will amount to approximately 45 to 50 million dollars, assuming there had been no delay caused by material shortages or strikes.

It is estimated that the loss in farm-tractor production at the West Allis works for the year 1946 amounts to approximately 25 to 30 million dollars.

There follows several tabulations which I will ask to be included in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

*Estimate of strike costs—general*<sup>1</sup>

|                                                                     |                |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| Company book loss—first 3 quarters of 1946                          | \$17, 000, 000 |
| Income tax to West Allis                                            | 287, 590       |
| Milwaukee County tax loss (refund from State)                       | 64, 021        |
| Salaries for sheriff deputies assigned to picket lines              | 20, 000        |
| Salaries for Milwaukee police assigned to picket lines              | 17, 000        |
| Overtime for Milwaukee police assigned to picket lines              | 7, 400         |
| Salaries for West Allis police on strike duty                       | 19, 800        |
| Salaries for 30 temporary officers on strike duty                   | 10, 000        |
| Hospitalization for police, losses, and other damage on picket line | 3, 000         |
| County assistance to families of strikers                           | 40, 700        |
| Vandalism to homes and automobiles                                  | 15, 000        |
| Estimate of loss in wages from company to employees on strike       | 18, 240, 000   |
| Total                                                               | 35, 724, 511   |

Estimated loss in production:

|                            |                               |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| General machinery division | \$45, 000, 000—\$50, 000, 000 |
| Tractor division           | 25, 000, 000— 30, 000, 000    |

<sup>1</sup> Taken from Chicago Tribune as of Jan. 3, 1947.

*General machinery division, West Allis works*

| Date             | Backlog        | Shipments     | Date         | Backlog      | Shipments   |
|------------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| January 1946     | \$37, 987, 863 | \$3, 868, 836 | August       | 60, 823, 348 | 644, 560    |
| February         | 39, 561, 317   | 2, 320, 507   | September    | 66, 897, 107 | 980, 913    |
| March            | 41, 279, 877   | 2, 528, 487   | October      | 71, 610, 519 | 1, 910, 383 |
| April            | 44, 888, 399   | 3, 590, 252   | November     | 75, 673, 653 | 1, 946, 691 |
| May <sup>1</sup> |                | 0             | December     | 78, 656, 574 | 2, 063, 697 |
| June             | 50, 266, 112   | 1, 176, 020   | January 1947 | 82, 091, 903 | 1, 956, 257 |
| July             | 56, 440, 951   | 816, 055      |              |              |             |

<sup>1</sup> No orders entered.

*Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co.—West Allis works*

| 1946     | Estimated net sales billed | Estimated unfilled orders end of month | 1946      | Estimated net sales billed | Estimated unfilled orders end of month |
|----------|----------------------------|----------------------------------------|-----------|----------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| January  | \$3, 867, 600              | \$35, 400, 060                         | July      | 1, 624, 000                | 51, 200, 000                           |
| February | 4, 937, 000                | 37, 400, 600                           | August    | 1, 223, 000                | 56, 000, 000                           |
| March    | 4, 540, 000                | 39, 100, 000                           | September | 1, 511, 000                | 62, 600, 000                           |
| April    | 6, 973, 000                | 39, 800, 000                           | October   | 1, 931, 000                | 68, 700, 000                           |
| May      | 4, 913, 000                | 40, 600, 000                           | November  | 3, 280, 000                | 74, 200, 000                           |
| June     | 4, 651, 000                | 44, 100, 000                           | December  | 5, 608, 000                | 74, 200, 000                           |

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bonner.

Mr. BONNER. Let me ask just one question. You are a member of the CIO?

Mr. LUCIA. Sir?

Mr. BONNER. You are a member of the CIO?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes. I haven't been ousted yet.

Mr. BONNER. That isn't what I am going to ask you about.

Mr. LUCIA. I am, I mean.

Mr. BONNER. You are aware of the fact that the Congress is shortly going to vote on a lot of labor legislation?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. Are you going to leave me with the impression that out of 1,200 people that belonged to a union, from what I can gather about 6 or 8 people control the welfare of that 1,200, and their privileges and rights, and that with that condition existing in this local 248, subdivision 16, that you have no appeal to the national organization of the CIO union to correct this evil that exists there, and that they won't pay any attention to it and correct it? That is the impression you have left with me. What is your answer to that?

Mr. LUCIA. I was just a minor official. I took no steps to contact with Reuther or the international—

Mr. BONNER. No. Answer my question.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bonner, let the witness answer.

Mr. LUCIA. I am attempting to answer it. That is the only way I can answer. I made no attempt to contact the international organization, but I believe that Mr. Venne did, and when he takes the stand your question will be answered from him. I made no attempt to contact the international.

Mr. BONNER. But you are a leader in this organization, you put yourself up as a candidate, and you have told us that you didn't get the proper treatment; and that the election was stolen from you. So certainly you had an appeal to the heads of the national organization.

Mr. LUCIA. Oh, I see what you mean. For security reasons, for fear of reprisals, I kept my mouth shut. I washed my hands of it. I became disgusted. After all, I have a wife and family. For fear of reprisals I took no further action.

Besides, I couldn't actually prove it. It was my own theory on the subject.

Mr. BONNER. You couldn't actually prove it, but you stated this condition existed and you stated you went up to see the ballots counted and you were ejected. Is that a general condition in elections throughout the Nation with respect to these things?

Mr. LUCIA. I wouldn't know.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think the witness knows.

Mr. BONNER. He is pretty well up on this because he is a leader of this organization.

Mr. LUCIA. What was your question again?

Mr. BONNER. Read it.

(Record read.)

Mr. LUCIA. I wouldn't know.

Mr. BONNER. But it is a fact that you made no appeal, for fear that something would happen to you personally, or to your family?

Mr. LUCIA. That is correct.

Mr. BONNER. From the present leadership of this 248 or division 16.

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. You said there were 300, I believe, that voted, three-hundred-and-some that voted. How many people were in that room when the ballots were being counted?

Mr. LUCIA. The only person that were in the room when the ballots were being counted were the members of the election committee and the only two members of the election committee that I remember were Owen Lambert and John Burja.

Mr. BONNER. How many people were there?

Mr. LUCIA. About eight.

Mr. BONNER. Do you mean, then, that out of this number of 1,200 people—do you mean that those 1,200 are living in peonage to those 8? That is what you have said.

Mr. LUCIA. Well, 1,200 people, there never were 1,200 people who took a personal interest in that election, because it was becoming a joke.

Mr. BONNER. That is what I am coming to. You have led me to believe that these 1,200 people had been so subjugated by fear that they merely let their dues be checked off but didn't participate in any of the affairs of the union?

Mr. LUCIA. That is right.

Mr. BONNER. That is a pretty bad condition. That is just what is causing all this uproar in this country against organized labor.

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask one question right there. What is your estimate as to the number of Communists in 248 or Communist followers in 248? Just an estimate.

Mr. LUCIA. Over 50—not over 50.

The CHAIRMAN. Not over 50?

Mr. LUCIA. I would say there are not over 25 Communists and not over 25 fellow travelers, and the rest of the people that comprise this so-called goon squad or flying squadron they use during strikes are just dupes or paid strong-arm men, that they have paid \$5 a day.

The CHAIRMAN. And you also state that those 50 Communists or Communist followers dominate the union, dominate 248?

Mr. LUCIA. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. I would like to say to Mr. Bonner that this story the witness has told here is an old familiar story to me. I cannot speak for all of the Nation, but in my part of the country, Pittsburgh, there are many unions, and many of them operate under this same general plan, the plan that has been outlined here. Not all, but many.

Mr. BONNER. I appreciate what you have said, but it still remains that the national leaders of the CIO are more interested in these 50 which it has been stated are Communists workers out there than they are out there in the remaining 1,150.

Mr. LUCIA. I wouldn't say that myself, personally, because I don't know.

Mr. BONNER. They could go in and clear the situation up.

Mr. LUCIA. There seems to be a factional dispute there between the national leaders of the CIO, Thomas on one side, and Reuther on the other. I only know what I read in the papers about that sort of thing. I have never had correspondence with either one of them.

Mr. BONNER. You have painted a very sorry picture for the leadership of organized labor.

The CHAIRMAN. I think at this point we ought to place in the record a list which is in line with what was mentioned earlier in the meeting. It is a list of the backlog value of products in the General Machinery Division—and that is the division you are in, the general machinery division?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. As of February 14, 1947, the West Allis Works—that is where you are, isn't it, the West Allis Works?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We will put this list in the record showing the backlog value of products.

It includes a value of over \$10,000,000 on large transformer and feeder voltage regulators, used in public utilities; over \$15,000,000 in large motors and generators, used in steel mills producing steel sheets, mining, milling, and chemical; and over \$11,000,000 in steam turbines, used in general use for power in all types of industry; also over \$12,000,000 in crushing, cement, and mining-machinery equipment, used in the mining of all minerals and metals, including coal, iron ore, copper, and so forth; the total value of the backlog orders amounts to over \$68,000,000 in one division.

Unless there is objection, we will put this complete list in the record at this point.

Mr. RANKIN. Does that list include transformers?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, "large transformers."

Mr. RANKIN. Does it say anything about small transformers?

The CHAIRMAN. "Large transformer and feeder voltage regulators."

Mr. RANKIN. The reason I ask is that the rural electric program has been paralyzed for want of transformers. I wrote to all the transformer manufacturers and they all came back and said that the shortage was caused because of strikes in the various enterprises that produce the strategic materials that go into the transformers, and mentioned particularly the Allis-Chalmers strike, said that Allis-Chalmers manufactures transformers.

I wanted to know if they manufactured the large transformers that you use for large industries and municipalities and whether they also manufactured the small transformers used on power lines.

The CHAIRMAN. This says that this is a "partial list."

Mr. RANKIN. I see.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, is there any objection to putting this list in the record at this point?

Mr. RANKIN. I have no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be put in the record at this point.

(The tabulation referred to is as follows:)

*Backlog value of products in the general machinery division as of Feb. 14, 1947—West Allis works (partial list)*

| Product                                           | Type of industry                                                                                                      | Value        |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| Large transformer and feeder voltage regulators.  | Public utilities.                                                                                                     | \$10,710,251 |
| Switchgear.                                       | Public utilities, automotive, metal, etc.                                                                             | 5,175,401    |
| Large motors and generators.                      | Steel mills producing steel sheets, mining, milling, and chemical.                                                    | 15,344,540   |
| Electric control equipment.                       | Locomotive producers, steel mills, producing steel sheets, mining, milling, and chemical.                             | 4,934,774    |
| Mercury arc rectifiers welding equipment          | Public utilities, metal processing such as aluminum, magnesium, etc., general industrial use, light metal industries. | 457,000      |
| Induction heating equipment.                      |                                                                                                                       |              |
| Steam turbine.                                    | General use for power in all types of industry                                                                        | 11,575,552   |
| Turbo blowers and rotary compressors.             | Iron and steel foundries, oil refineries.                                                                             | 1,500,000    |
| Steam condensers.                                 | Public utilities.                                                                                                     | 4,195,000    |
| Centrifugal pumps.                                | Public works, food processing, paper.                                                                                 | 2,746,987    |
| Crushing, cement, and mining machinery equipment. | Mining of all minerals and metals, including coal, iron ore, copper, etc., production of sand, gravel, and cement.    | 12,501,163   |
| Grain milling equipment.                          | Flour.                                                                                                                | 4,024,000    |
| Saw and pulp mill equipment.                      | Lumber and cellulose products, paper.                                                                                 | 819,000      |
| Chemical processing machinery.                    | Vegetable oil and fat extraction.                                                                                     | 821,779      |
| Hydraulic turbines.                               | Production of electric power.                                                                                         | 5,752,000    |
| Water conditioning and purification equipment.    | Used in all types of industries.                                                                                      | 471,501      |
| Total.                                            |                                                                                                                       | \$68,527,785 |

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wood.

Mr. WOOD. I am intrigued with this election machinery. I want to see if I understand it correctly. As I get it from your testimony, initially you have a mass meeting of your particular division, this local, in division 16, to which you belong, and the practice has been to wait until all the other business is disposed of, and until, I believe you said, after midnight, when the subject of selecting the committee to conduct or hold or supervise the election, known as the election committee, is selected; am I correct in that?

Mr. LUCIA. That is correct.

Mr. WOOD. That committee, in your particular division, is comprised of how many people?

Mr. LUCIA. Well, you misunderstood. When I was speaking about this election committee, that is the election committee that is chosen for the entire thing.

Mr. WOOD. And how many are on that committee?

Mr. LUCIA. I don't know the exact number. When Mr. Venne takes the stand—he has all those facts and he is going to tell you about those things.

Mr. WOOD. When that committee is set up, then—let me ask you first. The day that you held the election in your particular division, where you say you were a candidate for the position of steward, did they have simultaneous elections in the other divisions?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes; all 17 divisions, and they were counting the ballots from all of these boxes.

Mr. WOOD. Was the election held in one place?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes; at the union hall.

Mr. WOOD. The union hall?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. And those that belonged to your division voted in one box?

Mr. LUCIA. One box, division 16.

Mr. WOOD. Each other division had a separate box?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. And your box was manned by how many people?

Mr. LUCIA. There wasn't a separate box for each division; divisions 1, 2, 3, 4 would deposit their ballots in one box. There were actually only four boxes to the best of my recollection. When they got down to our division there were five divisions voting in this one box. There was no way for me to tell which of those ballots were for division 16 and which for division 17.

Mr. WOOD. Was there any way for anybody to tell?

Mr. LUCIA. It was marked on the ballots by the names of the candidates.

Mr. WOOD. I see.

Mr. LUCIA. I have a sample ballot.

Mr. WOOD. When they took these ballots after the election closed they took them into some room?

Mr. LUCIA. Took them up to the local's office, upstairs, from downstairs in the main hall they took them upstairs to the office.

Mr. WOOD. When you went up there to request permission to see the count, were there any other candidates for office in any of the divisions there except you?

Mr. LUCIA. There were various other candidates for bargaining committeemen and executive officers, on the executive board, they were present, but nobody told them to leave, I was the only one who was asked to leave, because I couldn't be present during the—I had neglected to have someone declare me as a challenger for someone else. Under those conditions they informed me later that I could have been present, but they never brought that up at the meeting prior to the election, that any candidate for office could also be a challenger for somebody else. I have a sample ballot here.

Mr. WOOD. Was the vote counted while you were there; were any of the ballots counted while you were present?

Mr. LUCIA. No.

Mr. WOOD. None?

Mr. LUCIA. They didn't allow me there during the tabulation, but I managed to get a challenger in there later on, at 11 o'clock at night.

Mr. WOOD. What time did they finish counting the votes?

Mr. LUCIA. I don't know. I only stayed long enough to find out that I was beaten and then I left.

Mr. WOOD. I believe that you say more than 2 hours elapsed from the time the ballots were taken before they began to count them?

Mr. LUCIA. One hour and 15 minutes.

Mr. WOOD. During this 1 hour and 15 minutes who was present in that room?

Mr. LUCIA. The election committee.

Mr. WOOD. And only the election committee?

Mr. LUCIA. Only the members of the election committee; that is all.

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bonner.

Mr. BONNER. How many similar voting places were there?

Mr. LUCIA. How many similar voting places?

Mr. BONNER. Yes.

Mr. LUCIA. This entire election was held at the clubhouse, 8111 West Greenfield Avenue.

Mr. BONNER. They all voted in that one place?

Mr. LUCIA. That is correct.

Mr. BONNER. At the same time over in other areas there were elections going on; weren't there?

Mr. LUCIA. They all voted on the main floor. At the conclusion of the election the boxes were taken upstairs to be counted.

Mr. BONNER. You said the "boxes"—plural?

Mr. LUCIA. Four.

Mr. BONNER. But there were elections going on at the different places or intervals during that period of time that affected the whole Allis-Chalmers organization?

Mr. LUCIA. In other cities, you mean?

Mr. BONNER. No; in the whole locality.

Mr. LUCIA. No; that was the entire election for offices of local 248, of February 19 and 20, 1946.

Mr. BONNER. How many people does Allis-Chalmers employ everywhere—all of the various plants?

Mr. LUCIA. Oh, I guess there is 13—I don't know.

Mr. BONNER. Are they scattered all through the country?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes; I guess in eight or nine different cities in the United States.

Mr. BONNER. In this one vicinity in which you live, they all belong to 248?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes; 13 or 14 thousand are probably employed.

Mr. BONNER. Do you know whether elections elsewhere are conducted in a similar manner to the elections you have knowledge of?

Mr. LUCIA. I do not.

Mr. BONNER. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. Have you appeared before the Committee on Education and Labor?

Mr. LUCIA. No.

Mr. RANKIN. Have the men with you appeared before that committee?

Mr. LUCIA. I can't answer for them, sir; I don't know.

Mr. RANKIN. Your contention is that the union is Communist-dominated; is that your contention?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. It is Communist-dominated?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. Your contention is that the vast majority of the men have no voice in the affairs of the union?

Mr. LUCIA. That is correct.

Mr. RANKIN. Now, can you give us the names of those Communists—leading Communists?

The CHAIRMAN. I might state that while you were out, Mr. Rankin, a good many were put in the record.

Mr. RANKIN. That is all right.

You don't know whether these other Allis-Chalmers plants manufacture small transformers; do you?

Mr. LUCIA. I don't know, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I was unavoidably absent and missed most of the questioning, but I presume that all of the questions I would care to ask have been asked.

Mr. NIXON. I have one question.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. You have made statements about what would happen to you if you crossed your union leaders. One statement you made was that you were escorted from the room and you said that you went willingly because you knew what would happen if you didn't go willingly. A little later on when Mr. Bonner asked you why you didn't appeal the election, you said, "I have got a wife and family."

Now, have you ever been beaten up by any of these union people?

Mr. LUCIA. No.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know of anybody who has been?

Mr. LUCIA. Well, I don't know any of these fellows personally, but the papers have been full of it during the long strike. Right now there is a lot of violence taking place in this recent strike, and there were two other strikes in the last 10 years, and in each there was almost unlimited violence.

Mr. NIXON. Who has been beaten up? I mean, union members?

Mr. LUCIA. Union members who went back to work.

Mr. NIXON. That is one case. A union member goes back to work, he crosses the picket line. Do you have any instances of cases where union members disagreed with their leaders on an election or where they wanted to be in the room when ballots were counted? Why were you afraid to stay around?

Mr. LUCIA. Because of what the old-timers told me. I was comparatively a newcomer; never was a union member in my life until 1943. When Mr. Venne and Mr. Peterson take the stand they will tell you about those things.

Mr. NIXON. What would have happened to you had you stayed around?

Mr. LUCIA. I don't know. I probably would have been beaten if I didn't go out quietly. I imagine I would have been, because that took place in previous elections in the previous years.

The CHAIRMAN. May I call attention, Mr. Nixon, to a statement which is put out by the management dated February 20, 1947. It shows that they spent \$3,000 for hospitalization for police alone.

Mr. BONNER. Do you mean the policemen were beaten up?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Then I have many pictures here which I would like to have the members of the committee look at, showing the violence at this particular plant.

Mr. NIXON. The point I was making—

Mr. LUCIA. I know how to answer your question now; I have gathered my thoughts together. Just prior to the 1946 strike, probably only 2 months before that, in an effort, in a rabble-rousing effort, to arouse the membership into a strike mood, they had a meeting at the local clubhouse, with approximately 200 people there. Robert Buse, the president of local 248 brought forth several reels of film that he stated had been buried all these years since the 1941 strike, and he said the police department of the city of Milwaukee and the police department of West Allis would be glad to see them, but he said they were going back into hiding, and they were pictures taken by union officials during that strike.

In most instances, it showed policemen being beaten, hit with rocks and clubs and stones. He just kept on with a running fire of comment. He did the commenting while the pictures were being shown.

Mr. NIXON. The point I am particularly interested in is—

Mr. LUCIA. He seemed to revel in forceful methods used at that time.

Mr. NIXON. Policemen are beaten, company representatives are beaten, but I think the committee is interested also in what would happen to the rank and file members of the same union in the event they cross their leaders.

Mr. LUCIA. We will know more about that after we get back to town I imagine it will be pretty rough.

Mr. NIXON. Would you say, then, that the great majority of the members of the union who are not in the inner circle are afraid to come out and say anything against the leaders?

Mr. LUCIA. Emphatically, yes.

Mr. NIXON. Physically afraid?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes. They fear violence to themselves or their families.

Mr. NIXON. They fear violence to themselves or families?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bonner.

Mr. BONNER. You have a closed shop?

Mr. LUCIA. No closed shop.

Mr. BONNER. I thought you had the check-off system.

Mr. LUCIA. That is not a closed shop.

Mr. BONNER. It is not a closed shop. You can work in there without belonging to the union?

Mr. LUCIA. That is correct.

Mr. BONNER. If you don't have a closed shop you have a closed election—closed shop election.

Mr. LUCIA. That is correct.

Mr. BONNER. The members have the privilege of voting, but you have led me to believe that they fear to avail themselves of that privilege.

Mr. LUCIA. Well, in what way have I led you to believe that we fear to avail ourselves of the privilege?

Mr. BONNER. You said only 362 voted.

Mr. LUCIA. I am just citing a little minor incident in one end of the plant. At that election, probably—I don't know how many—probably about six or seven thousand votes were cast. I am speaking of my own individual effort to become a steward in one end of the shop, in one division, and I told you how the votes were cast.

Mr. BONNER. Six or seven thousand votes put in this one box?

Mr. LUCIA. No; in four different boxes.

Mr. BONNER. I asked you how many other localities they were voting in, and how many different boxes there were.

Mr. LUCIA. I told you there were four.

Mr. BONNER. The same hall, but four different boxes?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. On the same table?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. They took all four boxes up, and you say eight men counted the votes?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. In a closed room?

Mr. LUCIA. That is right.

Mr. BONNER. Without checkers?

Mr. LUCIA. They allowed my challenger to come in after 9:15.

Mr. BONNER. After the ballots were counted?

Mr. LUCIA. One hour and fifteen minutes after the boxes were taken into this office to be tabulated, they allowed my challenger in.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling, go ahead with the questioning.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Lucia, at the time the strike began in April 1946, was Harold Christoffel the honorary president?

Mr. LUCIA. He was.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was Robert Buse the president?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was Joseph Dombek the vice president?

Mr. LUCIA. He had just been elected vice president.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was Linus Lindberg the financial secretary?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was Fred McStroul the recording secretary?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you familiar with the members of the bargaining committee?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was Charles Fisher a member?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. John Kennedy?

Mr. LUCIA. Right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Arne Hansen?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Herbert Nagi?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. John Kaslow?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Alfred Ladwig?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Emil Mattson?

Mr. LUCIA. I am not sure about him being a member of the bargaining committee. I think perhaps he was.

Mr. STRIPLING. Leslie Roth?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is it your opinion as a member of local 248 that the strike which began on April 19, 1946—is it your opinion that it was Communist-inspired?

Mr. LUCIA. I think it was, because I have never been able to reconcile myself as to the reasons behind the strike. I can't understand it today. If it wasn't Communist-inspired I don't know what caused it. A lot of us were happy. We had made money. It is true some of them were underpaid, such as nonproduction employees—some storeroom help and some of the clerical help were probably a little bit underpaid, but as far as the production workers were concerned, I have no cause for complaint. I can't see where the question of wages entered into it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you consider that the Communist leadership was responsible for prolonging the strike?

Mr. LUCIA. I believe that it was their intention to retard reconversion and that the Allis-Chalmers plant was a strategic place to accomplish that due to the type of material and manufactured products they put out.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. Earlier in your testimony you referred to the fact that part of this plant affected by the strike had been walled off from the other part because it was manufacturing material for the Manhattan project.

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you think it is possible that one reason why these Communists desired to call this strike in this plant was to decrease the manufacturing flow of atomic bombs?

Mr. LUCIA. I couldn't say that. I wouldn't care to make that statement because to the best of my knowledge and belief they were no longer manufacturing whatever they were manufacturing in that end of the plant—whatever they were making.

Mr. MUNDT. In other words, that—

Mr. LUCIA. It was all over with.

Mr. MUNDT. That end of the plant was no longer fabricating supplies for the Manhattan project?

Mr. LUCIA. I don't know. It is just my opinion.

Mr. MUNDT. You base that opinion, I suppose, simply because they have taken down the wall?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes. They are not doing it any more. I mean, I am working in there myself now. I am working on the very floor with the rest of them, where the merchandise was made for the Manhattan project. In other words, the electric-control department has expanded into that building. There is nothing being done on the atomic project any more. When the strike started it was all over; the Army had released the building at that time to Allis-Chalmers.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, we have less than 5 minutes.

Mr. LUCIA. I would like to submit this literature that I found in my drawer when I got back. This [indicating] is a mass protest meeting against the lynch law—Communist Party in Milwaukee, Wis. Those pamphlets were handed out at union meetings.<sup>4</sup>

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it the usual practice to hand out Communist literature at the union meetings?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was the Daily Worker sold at the union meetings?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes. News Letter, Germany Today, American Youth for Democracy.<sup>5</sup> These were distributed by Owen Lambert, Emil Mattson, and others, Harold Johnson.

The CHAIRMAN. When were they distributed? About when?

Mr. LUCIA. Between VJ-day and the strike. This Owen Lambert even during the later days of the war was promiscuous with his Communist tactics, but the rest of them must have worked underground; they never came out until after VJ-day.

Here is a sample of the workers' subscription blank. The New Masses subscription blank.

Mr. STRIPLING. That was found in the drawer there?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes. Stop American Imperialistic Intervention in China, Bring Our Boys Back Home, put out by the Communist Party. Subscribe today.<sup>6</sup>

Political Affairs. This was a list of Thursday nights at Club 248—what takes place on Thursday nights.<sup>7</sup>

It mentions Forum on Fascism in America; the Forum on Labor; Forum on Political Affairs; on International Cooperation; Forum on Public Works; forum on everything except things pertaining to our own union policies. I mean, we never got to talking about our own problems, what we wanted to do to keep our union going, what we wanted to do in our fights with management about grievances, we never got around to talking about it because there was always some international policy to be discussed.

Mr. MUNDT. No protest was ever made by management against the use of the plants and drawers in which tools were kept for the dissemination of Communist propaganda.

Mr. LUCIA. Well, apparently there was no attempt made to curb it, because he would have been fired a long time ago. It is my private opinion that management maintained a hands-off attitude because during the war the laws were pretty stringent, the Wagner Act, and

<sup>4</sup> See appendix, p. 229, for exhibit 10, hearing, February 27, 1947.

<sup>5</sup> See appendix, p. 229, for exhibits 11-13, hearing, February 27, 1947.

<sup>6</sup> See appendix, p. 229, for exhibits 14-18, hearing, February 27, 1947.

<sup>7</sup> See appendix, p. 229, for exhibit 19, hearing, February 27, 1947.

so forth, unfair labor practices; it might have been an unfair labor practice to have called him on it. I don't know exactly, I can't answer, I don't know why they never called him on it.

Mr. MUNDT. I think, Mr. Chairman, that not only was the union 248 engaged in subversive activities, but the management of Allis-Chalmers was pretty badly intimidated and pretty weak-kneed and pretty lax in not trying to do something about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the gentleman of the opinion that we should have some of the members of management here?

Mr. MUNDT. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. How does the committee feel about that?

Mr. VAIL. I think so.

Mr. WOOD. In connection with that, Mr. Chairman, you recall that the provisions of the Wagner Act prohibit management from exercising any authority in the way of controlling the activities of the union members.

Mr. McDOWELL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. After that statement, do you still want to have some of the representatives of management before us?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. See that that is done, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. MUNDT. They didn't make the effort.

Mr. WOOD. I think that would be the answer.

The CHAIRMAN. We have a minute left.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Lucia, in connection with the Hawley plant, the Manhattan project, you stated that Joseph Dombek was on the bargaining committee, or was the bargaining agent for that section of the plant; is that right?

Mr. LUCIA. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. That doesn't mean that he was employed there?

Mr. LUCIA. No; it doesn't mean that he was employed in there.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was Arne Hansen on the bargaining committee?

Mr. LUCIA. He was on the bargaining committee, and had access to entering or leaving the Hawley plant.

Mr. STRIPLING. They had access?

Mr. LUCIA. Both of them had access to the Manhattan project.

Mr. STRIPLING. As bargaining agents?

Mr. LUCIA. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, in that connection, I would like to make a part of the record the Communist nominating election petitions for Wisconsin for the year 1946, wherein Arne Hansen and Joseph Dombek both appear as signatories on the Communist election petitions.

The CHAIRMAN. Unless there is objection, it is so ordered.

(The material above referred to is as follows:)

#### COMMUNIST NOMINATING ELECTION PETITIONS FOR THE YEAR 1946, STATE OF WISCONSIN

(Signers: Members and/or officials of local 248, United Automobile Workers of America, Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).)

Robert Buse, president of local 248; chairman of local 248 bargaining committee; speaker at local 248 education sessions; member of committee to investigate 1941 strike-ballot fraud; president, State CIO council.

Arne Hansen, member of local 248 bargaining committee; local 248 delegate to 1946 national UAW-CIO convention.

- Joseph Dombek, vice president of local 248; member of local 248 bargaining committee.
- Michael Rigler, chairman, local 248, veterans committee; member of local 248 education committee.
- August Konkell, local 248 committeeman, 4/2 shop.
- Herbert Stanelle, former committeeman, 4/2 shop.
- Lloyd Rowley, former local 248 committeeman of 4/2 shop; graduate of the local 248 labor-problems class.
- Bernard Ciszewski, local 248 committeeman, forge shop.
- Fred McStroul, recording secretary of local 248 since 1938; member of local 248 bargaining committee.
- Kermit Gavigan, local 248 steward, tank, and plate shop.
- Anthony Todryk, local 248 steward, No. 4 shop, No. 5 machine shop, No. 3½, and 4 galleries.
- John Kaslow, sergeant at arms, local 248; president, Allis-Chalmers Mutual Aid Society on local 248 ticket; local 248 delegate to 1946 UAW convention; chairman, local 248 election committee, 1941.
- James K. Duncan, member of local 248.
- Alfred Ladwig, financial secretary of local 248; member, local 248 executive board; local 248 delegate to 1946 UAW-CIO convention.
- E. F. Handler, editor and educational director for local 248; welfare director, local 248.
- William Ostovich, guide, local 248; chairman, local 248 educational committee; committeeman, electric control plant; staff, local 248 Daily Picket; local 248 delegate, 1946 UAW-CIO convention.
- Gerald Mayhew, local 248 committeeman, Hawley plant.
- George Laich, staff of local 248 Daily Picket; graduate of local 248's labor-problems class.
- John Burja, committeeman, tank and plate shop.
- Owen Lambert, local 248 committeeman, electric control plant.
- John Krier, local 248 committeeman, No. 1 foundry.
- John Kosina, former local 248 committeeman, receiving department.
- Michael Sheehan, local 248 steward, No. 1 tractor shop; on staff of local 248 Daily Picket.
- Albert Nimmer, local 248 committeeman, yard and scale.
- Roman Dettlaff, former local 248 steward, pattern shop.
- Jack Fallon, local 248 steward, No. 3 tractor shop.
- Ray Treloar, local 248 committeeman, No. 1 tractor shop.
- Joseph Breidick, former local 248 committeeman.
- R. Mickelson, local 248 steward, pattern shop.
- J. Wisniefsky, member of local 248.
- Andrew Kopcha, local 248 steward, electric control plant.
- Paul Wardin, local 248 committeeman, electric control plant.
- Robert Wartchow, local 248 steward, electric control plant.
- Ted Witfiak, local 248 steward, electrical department; local 248 delegate to 1946 UAW-CIO convention.
- Virgil Steele, graduate, local 248 labor-problems class; former local 248 steward, No. 1 foundry; on local 248 committee to investigate 1941 strike ballot fraud.
- Clara Krier, trustee, local 248 women's auxiliary.
- Nicholas Wilkins, local 248 committeeman, 7/1 shop.
- Nicholas Ostovich, guide, local 248; local 248 committeeman, No. 4 gallery.
- Peter Boknevitz, former local 248 committeeman, No. 5 erecting shop.
- Charles Petrillo, local 248 committeeman, powerhouse.
- James Cody, local 248 steward, Nos. 1, 2, and 3 shops.
- Frank Lesica, former local 248 steward.
- Mrs. Vern Thorpe, member of local 248 Daily Picket staff.
- Olaf Pierre, local 248 committeeman, No. 2 tractor shop.
- C. Nagel, local 248 committeeman, No. 1 tractor shop.
- Linus Lindberg, treasurer, local 248; local 248 delegate, 1946 UAW-CIO convention.
- Edwin Peters, local 248 steward, electrical department; graduate, 248's labor-problems class; member, 1941 fraudulent strike-vote committee.
- Walter Golon, local 248 steward, No. 1 foundry; local 248 delegate to 1946 UAW convention.
- Mary Keith, in charge of pamphlet counter at local 248's labor-problems school.
- Alfred H. Hirsch, editor of the Wisconsin edition and local 248 edition of the CIO News, the official organ of the State and county CIO organizations and local 248.

Luther McBride, local 248 trustee.  
 Matt Anich, former local 248 committeeman, tank and plate shop.  
 Mark Dougherty, local 248 committeeman, No. 7/2 shop.  
 John Dundovich, local 248 committeeman, No. 3 tractor shop.  
 Steve Glusac, member of local 248.  
 Frederick Hieser, local 248 committeeman, Hawley plant.  
 Chester Konicki, former local 248 committeeman, electric control plant.  
 Joseph Kowalski, local 248 committeeman, No. 6 erecting shop.  
 Walter Krubsack, local 248 steward, Hawley plant.  
 Emil Mattson, local 248 steward, Nos. 1 and 2 north and south galleries; local 248 delegate to the 1946 UAW-CIO convention; member of local 248's 1941 fraudulent strike-ballot committee.  
 Clarence Miller, member of local 248.  
 Daniel Prospeck, local 248 committeeman, paint shop.  
 Gasper Rogich, member of local 248.  
 Emil Schmidt, former local 248 committeeman, 5/2 shop.  
 Charles Schroeder, local 248 committeeman, jig room.  
 Roscoe Smith, local 248 steward, Nos. 1 and 2 north and south galleries.  
 Edward Strzelecki, former local 248 committeeman, No. 1 foundry.  
 Louis Turznik, member of local 248.  
 Henry Urbaniak, local 248 steward, No. 2 foundry.  
 Casimir Walker, local 248 committeeman, forge shop.  
 William Wallace, former local 248 committeeman, No. 2 foundry.  
 Paul Wesley, former local 248 steward, powerhouse.  
 Walter B. Zepnick, former local 248 committeeman, No. 1 tractor shop.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand in recess until 2:30.

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Stripling, you may present your first witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. The next witness will be Mr. Leon Venne.

#### TESTIMONY OF LEON E. VENNE

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. STRIPLING. State your name and address.

Mr. VENNE. Leon E. Venne. I live at 1219 South Ninetieth Street, West Allis 14, Wis.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you spell your last name?

Mr. VENNE. V-e-n-n-e.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where were you born?

Mr. VENNE. Tomahawk, Wis., in the year 1909, June 28.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where are you presently employed?

Mr. VENNE. At the Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been employed there?

Mr. VENNE. I have been employed there since December 29, 1929.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your job?

Mr. VENNE. I am a tractor assembler.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you now a member of any labor union?

Mr. VENNE. I am a member of the steering committee of the Independent Workers of Allis-Chalmers. I was expelled from local 248, technically expelled, on approximately November 16.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been a member of Local 248?

Mr. VENNE. Since its inception in about April of 1936.

Mr. STRIPLING. April 1936?

Mr. VENNE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. When was the local first organized?

Mr. VENNE. I would say about March of 1936—under the CIO. It had formerly belonged to the A. F. of L. and was under suspension from the A. F. of L. when they jumped the gun and went into the CIO.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, you were practically one of the original members of 248?

Mr. VENNE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is a CIO union?

Mr. VENNE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You said that you were technically expelled in November of 1946?

Mr. VENNE. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. What do you mean by "technically expelled"?

Mr. VENNE. I mean that I learned of my expulsion through the newspapers. I was never officially notified.

Mr. STRIPLING. What reasons were given for your expulsion?

Mr. VENNE. One reason was Red-baiting and releasing a statement to the press and several other trumped up charges; very voluminous documents which boiled down don't mean anything.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did the fact that you returned to work at Allis-Chalmers have anything to do with it?

Mr. VENNE. No. I had not returned to work. Just 2 days prior the action was taken and the local did not know of my return to work.

Mr. STRIPLING. What day did you return to work?

Mr. VENNE. I returned to work November 12.

Mr. STRIPLING. While you were a member of local 248 did you ever hold any position in the union?

Mr. VENNE. I was a steward in No. 2 tractor, a member of the executive board, delegate to the 1937 convention, delegate to numerous Auto Workers' councils of region 4, delegate to the CIO district council of Milwaukee, county council, and various other committees.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Venne, there have been statements made in the press and before this committee that there is strong Communist influences in the leadership of local 248. Will you state to the committee if you are aware of any such influence, and if so, what was the earliest date you detected any Communist influence in the leadership of local 248?

Mr. VENNE. I recall very clearly in 1936, in May, in the early part of May, in two meetings Harold Christoffel—

Mr. STRIPLING. Harold Christoffel, what was his position at that time, in 1936?

Mr. VENNE. He was president of the local union. He induced the stewards and committeemen to attend the May Day parade march down Wisconsin Avenue, to show labor's solidarity. I at that time believed that a laboring man should follow along and show the world that labor was strong, and so forth. I was 100 percent labor. I marched in this parade. I was rather puzzled by the fact that there were very few CIO locals marching in the parade.

I joined the parade at Twenty-fourth and Wisconsin Avenue with local 248, the delegation from local 248, and marched in the parade. I was rather puzzled, too, by some of my "friends" raising their hands in the fist salute. It bothered me a little bit.

I dropped out of the parade at the Pfister Hotel, approximately 2 miles from the start of the march, and I immediately found out the

reason why the fist salute. Not far behind local 248 was the south-side, the north-side, the east-side, and the west-side branches of the Milwaukee County Communist Party, with their blood-red flags. The parade broke up at the lake front, and among other speakers there were such as Fred Bassett Blair, who was candidate for Governor on the Communist ticket around that time, and—well, I don't recall all of them, but Harold Christoffel also spoke. That bothered me, and while I didn't accept that as proof that the leadership of local 248 was communistic, I was suspicious.

In the fall of 1937, I believe it was, Homer Martin, president of the international, placed an administratorship over the local, charging the leadership with being communistic. He placed an administrator in charge by the name of George Kielber. Kielber was rather, shall we say, not a very tactful man. He raided the local office and took all the records and made a lot of bad publicity for the local, and some for himself.

Mr. WOOD. How is that name spelled?

Mr. VENNE. K-i-e-l-b-e-r.

The administratorship continued over local 248, and due to Kielber's bad publicity the administratorship was changed and a man by the name of John P. Murphy, from Detroit, was placed in charge of the local.

Murphy ran the local union from the Kilbourne Hotel. There was a lot of propaganda distributed around at that time about the local, local 248's Communist affiliations, and so forth, and I didn't really go for that. I thought it was plain Red baiting. I attended one meeting of the local where Murphy was chairman of the meeting as administrator, and I really took John P. Murphy to task, and the international union, for the high-handed tactics in controlling the affairs of local 248.

I made a brilliant speech that day, I was really proud of it. In the speech, by the way, I referred to this, I said, "If Harold Christoffel is a Communist, I would drop him flat." because I am a Catholic, and you know very well that the Catholics hold no faith with the Communists. Murphy, on the way out of the hall stated, "Venne, do you know what you are talking about?"

I said, "I think I do." He says. "Come on down and see me some time," and so I went to the local union office at a later date, I went down to the hotel and talked with Murphy. Murphy was a nice man to talk to. While evidence had been there all the time, I had failed to see it. I had failed to believe it.

There were donations while I was a member of the executive board to such organizations as the American League for Peace and Democracy: Mobilization for Peace—

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment, Mr. Venne. You say there were contributions to the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. VENNE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you make a contribution?

Mr. VENNE. No, sir. These contributions were made by the local. That is, they were brought up in the executive board, a motion was brought up which would say, "Communication received from American League for Peace and Democracy asking for a donation." Some member of the executive board would move that we send them \$25; "all in favor say 'Aye,'" and there was no opposition.

Mr. STRIPLING. That was the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. VENNE. Yes. There were so many that I get confused.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were there any others that you recall?

Mr. VENNE. Committee for Spanish Relief; the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—some of these came in after I was off the executive board, so I will refer to them later.

Mr. STRIPLING. While you were on the executive board, who were the top officials of the union?

Mr. VENNE. The top officials of the union were Harold Christoffel, president; Frank Volka, vice president—

Mr. STRIPLING. Is he presently with the union?

Mr. VENNE. No, he has since left.

Fred McStroul, recording secretary; Julius Blunk, financial secretary. I don't recall just who the other officers were at that time. There were changes made since that. That is a little bit of past history for me.

Mr. STRIPLING. I wanted the record to show the officials at that time. Has Christoffel been the president of this local since its inception, or since it joined with the CIO?

Mr. VENNE. Harold Christoffel has been president of the local since its inception, up until the time, just previous to the time he was drafted into the Army, which I believe was in the winter or—late winter of 1945—or 1944.

The CHAIRMAN. 1944?

Mr. VENNE. I believe it was 1944.

The CHAIRMAN. In the latter part of 1944?

Mr. VENNE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you consider Harold Christoffel, the man who was the president of your local for many years, and now the honorary president, do you consider him to be a Communist?

Mr. VENNE. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. There is no question in your mind that he has followed the Communist Party line?

Mr. VENNE. I might enlarge on that to the extent that Harold Christoffel was—and Fred McStroul—were suspended from the Socialist Party for their left-wing tendencies. The local union, that is, under the leadership of Harold Christoffel, when it was in the A. F. of L. was suspended from the A. F. of L. for its left-wing tendencies. It was through Harold Christoffel that several out-and-out Communists—and I would call them that—were injected into the local union. One was Herman Schendel, who is now professor of labor economics at the Abraham Lincoln School in Chicago, which is reputedly a Communist school. Another was Joel Snyder, who never tried to hide his communistic ambitions, and he was also chairman of the Young Peoples Communist League, I believe it was, West Allis branch.

Herman Schendel held labor classes in local 248, and while these classes usually started out as being bona fide labor history and economic meetings, they eventually led into pure communistic philosophy, nothing more or less.

Through the steering of Harold Christoffel and Fred McStroul, Joel Snyder, and Herman Schendel, the local had brought to it a lot of fellow travelers and fellow Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Venne, how many Communists would you say were in local 248?

Mr. VENNE. I can answer that by saying that in the period preceding the 1941 strike, I would say that there were only, in local 248, about 30 actual Communists. Today I won't guess the actual number of party members; I will say that there are 500 who are either party members or good fellow travelers.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, in 248?

Mr. VENNE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, these people that you just mentioned, Christoffel, Snyder, and Schendel, are they all active in 248 now?

Mr. VENNE. Schendel, as I said before, was transferred to the Abraham Lincoln School in Chicago. His activities were taken up by Esther Handler. While I don't know too much about Mrs. Handler—I won't go into that.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think you quite answered my question. What I asked was if these three that you mentioned, Snyder, Christoffel, and Schendel, were still active in 248. You mentioned one of them having gone to the Abraham Lincoln School in Chicago. How about the other two?

Mr. VENNE. After the 1941 strike ballot fraud, Joel Snyder gradually disappeared from local 248. There were a lot of reasons behind that, and it would take about a half an hour to explain the reasons. But Harold Christoffel is honorary president of local 248 today.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Venne, were you a member of 248 when the strike was called on January 22, 1941?

Mr. VENNE. I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. That was during the so-called period of the Soviet-Nazi pact?

Mr. VENNE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, the committee has quite an extensive record of the activities of Harold Christoffel in connection with the American Peace and Mobilization. The American Peace Mobilization, as you will recall, was the front organization which picketed the White House against any lend-lease equipment and whose slogan was "The Yanks are not coming."

It was the party line at that time to oppose any lend-lease to Great Britain and our program of preparing ourselves for national defense.

Now, Mr. Venne—

Mr. STRIPLING. I would like to ask the witness if he participated in the strike of January 22, 1941.

Mr. VENNE. Yes; I did participate in the strike of January 1941, and while I did not—I picketed up until the time that violence occurred on the picket lines.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you of the opinion that the strike was a bona fide strike, or do you believe that the strike was inspired by the president and other officials of the union who were seeking to carry out the Communist Party line?

Mr. VENNE. I am very much of the opinion that the strike was a fraud. It was proven by the Wisconsin Employment—Labor Relations Board, rather, that 2,200 of the ballots that were placed in the

ballot boxes were fraud, that they were marked by four individuals. After—I am getting ahead of myself.

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment, Mr. Venne. In connection with the strike, Mr. Chairman, I would like for the record to show the attitude of the now president of the United Automobile Workers with reference to this local.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his name?

Mr. STRIPLING. Walter P. Reuther.

In a newspaper article which appeared in the Buffalo Courier-Express on August 5, 1941, Walter P. Reuther charged that the Allis-Chalmers local was "dominated by political racketeers of Communist stripe." He described a local 248 election as "the worst kind of strong-armed political racketeering."

Richard Frankenstein, who was the vice president of the local, charged that local 248 is "in the main dominated by Communists." He applauded the UAW's refusal to seat local 248 delegates at its national convention as "a good kick in the teeth for communism."

In connection with that strike, Mr. Venne—

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Stripling, you said Mr. Frankenstein was the vice president of the local. You meant the international?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

I would also like to place in the record the following material from the report of the Committee on Naval Affairs, House of Representatives, investigating the national defense program, dated January 20, 1942, page 106, under the heading of "Strikes":

The greatest single cause for delay in the defense program has been the strike situation. As example of the tremendous damage to the defense program caused by strikes in vital defense production plants is the Allis-Chalmers strike in Milwaukee, Wis. Through the machinations of a small group of labor leaders, the production of machinery essential to the completion of many naval vessels was halted. This stoppage endured for 76 days—from January 22 to April 7, 1941. The strike was called on the basis of a fraudulent vote held among the workers, as was indisputably proved subsequently by handwriting experts. Because of the willful deception on the part of a small group of leaders, workers were deprived of wages approximately \$2,970,000 and the completion of many vessels for the Navy blocked. It has been estimated that the strike delayed the completion and outfitting of destroyers, submarines, mine sweepers, transports, net tenders, repair ships, and fleet tugs for periods ranging up to 6 months.

The effects of the delay caused by the strike in the delivery of vital machinery and equipment are still being felt—and will be for some time to come.

At the outset of its investigation the committee undertook to send field investigators to the Allis-Chalmers plant in Milwaukee. A great deal of pertinent information has been furnished to this committee regarding the Allis-Chalmers situation as the result of this investigation. This information will be revealed during the hearings of the committee.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to include the next paragraph, which tabulates the number of man-hours lost.

The CHAIRMAN. It is so ordered.

(The paragraph above referred to is as follows:)

Recently the Department of Labor released figures covering the period from July 1, 1940, to October 1, 1941—15 months of the rearmament program. These figures in themselves show the serious effect of strikes and work stoppages in delaying, hindering, and obstructing the progress of national defense. During the 15-month period covered by the survey, 24,284,981 man-days of defense effort were lost because of strikes involving 1,960,331 workers. During the single month of June 1941 there was a loss of 1,448,234 man-days. During the month

of June a total of 52,218 man-days were lost because of strikes engaged in by 12,039 aircraft workers; 57,146 man-days were lost in shipbuilding strikes. The Navy Department reports that strikes occurred in 411 plants having naval defense contracts, the number of man-days lost being approximately 2,586,000, or 20,688,000 man-hours.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I would also like to refer back to the wages of that strike which were deprived the workers, in the amount of \$2,970,000, and to compare that with the figures furnished the committee this morning, to the effect that the workers, as the result of the strike which began on February 1946, the one which is still in progress, totals over \$18,000,000. In other words, the more recent strike, while it has not occurred during wartime, it has been approximately nine times as detrimental to the interests of the workers from the standpoint of earning capacity.

Now, with reference to this 1941 strike, Mr. Venne—

Mr. VENNE. As I said before, I participated in the picketing, as many other unionists did, and when the violence occurred, after Knudson and Knox, who, I believe, were of the Office of Production Management, sent telegrams to each individual worker to return to work in behalf of the war effort. I did not go back right away; I didn't go back before the strike was settled. But on April 1 of 1941 there was a riot at Allis-Chalmers, a riot such as we would not expect to see in these United States, and while I did not participate in the riot I went around amongst a lot of the men and spoke to them. And in one particular instance I remember going down Greenfield Avenue to Seventieth Street there and overhearing a bunch of young teenagers who were talking about the radicalism that occurred that day. They stated that "the Communists are really doing a job here today," meaning the Young People's Communist Party, and they even referred to Joel Snyder.

On that particular day they broke windows in the Allis-Chalmers plants. The Governor of Wisconsin, Governor Heil—they turned over his automobile in front of the plant gate. They threw rocks at the policemen. They picked up a tear-gas bomb that had been used to dispel the mob and which had not exploded and threw it inside of what they call a "black maria"; they threw it inside, where there were several policemen, and the policemen were overcome by the gas.

It was a full-fledged riot.

After this strike was settled a group of former stewards, committeemen, and former officers of the local banded ourselves together in a caucus group with the intention of unseating this left-wing element in our union. We put up a slate of officers against the leadership of local 248 and petitioned the international to investigate the strike fraud. We also asked the international union to send in representatives to conduct an election under their supervision.

The international did send in two representatives to investigate the ballot fraud. Robert Buse, now president of local 248, was chairman of the local committee, while Richard Leonard and—well, I don't remember, but I could find the name very easily here.

The CHAIRMAN. Supply it for the record.

Mr. VENNE. Yes. These two men sent in by the international cooperated with the local committee headed by Robert Buse to investigate the fraud. It was never reported back to the local how this fraud was committed. It was whitewashed, in other words.

They sent in a committee of two to investigate, to conduct the election of officers, and they smeared the officers—that is, the opposition candidates—to the extent that they were not very popular with anybody by the time they got through with them—through pamphlets.

Mr. STRIPLING. What year was this?

Mr. VENNE. 1941. The results of the election were—I received, as candidate for president against Harold Christoffel, I received 925 votes to his 1,161, and the complete slate carried approximately the same vote. The reason for us not unseating them can be stated very briefly by what one of the committee members had to say about this election.

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment. What are you reading from?

Mr. VENNE. From the proceedings of the 1941 convention of the International United Automobile Workers of America.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where was that held?

Mr. VENNE. In Buffalo, N. Y., August 4 to 16, 1941.

Mr. STRIPLING. All right.

Mr. VENNE. This is what Delegate Young at the convention, who was international representative, who conducted this officer election, had to say:

I was down to West Allis, and I observed the election of officers there. The mechanics of the election were perfect. There was nothing wrong with how the election was conducted. I do know this—that the people that had July dues paid were turned away from polls and prevented from voting, in spite of the fact that they had been in continuous good standing. Why? I will tell you why. You had to fill out a questionnaire. You had to fill out questionnaires. If you filled out the questionnaire, then you had to sign a pledge card. If you signed a pledge card, then you had to sign a green card; and if you signed the green card, then you had to sign a blue card. I saw so many colors there that I forgot exactly what colors meant. In fact, I state this with conviction, maybe what the people needed to vote was a red card. At least a little pink.

That was what an international representative had to say about the 1941 election.

Mr. STRIPLING. He is one of the officials sent in to conduct the election?

Mr. VENNE. That is right. We appealed to the international executive board, who held a meeting in Cincinnati about 1 month after the election was conducted. I do not know the exact date. We went before this board and asked them to insure a democratic election so that we could unseat the left-wing element that had taken over local 248. In this meeting one of the executive board members stated—Leon Lamont was the name—stated:

Why should we give the membership of local 248 a democratic election? If we do, Christoffel and his goons will kick hell out of them if they come near the place to vote.

That is how we were treated by the international executive board in 1941.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Venne, you have stated that you were probably one of the original members?

Mr. VENNE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. You became a member in 1936?

Mr. VENNE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you contend that the Communist leadership has controlled the affairs of the union since 1936, or have there been periods when they were not in control?

Mr. VENNE. Sir, I would answer that this way: Communism is like a cancer: the seed was implanted in 1936 in local 248 and like a cancer it has grown until communism is the thing that is going to destroy local 248 and make it extinct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you explain to the committee in the case of 248 how the Communists have been able to control the union?

Mr. VENNE. The Communists have been able to control the union through what they call a flying squadron. This squadron consists of all the way from 10 to 20 to 30 to 40 to 50 members of the local union who are not, possibly, all Communists, but follow the party line. I can cite several instances where the membership—several instances that brought about the memberships' fear of the officers and the situation that exists today.

In 1939, I believe, there was a group that held a caucus in the Knights of Pythias Hall in the city of Milwaukee for the purpose of forming a group to unseat the Communist leadership of local 248. The flying squad appeared on the scene. There were several of those people beaten up, needing hospitalization.

The CHAIRMAN. What year was that?

Mr. VENNE. In 1939. In another instance the caucus group held a meeting in a tavern. The flying squad appeared on the scene and beat up some of the individuals and others just walked through the window without waiting to open it; just walked through to get out of the place.

Mr. STRIPLING. On that point, is it against the local's rules for a separate caucus to be held without the permission of the local?

Mr. VENNE. At that time it wasn't, but it has been written into the local union rules now that no member or members may conduct meetings outside of the local union office without local union officers in attendance. In other words, the rank and file cannot legally hold a meeting or caucus for the purpose of unseating the officers of local 248.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is it your opinion that the present leadership of local 248 retains control by intimidation?

Mr. VENNE. I will cite another instance. I attended this meeting held in the Paradise Theater, a local union meeting held on Sunday morning in the Paradise Theater, in Milwaukee, by Ralph Rehberg and Glen Humphrey, on a question of disagreement with the leadership of local 248, having to do with their support of communistic literature, or something to that effect. These men never got a chance to talk. They were taken behind the drop curtain in the theater and severely beaten and were thrown out on the sidewalk in the rear of the theater. One man, Glen Humphrey, had stomach trouble for months after that as the result of the beating. He required hospitalization.

Instances such as that have discouraged the rank-and-file leadership from trying to support any movement to clean up the mess that has been made in local 248.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Venne, in April 1946, the members of local 248 voted on whether or not they would walk out on a strike. Were you a member in good standing in April 1946?

Mr. VENNE. Yes, sir; I was. I left my place of work—

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment. I would like to know who the officials of the local were in April 1946, if you can give that for the record.

Mr. VENNE. Robert—Harold Christoffel was honorary president on leave. He was in the armed services at the time.

Robert Buse was president. Dombek was vice president; McStroul, recording secretary; Ladwig, financial secretary, and Lindberg—

Mr. STRIPLING. Linus Lindberg?

Mr. VENNE. Linus Lindberg—I have forgotten his position.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were they the top officials?

Mr. VENNE. They were the leaders of the local.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you consider those five men to be Communists?

Mr. VENNE. Yes, sir; I do.

The CHAIRMAN. They were the leadership on what day?

Mr. VENNE. On the day the strike was called.

Mr. STRIPLING. April 1946, the beginning of the strike which is now in progress.

The CHAIRMAN. The beginning of the current strike?

Mr. VENNE. Yes, sir. On the day the strike was called I left my place of work at 12 noon, as per instructions of the local union officers. There had been a local election held at the State fair park colosseum previous to this where a strike vote was taken. The results of that ballot were, as I remember, four-thousand-some-odd to four-hundred-and-some-odd against the strike.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you familiar with the total membership of the union at that time, how many members?

Mr. VENNE. The total membership of the union on the day the strike was called was approximately 8,700 members.

Mr. STRIPLING. Go right ahead.

Mr. VENNE. This meeting held in the colosseum of the fair park, they had several speakers there agitating strike, and so forth, and the strike vote was called for. I sat in the back of the hall so that I could observe the sentiment of the group. What I gathered from the sentiment, that is, the applause, and so forth, to the proposition of a strike, it was a rather cool situation. The membership did not wish to hold a strike, to vote a strike. After the speakers had spoken, we were handed ballots, as we left the hall, much as leaflets would be handed out on the street. There was no place to mark your ballot. You were pushed, the crowd pushed you, they wanted to get out, and you were pushed to get out of the hall. I marked my ballot on the shoulder of the man ahead of me. I marked it like this [indicating] and put it in the ballot box like this [indicating]. The results were not conclusive enough under the Wisconsin Employment Relations Act to call a strike, and another strike vote was called for, in the grandstand of the fair park, which was conducted on April 29.

We were told that we should leave our jobs at 12 noon and march in a body to the State fair park grandstand where a strike vote would be taken. I had my automobile, and so I drove over. When I got there there were quite a few people there already.

Of course, I had to wait about 20 minutes before the big group which marched down Greenfield Avenue got there.

On entrance to the fair park—there was a north entrance and a south entrance—anybody could have walked in there. In fact, if they would have called the school out, the high school in West Allis,

the whole high-school body could have marched into the fair park. You didn't have to have any kind of identification.

Mr. STRIPLING. There were no guards or union officials at the entrances?

Mr. VENNE. No; no one at any entrance. While you were sitting there waiting for the crowd to come, naturally, it is not very pleasant sitting on a cement seat, but you could read pamphlets put out at the meeting, pamphlets by William Z. Foster, entitled, I believe, "The New World," or you could have bought a copy of the Daily Worker.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall anyone selling the Daily Worker?

Mr. VENNE. I don't know the person selling the Daily Worker, though they were sold inside of the grandstand.

The CHAIRMAN. Were any other newspapers sold inside of the grandstand?

Mr. VENNE. No, sir; they were not.

We waited for 20 minutes and the crowd came. Coming along Greenfield Avenue they may have picked up a couple of hundred others. After they were all in the meeting, the doors were closed, the gates on both ends of the fair park were closed.

Robert Buse took the platform and made the statement that, of course, you all know why we are here, we are here to conduct a strike vote; all in favor of holding a strike vote will vote aye. There was a scattering of ayes. A couple of the members rose on the floor and shook their hands, trying to get the floor to speak on the issue, but Robert Buse couldn't hear any of that. "All in favor say 'Aye'." "So ordered."

In any organization in the world, I believe—I am not well-read on some of this stuff—but I believe there is a "No" vote in most any organization in America.

Mr. STRIPLING. You mean no one was recognized?

Mr. VENNE. No one was recognized from the floor.

Mr. STRIPLING. And Robert Buse was the one who presented the vote for the strike?

Mr. VENNE. That is right.

Mr. McDOWELL. A negative vote wasn't called for?

Mr. VENNE. That is right. The procedure then was to split the grandstand in half. Those voting one way, those voting on one end would go out the south entrance, and those voting on the other end would go out the north entrance, and they left the hall, they were passed out ballots much as leaflets were passed out.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Venne, in such a vote, under union rules, is that a secret ballot?

Mr. VENNE. I would say, if you want to follow constitutional procedure, I would say that was not even a vote of any kind. It was nothing more than a straw poll. I believe the polls conducted throughout America to get public opinion on things are more democratic than the election held at Milwaukee, April 29.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is as to whether the union would walk out on strike?

Mr. VENNE. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you receive a ballot when you walked out of the park?

Mr. VENNE. I did. I received a ballot. It was handed over about three shoulders—like this [indicating]. And they had a little parti-

tion here [indicating]. Here is the picture. This shows approximately 4,000 people had to go through the entrance and make use of these partitions to vote [indicating].

Mr. STRIPLING. Are those the voting booths there?

Mr. VENNE. Those are what they considered voting booths.

Mr. STRIPLING. I see here a person standing above the voting compartment. There appears to be a strip of canvas, Mr. Chairman, making a small booth, and above there is standing a person viewing the marking of ballots. There are also other persons standing behind those who are casting their vote.

Now, you voted under those conditions?

Mr. VENNE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you consider it to be the proper kind of a ballot under the circumstances?

Mr. VENNE. The ballot, as I stated before, was identical to the ballot held on March 10 in the previous strike vote election. The ballots were placed in cardboard boxes, they were sealed with stickum paper, this wide, brown paper that has glue on it, that seals it shut. Of course, if you wanted to keep your vote secret, I think the only way you could have done it would be to probably mark it on the cement floor, with people crowding around you, in the hope that the crowd was so large that it would cover you up.

Mr. STRIPLING. After you voted, where were the ballots taken?

Mr. VENNE. The ballots were taken to the union office—and, by the way, Robert Buse had made the statement from the platform before the balloting started that no union members would be allowed in the union office that afternoon. The union office would be closed.

Mr. STRIPLING. They took the ballots up to the union office?

Mr. VENNE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. And they stated that no member would be permitted in the union office?

Mr. VENNE. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. When were the ballots tabulated?

Mr. VENNE. The ballots were assumed to be tabulated that afternoon, and I went by there late in the afternoon, and the windows were even closed up.

Mr. STRIPLING. You mean that the windows were shut and all the shades drawn?

Mr. VENNE. The shades were drawn.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did they announce the result of the balloting?

Mr. VENNE. The results of the balloting was announced through the press. The ballot was announced, as I remember it was, I believe, eight thousand five hundred-and-some-odd, for the strike, for strike action, and 251 against.

Gentlemen, I don't know everybody in Allis-Chalmers, but I do know this, that I myself have contacted over 250 men who state that they did not vote for a strike, and I don't know everybody who was anti-strike at work. I know there were more than that, because there are at present over 5,000 employees back at work.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did the workers return to the shop after the noon balloting?

Mr. VENNE. No, they did not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have they returned to this date?

Mr. VENNE. At present there are approximately five thousand-some-odd workers back at work.

Mr. STRIPLING. But the union membership as a whole did not return?

Mr. VENNE. There has been no vote to return to work. That is, the strike is still on—while it is getting down to the point where it is becoming a technical strike——

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment. I believe you stated earlier the date that you returned to work. Will you state it again for the record?

Mr. VENNE. I returned to work on November 12.

Mr. STRIPLING. 1946?

Mr. VENNE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, you remained out on strike 5 or 6 months yourself?

Mr. VENNE. That is right. May I state here that after I was on strike for approximately 5½ months, I had contacted a lot of people who were out on strike. They were very much against the high-handed tactics which had been used to keep the people out on strike, and all through the summer the local-union bargaining committee had been waiting for the Government to take over the plant, and very little, if any, bargaining had taken place. From my previous experience and my knowledge of the leadership of local 248 and its communistic background, I was of the opinion, and several of my, shall I say, fellow workers, were of the same opinion, that there should be something done to remove the bargaining committee and negotiate a contract where would all work in peace. I disclosed to the press a statement that I had written in agreement with several other individuals who were out on strike and members of local 248, and I would like to read this to you, gentlemen. It isn't going to take very long.

Mr. STRIPLING. Before you read that, let me ask you, during the period that the members were out on strike, was any provision made by the union for the care and welfare of the families of the strikers?

Mr. VENNE. They set up a relief committee. The relief committee—if a man went over there to get relief for his family—they had a work committee, these people that went over there to get relief for their families were told, "Why don't you go to work?" "Well, I can't find a job, nobody will hire me because I worked at Allis-Chalmers." "Well, we will get you a job, you can get a job in the fair park for 75 cents an hour, painting, wheeling dirt, that sort of thing." Doing jobs that are really not intended for men that work inside all the time.

These jobs pay 75 cents an hour, and the men have to work hard. The men were asked to paint the ceilings, for instance, ceilings which were about 100 feet in the air, paint them with aluminum, and scrape them. A friend of mine had his knee scraped, had his leg scraped from the knee to the hip, in a fall. He was unused to the work and he fell.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are speaking now of the members who were on strike?

Mr. VENNE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. They had a work committee?

Mr. VENNE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Set up for the purpose of obtaining employment?

Mr. VENNE. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Other than employment within Allis-Chalmers?

Mr. VENNE. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were any efforts made on the part of any particular group or segment of the local membership to return to Allis-Chalmers?

Mr. VENNE. There had been, I believe, at the time; at the time that I made a statement to the press there had been approximately 3,000 workers who had returned to work. I did not believe in going back to work myself. I felt that efforts should be made to remove the people who were responsible for the strike so that we could all go back together.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you make a statement to the press?

Mr. VENNE. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you care to read that to the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. Mr. Stripling, we have got quite some distance to go. Does the committee desire that it be read by the witness?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I would like for the witness to read it.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. VENNE. This statement was released and gained Nation-wide publicity. It was a little too much of a boomerang for me. I didn't expect it to get that much publicity. [Reading:]

It has been a long time since the membership of local 248 has had an opportunity to express an opinion at a membership meeting. The officers of local 248 do not want us to express an opinion.

We know that when meetings are held we are not given the opportunity to speak unless we are one of the favored few. Local 248 is one of the few local unions where there is little or no rank-and-file participation in the functioning of the union.

We of Allis-Chalmers know that we must have a union. A union to us is as important as foremen are to management. We of Allis-Chalmers are going to have a union. We are going to have local 248.

We are going to have a union where the membership dictates to the officers, not the officers to the members. We of Allis-Chalmers are not going to be dictated to by either management or the Communist Party.

We do not believe in communism or fascism. Our belief lies with Americanism. We live in a democracy, we believe in a democracy, and our union is going to be run under the democratic system.

This is a warning to the Communists in local 248—get the hell out of our union and stay out. From now on there's an open season on Communists in local 248. Your communistic activity has cost us well over \$2,000 per worker since 1939. You have taken us out on three strikes at great loss to us. You have had three strikes and you are out!

We of Allis-Chalmers are going to have a contract with management of Allis-Chalmers, a good contract, a reasonable contract, a contract that we can work under and have harmonious relations with our fellow workers and the management.

We are not going to call the boss a so-and-so one day and ask him for a raise the next. This contract cannot and will not be negotiated by the present leadership of local 248. We, of Allis-Chalmers, demand that they resign or we will kick them out.

We are going to have the union run by responsible people working at Allis-Chalmers, men who hold no allegiance to any foreign "ism." We are going to have a union that will represent all of the workers at Allis-Chalmers all of the time.

This is not an appeal for a back-to-work movement, but an appeal to a back-to-unionism movement.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that the end of the article?

Mr. VENNE. The end of the article was a plea to the workers to get behind this rank-and-file committee that was formed for the purpose of removing the Communists "before the Communist Party succeeds in the policy of rule or ruin and there will be no union at Allis-Chalmers."

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had that open season on Communists?

Mr. VENNE. Gentlemen, I could relate here for the next 20 minutes what occurred after that statement appeared in the press.

Mr. STRIPLING. What do you mean, what occurred?

Mr. VENNE. In 1939, during the 1939 strike I suffered burns from head to foot; I was in the hospital for 31 days. When I was released from the hospital I was a nervous wreck. Fred McStroul knew of this, he worked beside me, and he made the statement once, "Venne, as much as I don't like the way you comb your hair, I feel sorry for you." I have controlled that nervousness to a great extent, but evidently that is my weak point.

So what happened? At 10 o'clock on the morning that this article appeared in the press and on the radio, and so forth, my telephone started to ring.

Mr. MUNDT. What is the date of that article, by the way? Approximately, I mean.

Mr. VENNE. This was in October, I believe.

Mr. MUNDT. Of 1946?

Mr. VENNE. Of 1946.

Mr. MUNDT. All right.

Mr. VENNE. The telephone started to ring about 10 o'clock in the morning that this article was released. "Venne, you rat." "Venne, you stooge, we are coming out to get you tonight."

Mr. STRIPLING. How many phone calls did you receive?

Mr. VENNE. I received so many phone calls I couldn't count them. I received a lot of phone calls that were commendable. "Venne, keep up the good work. Don't let them scare you. Don't let them scare you." "Don't let them do this." "We are a hundred percent for you."

I received hundreds of letters and postcards. Some people were so afraid that they didn't sign their names.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many phone calls did you receive in which you were threatened, so to speak?

Mr. VENNE. I received calls—I would lift up the receiver, there was no answer; you would lift up the receiver and somebody would pretend to be somebody else; there were calls that threatened my wife, called my wife obscene names; there were calls that threatened my family, my children; and there were innumerable tradesmen who were sent out to my home to paint my house, to move my family out of the city, to sell my house. I could go on and give you a big list. I was getting a "nerve" treatment.

The CHAIRMAN. The open season on communism was in reverse?

Mr. VENNE. It backfired. I was to hold a meeting on the Friday following this—I had had so much support that I figured that it warranted the hiring of a hall to get this movement under way in big style. I was informed that local 248 was getting every Communist in Milwaukee County to pack that meeting, so I called the meeting off. But we did hold a meeting in the Marine Hall, 1111 West Highland

Avenue, Milwaukee, secretly. There were only a few of the strategic committee invited. Evidently there was a leak somewhere and the goon squad appeared on the scene.

They entered the meeting and when I recognized a few I asked them what they were doing there. They stated that they were there and if it was a democratic meeting "Why can't we be here, too?"

Well, after all, they got me, brother, I was advocating democracy. So I gave them the floor. I was going to be real democratic. When I gave them the floor we didn't have a chance to speak. They took it over. So I adjourned the meeting.

But I was challenged to attend a meeting of the local union held on October 13, 1946, in the South Side Army. The meeting had been recently scheduled for the Fair Park, which would hold 11,000 people, but local 248 leadership was smart, they canceled the meeting at the Fair Park and held it at the South Side Armory, which held only 800 people.

When I walked into that meeting I had a lot of support. I knew some of the boys there, a lot of them. I walked in. From the entrance to the front of the hall was a distance of about 200 yards. The goon squad was on each side of the hall, all lined up this way [indicating]. That, of course, was for psychological reasons, I suppose.

Mr. STRIPLING. The goon squad, is that what you referred to as the flying squadron?

Mr. VENNE. That is the term used commonly for the 248 flying squadron.

I might say I walked into that hall and when I saw the set-up there, I was a little bit sick. I took—the bargaining committee report was the first order of business on the floor and Robert Buse gave the bargaining committee report. I immediately arose to speak on the bargaining committee report. I advanced to the microphone and before I was allowed to approach the microphone, I was asked for my name and department number. I told them, "Leon Venne, No. 2 tractor shop." "Boo! Throw him out." The booing was so loud that I couldn't speak. They had shut off the microphone. I couldn't speak.

Ed Eisenscher controlled the electrical system for the loud speaker system.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he run for the governorship?

Mr. VENNE. Ed Eisenscher is a brother of Sigmund Eisenscher, who ran for Governor on the Communist ticket.

I tried to speak. I couldn't. It was impossible. They wouldn't let me speak. I threatened that unless I was accorded the rights of local 248 I would leave. I started to walk out. But that was my mistake. That was the mistake I made. I didn't keep on walking. After I had gotten through saying the few things I could say under the restrictions placed on me, one, two, three, four, five of the favorite stooges arose on the floor batted down everything I said, and to top it off, Mattson, regional director of region 4, in his speech to the local, stated:

We do not care what the political philosophy of the union leadership is, that is of no account to us; we are interested only in the grievances that are before the local; we are only interested in the grievances of the strike.

I could go into these grievances on the strike.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Venne, when was the last election, to your knowledge, held in local 248?

Mr. VENNE. The last election of officers?

Mr. STRIPLING. Last election of officers: yes.

Mr. VENNE. The last election of officers was held about the last week, I believe it was. It was last week.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know how many votes were cast?

Mr. VENNE. The votes were less than 900. The incumbent leadership received 675, I believe it was. There was a disorganized caucus against them, and they received a very small number.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, this union, which is supposed to have 8,000 members, in its last election less than eight or nine hundred votes were cast?

Mr. VENNE. That is right. The membership has become disheartened to such an extent that there no longer is a desire to participate in union affairs. I believe that the local union leadership knows that the strike at Allis-Chalmers is not only a black name for all labor, but some of the sins they have committed will result in stringent labor legislation being passed in this session of Congress.

I believe that I am to be subpoenaed before that committee, and I have a few recommendations I would like to make myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Venne, let me ask you if this is a fair statement: This Allis-Chalmers case is a good example of how Communist labor leadership can retard not only the war effort of the country but retard the economic return to normalcy of the people of the United States. Is that a fair statement?

Mr. VENNE. Yes, sir; I believe that is a fair statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you if this is a fair statement: It is certainly long overdue that both Government and the rank and file of labor take such steps to clean labor's house of un-American termites if America is ever to maintain—if America is to maintain its leadership position in world affairs. Do you believe that is a fair statement?

Mr. VENNE. I believe it is.

Mr. MUNDT. Let me ask you if this is a fair statement: The Communist movement in America is doing more to injure the social and economic advancement of labor than it is to assist it?

Mr. VENNE. I would state this: If local 248 is broken, the laboring man at Allis-Chalmers can get a gun and go out and get the Communists who are the cause of breaking the union at Allis-Chalmers.

The CHAIRMAN. I didn't quite understand that answer. What was the answer?

Mr. VENNE. I believe that every man and woman working in Allis-Chalmers who wants a union there—and I will say this—that the great majority of workers of Allis-Chalmers want a good, strong union in the shop, because it is a necessity, as it is in any plant of the size of Allis-Chalmers—and that if this union is broken out there, the men and women have nobody to blame but the Communist Party, who, through their infiltration and through their tactics, and the rank methods of conducting union meetings, and conducting laborers' right—curbing labor's right to speak—it is through their dirty infiltration that the union, if it is broken, at Allis-Chalmers—that is how it will be broken.

Mr. MUNDT. You didn't exactly answer my question, although the implication is pretty much of an answer. I want to ask this question:

As a laboring man who belongs to the CIO, and who believes in unions, do you feel that the Communist movement in this country, as a whole, has done more to aid labor or to injure it?

Mr. VENNE. They have done more to injure labor. They have done more by far to injure labor. There is nothing that can take the place of good Americanism behind a union.

Mr. MUNDT. In other words, you would agree with me that the best chance for labor to make advancement for itself is to work through the pattern of free-enterprise system rather than the other way?

Mr. VENNE. That is right. I believe that labor, in order to make any of the gains that labor must make, must clean house, and it doesn't start at the bottom, but it starts at the top. We see in Allis-Chalmers today a situation that has come about through political maneuvering of two people who want the same job in the United Automobile Workers of America, namely, Walter Reuther and R. J. Thomas. R. J. Thomas is now using the Allis-Chalmers strike to insure that at the next convention he will have 87 votes to cast in favor of his presidency. R. J. Thomas—I mean, R. J. Thomas—belongs to the left-wing bloc in the international.

While I don't pretend to call him a Communist, he accepts their support.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Venne, would you clarify your statement about the 87 votes? In other words, if this strike were settled now, the votes which local 248 would carry to the convention would be much smaller than if the strike is not settled; is that right?

Mr. VENNE. The international—I mean, local 248 is exonerated from paying per capita tax to the international union while a strike is in progress. On April 29, the day the strike was called, local 248 had 87 votes at the international convention—that is, they have a vote for every one of the members. They will still carry that 87 votes at the convention that is to be held; I believe it is in September.

Providing that—I am getting ahead of myself.

The constitution of the United Auto Workers states that a per capita tax will be based on a period of 1 year preceding 60 days from the convention date, which means that if the strike continues to approximately June 31, then local 248 will carry 87 votes to support R. J. Thomas in his fight against Walter Reuther; whereas if the strike was settled, say, today, we will have to figure some months on an 87 basis and some months at possibly—I would state that if the strike were settled today the members of local 248 would drop to an all-time low of probably 2,000 to 3,000 on the outside, and probably less.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, Mr. Venne, do you mean to imply that the real purpose of this strike is to determine the national leadership between Reuther and Thomas?

Mr. VENNE. I will put it this way, sir: The continuation of this strike—the continuance of the strike is due to the—rests on the political angle of the international fight for the presidency of the U. A. W. of A.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. You spoke awhile ago about burns. I want to inquire: How did you get burned?

Mr. VENNE. Well, there was a gasoline explosion—

Mr. McDOWELL. It has nothing to do with the strike?

Mr. VENNE. No; it has nothing to do with the strike.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all the questions I have, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

(No response.)

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I ask that certain documents which were used in the proceeding be accepted in the record as exhibits.

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling, bring up your next witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. The next witness will be Mr. Walter Petersen.

### TESTIMONY OF WALTER PETERSEN

(The witness was duly sworn by Mr. Mundt, acting chairman.)

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Petersen, will you state your full name and address for the record?

Mr. PETERSEN. Walter Petersen.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you speak as loud as possible?

Mr. PETERSEN. Yes. It is spelled s-e-n.

Mr. MUNDT. Dane?

Mr. PETERSEN. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born?

Mr. PETERSEN. I was born in Milwaukee, February 23, 1899.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where are you presently employed?

Mr. PETERSEN. Allis-Chalmers.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been employed there?

Mr. PETERSEN. I have been employed there since March 4, 1935.

Mr. STRIPLING. What position do you hold at Allis-Chalmers?

Mr. PETERSEN. I am a lay-out man.

Mr. STRIPLING. A lay-out man?

Mr. PETERSEN. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. What department are you employed in?

Mr. PETERSEN. Steam turbines.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever a member of local 248?

Mr. PETERSEN. I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first join?

Mr. PETERSEN. I joined in 1935, when it was still the A. F. of L.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did it become a CIO affiliate?

Mr. PETERSEN. In the spring of 1936.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever hold any position in the union?

Mr. PETERSEN. I was committeeman in 1940.

Mr. STRIPLING. Committeeman?

Mr. PETERSEN. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. What were your duties as committeeman?

Mr. PETERSEN. The duties as committeeman—well, I settled whatever grievances came up in the particular department or group.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever been expelled from the union?

Mr. PETERSEN. I have.

Mr. STRIPLING. When were you expelled?

Mr. PETERSEN. I was technically expelled by the trial board on January 14 and by the membership on February 6.

Mr. STRIPLING. 1946?

Mr. PETERSEN. 1947.

Mr. STRIPLING. 1947?

Mr. PETERSEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. What were the charges against you?

Mr. PETERSEN. The charges against me were for having caused to be run an ad in the paper and giving statements to the press without the sanction of the union officers and for conduct unbecoming a union member.

Mr. STRIPLING. And you were expelled?

Mr. PETERSEN. Yes, sir; I was expelled, technically. I haven't been notified officially yet.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you an officer in an independent union?

Mr. PETERSEN. I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. Which is now operating in Allis-Chalmers?

Mr. PETERSEN. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is the name of the union?

Mr. PETERSEN. Independent Workers of Allis-Chalmers; unaffiliated.

Mr. STRIPLING. Unaffiliated?

Mr. PETERSEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you say that the majority of your membership is made up of former members of local 248?

Mr. PETERSEN. They are; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. What percentage would you say of them?

Mr. PETERSEN. About 95 percent.

Mr. STRIPLING. Ninety-five percent are former members of 248?

Mr. PETERSEN. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you joined the union in 1935, did you ever detect any Communist influences within the union or the rank and file, or in the leadership?

Mr. PETERSEN. Not at that time; no.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first detect any Communist influences?

Mr. PETERSEN. Well, that came into it after Christoffel took over the leadership in 1936.

Mr. STRIPLING. At the time he took over the leadership?

Mr. PETERSEN. Yes. At the time he took over the leadership he was associated with Eugene Dennis, and at that time I had my doubts, because at that time Eugene Dennis was chairman of the Communist Party of district 18. I believe it was, of Milwaukee.

Mr. STRIPLING. He was the head of the Communist Party?

Mr. PETERSEN. Chairman of the Communist Party.

Mr. STRIPLING. And Christoffel was an associate of Dennis?

Mr. PETERSEN. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did they make speeches on the same platform?

Mr. PETERSEN. Eugene Dennis was with Christoffel on the same platform. He appeared at the meetings when they were still in the A. F. of L. Christoffel at that time was a member of the Electrical Workers of the A. F. of L. of Allis-Chalmers.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Petersen, since you were a member of the union for, say, approximately 12 years, would you care to state to the committee whether or not you considered local 248 to be under the domination of the Communist Party during the 12 years that you were a member?

Mr. PETERSEN. Yes, I would.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it a constant domination, or were there intervals in which the party lost control?

Mr. PETERSEN. It was constant domination. It took Christoffel and his group about 2 or 3 years to weed out the individuals that they did not want in it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you think that the strike which was called in April 1946 was Communist-inspired?

Mr. PETERSEN. It was. I would say it was.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are definitely of that opinion?

Mr. PETERSEN. I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you think that the strike has been prolonged on account of Communist influences within the union?

Mr. PETERSEN. That angle of it has kind of dropped out of the picture. It is now being prolonged more or less as a political end. That is—

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you hear the testimony of the preceding witness, Mr. Venne?

Mr. PETERSEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. What do you have to say concerning his testimony about the 87 votes?

Mr. PETERSEN. That is right. If the strike is prolonged until June 1947, which would be about 60 days before the date of the convention, local 248 would still carry 87 votes at the convention, due to the fact that the status of the members of the union would revert back to 1945; and if the strike was settled before that, they would lose approximately, about 30 votes, they would probably have about 25—more than that—have about 25 or 30 votes left at the convention, because it would be based then on the basis of the present membership.

Mr. MUNDT. You mean they would lose about 60 votes?

Mr. PETERSEN. They would lose about 60 votes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you made any effort to oust the Communists—as a member of good standing?

Mr. PETERSEN. Yes, we did. We have been in and out of this fight practically since 1939. In 1941, I had much correspondence with Clare Hoffman. We already new about it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever communicate with any of the international officers of the union?

Mr. PETERSEN. I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you communicate with them? Who did you communicate with?

Mr. PETERSEN. I communicated with Mr. Reuther and Mr. Murray both.

Mr. STRIPLING. Walter Reuther?

Mr. PETERSEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Philip Murray?

Mr. PETERSEN. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. President of the CIO?

Mr. PETERSEN. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you get any response?

Mr. PETERSEN. We never received any response from them whatsoever.

Mr. MUNDT. They didn't answer?

Mr. PETERSEN. They didn't answer or recognize the letter. The only evidence we have is that they were sent by registered mail, and the receipt is all we have.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you alone in your petition to Mr. Murray and Mr. Reuther?

Mr. PETERSEN. No. This dates back to last September 1946. There was about four or five of us from our department who got together and talked things over and we gradually expanded, held caucuses in West Allis, and we had talked all the different angles of how to clear up this leadership thing pro and con, but as we grew bigger we also were raided by the goon squads. We would be chased off of one corner and would go to the next to have a meeting. We decided at last that there was no way we could beat them but by going on the other side of the fence and withdrawing our support from the union, which we did. There was at that time about 3,000 of us that went in and more workers came in right along and in the latter part of November we had repudiation cards printed. I believe I have one with me. Here it is [indicating].

Mr. STRIPLING. This reads:

I, the undersigned employee of Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co., do hereby repudiate all officers and members of the bargaining unit of local No. 248, and therefore demand their immediate removal. I also pledge my full support to any further action taken by the committee formed for this purpose.

Dated April 1946. How many members of local 248 signed such a card?

Mr. PETERSEN. We had approximately—at the time we sent the petition in, we had 2,600 of those cards signed.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you send the petition?

Mr. PETERSEN. We sent it to Mr. Reuther—one to Mr. Reuther and one to Mr. Murray.

Mr. STRIPLING. And you received no reply from them?

Mr. PETERSEN. We received no reply whatsoever.

Mr. MUNDT. You sent it by registered mail?

Mr. PETERSEN. Yes, sir; by registered mail.

Mr. MUNDT. Receipt requested?

Mr. PETERSEN. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. So you know they got it?

Mr. PETERSEN. Yes, sir; I have the receipt.

Mr. MUNDT. You have written evidence that the national leadership of the CIO entirely ignored the desires of the ordinary dues-paying members?

Mr. PETERSEN. That is right. The wording, I don't recall exactly; it called for the international to suspend the present officers of local 248 and to set up an administratorship and hold an election as soon as possible for the election of new officers and members of the bargaining group, and it also carried certain demands to be met: that the status of all union members would revert to as of April 1, 1946, before the strike, and that any action taken by the officers against any member of the union would be nullified. We set a time limit. We mailed that in on December 4, and we set a time limit for an answer on that as of December 13. At this meeting of December 9 between the committee, when we sent that letter out, we spoke of different ways of proceeding—the next step, if our demands were not met—and instructed all committeeman that they should contact all the workers in their departments, whoever they were representing, and get their opinion as to what was to be done as the next step. The formation of an inde-

pendent organization, or any other which would be their desire—have that ready, have that report ready for the next meeting. On December 9—that was a day of wild rioting at the Allis-Chalmers plant. You are aware, undoubtedly, of what happened.

It happened that on December 8, Walter Reuther was in town, was in Milwaukee, and we made an attempt to contact him. I had tried to contact him all that day at different points around town. I knew where he was and failed to make connections. When the rioting happened on this Monday, we put out a call for a special meeting for that evening. We held this meeting at the Marine Memorial Building. I planned in advance. I notified the police department, and they had plenty of police there—plenty of police protection there. We were well protected. That is the way we have run all our meetings since. We have always had police protection at every meeting.

During the course of this meeting I stated the fact that Reuther was in town the day before and failed to notify us or get in touch with us, and I failed to contact him, and what happened that day out at the plant. We took that for his answer to our demands.

Mr. McDOWELL. Might I inquire there, Mr. Chairman, if the Philip Murray and the Mr. Reuther that he is discussing is the same Philip Murray and Mr. Reuther who have recently said that the United States Senate that no further labor laws are needed in America?

Mr. MUNDT. You are referring to President Philip Murray of the CIO and President Reuther of the UAW?

Mr. PETERSEN. Yes, sir.

So we accepted those acts of violence that happened that day out there as our answer to our demand in the petition and I called on each committeeman to report on what the membership had advised them to do. Each one turned in their report and the reports were all the same—95 percent of the workers that they contacted all advised them to form an independent union.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, Mr. Petersen, was there a desire on the part of the workers to go back to work, for economic reasons?

Mr. PETERSEN. There was. I had another job; I was working, but some of us—we all quit the jobs we had to take up the fight to clean up the leadership.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, you had had so many strikes, which had been costly not only to the workers but to the welfare of the country as well, that you felt that unless the union were purged of this Communist domination it would not succeed?

Mr. PETERSEN. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, did you place, did your group place in the Milwaukee Journal the following ad—

Mr. PETERSEN. That we did. That was around December 1.

Mr. STRIPLING. December 1?

Mr. PETERSEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I would like to read one paragraph from this article. It states:

We want the public to know that there are no scabs or job stealers now working at Allis-Chalmers. Those who are back at work worked for Allis-Chalmers long before the strike was called. They have returned to work after their war bonds and savings, that they had worked for years to save, have been used up. We have returned to work after being taken to the cleaners by a bunch of Communists.

Was that the sentiment, so to speak, of the group that formed the Independent?

Mr. PETERSON. That was, and another thing that we stressed very strongly was this, none of us that went in to work at that time were a bunch of scabs; it was just a bunch that had the guts and the nerve to tell the leadership to go to hell.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many members have joined you at the present time?

Mr. PETERSON. At the present time I would say we are at—at the present time we have around 3,000.

Mr. STRIPLING. Three thousand?

Mr. PETERSEN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many workers are back at Allis-Chalmers now?

Mr. PETERSEN. There are close to 5,000—5,500 production workers.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, a majority of the workers who have returned have joined the independent union.

Mr. PETERSEN. That is right. And I would like to have this in the record: that there are still a lot that are afraid to sign up, afraid to put their names on, afraid the union will get hold of those names and there will be retaliation by the goon squad.

Mr. STRIPLING. Why do you say they are afraid to sign anything?

Mr. PETERSEN. Well, they really are. Mr. Gooding remarked at our hearing—he made the remark and had it put in the record, that those acts of violence proved that the people, the workers out there, are intimidated, and proves why we only had 3,000 of those—at that time, 1,800 of those cards signed calling for a new election instead of having 3,000 signed up.

Mr. Gooding, chairman of the Wisconsin Labor Board.

Mr. MUNDT. I am a little vague on this, but I remember reading in the newspaper that the Governor of Wisconsin ordered an election to be held at the Allis-Chalmers plant for the purpose of determining the rightful bargaining agent for the workers. Was it your independent labor union that asked that that election be held?

Mr. PETERSEN. That is right. We are working up to that now.

Mr. MUNDT. I would like to know something about that.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you go ahead with that, Mr. Petersen?

Mr. PETERSEN. On December 9, we had that meeting and the report was to form the independent. So we set up our temporary officers and our temporary steering committee. And we had filled out an application card asking for—petitioning the Labor Board requesting a bargaining election be held. That was filed with the Labor Board, Department 11, I believe it was. In 1 week's time we had 1,800 signatures to the petition calling for an election—in less than a week's time. As I said, there were more that would have signed, but they were still afraid of the goon squad. Very much so.

Mr. STRIPLING. How does the goon squad work? You seem to intimate that the membership of the local is under fear from this goon squad. Do you mean within the plant or within the union hall?

Mr. PETERSEN. Within the plant, within the union hall, and outside—in their homes direct.

Mr. McDOWELL. Have you ever been threatened?

Mr. PETERSEN. I have been threatened. I have one letter now with the FBI in Washington being checked for fingerprints.

Mr. McDOWELL. Have you ever been injured?

Mr. PETERSEN. No; I haven't.

Mr. MUNDT. Have there been cases where the goon squad has resorted to physical violence upon members?

Mr. PETERSEN. There is. I forget how many cases are being tried in the courts of Milwaukee now. There are some under sentence now in Milwaukee—from the goon squad.

Mr. MUNDT. This fear then, is a real fear on the part of the workers?

Mr. PETERSEN. Yes, sir. We have 96 cases of paint throwing in the city of Milwaukee—and, of course, we haven't been able to catch anybody at it. You still have to catch them before they can be convicted.

Mr. McDOWELL. Where do they throw it, on the automobiles or houses?

Mr. PETERSEN. They travel around at night in cars and throw it through windows. There were several cases where small children got paint all over themselves. One time it was around Christmas time. Small children, around the Christmas tree, and the paint, and everything, went over them, glass and all. Another case was where paint was thrown through the bedroom window and hit a little fellow about 3, who had to be taken to the hospital and cleaned of paint from head to foot.

Mr. McDOWELL. There has been a reign of terror, from what you say, in Milwaukee. Have the local officials there attempted to do something about it? This is crime you are speaking of.

Mr. PETERSEN. They have tried everything. They have had men planted around my house at night, figuring they would pay me a visit. There have been cases where they suspected it was a car, but they were in a position where they usually traveled around three or four times before doing anything, making sure that no one was around. I live on a busy street and they probably have held back for that reason. We had the evidence as to a party who bought large amounts of paint in small cans and they have traced the numbers on these cans to this one store in Milwaukee that sold it and they know the man who bought it, but they have to catch him at throwing it.

Since that evidence came out the paint throwing has stopped.

Mr. MUNDT. Let's go back to the petition. You petitioned for an election. The election was called and you lost it in a very close vote; is that correct?

Mr. PETERSEN. I didn't quite get that.

Mr. MUNDT. The election was called, was it not, to determine the bargaining agency at the plant?

Mr. PETERSEN. That is right.

Mr. MUNDT. Your organization, as I remember, lost it by a rather close vote?

Mr. PETERSEN. We haven't lost it yet. There are 16 challenged ballots there and those ballots will count, but there is a restraining order in the courts that has to be disposed of before they can be opened. I can say with positiveness I don't think they will be able to get 7 out of those 16. The union must get 7 to gain a half-vote majority. They have to get 7 out of those 16 votes that are there.

Mr. MUNDT. You feel you can win that election?

Mr. PETERSEN. I feel confident there will be another run-off election ordered.

Mr. MUNDT. Was the election conducted fairly and honestly and supervised by the officials so that you had an honest count?

Mr. PETERSEN. As far as it was. Of course, there was one instance, but I can't blame the Labor Board, and I don't want to make any charges against them, but when they had the ballots all counted they made the mistake of walking away from the ballots and 248 members crowded around the tables where the ballots were placed, but I don't think anybody could have done anything, but still I called this man, and they sent a man over to stand by the ballots.

Mr. MUNDT. I mean, after all, you are kind of close to Chicago, and you couldn't blame them too much for that Chicago influence.

Mr. PETERSEN. That is right. Otherwise, the election was conducted as fairly as possible. I would say it was a fair election. The only thing, we didn't have the funds to combat the campaigns which they put on. For instance, some of them have come to me, as late as last week, some have come to me and said they voted to end the strike a couple of weeks ago, and the strike is still on. They had signs reading, "Vote for 248 and end the strike."

Mr. STRIPLING. Getting back to these terrorist tactics that you referred to, was there any evidence of this, that if a worker was not going along, so to speak, with the line, was any action taken against him, to your knowledge, and if so, how?

Mr. PETERSEN. Well, if you weren't signed up, they would ask you first, and then ask you again, they would probably give you a week's time to think it over, and come back, and if you didn't sign then they just told you right out, "Sign the card or else." They didn't have to mention more, because everybody knew what the "or else" meant.

Mr. STRIPLING. What did it mean?

Mr. PETERSEN. In some cases, where fellows didn't sign up, they put the pressure on other members of the local working around them, they were not allowed to speak to them, or have anything to do with them. There would be times when the fellow would open up his lunch box and probably find a dead rat. Which did happen in one shop. Sometimes you would open the coffee bottle and instead of coffee you would have oil or soap.

Mr. STRIPLING. The "nerve" treatment?

Mr. PETERSEN. That was the nerve treatment. They really gave you the works. You signed up, and most of them became dues-paying members, afraid to go to the union hall.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, the reason I wanted to bring that point out was because there was some question this morning as to why more of the members of 248 did not participate in the elections. The witnesses pointed out that a number of people joined the local under duress. In other words, they weren't interested in joining the local, but because of the conditions under which they had to work if they did not join, they were forced to join.

Mr. PETERSEN. I can answer that in a few words. The condition of the local today—it was built up and held together through threats of violence and cast of violence, strong-arm methods.

Mr. STRIPLING. Those are all the questions I have.

Mr. MUNDT. Let me ask you, Mr. Petersen: As I recall, I saw a series of articles published by a Milwaukee newspaper intending to expose the Communist infiltration in the Allis-Chalmers plant. Which paper was that?

Mr. PETERSEN. That was the Milwaukee Sentinel.<sup>8</sup>

Mr. MUNDT. Do those articles refer to your good American workers that were trying to clean it up?

Mr. PETERSEN. They proved that we have been right all along. Those statements, every one of those facts in the paper, every one in there is a signed statement.

Mr. MUNDT. Those articles probably had the effect of helping a great many good American laborers who were not on the inside to realize what was going on?

Mr. PETERSEN. It did and did not. You know the workings of the Communist Party. When these articles appeared they had an answer for everything. You can never beat down a Communist; he will always come back up.

Mr. MUNDT. This committee is going to prove that what you have just said is a fallacy. We don't know whether we will succeed or not, but that is our ambition.

Mr. PETERSEN. I don't know if you read this little article in the paper concerning Robert Buse; it was in the Journal. Eugene Dennis spoke at the Milwaukee Auditorium. That was just about a month ago. One of those present was Robert Buse, of local 248. After the meeting, when they announced the donations and the amount that was donated, local 248 had donated, had put in one of the largest donations of the evening.

Mr. MUNDT. Does anyone have any questions of the witness?

Mr. STRIPLING. Those are all the questions I have of Mr. Petersen. Mr. Russell has just two questions.

Mr. MUNDT. All right.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Petersen, you stated a while ago that the result of the election called by the State of Wisconsin in this matter was very close.

Mr. PETERSEN. That is right.

Mr. RUSSELL. How much money did the independent union have to finance its campaign?

Mr. PETERSEN. We took up collections at the start. We had small envelopes. It stated on the face of it, "My donation for the Independent Workers of Allis-Chalmers." We collected up to the time of the election eight hundred-and-some-odd dollars. During this time we had paid for these ads and all these cards we printed out of that money. We ran three different ads in the paper, which amounted to \$700. In the last ad we ran it amounted to \$171.

This money was all taken out of the \$800. We had \$76 left when we started on February 1.

Mr. RUSSELL. How much money did you estimate that the local spent during the campaign?

Mr. PETERSEN. It ran into thousands of dollars.

Mr. RUSSELL. In other words, the independent did not have access to any funds that were in the custody of the local, even though some of the persons participating in the independent union campaign had contributed a part of those funds?

Mr. PETERSEN. No; we had no access to any other funds outside of the donations we took up. We had no donations from any other source. We had no help from any other source. Everything we collected we collected by nickels and dimes which the members had been able to donate, which was very little, because most of them

<sup>8</sup> See appendix, p. 229, for exhibits 20 and 21, hearing, February 27, 1947.

hadn't worked very much. That is the way we ran our campaign. We put in a lot of work and pounded away.

Mr. RUSSELL. Has there ever been a time in the history of local 248 when the right-wing element of the union actually had control or attempted to gain control?

Mr. PETERSEN. There was only once, for a few days, which I believe was the time when Homer Martin was in control, for a couple of days. That was the only time when it was out of the hands of the Communist Party.

Mr. RUSSELL. What happened to that administratorship? In other words, how was it dissolved?

Mr. PETERSEN. Well, I just couldn't tell you exactly; I don't recall the facts any more. I know they washed their hands of it. It was too hot a thing for them to handle, too hot of a peg.

Mr. RUSSELL. Was the control of the union returned to the left-wing element after the dissolution of the administratorship?

Mr. PETERSEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is all.

Mr. STRIPLING. I would like for the record to show, Mr. Chairman, that all three of the witnesses who appeared today were subpoenaed to appear. Other witnesses were also subpoenaed, but I understand the program of the committee will not permit a hearing tomorrow, so they will be heard at a future date.

Mr. MUNDT. Any other questions?

Mr. NIXON. I have one or two questions.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Have you ever been a member of any union other than 248?

Mr. PETERSEN. No.

Mr. NIXON. This is your only experience in union membership?

Mr. PETERSEN. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. Have you anything to say or could you testify as to whether or not the Communist influence exists in other unions in the vicinity of Allis-Chalmers, or do you know about that?

Mr. PETERSEN. Well, there is only one case where they are trying to get control, at the Ohio plant. Joel Snyder, who is a Communist of long standing, from back when he was 14 years of age—at the age of 14 he was arrested several times for his Communist activities. He worked at Allis-Chalmers, started to work there in 1936. In the fall of 1936 he worked in our department. He was also suspended from Roosevelt Junior High School and from Boys Technical High School for his Communist activities. Before he came to work at Allis-Chalmers he was sent by the Communist Party to the school, I believe it is at Camden, N. J. He was there for 6 months. When he came back to Milwaukee he was put to work at the Allis-Chalmers plant. I don't doubt he was sent and put in there by the Communist Party direct because as soon as he came in there, the next day he was immediately taken in the union and took over some of the main functions. I often tried to figure out how a man could get into an organization and within a few days' time become one of the main cogs in an organization. If I join an organization it takes me years before I am able to go to work and be nominated to some office of some kind.

Mr. MUNDT. May I interpolate, it was done one time in the Republican Party by a fellow by the name of Willkie.

Mr. PETERSEN. Well, he was put in over there and in a short time, a short time later, they bought a movie projector, and he showed movies at the meetings. Some of these movies were shown at the homes of some of the select few. And practically all of these films were from the Communist film organization, I don't recall the name of it, but they make these films.

Mr. STRPLING. Frontier Films?

Mr. PETERSEN. That is what it is. There have been a lot of instances. He was very active in promoting Communist affairs. But as a rule, these keymen usually didn't do the work themselves. They managed to get some other tools to work for them, some fellows that probably were innocent, get them to pass out literature, and so forth. That was the way they usually worked. They usually kept their hands clean so nothing could be pinned on them definitely.

He worked for the company until after the strike of 1941. From there he went to the Ohio Co. plant. I believe he was sent there, the way they have been working over there, he managed to build into their left-wing element over there.

He managed to get elected as secretary on two different occasions. This last year he ran for president of the local. He—it happened that the man that was president before this returned from service and got there in time to run against him for office and managed to squeeze him out by a narrow margin.

Mr. McDOWELL. What is this man doing now?

Mr. PETERSEN. Working at Ohio Co. You never can beat them down.

Mr. NIXON. Speaking of the Communist organization in Allis-Chalmers, do you have any information which would indicate that it was receiving funds from other sources than the union members. the dues that they receive? For example, in employing their goon squad, putting out their literature, gaining control of the union, do you have any evidence to indicate that any of these key people, who took over the union at Allis-Chalmers, were being financed separately from their jobs and separately from their union dues?

Mr. PETERSEN. That is something that you cannot find out, because everything goes under an expense account, and if any member wants to find out anything it is none of his business, they will tell you right out.

Mr. NIXON. Did they seem to have a lot of money to spend?

Mr. PETERSEN. Always had plenty of money to spend.

Mr. NIXON. Always were able to hire goon-squad people?

Mr. PETERSEN. Yes, sir. Money was spent freely when there was anything to do.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

Mr. MUNDT. Any other questions?

Mr. Petersen, do you know the source of that fund?

Mr. PETERSEN. That no member would ever know, because no financial figures—you are not supposed to know anything about it. You are supposed to pay your dues, that is all.

I would like to put in the record that Joel Snyder, in the Communist Party, his ally was Jimmy Randall.

Mr. McDOWELL. Would you know if Snyder is his correct name?

Mr. PETERSEN. Joel Snyder is his correct name.

Mr. McDOWELL. Did you know his father?

Mr. PETERSEN. Well, I don't know his father personally, no, but it has been checked, and that is his correct name.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Petersen, before you go I would like to say that I want to congratulate you and Mr. Venne and Mr. Lucia on the courageous and Americanlike way in which you have proceeded in the effort that you are making to rid your local employment situation from this Communist leadership. I think you have set a splendid example for other unions, which are also dominated by Communist leadership, and I am sure that in the long pull you are going to succeed, and that this somewhat pessimistic philosophy which crops out in your statements all the time, that you cannot beat down the Communists, is going to prove inaccurate, that you are going to beat them down, that you are going to win out, and I think it is a mighty fine demonstration of American courage and initiative, this work that you people have done, without compensation to yourselves, but simply to make an American environment in which to work. I wish you a lot of success.

Mr. PETERSEN. We wish to thank you for the opportunity to come here and testify and bring these things to the attention of the public so that they can understand the background.

There are some people that have said they do not understand how a large group like that cannot go in and throw them out of office. "All we have to do is walk in and throw them out." This will probably show why it can't be done.

Mr. MUNDT. That is right. The testimony we have had should make it clear.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I would like permission to include in the appendix of this hearing the Communist-front affiliations as contained in the files of the committee of the various officials of local 248.

Mr. MUNDT. Without objection, it is so ordered.<sup>9</sup>

Mr. PETERSEN. Do all of the officers belong to some Communist-front organization?

Mr. STRIPLING. All of the principal officers, yes, sir, present principal officers.

Mr. MUNDT. The committee will stand adjourned until further notice.

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<sup>9</sup> See appendix, p. 230.

# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN LABOR UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

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WEDNESDAY, JULY 23, 1947

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

The record will show that Mr. McDowell is present, Mr. Nixon, Mr. Rankin, Mr. Peterson, Mr. Thomas, and that a quorum is present.

Staff members present: Mr. Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Mr. Louis J. Russell and Mr. Donald T. Appell, investigators. Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, at a meeting of the full committee May 28, 1947, Mr. Bonner called the attention of the committee to reports of alleged Communist influences in local 22 of the Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers, CIO, located in Winston-Salem, N. C., whose members were at that time out on strike, the strike having been called on May 1. Mr. Bonner submitted to the committee various communications from residents of the State of North Carolina asking the committee to investigate these alleged charges. Upon a motion by Mr. Wood, a subcommittee was established to investigate the situation at Winston-Salem and accordingly investigator D. T. Appell was sent to Winston-Salem to make a preliminary investigation for the subcommittee. He submitted his report June 11, 1947, and the subcommittee recommended that witnesses be subpoenaed to Washington for the purpose of conducting an open hearing in order that the facts concerning the Communist influences within this union could be presented to the full committee.

The committee has subpoenaed the following witnesses: Anne Mathews, Gene Pratt, Spencer Long, Edwin McCrea, international representative of the Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers, assigned to local 22; W. C. Sheppard and Robert C. Black, cochairmen of local 22.

Mr. Chairman, I request that the Chair determine whether or not all six witnesses are present in the committee room. I further request, Mr. Chairman, that all witnesses remain in the committee room in order that they may hear the testimony which will be given, as they will be questioned concerning certain testimony and evidence which will be submitted at this hearing.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. Let me ask what, if anything, the State of North Carolina did to stop this disturbance. If we are going into every locality where complaints of this kind are made, it will exhaust this committee. Local investigations should be looked after largely by the States.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin, at the beginning of the session, the first session of this committee, back in January, we set down an 8-point program. One of the points had to do with our investigation into alleged communism in the labor unions. This is part of that investigation. We are going to have witnesses here today from North Carolina, we are going to have witnesses tomorrow from Connecticut, we are going to have witnesses on Friday from New York State. This is not just a local situation, it is a part of a national pattern.

I think it is perfectly right for this committee to hold this meeting today.

Mr. RANKIN. I will say to the chairman that if it is the national pattern or program to undermine and destroy this Government, of course I am for investigating it, but I submit that it is about time that the State governments woke up and began to assert themselves in helping carry on this drive for the perpetuation of American institutions.

The CHAIRMAN. We will go on with the hearing.

The record will show Mr. Bonner is present.

Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. In this connection I should like to point out that the Committee on Un-American Activities, which was the predecessor of this committee, investigated the international union officials of this particular union and issued two reports concerning them, one on March 29, 1944, the other January 3, 1940, in which the committee stated that based upon the evidence before them they found Communist leadership entrenched within the United Canning, Packing, Agriculture, and Allied Workers of America. The name of the union has been changed to Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers, CIO.

Mr. RANKIN. I might say also that it is rather discouraging to see the Congress breaking its neck on yesterday to carry out the program of the Communist Party and then calling on this committee to investigate every Communist movement throughout the country.

The CHAIRMAN. We will go ahead.

I would like to know whether the following witnesses are in the room. As I call the name, will that person please rise.

Anne Mathews.

Miss MATHEWS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Gene Pratt.

Mr. PRATT. Here.

The CHAIRMAN. Spencer Long.

Mr. LONG. Here.

The CHAIRMAN. Edwin McCrea.

Mr. MCCREA. Here.

The CHAIRMAN. W. C. Sheppard.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Here.

The CHAIRMAN. And Robert C. Black.

Mr. BLACK. Here.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. The first witness, Mr. Chairman, will be Miss Anne Mathews.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Miss MATHEWS. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

### TESTIMONY OF MISS ANNE MATHEWS

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Mathews, will you please state your full name?

Miss MATHEWS. Anne Elizabeth Mathews.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you speak as loudly as possible, please?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born?

Miss MATHEWS. Newark, N. J., June 2, 1908.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present address?

Miss MATHEWS. Pfafftown.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever employed by local 22 of the Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers, CIO, at Winston-Salem, N. C.?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir. I went into the employ of the union specified on June 18, 1945, and ended my employment in January 1947.

Mr. STRIPLING. From June 18, 1945, to January 1947.

Miss MATHEWS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was this your first employment with the Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers, CIO?

Miss MATHEWS. No, sir. I went to the employment of the then United Cannery Workers in Orlando, Fla., in January of 1943 and was there up to the time I entered my employment with local 22.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you transferred from Florida to Winston-Salem? How did it happen that you went from Florida to North Carolina?

Miss MATHEWS. The international executive board decided that they only needed one person in Florida. In June of that year Mr. Donald Henderson called me and asked me if I would go into Winston-Salem and help them do a particular clerical job there.

Mr. STRIPLING. And you went to Winston-Salem?

Miss MATHEWS. I arrived on June 18, 1945.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were the secretary of local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. I assumed the duties of office secretary in October 1945.

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Mathews, as secretary of local 22, were you in a position to know first-hand how the affairs of the local were governed?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir; because during this period I was acting as recording secretary. While I was not actually an officer of the executive board, as secretary in the union office I took the minutes of the executive board meetings.

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Mathews, were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the witness has not been sworn.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; she was sworn.

Proceed.

Mr. RANKIN. All right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Mathews, I will ask the question again. Were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir; I was a member of the Communist Party for 10 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first join the Communist Party?

Miss MATHEWS. In August of 1937, in New York City.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and under what circumstances did you join the Communist Party?

Miss MATHEWS. Personal friends of mine in New York were members of the Communist Party. The Office Workers Union of the CIO, which is known as the United Office Professional Workers, had become interested in organizing the white-collar workers in the film industry, of which I was an employee. I joined local 16, the general clerical local, and 3 months later I joined the party.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you explain to the committee just what activity you engaged in as a member of the Communist Party, what particular cell or group were you assigned to?

Miss MATHEWS. Since the motion-picture industry was then included in the entertainment field, which includes also the legitimate theater, the dance, song, and other sections of cultural activity, I worked in a group which is a field known as the cultural section of the Communist Party in New York.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many members belonged to your group?

Miss MATHEWS. I don't think I could rightly give the number. It was a large group in the motion-picture industry.

Mr. STRIPLING. Then when did you go from New York to Florida, explain to the committee your employment or your activity, from the time you joined the Communist Party in New York until you went with local 22 of Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers?

Miss MATHEWS. At the convention, the national convention of the United Cannery Workers, in, I believe it was November 1942, the decision was arrived at by the executive board that they would organize the citrus workers in Florida. An office was opened to conduct the campaign in Orlando, Fla., under the supervision of Mr. Otis Nation, then an international vice president of the national union, of the international union. He was looking for a secretary and some friend of mine in Orlando, Fla., wired me at New York asking if I could find one. I couldn't find one to fill the need and since my mother had recently died I decided that I could take a chance on changing my job and left Columbia Pictures and decided to go to Orlando, Fla., to work in the office during the campaign.

Mr. STRIPLING. While employed in that office did you see any evidence of Communist Party activities within the local?

Miss MATHEWS. No, sir; there was no activity within the local itself, although I learned after I got to Florida that Mr. Nation and an organizer who had been sent in from California by the name of Robert Black, were supposed to be members of the Communist Party, but there was no actual activity in the local itself.

Mr. STRIPLING. There was none within the local in Florida?

Miss MATHEWS. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. After your arrival in Winston-Salem in July of 1945, how were you introduced into the Communist Party activities in that city?

Miss MATHEWS. I believe it was Frank Greene, who was then director of local 22, and also regional director of the tri-State council, comprising the States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, told me that Alice Borke was in town and that there would be a meeting.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you identify Alice Borke?

Miss MATHEWS. Then the district organizer of the Communist Party for the States of Virginia and North Carolina.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether she still retains that position?

Miss MATHEWS. No, sir; she is no longer district organizer for North Carolina.

Mr. STRIPLING. What position, if any, does she occupy now in the Communist Party?

Miss MATHEWS. I don't know exactly her title, but I believe she is in charge of the work in the State of Virginia.

Mr. STRIPLING. Before we proceed any further, could you give the committee some idea as to the total membership of local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. I can only give you the estimate that the union claims and that is a total of 8,000 members.

Mr. STRIPLING. Eight thousand?

Miss MATHEWS. I believe that is about the figure.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are they all employed at the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co?

Miss MATHEWS. No, sir; there are, I believe, several thousand employed at three leaf houses and the rest are employed at the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.

Mr. STRIPLING. What percentage of the membership are white, and what percentage are Negro?

Miss MATHEWS. I am afraid I couldn't give you the percentage. I can only say that the predominance is with the Negroes.

Mr. STRIPLING. After your arrival in Winston-Salem, were you elected or appointed to any office within the Winston-Salem cell or group of the Communist Party? I am not speaking of the union; I am speaking of the Communist Party.

Miss MATHEWS. I believe it was in the early part of 1946, perhaps January or February. Alice Borke asked me to assume the duties of party organizer, which required me to see that the group that was supposed to be functioning in Winston-Salem did function, and to carry on the other activities of the party, such as educational study, writing up of leaflets, distribution and sale of literature, and the general activities that go in a Communist Party group.

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Mathews, will you name for the committee the active members of the Winston-Salem cell at that time?

Miss MATHEWS. Mr. Frank Greene——

Mr. STRIPLING. As you name them, will you identify them if they have any connection with local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. Frank Greene was then director of local 22 and regional director of the tri-State council——

Mr. STRIPLING. When you speak of the tri-State council——

Miss MATHEWS. That is the tri-State council made up of delegates from all of the locals in the States of Virginia and North and South Carolina.

Etta Hobson, at that time, I believe, just a member of the executive board. Since that time she has assumed the duties of financial secretary, which position I believe she still holds.

Robert Black, who was an organizer on the staff of local 22 Mr. STRIPLING. Also a member of the Communist Party?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir.

W. Clark Sheppard, then also an organizer for local 22.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is Mr. Sheppard's present position?

Miss MATHEWS. Cochairman with Robert Black of local 22.

Mr. STRIPLING. The position of cochairman, does that correspond to the top office of the union?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir. I should say it is the same as being the president of the union.

Mr. STRIPLING. Any other members?

Miss MATHEWS. Eleanor Hoagland, who was then educational director of local 22, now no longer connected with them.

Theodosia Simpson, who was an organizer on the staff of local 22, and is still employed in that capacity.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall any others?

Miss MATHEWS. I believe that was all connected with local 22 at that time. I can't think of any rank and file member. Wait a minute—yes. Robert Lathan. He was a member of the executive board of local 22. He is now an international vice president in charge of the FTA locals in eastern Carolina.

Mr. STRIPLING. In eastern Carolina?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir; I believe that is all.

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Mathews, who succeeded Frank Greene as director of local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. Philip Koritz.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was Philip Koritz a member of the Communist Party?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you arrived in North Carolina, Winston-Salem, in 1945, who was the chairman of the North Carolina district of the Communist Party at that time?

Miss MATHEWS. There was no chairman at that particular time because there was rather a loose organization. Alice Borke was then in charge of the activities in the States but there was no chairman.

Mr. McDOWELL. May I ask if this Miss Borke was a candidate for the United States senatorship in Virginia last year?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir. I don't know if it was last year. I believe she has been a candidate for office at one time.

Mr. McDOWELL. Last year.

Mr. PETERSEN. On the Communist ticket.

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes, on the Communist ticket.

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Mathews, who is head of the Communist Party for the State of North Carolina at the present time?

Miss MATHEWS. Sam Hall.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that a particular district designation for North Carolina?

Miss MATHEWS. The district comprises the States of North and South Carolina, and Sam Hall is known either as the chairman or the district organizer for the States of North and South Carolina.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Sam Hall personally?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall when Sam Hall arrived in Winston-Salem?

Miss MATHEWS. Not accurately as to date, but I would say in the latter part of May or the early part of June 1946.

Mr. STRIPLING. After his arrival, did the recruiting for members of the Communist Party step up?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could you tell the committee some of the new members who were recruited after Sam Hall arrived?

Miss MATHEWS. Moranda Smith—

Mr. STRIPLING. Here again, Miss Mathews, if any of these people that you mention are identified in any way with local 22, the committee would like to have that information.

Miss MATHEWS. Moranda Smith now holds the position, I believe, of the coeducational director of local 22.

Velma Hopkins is the chairman of the organizing committee of local 22.

Frank O'Neal, a trustee of the executive board of local 22.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who is Frank O'Neal?

Miss MATHEWS. Frank O'Neal is an employee of the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. and also a minister of the gospel.

Mr. STRIPLING. Under what circumstances were these people recruited into the Communist Party?

Miss MATHEWS. After Sam Hall arrived in Winston-Salem and had an initial meeting with the current members of the Communist Party, a recruiting drive was started and a meeting was held at the church of which Frank O'Neal is pastor, and at the meeting was Sam Hall and Nate Ross, who was a representative of the national party and came to Winston-Salem.

Mr. STRIPLING. Nate Ross from New York?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. Are these white people—whose names you have given?

Miss MATHEWS. Some are white and some Negro.

Mr. RANKIN. This Frank O'Neal; is he a white man?

Miss MATHEWS. He is a Negro.

Mr. RANKIN. And that was a Negro church in which they held the meeting?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. I would like for you to identify these people whose names have been called—identified as to whether or not they are whites or Negroes. For instance, this Frank Greene, is he a white man?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. Etta Hobson?

Miss MATHEWS. White.

Mr. RANKIN. Robert Black?

Miss MATHEWS. Negro.

Mr. RANKIN. W. Clark Sheppard?

Miss MATHEWS. White.

Mr. RANKIN. Eleanor Hoagland?

Miss MATHEWS. White.

Mr. RANKIN. Theodosia Simpson?

Miss MATHEWS. Negro.

Mr. RANKIN. Robert Lathan?

Miss MATHEWS. Negro.

Mr. RANKIN. Velma Hopkins?

Miss MATHEWS. Negro.

Mr. RANKIN. Frank O'Neal?

Miss MATHEWS. Negro.

Mr. RANKIN. You called several names while I was out taking a long-distance telephone call and I missed them.

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Mathews, would you explain to the committee the technique which was employed by the Communist Party on these recruiting drives? You say the meetings were held at Reverend O'Neal's church.

Miss MATHEWS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were any of the members or officers of local 22 present?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Besides the ones you have named?

Miss MATHEWS. At the time the recruiting drive took place Edwin McCrea had by this time been appointed the international representative to the local.

Mr. STRIPLING. Edwin McCrea?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. He was international representative?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir. He was present at that meeting, as were Theodosia Simpson, Moranda Smith, Velma Hopkins, Eleanor Hoagland; I was there. Robert Lathan was chairman of the meeting.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you describe for the committee how the meeting was conducted? In other words, what approach or inducement was made to these individuals to join the Communist Party?

Miss MATHEWS. I believe that Sam Hall was first presented to the meeting and his position within the party and what his work would be was explained to the people present. Then I believe Sam Hall made a talk—I can't quite recall just what he said. I think the main talk was given by Nate Ross, who was national representative from New York.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could you give us an estimate of how many new members were brought into the ranks of the party in this recruiting drive?

Miss MATHEWS. I believe at that particular meeting between 60 and 65 people were recruited.

Mr. STRIPLING. Into the membership in the Communist Party?

Miss MATHEWS. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. And Rev. Frank O'Neal, you considered him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Miss MATHEWS. He was at that particular meeting. I had known of it only a short time prior to that. Apparently he had been for a number of months, but I did not know about it.

Mr. STRIPLING. I see.

Mr. RANKIN. Were you aware at that time that the Communist Party was plotting to overthrow this Government?

Miss MATHEWS. I wouldn't say it was obvious at that time.

Mr. RANKIN. But you knew it. You had been informed by the party leaders what their program was?

Miss MATHEWS. They didn't say it in so many words.

Mr. RANKIN. But you knew that. They made that understood to the members that were taken in, that one of the programs was to overthrow the Government and set up a Soviet government in the United States?

Miss MATHEWS. They told the people they were working toward socialism but didn't say that they were trying to overthrow the United States.

Mr. RANKIN. Didn't they tell them that they were going to set up a Soviet government in the United States?

Miss MATHEWS. They proposed to eventually establish socialism.

Mr. RANKIN. They were going to establish the same kind of government they have in Russia?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. Which is a Soviet government.

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. And they told the colored people that they were going to set up a colored Soviet for the colored States, didn't they?

Miss MATHEWS. No, sir; they didn't.

Mr. RANKIN. Haven't you seen that map that the Communist Party gets out?

Miss MATHEWS. I have heard it referred to as the Black Belt.

Mr. RANKIN. And they were going to set up a special Soviet government for that area?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir; as a nation; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to suggest to the gentleman from Mississippi that we have a number of witnesses here today and I think it would be easier for all concerned if we permit Mr. Stripling to continue to ask questions and then when Mr. Stripling gets through every member will have plenty of time to ask questions.

Go ahead.

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Mathews, I believe you testified that when you arrived in Winston-Salem there was no head of the Communist Party. Was a meeting held later at which officers of the Communist Party for the Carolinas was elected?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir. Shortly after Sam Hall arrived, and after this recruiting meeting took place, I believe it was in the middle of June 1946, the first convention of the Communist Party held in the Carolina district convened and officers were then, for the district of Carolina, elected.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you present?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir; I acted as secretary.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you tell the committee the individuals who were chosen for office and what positions they were appointed to or elected to?

Miss MATHEWS. Sam Hall was elected chairman for the district of Carolina; Christine Gardner was elected secretary.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did she have any connection with local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir; she was then an organizer on the staff of local 22, representing the leaf houses.

Mr. STRIPLING. The leaf houses?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you elected to any office?

Miss MATHEWS. I was elected as treasurer of the district at that time. Also there was a district committee elected with representatives

from each of the various cities of the States of North and South Carolina. I can't give you the names of all of the people who were elected because I didn't know a good many of them.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall any others that were elected to posts?

Miss MATHEWS. There was a district executive committee that was also elected, which consisted of Sam Hall as chairman; Christine Gardner as secretary; Edwin McCrea, Moranda Smith, and Robert Lathan comprising the other members of the district executive committee.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was there an individual by the name of Bill DeBerry present at any of these meetings?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir; William DeBerry was chairman—at least, of the morning session—I can't recall whether he was chairman of the afternoon session.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he have any connection with local 22 or with the international?

Miss MATHEWS. He was employed by the national CIO as an international organizer assigned to the local food, tobacco, and agricultural workers, and was at that time assigned to a local in Charlotte, N. C.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt?

The record will show that Mr. Vail is here.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know where he is located at the present time?

Miss MATHEWS. The last I heard—and that was in January of this year—he was in Louisville, Ky.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know what he is doing there?

Miss MATHEWS. He was working on some of the tobacco plants in Louisville.

Mr. STRIPLING. Still an international representative?

Miss MATHEWS. Still an international representative.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you briefly describe the duties of the secretary-treasurer of the Carolina district of the Communist Party, which position you occupied?

Miss MATHEWS. I only occupied the position of treasurer. Not secretary.

As treasurer I receive reports of income—that is, from dues and other income—from Mr. Hall, and kept the books for the district, and made a monthly report to the national office of their share of initiation fees and dues, and whatever new members had been brought into the party during the previous month—not in terms of names, but merely in terms of composition of these new recruits, such as whether they were Negro or white, whether they were employed or unemployed, such as housewives, students, and so forth, what type of industry they were employed in, whether they were members of the CIO, A. F. of L., or industrial union, or whether they were independent, and so forth. The names I did not send in.

Mr. STRIPLING. As treasurer were you in a position to know the total membership for the district of North and South Carolina?

Miss MATHEWS. No, sir; I was not. It was not part of my duties. It wasn't necessary to the keeping of the records.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you tell the committee how the Communist Party keeps its records as regarding membership?

Miss MATHEWS. I couldn't tell you completely because I didn't have charge of those records. I can only tell you, however, that Christine

Gardner, as secretary, was responsible for issuing cards to new members throughout the district. Now, whether they kept the names of the members or not I do not know. That was entirely her affair.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you function as study groups or as cells?

Miss MATHEWS. The membership?

Mr. STRIPLING. Or sections. We have had testimony here to the effect that the Communist Party has changed its technique and instead of having cells—sections—it now has study groups.

Miss MATHEWS. Well, from my previous experience in the Communist Party, a section can comprise a large group of people, broken up into smaller groups, and they may still retain the sections. They weren't referred to in Winston-Salem particularly as a section. There were groups. In Winston-Salem the membership functioned in eight groups, seven of which met in the evening because they were day workers, and one of which met in the day because it was made up of night workers.

Mr. STRIPLING. Can you tell the committee, if you have any information, as to the total membership of the Communist Party for the district of North Carolina and South Carolina?

Miss MATHEWS. I can only give you an estimated figure up to the time I stopped being active in the party and I should say it numbered, in Winston-Salem, about 150. I do not know what the total membership was in the rest of the district. I could not give you a figure on the district membership.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was the amount of initiation fee and dues paid by the member to the Communist Party?

Miss MATHEWS. The initiation was 50 cents; the unemployed dues were 10 cents; a member averaging \$25-a-week wages paid 35 cents; members averaging between \$25 and \$60 a week paid \$1 dues; over \$60 a week I believe it was \$2.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is the Communist Party for the districts of North and South Carolina financially self-sustaining, or do they receive any subsidy from the national office?

Miss MATHEWS. There is a subsidy of about \$100 a month received from the national office, and then they operate on that \$100 plus their share—the district's share—of the dues.

Mr. STRIPLING. This year, Miss Mathews, the Communist Party of North Carolina carried full-page advertisements in a number of the leading newspapers of North Carolina. The committee has determined that those advertisements cost anywhere from \$110 to \$208. Are you aware of the source of the funds to pay for those advertisements, whether they came from the national office?

Miss MATHEWS. No, sir; I do not know. It is quite possible they were paid out of the income from the district and the subsidy, but if there was any additional source—when were these ads placed?

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, are you aware of any other subsidy or fees which the local district receives from either the national office or any other?

Miss MATHEWS. The only additional funds that I have known of were funds—other than the monthly subsidy—was sent in by the national office to pay the transportation expenses of members of the district sent to national training school.

Mr. STRIPLING. Training school?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. What particular training schools are you referring to?

Miss MATHEWS. That is the training school of the Communist Party at Beacon, N. Y.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did any of the members of the Carolina district attend this school?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir; before Sam Hall came into the district of North Carolina. Robert Lathan and Frank Greene attended the training school, and after Sam Hall came in Moranda Smith, Christine Gardner, and Roy Lingle, all members of local 22, attended, as did Mrs. Beatrice McCrea, who is not connected with the local but is the wife of Edwin McCrea.

Mr. STRIPLING. While attending the national training school, were they still being paid by the union, or do you know?

Miss MATHEWS. I really don't know for the absolute fact whether they were being paid or not. I have heard that Christine Gardner was paid and Moranda Smith was not paid.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did they receive a leave of absence or just what was the situation while they were attending school?

Miss MATHEWS. They were granted a leave of absence by the executive board.

Mr. STRIPLING. By the executive board of the local?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir; but the executive board didn't know the actual circumstances under which they were granted the leave of absence.

Mr. STRIPLING. They did not?

Miss MATHEWS. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were there any discussion groups at Winston-Salem of the Communist Party?

Miss MATHEWS. All the groups that I mentioned before were expected to carry on discussion and educational study in the group meetings.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was the principal medium of recruiting, discussion groups?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir, through the discussion groups and, in addition, when a recruiting drive was put on, an open meeting for the purpose was called, but recruiting went on constantly through the groups.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many discussion groups were there in Winston-Salem?

Miss MATHEWS. I said before there were seven night groups and one day group.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know the leaders of these groups?

Miss MATHEWS. I believe I can tell you some of them. However, since I have been away from the party for the last 6 or 7 months, these people might have changed, there might have been elections held and the people changed; but at the time I was still active with the party it was John Henry Minor, who was an executive board member of local 22; Jethro Dunlap, chairman of the welfare committee of local 22, member of the executive board; Ruth Stokes, she was just an employee in R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.—

Mr. STRIPLING. She holds no position?

Miss MATHEWS. She had been a shop stewardess, but she held no position on the executive board.

Thomas Jackson, who is chairman of the Winston Leaf Tobacco Co., and by virtue of that is a member of the executive board.

I am afraid I can't recall some of the others right now.

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Mathews, will you briefly explain to the committee how these discussion groups functioned?

Miss MATHEWS. I can only explain to you the group that I was in, since I did not attend the meetings of the other groups; but there was usually a typical agenda which consisted of checking up on dues payments and attendance of the members; checking up on whether any subscriptions to the Sunday Worker had been sold, or how many papers, Sunday Worker papers, had been sold of the previous issue; discussing any recruits, any possible recruits; and, of course, a certain portion of the meetings was set aside for educational study. Sometimes the educational study might consist of a particular phase of the Marxism theory or it might concern itself with any current piece of legislation, whether it was concerning trade-unions or the poll-tax bill, or some such other piece of legislation.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was there a chairman of all of the discussion groups?

Miss MATHEWS. Each group had a chairman, and some of the people I have just named were the chairmen of various groups.

Mr. STRIPLING. But was there a central chairman over all?

Miss MATHEWS. There was an office called city organizer which was filled by Velma Hopkins; and as city organizer it was her duty to see that the groups functioned, to assign new members to various groups, to see that they attended their meetings, and so on and so forth.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who succeeded you as treasurer of the district?

Miss MATHEWS. Viola Peoples, who is a secretary in the office of local 22.

Mr. STRIPLING. Secretary in the office of local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, while you were in the local office of local 22, did you ever hear any discussion of the Communist Party activity?

Miss MATHEWS. Will you please repeat that?

Mr. STRIPLING. While in the office of local 22—

Miss MATHEWS. Did I ever hear any discussion?

Mr. STRIPLING. Any discussion of Communist Party activities.

Miss MATHEWS. Well, the various members of the party who were on the staff of the union would get together sometimes and discuss meetings that were scheduled or some such other thing.

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Mathews, I shall now read to you the names of the officers of local 22, including the international representatives of FTA, and I would like for you to answer as I read the person's name whether or not you know of your own knowledge the person is a member of the Communist Party and how you know he or she is a member:

Frank Greene, regional director, FTA, CIO, for Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Is he a member of the Communist Party?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir; Frank Greene is a member of the Communist Party, and I know it because I have sat in meetings with him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Edwin McCrea, international representative, FTA, CIO?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir; he is also a member of the Communist Party. I have sat in meetings with him.

Mr. STRIPLING. John Tisa?

Miss MATHEWS. I know nothing about Mr. Tisa.

Mr. STRIPLING. You never met Mr. Tisa?

Miss MATHEWS. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Tisa, Mr. Chairman, is an international representative of the FTA. CIO, who has been assigned to local 22.

The next person is W. Clark Sheppard, who is cochairman of local 22.

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir; as far as I know, Clark Sheppard is a member. I have sat in at least one meeting with him in Winston-Salem.

The CHAIRMAN. One Communist meeting?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir. I remember only clearly one meeting.

Mr. STRIPLING. Next, Robert C. Black?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who is a Negro and cochairman of local 22.

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir; I have sat in meetings with Mr. Black.

Mr. STRIPLING. Clyde Watts, vice chairman of local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. Not to my knowledge. He is not, to my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Next, Crawford Shelton?

Miss MATHEWS. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Vice chairman of local 22.

Miss MATHEWS. No, sir; not to my knowledge is he a Communist.

Mr. STRIPLING. John Henry Miller, Negro, vice chairman of local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. John Henry Miller was chairman up until I left the party in January 1947, was a member of the Communist Party, and was chairman of one of the groups.

Mr. STRIPLING. Etta Hobson, financial secretary of local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir; I have sat in meetings with Etta Hobson.

Mr. STRIPLING. Willie Greer, Negro, treasurer of local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Viola Brown, Negro, recording secretary, local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes; Viola Brown is—I don't know whether it is for the district or just the city of Winston-Salem—but she is in charge of the sale of literature, the Daily Worker and the Sunday Worker, for the Communist Party.

Mr. STRIPLING. Frank O'Neal, Negro, trustee of local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes; Frank O'Neal was a member of my group.

Mr. STRIPLING. Robert Person, Negro, trustee of local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Vivian Bruce, trustee of local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir; I have sat in at least one meeting with Vivian Bruce.

Mr. STRIPLING. Christine Gardner, Negro, trustee of local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. Is secretary of the district.

Mr. STRIPLING. Marie Jackson, Negro, trustee of local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. I can't be sure.

Mr. STRIPLING. Your answer would be "no," then?

Miss MATHEWS. No; I wouldn't say "no" definitely; but I believe she is, although I have never sat in a meeting with her.

Mr. STRIPLING. Velma Hopkins, Negro, organizing chairman of local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. She is the city organizer of the Communist Party of Winston-Salem, and I have sat in meetings with her.

Mr. STRIPLING. Moranda Smith, Negro, education chairman, local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. She is a member of the district executive committee, and I have sat in meetings with her.

Mr. STRIPLING. John Henry Minor, veterans' committee chairman of local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Theodosia Simpson, Negro, political action committee chairman, local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. Was a member of my group.

Mr. STRIPLING. Luke Landreth, defense committee chairman, local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Jethro Dunlap, Negro, welfare committee chairman, local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. Mr. Dunlap was chairman of the group I functioned in.

Mr. STRIPLING. Howard Pilcher, chairman, departmental membership meetings, local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Emanuel Shell, Negro, chairman, departmental membership meetings, local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Quency Spurgeon, Negro, chairman, departmental membership meetings, local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Clarence Whiteside, chairman, departmental membership meetings, local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. I can't say for sure about Clarence Whiteside.

Mr. STRIPLING. Wesley Bee, Negro, chairman, departmental membership meetings, local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. I believe he is, but I have never sat in meetings with him.

Mr. STRIPLING. What makes you believe he is?

Miss MATHEWS. I have a vague recollection that somewhere I have seen him around, but I can't be sure, and I wouldn't want to say definitely.

Mr. STRIPLING. Then your answer is "no"?

Miss MATHEWS. No; I have a very strong suspicion that he is, and I think I have seen him around somewhere, but I don't want to say in absolute fact, because I don't recall sitting in meetings with him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Jason Hawkins, Negro, chairman, stewards' council, local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. At the time I ended my activities with the party he was then acting chairman of the executive board of Winston-Salem. This is a little different from Velma Hopkins' position. He had an executive committee of the city of Winston-Salem, and Robert Lathan had originally been elected chairman for the city of Winston-Salem. When he was transferred to the eastern Carolina district, Hawkins, who was then vice chairman, took over his duties and chaired the meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. You are referring to the executive committee of the Communist Party?

MISS MATHEWS. That is right. And Velma Hopkins had charge of the functioning groups to see that they functioned. But Jason Hawkins acted as vice chairman of the executive committee.

MR. STRIPLING. You don't know whether he is still a member or not?

MISS MATHEWS. I had heard that he had withdrawn but this was only hearsay.

MR. STRIPLING. He was?

MISS MATHEWS. He was at the time I was there.

MR. STRIPLING. John Wright, chairman, stewards' council, local 22?

MISS MATHEWS. No, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. Thomas Jackson, Negro, chairman, stewards' council, local 22?

MISS MATHEWS. Yes, sir; he was a member of the executive council, Winston-Salem.

MR. STRIPLING. Miss Mathews, the investigation conducted by the committee disclosed that local 22 is a member of the Tri-State Council and you have testified to that effect this morning.

MISS MATHEWS. Yes, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. Have you at any time been present when the Tri-State Council adopted any resolutions—resolutions which would be in furtherance of what we call the Communist Party line?

MISS MATHEWS. I have only attended one session of a week-end conference of the Tri-State Council. I was on my way from Orlando, Fla., to Winston-Salem. The conference was being held in Charleston, S. C. I do not recall any particular resolutions that were passed at that meeting.

MR. STRIPLING. Well, did you ever attend any meetings of local 22 in which any such resolutions were adopted, or presented?

MISS MATHEWS. Up until the latter part of 1946, I attended all executive board meetings because I took the minutes and at quite a few executive board meetings resolutions were adopted of one nature or another.

MR. STRIPLING. Would you say any of those resolutions were in furtherance of the Communist Party line or were they resolutions strictly on union affairs?

MISS MATHEWS. Not quite. Often resolutions would be passed on an international or a national question which would be something outside the orthodox trade-union.

MR. STRIPLING. In other words, the membership of the union didn't adopt those resolutions, it was done by the executive committee?

MISS MATHEWS. Yes. They were adopted by the executive board.

MR. STRIPLING. Do you recall any of the resolutions?

MISS MATHEWS. I recall a resolution adopted while I was still taking minutes of the board meeting on the question of General Smuts being allowed to annex part of Southwest Africa.

THE CHAIRMAN. I didn't hear the answer.

MISS MATHEWS. It was a request made of General Smuts of South Africa to the United Nations to be permitted to take over certain territory in Africa.

I also recall a resolution on taking the American troops out of China.

MR. STRIPLING. As a Communist you were well aware that that was and still is the line of the Communist Party?

Miss MATHEWS. Oh, yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you think that the rank-and-file membership of local 22 was concerned particularly with whether or not American troops were withdrawn from China?

Miss MATHEWS. Well, I can't really say, because the resolutions were not read to the membership and they didn't have an opportunity to vote on them and voice their opinions.

Mr. STRIPLING. It was done by the executive committee?

Miss MATHEWS. The executive board usually adopted these resolutions.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were the majority of the executive committee members of the Communist Party?

Miss MATHEWS. I think the record shows from the names you just read off that they were.

Mr. STRIPLING. The committee's investigation reveals that the treasury of local 22 was used to make contributions to certain Communist-front organizations and to send delegates to Communist-front conferences. Will you explain to the committee the names of the organizations, do you have any knowledge concerning them, and how the local agrees to the contributions or the selection of delegates to these various conferences?

Miss MATHEWS. The local sets up a 3 months' budget on which they operate and one of the items in the budget is contributions. When any request is made of the local for a contribution the executive board gives it consideration and decides to donate, or contribute, some money, or not to contribute, depending on what the situation may be, and this money is supposed to come from the item in the budget set up under "contributions." The executive board may pass on it. That has been the practice.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall any particular contributions that were voted?

Miss MATHEWS. I believe a \$10 contribution was sent to the Council on African Affairs, requested by Paul Robeson, who also requested that a resolution be passed, the one I just mentioned, on the South African situation; and I believe there was a \$100 contribution given to the—I don't know whether it was the Southern Conference for Human Welfare or the Committee of North Carolina of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. I can't remember which body.

Mr. STRIPLING. \$100?

Miss MATHEWS. I believe it was a contribution of \$100.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall any others?

Miss MATHEWS. I don't recall any others, as far as contributions were concerned, at this particular time, but delegates were sent to some conventions.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were any delegates ever sent to Communist-front organizations, such as the National Negro Congress?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir; there were two delegates sent to the recent congress—or, I don't know how recent it is now—some time the latter part of last year, I believe, when it was held in the city of Detroit, Mich. Jason Hawkins and Crawford Shelton were sent as delegates.

Mr. STRIPLING. And their expenses were paid by the local?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir.

Frank O'Neal was sent as a delegate of the local to the convention of Southern Conference for Human Welfare, held in the latter part of 1946, in New Orleans.

I believe Theodosia Simpson was sent as a delegate to a conference held in Birmingham, Ala.—I don't know whether it was called the Southern Youth Legislative Conference—but some such organization.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you familiar with any Communist Party activity in Chapel Hill, N. C.?

Miss MATHEWS. I only know that it goes on. I have never attended any meetings there.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you aware of any Communist activity within the University of North Carolina?

Miss MATHEWS. There is a group within the university.

Mr. STRIPLING. A Communist group?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know who is the head of that group?

Miss MATHEWS. I believe it is a boy by the name of Junius Scales.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know how many members belong to the group?

Miss MATHEWS. No, sir; I have no knowledge of that.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was the official publication—

Mr. NIXON. How do you know that?

Miss MATHEWS. I have sat in meetings with Mr. Junius Scales, in district committee meetings.

Mr. NIXON. How do you know that there is also a group around Mr. Scales in the university?

Miss MATHEWS. Because as treasurer of the district Mr. Hall gave me a record of dues payments of the group in Chapel Hill.

Mr. NIXON. I see.

Mr. McDOWELL. This boy is a student in the college?

Miss MATHEWS. He is; yes, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. Do you know where his home is?

Miss MATHEWS. I know it is in Chapel Hill. I have been to his home.

Mr. McDOWELL. He is a native of North Carolina?

Miss MATHEWS. I do not know. I do not know if he is a native.

Mr. McDOWELL. He lives in North Carolina?

Miss MATHEWS. He lives in Chapel Hill, N. C. Whether he is a native or not, I don't know.

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Mathews, was the official paper of the Communist Party, the Worker, sold in the offices of local 22?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. It was.

Miss MATHEWS. It was sold by individual members of the party. I wouldn't say that it was with the approval of the union; I mean to the extent that no request was ever made of the executive board that individual members of the party would be permitted to sell the paper in the offices, but it was done.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, those are all the questions I have for this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bonner.

Mr. BONNER. Miss Mathews, this committee is primarily interested in whether or not local 22 is dominated by Communist influence. Are the officials that control the union Communists?

Miss MATHEWS. In the list that was just read off by Mr. Stripling is the indication and I think it shows the majority of the executive board members, who would necessarily be considered the leaders of the union, are members of the Communist Party.

Mr. BONNER. Then, you would say the control of the local there is Communist?

Miss MATHEWS. The members of the executive board have a great deal more influence with the membership than other members of the rank and file.

Mr. BONNER. Do you know the gentleman who came to Washington and appeared here, for aid the local of its communistic domination?

Miss MATHEWS. You mean the visit of Mr. Long and Mr. Pratt?

Mr. BONNER. Well, the papers recorded the men that came to Washington.

Miss MATHEWS. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. I don't know them. Do you know them?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BONNER. Have they had any affiliation with the Communist Party?

Miss MATHEWS. No, sir; not a one of them.

Mr. BONNER. Do you know anything, brought about by the dissatisfaction in the operation of the local, that caused these men to come to Washington and appeal for assistance from the national head of the union?

Miss MATHEWS. The only thing I know is that while I was working as secretary in the office, from time to time I did hear reports that white members of the local were very much concerned with the sale of the Worker going on in the office and what they had found out about other activities of some of the people on the staff and on the executive board, outside of straight trade-union work. That is all I know. You see, I haven't been connected with the local since January of 1947.

Mr. BONNER. Now, as to the present officials of the union, do you know much about their background—whether they have been in any difficulty prior to their coming to Winston-Salem or not?

Miss MATHEWS. I don't think I quite understand the question.

Mr. BONNER. Well, do you know the history, the personal history, of the officials of the local union?

Miss MATHEWS. You mean the present officials of the local union?

Mr. BONNER. Yes.

Miss MATHEWS. Well, the only—

Mr. BONNER. Have they had any legal entanglements?

Miss MATHEWS. No, sir; I do not know.

Mr. BONNER. Whether they have operated under any assumed names previously.

Miss MATHEWS. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. BONNER. Those are all the questions I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. Only one question. Miss Mathews, there has been delivered here to us this morning a press statement released by Edwin

McCrea, international representative of this union. Did you identify Mr. McCrea as a Communist?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. Then this is the statement of a Communist, a member of the Communist Party. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Miss Mathews, you are still interested in the success of the trade-union movement: are you not?

Miss MATHEWS. Yes, sir; very definitely so.

Mr. NIXON. You are no longer a member of the party, however; are you?

Miss MATHEWS. No.

Mr. NIXON. Your testimony before this committee, then, is directed toward pointing out the Communist control of the union and not toward the destroying of the union as such?

Miss MATHEWS. Definitely not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I want to point out that Miss Mathews is subpoenaed before the committee. Miss Mathews did not come voluntarily before the committee.

Mr. NIXON. The strike that has just been concluded was concluded successfully; is that the case?

Miss MATHEWS. I only know that through reading the newspapers in Winston-Salem. I was not employed by the union during the period of the strike.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. McCrea indicates that that was the case, in his statement. In your opinion, from what you know, was the strike, from a strictly union standpoint, justified?

Miss MATHEWS. I could not decide because I was not connected with the local at the time the strike was called. I can only say that during my term of employment with the local union, each year as the contract was ready to come up for negotiation the local made arrangements to be prepared in the event they felt during the period of negotiations a strike was going to be necessary. Prior to the opening of negotiations they prepared their machinery, as I think quite a number of other unions do under the circumstances, where they feel they might have difficulty. It doesn't necessarily follow a strike will be called, but they set their machinery up in preparation so they will not find themselves in a chaotic state if a strike is called or if they find it necessary to call a strike. But that is an annual affair—at least during the 2 years I was employed in the local. One year I took the minutes of negotiation meetings. That was in 1946. Prior to the opening of negotiations, the local had set up its machinery, such as electing picket captains, and so on and so forth, in preparation for a strike in the event they felt it was going to be necessary, during negotiations. They wanted to complete their negotiations.

Mr. NIXON. Since you have indicated your belief in the trade-union movement and in the principles and aims of organization, including this particular union, is it your belief, from your service in the union and also as a member of the party, that the Communist Party and its members serve the best interest of the union, in building the union and working for union principles?

Miss MATHEWS. No, sir; I do not think so.

Mr. NIXON. You don't think so?

Miss MATHEWS. No, sir. You wanted to know whether I think it serves the best interests to have the party functioning within the trade-union?

Mr. NIXON. That is right.

Miss MATHEWS. No; I have finally come to the conclusion that it does not serve the best interests of the union.

Mr. NIXON. Do you, on the other hand, believe by having Communists in the union it is harmful to the interests of the union itself?

Miss MATHEWS. I think it has proven so in local 22; definitely.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. Miss Mathews, would you say there has been a consistent organized movement within the union to recruit members for the Communist Party?

Miss MATHEWS. The actual organization for recruiting members didn't really start until after Sam Hall arrived in Winston-Salem. While there were members of the Communist Party on the staff of the union prior to Mr. Hall's appearance in Winston-Salem, there was no definite drive. Now, whether individual members of the staff or other people in Winston-Salem might try to recruit a member of the union here and there, I can't say, but there was no concerted campaign to get membership for the Communist Party from within the union ranks.

Mr. VAIL. In your opinion, what percentage of the union membership was communistic?

Miss MATHEWS. As far as the members of the union were concerned, it was quite small.

Mr. VAIL. Quite small? -

Miss MATHEWS. I testified, I think, the union estimated they had a membership of 8,000, including the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. and three leaf houses. At the time I left the employ of the union I think there were approximately 150 members of the Communist Party within Winston-Salem, all of whom were not members of the union.

Mr. VAIL. To what, then, do you attribute the success of these men in being elected to office—Communists being elected to office—within the union?

Miss MATHEWS. What do I attribute their success to?

Mr. VAIL. Yes.

Miss MATHEWS. Well, a good number of the people who are still holding office were holding office—a number were on the executive board of the local—when I first went in there. They were known then as leaders of local 22, leaders of the workers in the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., or leaders of the workers in the leaf houses. Of course, when a concerted drive was put on, attention was given first of all to the executive board members and many of the executive board members joined the party, but since they had already held office prior to this time and had been known as leaders in local 22, they seemed to be reelected to office.

Mr. VAIL. Well, were they originally identified with the creation of the union in the first place?

Miss MATHEWS. Some of them were; yes. Theodosia Simpson worked at the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. plant and was one of the principal organizers, as was Mr. Black. I am only giving you what I have learned since coming into Winston-Salem, since I was not in

Winston-Salem in the original organizational campaign of the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. But after being in the employ of the union and learning its history, I found out that Robert Black, Theodosia Simpson, Clark Sheppard, and some others whom I don't quite recall, were among the leaders in the original organization of the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. plant.

MR. VAIL. No more questions.

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling, do you have any more questions?

MR. STRIPLING. No; I have no more questions.

THE CHAIRMAN. Any member of the committee have any more questions?

MR. McDOWELL. I would like to ask a question. What is a leaf house?

MISS MATHEWS. Where they process the leaf tobacco. They don't manufacture the tobacco, like the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. They process it.

MR. STRIPLING. Do you have any questions, Mr. Appell?

MR. APPELL. No.

MR. STRIPLING. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Miss Mathews.

Your next witness.

MR. STRIPLING. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, will be Mr. Gene Pratt.

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. Pratt.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, before you swear the witness, I would suggest that you instruct Miss Mathews that she is still under subpoena and to remain at the hearings or to remain in the committee office until the hearing is completed.

THE CHAIRMAN. Yes. Miss Mathews and the other witnesses are all under subpoena and we want you to remain here in the hearing room until the hearings are completed today.

MR. PRATT, will you raise your right hand, please? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

MR. PRATT. I do.

THE CHAIRMAN. Be seated, please.

MR. PRATT (indicating photographers). Is this necessary?

THE CHAIRMAN. Just one or two pictures.

MR. STRIPLING. Do you object to having your picture taken, Mr. Pratt?

MR. PRATT. Yes; I do.

MR. STRIPLING. Would you like to submit your objections to the chairman? If you have any personal objections, why I suggest you submit them to the chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN. You want to come up here, Mr. Pratt?

(Discussion off the record.)

THE CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Stripling; proceed.

### TESTIMONY OF EUGENE C. PRATT

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Pratt, will you state your full name for the record, please?

MR. PRATT. Yes, sir. My full name is Eugene C. Pratt. I have signed my name for years as Gene Pratt, and I am known at home as Gene Pratt.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born, Mr. Pratt?

Mr. PRATT. April 11, 1909, in St. Louis, Mo.

Mr. STRIPLING. April 11, 1901?

Mr. PRATT. Nine.

Mr. STRIPLING. Nine?

Mr. PRATT. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. In St. Louis, Mo.?

Mr. PRATT. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present address?

Mr. PRATT. Pfafftown, N. C.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever employed by local 22 of the Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers, in Winston-Salem, N. C.

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. In what position?

Mr. PRATT. As business agent.

Mr. STRIPLING. Business agent?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your occupation, Mr. Pratt?

Mr. PRATT. You mean now?

Mr. STRIPLING. No; I mean, what has been your occupation for the past 10 years?

Mr. PRATT. I was employed by the Brown & Williamson Tobacco Co. for a period of about 12 years, prior to 1945, when I became connected with local 22.

Mr. STRIPLING. As the business agent?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Pratt, at the time you joined the staff of local 22 as business agent, did you know of any alleged Communist affiliation of the leadership of local 22? Had you ever heard of any?

Mr. PRATT. Not of my own knowledge. I heard of Communists being present in that organization.

Mr. STRIPLING. You had heard that?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. But you had no personal knowledge of it?

Mr. PRATT. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you accepted the position as business agent, did you have any concern over this information that you had heard that there were Communists within the local?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir; I had a great amount of concern. That happens to be my home town—or the little village I live in, known as Pfafftown, is about 8½, 9 miles from Winston-Salem. I have lived in and around Winston-Salem most of my life. I was greatly concerned with Communist infiltration into that organization, that had a contract with the Reynolds Tobacco Co., because of the number of people that were involved there and the detriment that I understood it would be to the community as a whole.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, why, then, did you accept the position?

Mr. PRATT. At that time I was very much interested and still am very much interested in organized labor—mind you, clean organized labor, not Communist-dominated organized labor—and I accepted the position hoping, if I found what I had heard to be true, we might be able to break it up from the inside, and that it would not serve as a draw-back to the organization that was already started in the Reynolds Tobacco Co.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, now, after you accepted the position as business agent, did you observe anything which would indicate to you that there was Communist influence within the union?

Mr. PRATT. For the first few months I didn't, but as time went along it became more and more evident that Communist influence was present, as I got to know the people I was working with better and they got more and more lax about their discussing matters along that line in the presence of me, and I guess other people, too. In the library there were articles written by people who I understand are connected with the Communist Party. I found that secret meetings were being held and attended by a great number of the people who were working in the union.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you call that a clique or a dominating group within the union?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir; it was a clique and I would say it was dominating because many of the matters that came before the executive board and before the staff seemed to have been predecided. I had no knowledge of why or how it had come about. The matters would just be adopted, be they issues or whatever they happened to be.

Mr. STRIPLING. Everything was prearranged?

Mr. PRATT. Prearranged. They would be adopted and everybody seemed to have an understanding of what it was all about, without too much discussion.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you give the committee the names of the members of this clique or dominating group?

Mr. PRATT. Well, at that time particularly, shortly after I went there and I first began to notice that, Frank Green was the director. Frank Green was also the chairman of the tri-State council, which covers North Carolina, Virginia, and South Carolina. I later learned that Frank Green was a Communist. I thought so at the time and I lived and learned that he was. Miss Eleanor Hoagland was educational director. She is the wife of William Binkley, who is an admitted Communist.

Mr. STRIPLING. Binkley—B-i-n-k-l-e-y?

Mr. PRATT. Binkley, yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. He is an admitted Communist?

Mr. PRATT. He is an admitted Communist, yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is he identified in any way with local 22?

Mr. PRATT. No, sir, but he was connected with the fur and leather workers, and for some months occupied one of the offices in the building that local 22 was paying rent on.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who are some of the other members of this group?

Mr. PRATT. Well, at that time Clark Sheppard was an organizer for local 22.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Sheppard is now cochairman, is that right?

Mr. PRATT. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that the highest position of the local?

Mr. PRATT. It is now. Robert C. Black was an organizer at that time.

Mr. STRIPLING. He was a member of this group?

Mr. PRATT. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is he also a cochairman?

Mr. PRATT. He is.

Mr. STRIPLING. At the present time?

MR. PRATT. Yes, sir. When I first became affiliated with local 22, Ann Ross was working there—or worked there a few weeks or a month or so. She admitted to me later that she was a member of the Communist Party and had been over a period of years. Also, there was Theodosia Simpson.

MR. STRIPLING. What position did Theodosia Simpson hold at that time?

MR. PRATT. Well, she did office work and made an attempt at organizing. She just worked for the local in general. She is now chairman of the political action committee.

MR. STRIPLING. The chairman of the PAC?

MR. PRATT. That is right. She admitted to me later she was a member of the Communist Party.

MR. STRIPLING. Any others that you recall?

MR. PRATT. None that I recall right now.

MR. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Pratt, these meetings in which the arrangements were made, were they being held in the union offices—or where were they being held?

MR. PRATT. I was given to understand those meetings were held at the home of one Daniel Brown Jackson, on West End Boulevard.

MR. STRIPLING. Daniel Brown Jackson?

MR. PRATT. Yes, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. Was he a member or an official in the union?

MR. PRATT. No; not at that time. He had been a member. Whether or not he had ever worked for the local, I don't know. I understood he worked for Reynolds Tobacco Co. and had gotten to be a member by virtue of the fact that he was an employee of that company.

MR. STRIPLING. Do you have any knowledge that Daniel Brown Jackson is a member of the Communist Party or is considered to be a member of the Communist Party?

MR. PRATT. Nothing except hearsay.

MR. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Pratt, as business agent of local 22, did you come in contact with people who were members of the Communist Party or who were officials of the party, but who were not active in local 22?

MR. PRATT. Yes, sir, I did from time to time. My connection there called for me to supply the use of an automobile. I was called on by the various departments to make short runs for them, if I had time to do so, which I did on many occasions. I was approached by Miss Eleanor Hoagland early one afternoon and asked if I would make my car available to meet some parties at the Robert E. Lee that evening about 6:30 o'clock, or 7, and give them transportation to a colored church known as the Frank O'Neil Church. At that time she gave me a special invitation to attend what she called a lecture that was to be given by a Robert Miner. I didn't know at that time who Robert Miner was. I did not question her because she just came in to my desk and made that request. I said, "All right," and she passed on out of the office.

I started to leave the office that evening to go to the Robert E. Lee Hotel to pick up these parties. Miss Mathews asked me if she might ride along.

MR. STRIPLING. Miss Mathews?

MR. PRATT. That is right. She did. It was a very bad night. It was snowing. I got around to the Robert E. Lee Hotel. I went inside

and I found Miss Hoagland. She said her parties were not quite ready and that if I would tell her where I was parked she would be along in a minute. I did that, and went to the car. Pretty soon she came out of the hotel with this Robert Miner—he was introduced to me as Robert Miner—and Alice Burke. Robert Miner, Miss Alice Burke, Miss Hoagland, Miss Mathews, and myself proceeded to the church through the snow in my automobile. There were a few other people who attended that lecture, just a few others because of the severity of the weather.

MR. STRIPLING. Now, you learned at the meeting who Robert Miner was?

MR. PRATT. I did.

MR. STRIPLING. He is a member of the national board of the Communist Party?

MR. PRATT. I understand he is.

MR. STRIPLING. Did he speak on Communist Party matters?

MR. PRATT. Yes, he did. He deviated from what he had intended to say to us and said, "I'm just going to talk to you," and he went on to tell about the economic set-up of the United States and this, that, and the other.

MR. McDOWELL. Mr. Chairman, may I ask if this is Robert Miner, the old-time cartoonist and the veteran Communist figure for many years from the New York headquarters?

MR. STRIPLING. Yes, he is.

MR. PRATT, did you ever speak to any of the leaders of local 22 who were members of this group about these secret meetings that were going on, in which everything was arranged in advance?

MR. PRATT. Yes, sir; I did. I would like for the committee to remember that my interest was in organized labor. I had to move very cautiously—I felt that I had to—if I was going to remain in a position to protect organized labor against what I thought was a detriment to it. Therefore, I could not speak openly at any time and give my position away, or I would be short-lived there. I approached Frank Green about this matter of secret meetings and prearranged ideas, and so on. I approached him by saying I felt left out and I wondered if I was not being trusted. I showed some resentment. I meant to reflect some interest along with it. When I talked to him along that line, he told me it was against the policy of the party to admit membership or to point out who was or who was not a member, but he would tell me that I was not distrusted. He went on to say that the party was not functioning as a party at that particular time and had not been through the war years—

THE CHAIRMAN. That is, the Communist Party?

MR. PRATT. The Communist Party. But very shortly they planned to function as a party and to go out for new recruits, and that at that time my name would be given consideration and on that score I need not have any worries.

So far as the prearranged ideas, he explained it was for the good of the union; that there were things that could not be talked about to the membership in general; that it had to be done that way; and that after the effort for new recruits came about I would probably be on the inside, where I would understand the workings of the meetings that were held where the ideas were prearranged.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you talked with him, did you have any sincere intention of joining the Communist Party, or were you simply feeling him out?

Mr. PRATT. I was simply feeling him out. I did not have then, and never have had, a feeling that I wanted to join the Communist Party.

Mr. STRIPLING. Frank Green was then the director; is that right?

Mr. PRATT. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who was he succeeded by?

Mr. PRATT. He was succeeded by Philip Koritz.

Mr. STRIPLING. Koritz?

Mr. PRATT. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was Koritz' position in the union prior to his succeeding Frank Green? Was he an international representative?

Mr. PRATT. Koritz came to Winston-Salem and took the position of director of local 22, from California. As to whether or not he had been affiliated with FTA in California I can't say. I understand he was with some CIO organization, but whether it was the FTA, I do not know.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Mr. Koritz become involved in any difficulty with the law-enforcing authorities in North Carolina, in connection with a strike, at any time while you were connected with the union?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir. Mr. Koritz, during a strike at the Piedmont Leaf Tobacco Co., was arrested for resisting an officer, was tried and found guilty. The case is now pending, I understand, before the Supreme Court.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Pratt, did you ever observe any other Communist activity within local 22, or any influence which would lead you to believe that Communist activity was being carried on or was prevelant within the leadership of the union?

Mr. PRATT. Well, the prearrangement of issues brought before the executive board continued. There were donations to what I would term Communist-front organizations without too much discussion on the floor of the executive board. Many members of the union who knew about such donations considered that was going outside the needs of the union, with their funds. There was little or nothing they could do about it. The board was elected to administer such matters, and they did.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are speaking now of the executive board?

Mr. PRATT. The executive board of the union. There were resolutions passed that had to do with moving troops from China to some other place, there were resolutions passed concerning the African situation, and so forth.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, did you hear the testimony of Miss Anne Mathews, who preceded you?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. She testified that copies of the Daily Worker could be obtained or bought at the offices of local 22.

Mr. PRATT. Copies of the Worker were sold continuously. There may have been a break from time to time, on the basis of objection of some of the members, because many of them objected to me about it and I voiced my objection. Nevertheless, the break, if there was such a break, in the distribution of those papers wasn't very noticeable. It was almost continuous.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever see any Community Party records, in the nature of membership books or anything of that kind, at the offices of local 22?

Mr. PRATT. I have here two Communist Party cards—membership cards, I suppose—that I picked up from the floor of the union office [handing documents].

Mr. STRIPLING. Where was that union office located, Mr. Pratt?

Mr. PRATT. 247½ North Main Street, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, this is a membership card for the year 1946, Communist Party, United States of America, No. 77026. The name is blank. There is a space for city, State, and date issued. It is signed by "Sam Hall," as State chairman. On the back it says, "Rights and duties of party members." On the inside it has space for "1946 dues," with a blank square for January, February, and each month. It also says, "Dues rates, income over \$60 per week, \$2 per month; income \$25 to \$60 a week, \$1 per month; income under \$25 per week, 35 cents per month; unemployed, 10 cents per month." Under that it says, "Read the Daily Worker and the Worker. Read our monthly magazine, Political Affairs." It also has a space for assessment stamp and initiation stamp, and two other spaces, under "1945 dues," which say, "third quarter," and "fourth quarter."

The other document which he submits is identical with the first except it is numbered 77027. It is also in blank and contains the same information thereon.

I would like these to be received, Mr. Chairman, as exhibits.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.<sup>9</sup>

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Pratt, did you approach any of the officers of local 22 with respect to this nonunion activity—I mean, of selling the Daily Worker, passing resolutions, and so forth.

Mr. PRATT. As to the Daily Worker, I had that done by another person because it wasn't a thing for me to do. Many of the white people came to me with their complaints about such matters, and the Daily Worker was one of them. I approached Ed McCrea about the union's taking part in many outside matters. At that time he explained to me that I should remember these people are not fighting for just the union; that they are fighting for their rights as American citizens; and that some of the things I had mentioned to him would be taken up in due time and could be ironed out. That led me to believe that some of the people were involved in some of the complaints, people who were members of the party were involved in some of the complaints, and therefore had to be handled very carefully. It had to come around very gradually.

Mr. STRIPLING. After you talked with Mr. Green, did you ever receive any Communist Party literature in the mails?

Mr. PRATT. Yes. Mr. Green placed in my hand some pamphlets at that time that were in the office. On the occasion of the conversation that I spoke to you about a moment ago, Mr. Green instructed me that those pamphlets were very confidential. Now, you asked: Did I receive Communist literature?

Mr. STRIPLING. Literature, or—

Mr. PRATT. Yes; after that time I got Communist Party literature. I have some of it here with me now. This is a letter signed by Sam

<sup>9</sup> See appendix, p. 231, for exhibits 1 and 2, hearing, July 23, 1947.

Hall. This is another matter. I will submit them for your inspection. They came to me in this envelope, right here. [Handing documents.]

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Pratt, do you have any information or is it your opinion the roster of the membership of local 22 was being used by the Communists for the purpose of distributing their literature?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir; it is my opinion, and I base my opinion on this: Many of the white people and a few colored people approached me saying immediately or very shortly after they had become a member of the union they had begun to receive this literature. Many of them objected to it strenuously, saying they were not interested, and they were surprised to find it in the union and that their membership in the union started bringing this type literature to their door through the mail. Therefore, they had only one thing to assume and that is that as soon as their name went on the union books it was turned over to the Communist Party. That is all I have to go on.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, this letter says: "Carolina District, Communists Party, U. S. A., Post Office Box 2884, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Sam Hall, Chairman:

"Dear Friend"—I won't read the text of the letter, but it concerns the efforts on the part of the Congress to outlaw the Communist Party. At the bottom it says: "For a Free, Happy, and Prosperous South."

The other piece of literature is a reproduction of a political advertisement which appeared in the Raleigh News and Observer, sponsored by the Communist Party of the United States.

You say, Mr. Pratt, the rank and file objected to the receipt of such material through the mails?

Mr. PRATT. I would say some of them voiced objections to me.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes. As far as the rank and file of local 22, do you think any appreciable percentage of its members are interested in communism or are identified with the Communist movement, according to any knowledge you might have?

Mr. PRATT. I would say no, sir, not a great many as compared with the over-all picture.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. PRATT. However, I do feel the Communist Party has made great gains. They move very cautiously, I understand. They have made great gains, considering that they do move cautiously.

Mr. STRIPLING. In local 22?

Mr. PRATT. In local 22.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever approached to join the Communist Party?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir. Along in May 1946 I was approached. I was a candidate for the House of Representatives from the State of North Carolina. Before the primary election was held a Larry Larson approached me in my office and told me that he liked to introduce me to a friend of his. We went over into Mr. Green's office. Mr. Green, after being replaced by Koritz, still retained an office in local 22's office building. So we went from my office over into Mr. Green's office, and there he introduced me to a Sam Hall, a man whose name I had already learned and whom I had seen go in and out of the union office on several different occasions prior to that. At that time he asked me about joining the Communist Party. As I said, I couldn't pretend that I wasn't interested—I still didn't want to join because

I wasn't interested, but as I say I couldn't show that—so I merely stalled the thing off until after the election. After the election I did have to dig up more excuses: My wife objected, and so on. It went on like that. I understood they gave great consideration to your home status, and that stood me in good stead.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you see Sam Hall at the office of local 22 frequently?

Mr. PRATT. Along about that time it was fairly frequent. I would say it was as much as three times a week.

Mr. STRIPLING. He would come to the offices of the local union?

Mr. PRATT. Yes. Later his presence was not seen there as frequently. After he announced it publicly, he was rarely present.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Pratt, is local 22 administered by the local members or by the international body of the Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers?

Mr. PRATT. At the time of my affiliation or employment, local 22 had a director who was on the pay roll of the international—and of course exercised a great influence over the board. He was succeeded by another director, known as Philip Koritz. Then, in November 1946—I believe I am right—the directorship was replaced by the co-chairmanship. Ed McCrea was assigned as international representative to work with local 22. After the cochairman came into office, Ed McCrea was the brains behind the organization. He was on the pay roll of FTA, the international.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you say, then, the membership of the local did not direct the union affairs in a democratic manner?

Mr. PRATT. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. But they were being directed from the top, so to speak, by the international?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir; and I would base my decision on many things, one of which I will cite to you if you are interested. Ed McCrea came to my house during the Christmas holidays last year. He told me that Koritz had had a dislike for me and—

Mr. STRIPLING. He didn't appeal to Koritz?

Mr. PRATT. That is right; he had a dislike for me, and that Koritz in leaving—he was going out of town—and being replaced by a co-chairman and maybe feeling that he hadn't done such a good job—was trying to sabotage the organization. He had also done, as he put it, a job on me with many members of the executive board and he had convinced enough members of the executive board that I should be ousted and that that would probably have come about if Ed himself hadn't stepped in and stopped it. Any time he is able to control the majority membership of the executive board, I would say he controlled the union. He asked me if I would agree to continue to work for local 22. I told him I was interested in organization. I had also known what Koritz had tried to do to me. I wondered where I had slipped up, because I had a job to do, too. I agreed with Ed that I would continue to work for local 22. He agreed to go out and do the job on the majority of the members of local 22's executive board, which he did, and I continued to work for them until I left there in May of this year.

Mr. STRIPLING. Under what circumstances did you leave, Mr. Pratt?

Mr. PRATT. I left the local union during the strike. When it became apparent we were going to have racial trouble in Winston-Salem because of the fact that we were not adhering to the understanding between the police department and the union, it became necessary for me to make known the information I had gathered since I had been there.

I didn't want to do it during the strike, because I felt it would work a hardship on a great many innocent people that didn't even know that communism existed in their organization or the organization they were paying dues to. I was reluctant to do it at that time.

Nevertheless, I could see the control getting away from us more and more and more. In order to save the organization, I approached Mr. Phil Murray, president of the CIO, and Mr. Alan Haywood, the vice president. I told him what we were up against. I told him I believed the company's objection to dealing with that organization was because of the Communists in the organization, and that if he could in some manner remove the company's objection the company would do business with that union and take those people back to work—off the street—with a reasonable settlement. He said—would you like me to continue?

Mr. STRIPLING. Go right ahead.

Mr. PRATT. He said, "What will be the outcome if the objections of the company are not removed"—or the Communists are not removed, we will put it that way. I said, "In my opinion, the company will continue to hire until they get a full complement of personnel, and after they have had a full complement of personnel they will allow the strikers—the people who have been members of the union now for some years, who have a right to look to the CIO for protection—to continue to walk the streets as long as they want to and the company will operate without them."

I told Mr. Murray those people were the people who were entitled to consideration: that they had been paying their dues—and to the CIO—for protection under the union and not under the Communist Party leadership.

He agreed with me, and then he replied to me, "Mr. Pratt, it is a big job. I am not God."

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you repeat his reply?

Mr. PRATT. He replied, "Mr. Pratt, that is a big job. I am not God."

Mr. McDOWELL. Did he say, "I am not God"?

Mr. PRATT. "I am not God." He added, "I am a small potato in a big sack." Then he ordered Mr. Haywood to go further into the details with us on that matter, which he did. It resulted in ordering Mr. Don Henderson from Philadelphia to Washington, to discuss the matter, which he eventually did. Mr. Henderson, Mr. Murray, and Mr. Alan Haywood said if there was anything they could do about it they would, but they wanted to cite to us that the internationalists had full autonomy and that at present their hands were tied to a great extent.

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment, Mr. Pratt.

Mr. PRATT. All right, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall the date of this conference with Mr. Murray?

Mr. PRATT. The date of this conference must have been between the 16th and the 20th of May.

Mr. STRIPLING. 1947?

Mr. PRATT. 1947.

Mr. STRIPLING. Here in Washington?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir; in Mr. Murray's office.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you talk with Mr. Donald Henderson the following day—or how much time elapsed before you talked with Donald Henderson?

Mr. PRATT. We talked to him the following afternoon.

Mr. STRIPLING. And he is the international president—

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Of the union?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever heard, or do you have any information to the effect that Donald Henderson is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PRATT. I have been told that he admitted—if my memory serves me correctly—before the Dies committee, that he was or had been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, in the report—Union Calendar No. 443, House Report No. 1311, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities—there is a section dealing with the Communist activities of Donald Henderson, which appear on pages 118, 119, and 120. I ask that Mr. Henderson's record, as taken from this report, appear in this record at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The record is as follows:)

#### DONALD HENDERSON

Donald Henderson, general president of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers (CIO affiliate), is prominent in the CIO Political Action Committee. On January 14, 1944, Henderson addressed a national conference of the Political Action Committee which was held at the Park Central Hotel in New York City.

There is no secrecy about Donald Henderson's membership in the Communist Party. He has been a publicly avowed card-holding member for more than 10 years. In that period of time, he has subversively followed all the ideological zig-zagging of the party line, including the patently seditious activities of the American Peace Mobilization (to which the Department of Justice was totally blind) and the current pretended superpatriotism of all the Muscovite stool pigeons. In some cases, the CIO Political Action Committee might seek the shelter of ignorance concerning the Communist connections of its active leaders, but emphatically not in the case of Henderson. No German-American Bundist ever worked more assiduously than Donald Henderson for the destruction of American free institutions. When the CIO Political Action Committee includes among its leaders such men as Henderson, it demonstrates beyond dispute the un-American nature of its objectives. Who is Henderson that he should be welcomed to a place of leadership in an organization which sets out to spend \$2,000,000 to influence the 1944 elections to the end that the Congress of the United States should be brought under the complete domination of a sinister minority pressure group? Let his public record answer the question.

In the September 1935 issue of the Communist, Donald Henderson appeared as the author of an article entitled "The Rural Masses and the Work of Our Party." The article opened with the following statement:

"On the basis of the Open Letter, during the past 2 years our party has been successful in developing policies and organization which are rapidly achieving a successful turn to mass revolutionary work and influence in the cities and among the industrial urban proletariat."

Note that Henderson used the phrase "our party." Later, in his article, Henderson wrote of the necessity for the Communist Party to "carry through" its idea of

"Soviet power \* \* \* in the small cities, towns, and villages, and on the farms."

Donald Henderson has not only functioned as a leader in the Communist Party and in the top ranks of the CIO. He has also been extraordinarily energetic in the leadership of the numberless front organizations of the Communist Party.

In the spring of 1933, Henderson was dropped from the teaching staff of Columbia University. For a number of weeks, the Communist carried on a noisy agitation for his reinstatement, but to no avail. The clamor of the Communists against Columbia University for its action in the case of Henderson was expressed chiefly through its front organization for students, the National Student League. Henderson was secretary of the National Student League, about which Earl Browder wrote as follows: "From the beginning, it has been clearly revolutionary in its program and activities" (Communism in the United States, by Earl Browder, p. 43). Other Communist leaders of the National Student League included Joseph Starobin (now an editor of the New Masses), Adam Lapin (now Washington correspondent for the Daily Worker), and James Wechsler (now on the staff of the newspaper PM).

In August 1932 the Communist International sponsored an international gathering at Amsterdam which was known as the World Congress Against War. That gathering called upon the proletariat of the world to prepare to "turn imperialist war into civil war." The delegates to the Amsterdam congress were instructed to organize in their respective countries national branches to be affiliated with the world organization. In the United States, in the fall of 1932, the American Committee for Struggle Against War was organized in response to these instructions of the Amsterdam congress. Donald Henderson became executive director of the American branch.

During the Christmas holidays of 1932, the Student Congress Against War was convened at the University of Chicago. This gathering was held at the direct instigation of the (Amsterdam) World Congress Against War. The Chicago congress was completely controlled by the Communists of the National Student League. Donald Henderson was the principal organizer of the gathering. He was also the floor leader who voiced the Communist Party line on every issue which arose. On the program of the Student Congress Against War, Henderson was listed as a speaker and as a member of its national committee. The gathering ended its sessions by adopting the program of the (Amsterdam) World Congress Against War which, as has been pointed out, called for "the turning of imperialist war into civil war." For many years, the latter slogan represented one of the chief objectives of the Communist movement throughout the world.

In the spring of 1933 the arrangements committee for the United States Congress Against War was organized at a meeting held in the New School for Social Research in New York City. Donald Henderson was made secretary of the committee.

The United States Congress Against War convened in St. Nicholas Arena, New York City, on September 29, 1933. Donald Henderson was executive secretary of the gathering, which was completely under the control of the Communist Party. Earl Browder was a leading figure in all its deliberations. In his report to the Communist International, Browder stated:

"The Congress from the beginning was led by our party quite openly (Communism in the United States by Earl Browder, p. 184)."

The United States Congress Against War adopted a 10-point program which became the platform of the American League Against War and Fascism. That platform included the following:

"The work toward the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions and all other materials essential to the conduct of war, through mass demonstrations, picketing, and strikes."

Years later, this was translated into overt acts when the Communist-led CIO unions did everything possible, especially through strikes to stop the manufacture of "munitions and all other materials essential to the conduct of war." Donald Henderson was a leading figure not only in the adoption of this seditious platform at the United States Congress Against War in 1933 but also in its treasonable translation into action under the auspices of the Communist Party and the American Peace Mobilization in 1940-41.

The American League Against War and Fascism was launched at the United States Congress Against War. Donald Henderson was made executive secretary of the American League, a post which he held until the Communist Party transferred him to work in the agricultural field:

When the American League Against War and Fascism changed its name to the American League for Peace and Democracy, Donald Henderson remained a member of the organization's national committee. The American League was eventually disbanded after Hitler and Stalin signed their pact, and a few months later the American Peace Mobilization took its place as the principal Communist Party front dealing with international questions.

The American Peace Mobilization was launched in Chicago in September 1940. Donald Henderson was elected a member of the organization's national council. The treasonable character of the American Peace Mobilization is now generally conceded. The organization aided and abetted strikes in many of the country's most important defense industries. These strikes were political in nature and aimed at leaving the United States in a position of unpreparedness. The organization conducted a picket line in front of the White House in the spring of 1941, withdrawing its pickets within a few hours of Hitler's march against Russia.

Other Communist fronts with which Donald Henderson has been affiliated include the following: National Negro Congress, First Congress of the Mexican and Spanish-American Peoples of the United States, Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, Joint Committee for Trade Union Rights, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, New Theater League, Schappes Defense Committee, and National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

The foregoing record of Henderson's Communist positions and activities is clear proof that he is one of the leaders in whom the Communist Party places extraordinary confidence.

Despite the utterly un-American character of Donald Henderson's activities and affiliations over the past 12 years, and despite his publicly acknowledged membership in the Communist Party, Sidney Hillman permits him to take a place of leadership in the CIO Political Action Committee. There is no possibility of disputing the charge which has been leveled at Hillman by the right-wing leaders of the American Labor Party, namely that he has entered into a conspiracy with the Communist Party. That conspiracy has as its main objective the subordination of the Congress of the United States to an un-American minority pressure group.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Pratt, after your conference with Mr. Murray, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Haywood, did anything happen in Winston-Salem to correct the situation which you had spoken to them about?

Mr. PRATT. As I said a moment ago, Mr. Murray and Mr. Haywood pointed out their helplessness to us as regards that situation. After having a conference with Mr. Henderson, Mr. Henderson did not offer any solution to the problem whatsoever. He seemed to be mainly interested in having us prove there were Communists there. He shouted on several occasions, "Prove it, prove it, prove it" and complained we had not brought that matter to his attention organizationally correctly—that it should have come up through the ranks. I would like to point out here I was instrumental in having Mr. Henderson called in on various occasions and talked to about the Communist element in the local. He always bypassed it. I was quite aware of the fact that we would be shouted down if they had brought it organizationally correctly. That is why I went to the head of the CIO, over Mr. Henderson's head, in an effort to save the union itself.

Mr. STRIPLING. What did you understand from Mr. Murray's remark that he was helpless? Why couldn't the national office intervene?

Mr. PRATT. Well, as he put it to us, because of their constitution, which gives the internationals full autonomy.

Mr. McDOWELL. You are aware, Mr. Pratt, of Mr. Murray's public statements on communism in the labor movement?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. Of course, you know he is the president of the CIO in general.

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. If he can't do anything, the CIO is in a bad way—if the head man can't do anything.

Mr. PRATT. I didn't get the last. He can't—

Mr. McDOWELL. I say, if the president of the CIO can't do anything about communism, or any other "isms," so far as that goes, in your local, you are in a very bad way. All the CIO would be.

Mr. PRATT. I agree with you, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, if there are any questions by any of the members on this particular point now, I suggest that they go ahead and ask them. I am going to leave this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bonner, do you have any questions on this particular point, or would you like to wait?

Mr. BONNER. I would like to ask the witness a few questions.

The CHAIRMAN. You will have the opportunity. At this time, do you want to ask any questions?

Mr. STRIPLING. On the conference with Mr. Murray.

Mr. BONNER. You didn't repeat any conversations you may have had with Mr. Henderson at this time?

Mr. PRATT. Just now—

Mr. BONNER. As I remember, you spoke about having had a conversation with Mr. Henderson.

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. BONNER. What was the conversation? You gave Mr. Murray's conversation. What was Mr. Henderson's conversation, if you recall?

Mr. PRATT. We simply pointed out to Mr. Henderson what the situation was. I don't remember it word for word. We asked him if he couldn't do something about it. He said to us, "Assuming what you say is true, if we should do anything about it it would mean changing the leadership of the local union and to do that during a strike would of course mean to lose the strike"—so he said.

Mr. BONNER. I am not interested at all in the strike.

Mr. PRATT. That was the conversation.

Mr. BONNER. I am not interested in the strike at all. Why did you go to Mr. Murray? Isn't Mr. Henderson the nearest head to your organization?

Mr. PRATT. That is right.

Mr. BONNER. Why did you go to Mr. Murray, then, before you went to Mr. Henderson?

Mr. PRATT. Because we had gone to Mr. Henderson on previous occasions. I just now stated that.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes. That is right.

Mr. PRATT. We didn't get results.

Mr. BONNER. Before you proceed further, are you a native of Winston-Salem?

Mr. PRATT. Of Winston-Salem?

Mr. BONNER. Yes.

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir. I live in the country, outside of Winston-Salem.

Mr. BONNER. I mean, you were born and raised there?

Mr. PRATT. I was raised there, yes, sir.

Mr. BONNER. And you grew up with the organization of this union at the plant?

Mr. PRATT. How is that? I grew up with the organization?

Mr. BONNER. I am interested to know how you first became connected with that local. You said you were employed as manager.

Mr. PRATT. Business agent, yes, sir.

Mr. BONNER. Business agent?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. BONNER. How long have you been employed, and when did your employment begin?

Mr. PRATT. I was with them 2 years.

Mr. BONNER. What did you do previous to that?

Mr. PRATT. I was with the Brown & Williamson Tobacco Co.

Mr. BONNER. What was your relation?

Mr. PRATT. There we had a union.

Mr. BONNER. You were in union work there?

Mr. PRATT. I was employed by the company and did union work on the side.

Mr. BONNER. You worked with the company and still you were a union leader?

Mr. PRATT. That is right.

Mr. BONNER. Then you transferred from the Brown & Williamson Co. to the organization in the Reynolds plant?

Mr. PRATT. That is right, sir.

Mr. BONNER. Did you work in the Reynolds plant?

Mr. PRATT. No, sir.

Mr. BONNER. How many of these prime executives or leaders in the local actually work in the plant?

Mr. PRATT. Most of them, I think, came out of the plant.

Mr. BONNER. These gentlemen you had the difference with, do they work in the plant?

Mr. PRATT. Which gentlemen, by names?

Mr. BONNER. Well, there are about three or four of them, I think.

Mr. STRIPLING. Frank Green and Edwin McCrea—are those the ones you referred to?

Mr. PRATT. No, sir; neither of them came out of the Reynolds plant.

Mr. BONNER. The gentlemen who more or less formed the policy of the local, they were sent there from elsewhere, weren't they?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir; they were.

Mr. BONNER. They are not employees of the plant at all?

Mr. PRATT. That is right, sir.

Mr. BONNER. How many of those are there?

Mr. PRATT. There was Mr. Green—

Mr. BONNER. Just the number.

Mr. PRATT. Mr. Koritz and Mr. McCrea.

Mr. BONNER. Three of them?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. BONNER. They are the group that formed the policy of the local?

Mr. PRATT. They head it; yes, sir.

Mr. BONNER. They run it. Whatever they say goes?

Mr. PRATT. They exercise an influence; yes, sir.

Mr. BONNER. One other question I want to ask you. What caused your concern about any local trouble that might arise among the people of the community?

MR. PRATT. Well, one thing was—that is, during the strike—we had an agreement with the police department that we would meet with them each day and discuss our problems, and meet more often if necessary. Well, those meetings were held, and it was decided what they would do about any change in the arrangement of picketing or any other matters concerning the strike. I found the local union strike, under the leadership of the strike chairman, Ed McCrea, going beyond the agreements with the police. On one occasion the chief of police made a trip to the union office and stated, "If you get out of line one more time I am going to have to make some arrests."

After that he talked to me and said that making arrests would be very dangerous, it might lead to race rioting, and with that knowledge in mind he had bent over backward and allowed the union more leniency than he should, up until that point.

Now, they attempted to stage a parade of veterans—I would say between three and four hundred. I don't know the exact number—and there was no permit granted for a parade. Under the city ordinance of Winston-Salem, you must have a permit before you can parade. There was no permit granted. The police had to step in and stop that parade. He broke the veterans up into small groups and allowed them to proceed in small groups to wherever they wanted to picket, and fall in line and picket. They proceeded to picket like that that day. They assembled at the hall again in the afternoon. The general trend of conversation was that they had talked too much: that the police got ahold of what they were going to do—and the next time they would be more quiet and they would succeed before the police could stop them. The chief of police had just told me that another violation would mean arrest.

Now, I remembered very vividly the arrest of Koritz just about a year prior to that, and I know we almost had a race riot in Winston-Salem because of it.

MR. BONNER. The arrest of whom?

MR. PRATT. The arrest of Koritz, who was director.

MR. STRIPLING. Philip Koritz.

MR. PRATT. Philip Koritz, at the time of the Piedmont strike a year prior to this. I know we almost had a race riot then.

MR. BONNER. Now, from time to time, when the negotiations were going on as to the renewal of the contracts, I presume you had meetings with the membership of the local?

MR. PRATT. Well, the contract committee—

MR. BONNER. I am talking about these meetings. Did you have any open meetings for the membership, or closed meetings?

MR. PRATT. They had mass meetings.

MR. BONNER. Mass meetings?

MR. PRATT. Yes: or open meetings.

MR. BONNER. Now, at that time were there any lectures or talks given to the membership that would incite trouble among the people?

MR. PRATT. Yes, sir. One person—Miranda Smith—made a talk. She, incidentally, is educational director of local 22 at this time, and was then. She made a talk on a Sunday afternoon program at the mass meeting, held for the purpose of enlightening the people on the negotiations up to that point. During her talk she cited to the people that the police—although they had acted very cooperatively and had

shown a great deal of consideration—all that, were not entitled to any consideration; that they were their enemies; that they would stab them in the back the moment they turned their heads; and that they were not due any credit for what they had done as they were getting paid for it, and to remember that. At that same meeting Mr. Long, who is present here today, was scheduled to speak. Because of that statement that this official of the union had made to those thousands of people listening to her that day and because it was entirely contrary, as she told me, to the way he felt the police department had worked—and it certainly was contrary to what I felt about them because of the way they had worked with us—Mr. Long refused to speak on the same program. He was slated to speak on that program, but he refused to after she made those remarks.

Mr. McCrea prevailed upon Mr. Long to speak, anyway, saying that he would correct that statement that this official had made. He got up and said something—I was too far away to understand what he said—but Mr. Long did not agree to go back and speak. He felt the people were being misled, and he felt he knew why. He wouldn't have anything to do with it. I felt the same way.

Mr. STRIPLING. May I interrupt there, Congressman?

Mr. BONNER. Just one more question.

Have there always been very pleasant relationships between the people in that part of North Carolina?

Mr. PRATT. Between the people?

Mr. BONNER. Yes; between the people.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean between the white people and the Negro people?

Mr. BONNER. I consider them all North Carolinians. I would say, Yes, between the colored and the white people.

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir; there has been. When I was with Brown & Williamson Tobacco Co. and negotiated the contract for the plant in Winston-Salem and the Petersburg plant—and they had many colored people in both plants, with, I believe, a majority in Petersburg, and I know it was the same in Winston-Salem—the relationship between the two races was excellent. I did everything I could to keep it that way.

Mr. BONNER. And at that meeting that we have just discussed in Winston-Salem, you feared the speech made by this person would stir up trouble between the people?

Mr. PRATT. Well, I have only to assume one thing: When you turn people against law-enforcement officers, something might happen, because the law is the law. I have been brought up to respect it.

Mr. BONNER. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I just want to clear up one point. Mr. Pratt—

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You spoke of veterans who were members of the local who were out on strike parading. Were they all Negro veterans?

Mr. PRATT. No, sir. There was a sprinkling of white people.

Mr. STRIPLING. What percentage were white people?

Mr. PRATT. Oh, very small. I couldn't say what.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were they all in uniform?

Mr. PRATT. A great many of them were. I would say about 90 per cent of them, maybe all of them.

Mr. STRIPLING. What percentage of the people on the picket line were Negro and what percentage white?

Mr. PRATT. About 95 percent, or 97 percent were Negro.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were Negro?

Mr. PRATT. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Miranda Smith, the person who made the speech, was she a Negro?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to get something cleared up.

Why did you say that an arrest might cause a racial disturbance?

Mr. PRATT. Because these people had been taught the police were tools of the company and they would arrest them at the least provocation, whether they were due to be arrested or not, and that such things should not be taken lying down. I go back in my mind to one thing that Miss Hoagland told me, a remark she made to me while she was education director. Now, the education director tells these people what to do and what trend to follow. Miranda Smith at this time—the time of the speech—was educational director, the chairman of the education committee which supplanted the directorship of the former education person. Miss Eleanor Hoagland told me, when I was having lunch with her in the Reynolds cafeteria on the tenth floor of the Reynolds Building, that the Reynolds Tobacco Co. had machine gun nests planted in all of the buildings around there.

I asked, "For what?" She said, "To shoot the workers down." I said, "Is that what you teach the workers in the union?" And she said, "Don't you think they should know it?"

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Let us get back to this arrest. Supposing the police arrested a white veteran, would that cause a racial disturbance?

Mr. PRATT. If he were a striker, the police seem to fear it would. I can't say that it would.

The CHAIRMAN. I just can't understand why a simple arrest would cause a racial disturbance.

Mr. PRATT. Well, if it caused a disturbance in the union, the greater number of members being Negroes—

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the chances are that the police would arrest a Negro?

Mr. PRATT. Or a white person who was a striker.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, but if they arrested a Negro, it would cause a racial disturbance?

Mr. PRATT. The police seemed to feel that it would. Now, I shall be glad to cite you the incident that happened at the Piedmont strike, when Koritz was arrested.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he a Negro or a white?

Mr. PRATT. Koritz was white. He was director of the local. Four or five Negroes were arrested along with him. The entire police department was called down there. The crowd grew to three or four thousand, I would estimate. I went to the police department myself and asked the chief of police if he would let me have those people, on my word, to go down to this place and disperse the crowd. I felt this Koritz, who was the director of the union, could do it better than anyone else. He told me that he did not trust Mr. Koritz; that if he let

him out, on his word and on my word and if I wouldn't be able to control him, he wouldn't get him back, and that it wasn't customary to arrest a man and then turn him loose right away, especially when he was arrested on a legitimate charge. Finally, the police agreed with me and let me have Mr. Koritz and all of the colored people who were arrested. The crowd quieted down. Now, we feared another flare-up of such a thing that we felt had almost gotten out of our control.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. When you approached Mr. Murray and discussed this subject of the infiltration of communism into local 22, did you find him readily accessible?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. VAIL. He knew in advance the subject matter you wanted to discuss with him?

Mr. PRATT. No, sir.

Mr. VAIL. How much time did you spend with him?

Mr. PRATT. We spent, I would say, 30 minutes in the morning, and then he turned us over to Mr. Alan Haywood, the vice president, and told him to go into the matter with us and do for us whatever he could.

Mr. VAIL. When he said he was not God, did you assume from what he was implying that none but the Supreme Being could prevent the development of communism in CIO operations?

Mr. PRATT. I wouldn't venture any supposition at all. I don't know what he meant.

Mr. VAIL. It does seem though, being president of the CIO and obviously the individual who could shift the trend, if anyone could, when he made the statement that he was not God, there was only one assumption left to you, or to anyone else, and that was that there was no human who could effectively deal with the situation and it lay in the hands of the Supreme Being. That would be my construction of it. But it is not yours?

Mr. PRATT. Well, I don't say it wasn't mine at the time, but my meaning of what was in back of it and his meaning back of it could be two different things. That is why I didn't want to venture a supposition on what he did mean.

Mr. VAIL. No further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Nothing at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. You might as well ask any questions that you might have at this time.

Mr. NIXON. Was Mr. McCrea in the vicinity throughout the period of the strike? Did he spend all of his time in Winston-Salem?

Mr. PRATT. During the Reynolds strike?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir; I believe he did. I don't know of his going off on any occasion at all.

Mr. NIXON. You are probably aware of the charge that Mr. McCrea has made, that you left the union because you didn't want to work without pay during the strike.

Mr. PRATT. Oh, yes, certainly.

Mr. NIXON. What is your side of that story?

Mr. PRATT. Well, my side of the story I think has already come out, sir. I said I didn't want to make this exposé at this time because of

the strike, but in view of the possible trouble we might have I felt it was necessary. That was the reason I left the union, because of making known to the public the information I had. But, remember, I didn't make it known to the public until I first tried to correct it within the ranks or the framework, we will say, of the union.

Mr. NIXON. Now, did you have any conversations with Mr. McCrea or other officials of the union in regard to being paid during the strike?

Mr. PRATT. No; not that I remember, not with him personally—nothing more than the board passing it and we all accepted it. That is all. I never applied for any relief, or anything of the sort. They had some sort of machinery set up to give people who were in need of funds a certain amount of funds, if they had them. I never applied for those funds. I just took the decision of the board and went along with it. That is all I could do.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Pratt, you have testified here as to the things leading up to the strike, the strike itself, the Communist activities, and how you, as a comparatively small figure in this union—

Mr. PRATT. That is right.

Mr. McDOWELL. Finally worked your way up to the very top of the union.

Mr. PRATT. To the president.

Mr. McDOWELL. You finally, indeed, got to the president of the CIO, Mr. Philip Murray.

Mr. PRATT. That is right, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. And Mr. Murray, after hearing your story and saying he was helpless, finally dusted you off by saying, "I am a small potato in a big sack."

Mr. PRATT. It is my impression that President Murray has an income from your union of some \$50,000 a year or better. Now, "I am a small potato in a big sack," he said. Mr. Murray is constantly, almost daily, advising the American public on such matters as houses for veterans, on all sorts of economic matters, and also even on who should be the personnel of the United States Congress. He is conversant with the intricate details of the Steelworkers of America. He is a great organizer. With Mr. John L. Lewis he organized the CIO. He is a member of the school board of my city—Pittsburgh. In view of the fact that Mr. Murray is a Scot, his modesty is actually touching, wouldn't you think? That is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. Do you contend this strike was Communist-inspired?

Mr. PRATT. No, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. You do not?

Mr. PRATT. No, sir. I don't think anything I have said here today implied the strike itself was Communist-inspired.

Mr. RANKIN. But there was a Communist organization there?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. Were you a member of it?

Mr. PRATT. No, sir; I am not.

Mr. RANKIN. You are not?

Mr. PRATT. And never have been.

Mr. RANKIN. That is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bonner, any more questions?

Mr. BONNER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. I have one more question, sir.

Mr. Pratt, did you ever observe the manner in which local 22 conducted its election of officers?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. When was that?

Mr. PRATT. The election was held, while I was there, in November of last year. I think it was November. They voted by a secret ballot. There were times when certain departments in the plant would be released from its day's work and the people in those departments were instructed to come to the union hall and vote. I don't know how many people voted in that election. But I do know that a little publication put out by local 22, known as the Workers Voice, carried a sample ballot in one of its issues, a complete sample ballot, and that certain members of the union who had been identified as members of the Communist Party, namely, Thelma Hopkins and Miranda Smith, met these lines of people, which extended two flights of stairs up in the office—up the first flight to the second floor and up the second flight to the third floor—and out on the street, and marked them a sample ballot. They carried those sample ballots into the booths with them. I understood that is what they were marked for. Whether or not they voted by those sample ballots, I can't say; but I do know at the following executive board meeting there was some objection to the way those particular people had dominated the masses by means of these sample ballots.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you consider those two individuals to be Communists?

Mr. PRATT. Well, it has been pointed out here today.

Mr. STRIPLING. I say, do you?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. From their behavior and activities within the union, as an official at the time did you consider they were?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is this a copy of the Workers Voice, dated November 1946, which contains a sample ballot inside?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that the publication which you referred to?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. On the back it has a column, with your picture.

Mr. PRATT. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Entitled, "First and Second Stage Settlements, by Gene Pratt."

Mr. PRATT. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. I would like to have this received, Mr. Chairman, as exhibit No. 3.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.<sup>10</sup>

Mr. STRIPLING. Those are all the questions I have of Mr. Pratt, at this time.

Mr. RANKIN. One more question.

<sup>10</sup> See appendix, p. 10, for exhibit 3, hearing, July 23, 1947.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. I didn't hear your opening statement. Did you state that that union was Communist infiltrated?

Mr. PRATT. I am sorry, I didn't get your question, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. Did you state that that union, at this place—where—Winston-Salem?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. Was Communist infiltrated?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. It had Communists?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir. That is what has been implied all the way through here.

Mr. RANKLIN. Well, were you aware of it?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. RANKIN. You were aware of it?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. Were they trying to get control of it?

Mr. PRATT. Well, sir, in my opinion they had control of it.

Mr. RANKIN. In your opinion, they had control of it?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir. That is why I am here today.

Mr. RANKIN. Is that what brought on the strike?

Mr. PRATT. No, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. The strike was brought on by something else?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. But they had control of the union at this place?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. The Communists did?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bonner, any more questions?

Mr. BONNER. You negotiated labor relationships in that part of the State prior to this instance, didn't you?

Mr. PRATT. Yes, sir.

Mr. BONNER. How did they compare? Did you get along better previously, or did you get along better this time?

Mr. PRATT. In the negotiations, there wasn't too much difference. Of course, a company can be very tight with its funds. You may fail to get your request, or something of that sort. They may have a policy that will not allow you to put certain working conditions into effect. They just won't look down the line with you. But it was the workings of the union that was different from the workings of the union that I had experienced before. That is where the difference came in—not in the negotiations.

Mr. BONNER. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair wishes to announce we will have more witnesses this afternoon on this same subject, and that the first witness tomorrow morning will be Dr. Zorkin, former member of the Yugoslav diplomatic service in London and former officer of the Yugoslav Army.

We will stand in recess until 2:30 this afternoon. Thank you very much, Mr. Pratt.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m., a recess was taken until 2:30 p. m. of the same day.)

## AFTERNOON SESSION

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order.

Mr. STRIPLING. The next witness will be Mr. Spencer Long.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Long, please raise your right hand.

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

Mr. LONG. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF SPENCER LONG

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Long, will you please state your full name?

Mr. LONG. Spencer R. Long.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born?

Mr. LONG. I was born June 13, 1902 in Forsyth County, North Carolina.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present address?

Mr. LONG. 1604 East Twenty-second Street, Winston-Salem.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present occupation?

Mr. LONG. Carpenter.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Long, were you ever employed by local 22 of FTA?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. What period were you employed?

Mr. LONG. I was granted a leave of absence by request of local 22 in June, 1946 for 3 months and beginning February 1, 1947.

Mr. STRIPLING. What type of work were you doing for the union?

Mr. LONG. Organizing.

Mr. STRIPLING. Organizing?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever belong to any other union?

Mr. LONG. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Long, while you were connected with local 22, did you or any of the other members ever take any action to rid the union of Communist leadership?

Mr. LONG. Immediately after the election of last year, which was the latter part of October or November, I called on President Don Henderson of the international union in Winston-Salem by the request of several workers.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you say you did, were you alone in that?

Mr. LONG. No, sir; I say by the request of.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who was with you?

Mr. LONG. Mr. Henderson came in, I called him on my own personal telephone—

Mr. STRIPLING. Was anybody present when you called him?

Mr. LONG. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Go ahead.

Mr. LONG. Mr. Henderson came in and we had, myself and Howard Pilcher, we had a conference of approximately 2 hours with president Henderson.

Mr. STRIPLING. What occurred at this conference?

Mr. LONG. Well, the issue was taken up of communism and how the elections had been carried out. Mr. Henderson said that he couldn't

control people's political affiliations, and all he was interested in was them doing a job in the labor movement. After somewhere in January of 1947 we called a meeting among the white workers. Some 30 or 40 were present, and they elected a chairman, or a speaker, to call a special meeting on Mr. Ed McCrea and Mr. Clark Sheppard, making demand of their affiliation with communism. Mr. Sheppard's answer was that he had always voted the Democratic ticket and he didn't know what communism was. Mr. McCrea said that he had been a friend of labor for 12 years, was proud of his record, and it was nobody's damn business what affiliation he had in the political line.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Long, while you were a member of local 22, did you consider that union was being directed by the membership as a whole, or was it being directed by the international representatives or other top officials?

MR. LONG. All business issues were taken up in the executive board meetings, mainly were proposed by the international representatives, and the executive board would adopt the resolutions.

MR. STRIPLING. I mean, is it your opinion that the rank and file dominated the union?

MR. LONG. No, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. And its policies?

MR. LONG. No, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. And its activities?

MR. LONG. No, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. Who do you think is responsible for that?

MR. LONG. The top leadership—international representatives.

MR. STRIPLING. Were you ever a candidate for any office within the union?

MR. LONG. Yes, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. What office was that?

MR. LONG. Cochairman.

MR. STRIPLING. Cochairman?

MR. LONG. Yes, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. I believe it has been testified here that that is the top position in the union.

MR. LONG. Yes, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. Were you elected?

MR. LONG. No, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. Did anything occur prior to the election?

MR. LONG. During the membership meetings, nominations were being brought forth by the membership for the election of officers in local 22 and I had been nominated for several different offices and I declined them all but two, chairman of organizing and cochairman of the local. It went on until the deadline of the candidates deciding which or what position they would run for and declining something like 30 minutes before deadline. However, I declined from chairman of organizing to run for cochairman of the local. Within 15 minutes after my decision I was called into Phil Koritz' office.

MR. STRIPLING. What position did he occupy at that time?

MR. LONG. He was international representative and director of local 22.

MR. STRIPLING. What did Mr. Koritz say to you?

MR. LONG. Mr. Koritz asked me if I wasn't ashamed to file as candidate against Mr. Sheppard. I said if I didn't run he will automatically

be elected with one vote, because he has no opposition. Koritz said that it would be a damned shame for Sheppard not to be elected and asked me to withdraw my decision. I told him "No"; because of the confidence that a number of people had expressed in me and asked me to run, that I would not withdraw if I didn't get any votes. He said, "I will see that damn well you are not elected."

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you consider Mr. Koritz to be a Communist?

Mr. LONG. I didn't have a personal knowledge of him being a Communist.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you consider him to be a Communist?

Mr. LONG. I had heard on many occasions that he was and his attitude was a little different from a usual—or, a man in his position.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you consider Mr. Sheppard to be a Communist?

Mr. LONG. No, sir; I didn't at that time.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you now?

Mr. LONG. I have no personal knowledge that he is.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was the result of the election?

Mr. LONG. The election was carried out, I obtained 210 votes for cochairman and approximately 580 votes were written in on the ballots for vice chairman.

Mr. STRIPLING. For you?

Mr. LONG. For me. That is, as vice chairman.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, Mr. Koritz did a good job in carrying out his threats?

Mr. LONG. I think so.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was the total vote?

Mr. LONG. The total vote was approximately 2,021.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever a member of the contract negotiating committee of local 22?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir; in 1946 and 1947.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you think that the alleged Communist domination of local 22 played any part in the negotiations for a new contract?

Mr. LONG. As I said, I didn't have any personal knowledge of any individual being a Communist, other than the attitude, and in this negotiation, according to statements that have been made, that there were only about two that were on the negotiation that were not called Communists.

Mr. STRIPLING. There were two who were not?

Mr. LONG. That I know of; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you confer with Mr. Henderson—did the negotiating committee confer with Mr. Henderson?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir. I think it was on the 28th of April that Mr. Henderson came in the room with the negotiating committee in the union office. The first question he asked was, How much money have you got? Secondly, he said he had a feeling down in here [indicating] that we will have to strike hell out of that company.

Mr. STRIPLING. That what?

Mr. LONG. Local 22 would have to strike hell out of the Reynolds Tobacco Co.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is why you were negotiating the contract?

Mr. LONG. That was about 3 days before the dead line of the strike.

Mr. STRIPLING. He stated that you would have to strike hell out of the R. J. Reynolds plant?

Mr. LONG. Yes; had a feeling that we would have to strike.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you participate in the strike that subsequently occurred?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you in charge of the pickets?

Mr. LONG. I was cochairman of the picket committee. My duty was, as half cochairman, to break down the picket lines to numbers that would be within the range of law or city ordinances; also meeting with the chief of police, trying to keep a policy worked out wherein we might operate efficiently without any interference.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, what percentage of the pickets were Negro and what percentage were white, according to your recollection?

Mr. LONG. I couldn't give you the exact percent. I could give you more or less the number.

Mr. STRIPLING. All right; give us the number.

Mr. LONG. Approximately 5,000 or 5,200 Negroes; 75 to 100 whites.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were in charge of Negro pickets as well as white pickets, as cochairman?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you hear Mr. Pratt's testimony this morning?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you share the concern expressed by Mr. Pratt at the time of a potential danger of race rioting?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir. As cochairman of the picket committee, I was meeting with the police, working out policies to carry out the strike efficiently, and the other cochairman was not meeting with the police, although the other cochairman had as much power to give orders as I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who was the other cochairman?

Mr. LONG. Velma Hopkins.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is she a Negro?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall any demonstrations ordered by the officers of local 22 which could have led to possible rioting?

Mr. LONG. On several occasions John Henry Minor, chairman of the veterans' committee, was trying to push over a mass demonstration of veterans. There couldn't be any kind of mass demonstration of picketing without a permit in the city. I knew that the ordinance would not allow a permit and I continuously told him to get a permit. You are chairman of the committee, go get your permit, then we will hold a mass demonstration, if you get it. He kept down until after my leave. Immediately after he pulled a mass demonstration.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Appell has some questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Appell.

Mr. APPELL. Mr. Long, could you explain to the committee how it was that you received 580 votes for the office of vice chairman, an office for which you were not a candidate?

Mr. LONG. There was a great deal of politicking down in and around local 22 during the election days. A sample ballot was used with my name written in as vice chairman and these people that did the politicking kept those sample ballots, marked how they wanted their workers, the fellow workers, to vote, and they were each handed a sample ballot marked how to vote.

Mr. APPELL. Now, Mr. Long, with respect to the veterans' demonstration that was planned, these veterans were ordered to mass in

uniform. Was any consideration given by local 22 as to whether or not the veterans were violating existing Army and Navy regulations before they ordered these men out to participate in the mass demonstration?

Mr. LONG. Yes. I told the chairman, John Henry Minor, at different times that I was sure that it was against the law for a veteran to wear a complete uniform, and he stated that if you just leave a tie off, or any one piece, it would bring them into bounds of law.

Mr. APPELL. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bonner.

Mr. BONNER. Not at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Any more questions, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. I would like to ask Mr. Long if in his opinion after serving as an officer of local 22 and as a member of the union it is his opinion that the union is now or has ever been controlled by a Communist clique or group?

Mr. LONG. To my opinion, it is.

Mr. STRIPLING. Those are all the questions I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Any more questions?

Mr. BONNER. Yes.

Mr. Long, were you at the mass meeting that Velma Hopkins spoke at? It was testified here this morning that you had some large mass meeting.

Mr. LONG. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. That you were present?

Mr. LONG. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. And that Velma Hopkins was one of the speakers. Was she one of the speakers?

Mr. LONG. Smith was the speaker.

Mr. BONNER. What Smith?

Mr. LONG. Miranda Smith.

Mr. BONNER. Were you in hearing distance?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. BONNER. Do you remember anything that she said that might incite people to riot or disturbance, inflammatory actions of any kind?

Mr. LONG. She said that some people were giving the police credit for working cooperatively with the strike program. She said she had no credit for them and they were not friends of workers but they were tools in the hands of the company to stab them in the back.

Mr. BONNER. Did she encourage them? Is that all she said?

Mr. LONG. I don't definitely recall all the words she said. She was probably up at the microphone for 20 minutes, 15 minutes, and the entire talk was in that strategy. I can't recall all she said in that time, but that is about the text of it—of her speaking.

Mr. BONNER. How long have you been a member of local 22?

Mr. LONG. Two years.

Mr. BONNER. How long has it been in existence?

Mr. LONG. Sir?

Mr. BONNER. How long has local 22 been in existence?

Mr. LONG. Four years, I think.

Mr. BONNER. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

Thank you very much, Mr. Long.

Mr. STRIPLING. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, will be Robert Black.

Mr. Black, do you have counsel with you?

Mr. BLACK. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you desire counsel?

Mr. BLACK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. BLACK. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I should like to have counsel identified for the record.

Mr. FORER. My name is Joseph Forer.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are a member of what law firm?

Mr. FORER. Greenberg, Forer & Rein.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, on July 14, 1947, a letter was addressed to you, as chairman of the committee, reading as follows:

DEAR MR. THOMAS: The House Committee on Un-American Activities has subpoenaed Robert C. Black, W. Clark Sheppard, and Edwin K. McCrea to appear as witnesses before the committee on July 23, 1947.

I have been retained as counsel for these witnesses in connection with the forthcoming hearings. Unfortunately it appears that I will be engaged in the trial of a case on July 23. I request, therefore, that you postpone the date for the appearance of the above witnesses.

Please advise me as to what date the hearing will be set.

Yours very truly,

DAVID REIN.

Were you asked by Mr. Rein to represent his clients?

Mr. FORER. That is correct. Mr. Rein is a partner of mine.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you care to state where Mr. Rein is today?

Mr. FORER. In court.

Mr. STRIPLING. In the District of Columbia?

Mr. FORER. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is he counsel for Gerhart Eisler?

Mr. FORER. He is.

### TESTIMONY OF ROBERT C. BLACK

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Black, will you please state your full name for the record?

Mr. BLACK. My name is Robert C. Black.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born?

Mr. BLACK. Concord, N. C., April 23, 1905.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present address?

Mr. BLACK. 1426 Stadium Drive, Winston-Salem, N. C. I have lived there 34 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present occupation?

Mr. BLACK. I am now cochairman of local 22.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many members are there of local 22 at the present time?

Mr. BLACK. Approximately 9,000, including three independent leaf houses.

Mr. STRIPLING. And what percentage of the membership is Negro and what percentage is white?

Mr. BLACK. I don't have that figure at hand, but I would say that approximately 90 percent, about 90 percent, are Negroes.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been cochairman?

Mr. BLACK. I have been cochairman for the local for the past 3 years. I served in the local as voluntary cochairman during the local drive.

Mr. STRIPLING. What other positions have you held in the local, Mr. Black?

Mr. BLACK. I was a delegate at one time to the Tri-State Council covering Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina—for the year of 1944, I think.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that the only position you have ever held in the local?

Mr. BLACK. Well, other than a board member. That automatically made me a member of the board, by serving as cochairman of the union.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Black, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BLACK. Not knowing the definition of the Communist Party—I mean I am just a worker—I would have to decline to answer that; it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. You decline to answer whether or not you are a member of the Communist Party on the ground that you might incriminate yourself?

Mr. BLACK. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, the witness has a constitutional right to do that, I assume—if being a member of the Communist Party is incriminatory—and he has counsel with him.

I have a series of questions dealing with his activities in connection with the Communist Party. I should like to ask Mr. Black and his counsel if his answers to those questions would be the same, or should I proceed to ask the questions?

Mr. FORER. Are you asking me, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes. Will you advise him to refuse to answer on the grounds—on the same grounds if I ask him of specific instances regarding his Communist activities?

Mr. FORER. I will.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is the pleasure of the Chair in that instance, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection from the members of the committee, the Chair will rule——

Mr. BONNER. What is the question?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling, will you explain to Mr. Bonner?

Mr. STRIPLING. The witness was asked, Mr. Bonner, if he is now or has ever been a member of the Communist Party. He refused to answer on the ground that he might incriminate himself. I have a series of questions dealing with his alleged Communist activities, questions

based upon evidence and testimony before this committee, concerning his Communist activities. I asked his counsel if he would advise his client to give the same response if I asked those other questions. I then asked the chairman if I should proceed to ask the questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection from any member of the committee, the Chair will rule that he doesn't see any reason why we should continue to ask the questions if the witness is not going to be responsive to the questions—upon advice of counsel.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, since this committee is only concerned with the Communist influence within this union—it is not concerned with strikes, it is not concerned with contract negotiations between the union and the company—I see no point in asking additional questions if the witness is going to refuse to answer questions regarding his Communist activities.

I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Does any member of the committee have any questions? Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bonner.

Mr. BONNER. I would like to ask the witness: Do you deny that you are a Communist or have ever been affiliated with the Communist Party?

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Bonner—is that the name?

Mr. BONNER. That's it.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Bonner, I will tell you, I would have to refuse to answer the question on the same ground, for this reason: I am not an educated man—I mean, I just don't know the definition.

Mr. BONNER. Well, now, I can tell one from the other. You know what I am asking you and you can answer the question if you want to answer the question. I can look at a white man or a colored man and tell whether he has sense enough to answer a simple question. Your plea of ignorance doesn't go very far with me. You convict yourself, in my own mind. You don't want to defend yourself. You can either answer the question or not.

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Bonner, I refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. BONNER. What?

Mr. BLACK. I refuse to answer the question for the same reason.

Mr. STRIPLING. He stated he refused to answer for the same reason, Mr. Bonner.

Mr. BONNER. Did you ever attend a meeting held by a Communist?

Mr. BLACK. My answer would be the same to that question.

Mr. BONNER. You are getting some right keen advice, aren't you? You are the first man of your race that I ever saw that couldn't—that didn't have the cleverness to defend himself on the witness stand. Most of the time your people are the cleverest people in the world on the witness stand—smart.

Do you know of anybody who is a Communist; do you know of any person who is a Communist?

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Bonner, I have already implicated why I refuse to answer questions pertaining to characters that you just phrased.

Mr. BONNER. Where are you employed?

Mr. BLACK. Me? I now work for local 22; formerly a worker of the Reynolds Tobacco Co.

Mr. BONNER. Are you employed in the factory?

Mr. BLACK. No, sir. I worked in the factory up until 1946—about this time last year.

Mr. BONNER. You are paid by the labor organization to assist your people?

Mr. BLACK. By the local; yes, sir.

Mr. BONNER. You are looking to the best interests and advancement of your people, aren't you?

Mr. BLACK. That is right; to all the people.

Mr. BONNER. Do you think that the charges that have been made against the leadership of the organization which with you are affiliated will advance your people more than the people that you grew up with and have known all your life?

Mr. BLACK. Let me get your question clear, Mr. Bonner.

Mr. BONNER. Put it this way: The new company that you are now in, do you think that they will assist the advancement of your race better the company you were raised with?

Mr. BLACK. Are you referring to the company that we represent—the R. J. Reynolds Co.?

Mr. BONNER. No; I am not interested in R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. at all.

Mr. BLACK. You said "the company."

Mr. BONNER. The company you are keeping in your union as an official.

Mr. BLACK. And your question is what, now? Do I think it will profit my people?

Mr. BONNER. Yes. You answered like I thought you would. You are smart enough now, but you were dummy enough to ask aid in answering the other question. That is the difference in the two questions I have asked:

Mr. BLACK. I wanted to get the question.

Mr. BONNER. You understood me. You clearly understood me.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

Mr. BONNER. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, before the witness leaves the stand I want the record to show that he is here in response to a subpoena.

That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. You are excused.

Mr. STRIPLING. The next witness will be Mr. W. C. Sheppard.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sheppard, will you raise your right hand and be sworn.

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

Mr. SHEPPARD. Yes, sir.

## TESTIMONY OF W. CLARK SHEPPARD

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Sheppard, do you desire counsel?

Mr. SHEPPARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You wish to be represented by Mr. Forer?

Mr. SHEPPARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, if it is agreeable——

The CHAIRMAN. That is agreeable.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Sheppard, will you please state your full name for the record?

Mr. SHEPPARD. W. Clark Sheppard.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born?

Mr. SHEPPARD. I was born 1904, August 7, 1904, Laurel Springs, N. C.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present address?

Mr. SHEPPARD. 451 South Liberty Street, Winston-Salem.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present occupation?

Mr. SHEPPARD. Cochairman of local 22.

Mr. STRIPLING. You hold the same position that Mr. Black does?

Mr. SHEPPARD. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you held the office of cochairman in local 22?

Mr. SHEPPARD. Well, as I recall, it was about December the 12th, somewhere about December the 12th of last year.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been a member of local 22?

Mr. SHEPPARD. Since it started.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did it start?

Mr. SHEPPARD. 1943, I think.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Sheppard, are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHEPPARD. I will have to refuse to answer that, because my answer may incriminate me.

Mr. STRIPLING. You refuse to answer the question as to whether you are now or have ever been a member of the Communist Party on the ground that your answer might incriminate you?

Mr. SHEPPARD. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you do that upon advice of counsel?

Mr. SHEPPARD. I take the counsel's advice.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you giving that answer upon the advice of counsel?

Mr. SHEPPARD. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you?

Mr. SHEPPARD. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I have a series of questions in this case dealing with the Communist activities of Mr. Sheppard based upon testimony and evidence before the committee. If Mr. Sheppard's answers are going to be the same as to the question I have just asked, I see no point in the committee wasting its time sitting through the questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the Chair makes the same ruling as in the case of Mr. Sheppard that it did in the case of Mr. Black.

Does any member have any questions? Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. None.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bonner.

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Sheppard, if you were accused of being a Communist, would you deny it?

Mr. SHEPPARD. I would refuse to answer that on the basis that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. BONNER. Do you have any knowledge of anybody that to your knowledge is a Communist?

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. Bonner, we have tried to make it plain to you that we refuse to answer the questions—as best we can.

Mr. BONNER. What is your fear in answering a question as to your personal conduct? Are you ashamed of it?

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. Bonner, I have explained my position as clearly as I can. I see no need for discussing it any further.

Mr. BONNER. You explained your position?

Mr. SHEPPARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. BONNER. You didn't answer whether you were ashamed of not being able, with your own knowledge, your intelligence, to answer an intelligent question. You haven't explained that, have you?

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think you need counsel's advice on that question.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I am not ashamed of anything in connection with this.

Mr. BONNER. Do you belong to any church?

Mr. SHEPPARD. What did you say?

Mr. BONNER. Do you belong to any church?

Mr. SHEPPARD. No, sir.

Mr. BONNER. Don't belong to a church?

Mr. SHEPPARD. No, sir.

Mr. BONNER. Do you recognize the Supreme Being?

Mr. SHEPPARD. What did you say?

Mr. BONNER. Do you recognize a Supreme Being?

Mr. SHEPPARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. BONNER. Do you know the value of an oath?

Mr. SHEPPARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. BONNER. You know all those things.

How would you incriminate yourself if you said you were not or you were a Communist?

Mr. SHEPPARD. I would refuse to answer that question on the same basis.

Mr. BONNER. What is the basis? What basis?

Mr. SHEPPARD. It may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. BONNER. Well, how would denying that you were a Communist incriminate you in any way?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I submit that counsel is instructing the witness what to answer. He can advise him upon his rights.

Mr. BONNER. I was thinking that, too. I might ask counsel some questions himself if he is going to be sworn.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I will have to refuse to answer that question as the others.

The CHAIRMAN. I think, Mr. Bonner, that the witness is within his legal rights. Upon advice of counsel, he says that it may incriminate him.

Mr. BONNER. I would like for somebody to explain to me how it would incriminate him if he denied he was a Communist. I would like to have that explanation.

If he isn't he can certainly deny it. Certainly he would not be incriminating himself by denying he was a Communist or ever affiliated with it.

The CHAIRMAN. He has received advice of counsel. We have permitted counsel to come up and sit next to the witness, and he is standing on his legal rights. Personally, I see no reason for keeping the witness.

Mr. McDOWELL. I move, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be excused.

The CHAIRMAN. You have heard the motion.

Mr. VAIL. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. All in favor signify by saying "Aye"; contrary minded, "No." You are excused.

The next witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. The next witness will be Edwin McCrea.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McCrea, raise your right hand, please.

You do solemnly swear that the testimony you will give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. McCREA. I do.

### TESTIMONY OF EDWIN K. MCCREA

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. McCrea, do you desire counsel?

Mr. McCREA. Yes; I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you want Mr. Forer as your counsel?

Mr. McCREA. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, if it is agreeable to you—

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair agrees.

Mr. McCREA. Mr. Chairman, before the questioning starts, I would like to ask for permission to read a statement to the committee.

Mr. McDOWELL. I object.

The CHAIRMAN. It is our policy to identify the witness first, and then we will consider whether or not your statement may be read.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. McCrea, will you state your full name?

Mr. McCREA. Edwin K. McCrea.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born?

Mr. McCREA. I was born on Long Island, N. Y.

Mr. STRIPLING. When?

Mr. McCREA. 1915; May 15.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could you give us the address where you were born?

Mr. McCREA. Beachurst, Long Island.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present address?

Mr. McCREA. My present address is the North Hotel, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present occupation?

Mr. McCREA. Present occupation is international representative for the Food and Tobacco Workers Union.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been associated with the labor movement?

Mr. McCREA. I first joined the union in 1935, I think.

Mr. STRIPLING. What positions have you held with the Food, Tobacco, and Agriculture Workers of America?

Mr. McCREA. My first position with the Food, Tobacco Workers was as an organizer in Charleston, S. C.

Mr. STRIPLING. When was that?

Mr. McCREA. That was in 1943; after which I went into the service and remained in the service for approximately 28 months; and, as a matter of record I would like to say here, since it seems that my Americanism is somewhat under question, that I am a holder of the Distinguished Flying Cross—

Mr. STRIPLING. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be permitted to state his service record, if he desires.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. McCREA. I hold the Distinguished Flying Cross, the Air Medal, and the Purple Heart, as the result of duty in the Pacific as an aerial machine gunner.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, I believe you were outlining the positions you had held.

Mr. McCREA. Following my return from service I again went to work for the Food-Tobacco Workers as an organizer. That was around, I think, January of 1945—January of 1946, I believe—at which time I was stationed in Cambridge, Md., for a few months, and then went to Winston-Salem—I think that was sometime in the early part of March—and I stayed in Winston-Salem until sometime in September of that year.

Mr. STRIPLING. 1946?

Mr. McCREA. 1946. After which I was assigned to the job of helping consolidate local 10 in the eastern part of North Carolina and then came back into Winston-Salem as international representative around the first of the year.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. McCrea, you said you had a statement which you wanted to make?

The CHAIRMAN. You haven't finished identifying the witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. I think that is sufficient, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you going to ask him more questions?

Mr. STRIPLING. I have questions I want to ask him, but he has asked permission to make a statement. I was going to ask him if his statement is in written form.

Mr. McCREA. Yes, sir; it is.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you care to submit it to the chairman first? The procedure of the committee, Mr. McCrea, is to ask questions, and then if the witness has a statement the committee will consider having him read it.

(The statement referred to was handed to the chairman.)

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that the witness be permitted to read the statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Any objection?

(No response.)

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. McCrea; you may read the statement.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. McCrea—

Mr. NIXON. May I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. The copies of the statement are already in the hands of the committee, and I think, for the record, that we shall have an understanding as to the procedure; the statement is in order because it relates to the facts which have been brought out in this investigation, and it is an attempt by the witness to refute those facts. That is the reason that it is being read.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair agrees.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is your statement the same as this press release which was distributed this morning?

Mr. McCREA. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. I would like to ask one question before the statement is read.

Mr. McCREA, I am in favor of your reading the statement. After you read the statement, are you going to submit yourself to questions about this matter?

Mr. McCREA. Yes; I would be glad to.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Mr. McCREA (reading):

The House Committee on Un-American Activities is trying to do something the richest and most powerful member of the Tobacco Trust could not do—to break the union of 10,000 members of the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural, and Allied Workers Union, CIO, at the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. in Winston-Salem, N. C.

Back in May and June, the workers at Reynolds went out on strike when the company refused to offer them more than a 5½ cents an hour raise. All company attempts failed to break the spirit of the strikers, who knew their cause was just and who also knew that the Reynolds Co. was enjoying its biggest profits in history—at the rate of \$49,000,000 a year, to be exact.

Then someone thought of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the smear was on. Three disgruntled former employees of the local were found to bolster the smear. Two of them had deserted the union when asked to work without pay during the strike—as the rest of the union officials and employees were doing. The third had asked for a long leave of absence and had every reason to believe she would not be taken back when it was over.

No one attempted to investigate the union or make charges against its leaders until the strike was under way, though the union had been under its present leadership for a number of years. The fact that the union's democratically elected leadership was not "irresponsible" as charged by the three former employees and by the company is proved by the discipline and success of the strike. After 38 days of picketing, not one single instance of violence, racial tension, or anything of the sort was discovered.

As a matter of fact, the chief of police of Winston-Salem publicly commended the union and its members of their orderliness during the entire duration of the strike.

The leaders of the FTA-CIO Local 22 are now accused of being "un-American." If this is so, then raising the wages of Reynolds workers from 46 cents an hour to 88 cents an hour must be considered "un-American."

The union has built a firm unity of white and Negro workers. It has been largely instrumental in electing a Negro to the post of alderman of Winston-Salem. It has brought a new and more wholesome atmosphere to its community and State. It has brought new self-respect to 10,000 of the most exploited workers in American industry.

If the Committee on Un-American Activities wishes to call these acts un-American, that is its privilege. We are confident that the workers and all fair-minded people will decide otherwise.

We accuse the committee of attempting to break our union and of helping the employer in a drive to thrust our workers back to 46 cents an hour wages. The R. J. Reynolds Co. and all its stooges, big and little, have failed in this attempt.

We know that the House Committee on Un-American Activities will also fail.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to make this statement: This committee is not interested in breaking your union; it is not interested in breaking any union. We are interested in just one thing in connection with this matter, and we are interested in the same thing when we have witnesses before us from other labor unions, or employees in industry. That is alleged communism in the union or unions themselves.

Furthermore, we are not going to fail, we are going to succeed as no committee of Congress has ever succeeded before in this respect. That is, to expose the un-American activities, not only in unionism but in other fields, education, the films, government. We are going to expose them like they have never been exposed before. We are going to do a job of teaching the American people the dangers from these inroads based on their foreign connections.

Now, Mr. Stripling, proceed.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. McCrea, have you been or are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McCREA. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer that question on the ground that the answer may tend to incriminate me, and also I don't feel that it is the business of this committee to question anybody's political views.

Mr. NIXON. It is not the prerogative of the witness to determine what the business of the committee is, Mr. Chairman. He can answer the question, but I don't feel a comment like that is in order.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you do so upon advice of counsel?

Mr. McCREA. I do, with the advice of counsel, and my own, too.

Mr. STRIPLING. I am going to ask another question, Mr. McCrea. Were you an organizer for the Communist Party in the State of Tennessee?

Mr. McCREA. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, we have the same situation with this witness as the two previous witnesses.

If I proceed to ask you questions concerning alleged Communist affiliations or activities, will you refuse to answer on the same grounds?

Mr. McCREA. Yes, sir; I take the same position.

Mr. STRIPLING. I see no point, Mr. Chairman, in continuing the questioning.

The CHAIRMAN. No. Do any of the members have questions? Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. This is just a matter that deals with your statement, Mr. McCrea.

You have indicated that two of the people who have testified against the so-called Communist leadership in the union did so because they were asked to work without pay during the strike.

Is that the regular procedure during a strike, for the union officers to work without pay?

Mr. McCREA. The executive board of each local determines that themselves and this was determined by vote of the whole executive board.

Mr. NIXON. Did you work without pay?

Mr. McCREA. No, sir. This was a question which involved the local people. International representatives are involved in a great many unions.

Mr. NIXON. You as the international representative were present in Winston-Salem during the strike, were you not?

Mr. McCREA. I was.

Mr. NIXON. And as far as the people working without pay, the local officers did, but you continued with your full pay throughout the strike?

Mr. McCREA. I might point out—

Mr. NIXON. Is the answer yes or no?

Mr. McCREA. The answer is no.

Mr. NIXON. You worked without pay?

Mr. McCREA. No, the answer is that I worked with pay.

Mr. NIXON. You worked with pay during the strike. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. McCrea, have you ever worked for a tobacco company, have you ever been on the payroll of these manufacturing companies?

Mr. McCREA. No, I have never worked for these companies.

Mr. McDOWELL. Have you ever worked for a tobacco company?

Mr. McCREA. No.

Mr. McDOWELL. Have you ever worked for a farm or an agricultural organization?

Mr. McCREA. I was raised on a farm.

Mr. McDOWELL. Your father's farm?

Mr. McCREA. My family's farm.

Mr. McDOWELL. Outside of that, have you ever worked for any agricultural organization as an employee?

Mr. McCREA. No. The plant which I worked in before I went to work for the Food and Tobacco Workers was a handle company, which makes striking-tool handles, in Nashville, Tenn. I was chief shop steward in my plant.

Mr. McDOWELL. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bonner.

Mr. BONNER. Mr. McCrea, the first paragraph in your statement:

The House Committee on Un-American Activities is trying to do something the richest and most powerful member of the Tobacco Trust could not do—to break the union of 10,000 members of the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural, and Allied Workers Union, CIO, at the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., in Winston-Salem, N. C.

You charged the committee with attempting to break the strike down there?

Mr. McCREA. I do, sir.

Mr. BONNER. Now: "Then someone thought of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the smear was on."

Who was that "someone"?

Mr. McCREA. That is why I am not too specific in the statement. We don't know exactly who it was.

Mr. BONNER. Well, you read the papers, don't you?

Mr. McCREA. Yes, sir.

Mr. BONNER. Did you see a statement in any newspapers that the two Senators from North Carolina and a Representative from North Carolina were going to call the matter of communistic leadership in local 22 to the attention of this committee?

MR. MCCREA. I do recall seeing a statement in the paper to the effect that you were calling upon the committee to make an investigation.

MR. BONNER. You saw my statement, but you didn't see the other three?

MR. MCCREA. No; I don't recall seeing those at all.

MR. BONNER. Do you know where I was when this whole matter came up here in Washington?

MR. MCCREA. No, sir; I don't.

MR. BONNER. I wasn't in the District of Columbia at the time—for your information.

And then you failed to observe in the papers that both United States Senators from the State of North Carolina and the Representative from your district, in which local 22 is located, pointed out the fact that they were going to call the conditions down there to the attention of the committee?

MR. MCCREA. My understanding is that the Representative from my district had nothing to do with calling for this investigation.

MR. BONNER. Your understanding?

MR. MCCREA. That is my understanding.

MR. BONNER. You didn't ever read the statement that he would call it to the attention of this committee?

MR. MCCREA. No, sir; I did not.

MR. BONNER. As a member of this committee, for your information, I called it to the attention of the committee.

MR. MCCREA. I understand that you did.

MR. BONNER. Yes; I called it, based on the publicity that had been given here in Washington—a representative from that locality came up and asked for assistance.

I admire you very much for your service to your Nation, but I do regret that you won't answer an intelligent question here as to whether or not you are a member of the Communist Party.

MR. MCCREA. Mr. Bonner, I am just as proud of my services to the workers, too. I have worked in those plants in the South for 32 cents an hour.

MR. BONNER. What has the Communist Party got to do with your pride in the workers?

MR. MCCREA. I am concerned here with the welfare of the union.

MR. BONNER. And I am concerned with the welfare of this country—and you are, too, I imagine.

MR. MCCREA. That is right.

MR. BONNER. How can the Communist Party help the labor movement any better than some person who is wholeheartedly——

MR. MCCREA. I refuse to answer that question on the same ground.

MR. BONNER. Wait a minute. You have got that speech learned pretty good. Even before I get through, of course, you are going to refuse to answer any question on that ground—whatever the question might be.

Is that right?

MR. MCCREA. Whatever the question may be?

MR. BONNER. Yes; whatever the question may be you are going to refuse to answer on that ground; is that correct?

MR. MCCREA. It depends on what the question was.

MR. BONNER. You didn't let me finish the question. That is the reason I asked you the other question.

Mr. McCREA. O. K. go ahead; I won't interrupt again.

Mr. BONNER. Well, then, of course, to get back to the original question, you wouldn't deny or affirm any affiliation at all to the Communist Party, would you?

Mr. McCREA. Is that all of the question?

Mr. BONNER. Yes.

Mr. McCREA. I refuse to answer that on the same ground.

Mr. BONNER. Do you belong to a church?

Mr. McCREA. Do I belong?

Mr. BONNER. Are you a member of any church?

Mr. McCREA. No.

Mr. BONNER. Well, do you recognize any Supreme Power?

Mr. McCREA. I do.

Mr. BONNER. Do you know anything about communism?

Mr. McCREA. I gave you my answer, Mr. Bonner, on a similar question before.

Mr. BONNER. No; you haven't given the answer to this; do you know anything about communism?

Mr. McCREA. I refuse to answer that on the same ground, Mr. Bonner. I don't see any point in continuing this thing if we are going to arrive at the same point.

Mr. BONNER. I will ask you one more question. There is no feeling about it at all. Do you ever read anything about communism in the paper?

Mr. McCREA. I have.

Mr. BONNER. Was it adverse?

Mr. McCREA. I think the papers today are full of all kinds of controversies on this issue.

Mr. BONNER. Well, did you ever happen to see a little article that appeared here in a newspaper showing the benefits to labor under democracy and to labor under communism?

Mr. McCREA. I don't recall that; no.

Mr. BONNER. Do you read any North Carolina papers?

Mr. McCREA. I certainly do.

Mr. BONNER. Well, if you were to read this you would refuse to answer on the same grounds, would you?

Mr. McCREA. I can't answer that until I read it.

Mr. BONNER. Under which system would labor prosper better?

Mr. McCREA. What system are you talking about?

Mr. BONNER. Democratic form of government or communistic form of government?

Mr. McCREA. Mr. Bonner, I fail to see how or why the committee should be interested in what my thoughts are. I mean, that is something that is my own private, personal property.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will rule that you will have to answer that question.

Mr. BONNER. He is a nice fellow. You have ruled previously that he has a right to answer any way he wants to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. On that question, that is a fair question, he should answer the question.

Mr. BONNER. I was going to get to that. He is an intelligent man; fine man, evidently—as I have said before, for the services you have rendered.

Now, you came up here under subpoena, you were sworn. I don't think the answer to this question would prejudice any rights, take away any rights from you, or any privileges—because you have got a right to that opinion just as much as anybody else has got a right pro or con to an opinion about that question. You can either answer it under one or under the other. I don't think you can dodge behind any legal shield. I don't know what kind of legal answer your attorney would give you, your counsel would give you, that it would injure you one way or the other in any further rights or charges that may ever be preferred against you by answering that question. It is a topic of discussion. It is even a topic of discussion in your own union.

Mr. McCREA. Will you put the question clearly again so I will know exactly what I am answering?

Mr. BONNER. Under which system do you think organized labor would prosper better, the Communist system or the democratic system?

Mr. McCREA. I want to say this as a matter of record, that I believe in democracy. As far as I am concerned, I would do anything to try to further democracy and try to maintain democracy.

Mr. BONNER. That is not an answer to the question.

Mr. McCREA. Mr. Bonner, I am going to refuse to answer that question on the same ground that I refused to answer the other questions, but further I want to state this—

The CHAIRMAN. You have answered the question.

Mr. BONNER. That is all.

Mr. McCREA. I want to state—

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute.

Mr. BONNER. If you refuse to answer the question I don't care about your statement, because I know that you are intelligent enough, and you have your own opinion, you have sufficient intelligence to have your own opinion. I know that. So we will drop the question.

The CHAIRMAN. Any more questions of the witness? Then the Chair wishes to rule in the case of Mr. McCrea, as in the case of Mr. Sheppard and Mr. Black, the witness is excused.

Now, the attorney will please stay.

Mr. Attorney, your face seems very familiar to me. I think we have met before. Have you ever been employed in an agency of the Government?

Mr. FORER. Yes, but I don't recall ever meeting you, Mr. Thomas.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we have met. Weren't you employed as an attorney for the NLRB?

Mr. FORER. Yes; for a while.

The CHAIRMAN. You were?

Mr. FORER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you employed as an attorney in the OPA?

Mr. FORER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell the committee what other agencies of the Government you were employed with as attorney?

Mr. FORER. Yes. I have worked for Treasury Department, the REA, the NLRB, and the OPA.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Any more witnesses?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask counsel if he is the same Joseph Forer who was listed by this committee as a member

of the American League for Peace and Democracy in 1939 while he was attorney for the NLRB?

Mr. FORER. I was listed by the press, yes; and I am the same person.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. FORER. I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. And you are aware that Attorney General Biddle found it to be a Communist front organization?

Mr. FORER. I am not aware of what Attorney General Biddle found. Incidentally, am I a witness now?

The CHAIRMAN. I think we have identified the witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other witnesses, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 3:50 p. m., the committee adjourned, to reconvene at 10:30 a. m. Thursday, July 24, 1947.)



# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN LABOR UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

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THURSDAY, JULY 24, 1947

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

The record will show that a subcommittee is sitting. Those present are Mr. McDowell, Mr. Rankin, and Mr. Thomas.

Staff members present: Mr. Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator, and Mr. Lonis J. Russell, investigator.

The Chair wishes to state the first witness this morning was to have been Dr. Zorkin. The committee is deferring the hearing of Dr. Zorkin until a later date, for the reason that the evidence and information which he has supplied to the committee in executive session is of such importance the committee is making further investigation and expects to call a number of witnesses in connection with the "fifth column" activities now being carried on in the United States, not only by Tito, but by other satellite nations of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Stripling, your first witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, the witnesses which you are about to hear: Joseph Julianelle and Michael Beresick, are officials of local 203, which is affiliated with the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, Congress of Industrial Organizations. Local 203 covers the General Electric Co. plant in Bridgeport, Conn.

Mr. Julianelle, the first witness, is business agent of local 203. Mr. Beresick is vice president of local 203.

Recently this union expelled 26 of its members because they were either Communists or fellow-travelers. It was the first local affiliated with the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America which publicly acknowledged the fact that the UE had been infiltrated by Communists. It was also the first local within the UE to take any action against the Communists who had infiltrated into the local. Because local 203 expelled the Communists from the union, the international union took steps to have the local's charter revoked.

Mr. Julianelle, through his testimony, will furnish the committee with the details concerning the expulsion of the 26 members of local 203 for participation in communistic activities, as well as some information concerning the method of infiltration used by the Communists in the affairs of local 203.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Stripling, you say the international union expelled this union?

Mr. STRIPLING. They sought to revoke the charter.

Mr. RANKIN. The international union of what?

Mr. STRIPLING. The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America—

Mr. RANKIN. The CIO organization?

Mr. STRIPLING. The CIO.

Mr. RANKIN. You mean—

The CHAIRMAN. Let us put the witness on.

Mr. RANKIN. What I want to find out from Mr. Stripling is just where we are.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Rankin, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union has been cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in Report No. 1476 of the Seventy-sixth Congress, January 3, 1940, as being a union under the control of Communist leadership—the international union. Now, at the convention of the international union, as I understand it, a resolution was adopted—

Mr. RANKIN. What I want to know is: Can unions outside the United States have a voice in expelling a local in this country?

Mr. STRIPLING. Of course, as you know, a number of unions which function in the United States are organized on an international basis.

Mr. RANKIN. What I am trying to get at is: Can unions outside the United States expel one of the locals in the United States from the organization?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi will get on much better if he can hear the witness. Bring on the witness.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Julianelle. Raise your right hand and be sworn. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. JULIANELLE. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Please sit down.

### TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH JULIANELLE

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Julianelle, will you state your full name, please, for the record?

Mr. JULIANELLE. My full name is Joseph Julianelle.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born?

Mr. JULIANELLE. I was born in New Haven, Conn., on October 31, 1901.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your present occupation?

Mr. JULIANELLE. My present occupation is that of business agent for local 203, in Bridgeport, Conn., of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been business agent for local 203?

Mr. JULIANELLE. My present term started January 1 of this year—1947.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first become associated with local 203?

Mr. JULIANELLE. I became a member of local 203, as a General Electric employee, in 1936.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you held any other positions?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes. Following membership in my local, I was first a steward, which is a committeeman or representative of employees in a given department. Then I was made a section chairman, and by virtue of that position a member of the executive board of the local. Then subsequently, in November 1937, I was elected as its first business agent.

Mr. STRIPLING. What plant or industry does local 203 cover?

Mr. JULIANELLE. It covers the General Electric works, so-called, in Bridgeport, Conn. Incidentally, at the present time, the Bridgeport works is a part of the appliance and merchandise division of the General Electric Co., covering plants and warehouses all over the country, but we are the collective bargaining agent for only the Bridgeport plant.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many of the employees of General Electric in Bridgeport are members of local 203?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Approximately 6,000.

Mr. STRIPLING. Six thousand?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Are members of our local.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you been constantly associated with the union, Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Since you joined in 1937?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes. I was its business agent from 1937—although a member from 1936, as I said previously—until January 1, 1943. Prior to that, I had submitted my resignation, for the purpose of entering the military service of this country. As you all know, we were engaged in a war. But during the period of '43, '44, and '45 I maintained an active interest in the local. By that I mean I still retained friendships and connections with the membership of the local. I was made familiar with the developments within the local. I returned to the local in 1946.

Mr. STRIPLING. But you were familiar with the activities of the union during the period when you were not actually a member?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Not completely, but quite so. I was familiar with what was going on.

Mr. STRIPLING. During that period—'43, '44, and '45—who were the officers of the union? Who was head of the union?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Well, when I left the local a man by the name of Frank Fazekas. He succeeded me as business agent of local 203. An election was held, of course, prior to my resignation, and he was elected.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was there any period from the time you joined the union in 1936 until the present time when you felt the union was under the control or domination of Communists?

Mr. JULIANELLE. At no time was the local under the control of Communists, either within the local or within the international union, but members of the local who were Communists, known Communists—and I will say more on that later—and their supporters, had a great deal of influence in the local's affairs. It started with the inception of the local, back in 1935, when an organizer by the name of Ernie DeMaio was sent in to organize the Bridgeport General Electric employees. There is enough evidence, I believe, to support my statement that DeMaio was then and is now a Communist.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is his present position?

Mr. JULIANELLE. He is now a member of the general executive board of the international union, because he is president of his district. The United States is cut up into districts.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes. Do you know whether Ernest DeMaio ever went to Spain?

Mr. JULIANELLE. No; but in 1937, shortly after I was elected business agent, DeMaio came to Milford, Conn.—it is a suburb of Bridgeport—for the apparent purpose of recovering from extensive organizational activity, presumably that of organizing workers in the electrical industry. At that time he told me that a brother of his was fighting in Spain.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know his brother's name?

Mr. JULIANELLE. No; I do not. I have read something about him, but I just can't recall the name. I think it is Tony.

Mr. STRIPLING. He was a witness before this committee, Mr. Chairman, in 1939, and was identified by a number of witnesses who stated he was the trigger man in Spain for the Communist Party, in connection with Americans who had been recruited in the United States and sent to Spain as members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. There is testimony concerning Tony DeMaio in volume X, I believe it is, of the hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. The record will show that Mr. Nixon is present.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. What do you mean by "trigger man"?

Mr. STRIPLING. I suggest, Mr. McDowell, that we include at this point, the testimony concerning Tony DeMaio. There were a number of American boys who were recruited to go to Spain and fight for the Loyalist cause who never returned and who were never heard of, and have never been heard of since then. A number of the parents came before the committee at the time and gave testimony concerning the recruiting activities of the Communist Party. You may recall that 19 Communists in Detroit were indicted at the time by Attorney General Frank Murphy for their recruiting activities in violation of certain statutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, that testimony will be included in this testimony, at this point of the record.

(The testimony of Tony DeMaio referred to is as follows:)

(Vol. 13: April 11, 12, 19, 23, 24, 25, May 6, 8, 9, 21, 1940)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES—HEARINGS BEFORE A SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

TESTIMONY OF ANTHONY E. DEMAIO

The CHAIRMAN. Raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DEMAIO. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please give your full name?

Mr. DEMAIO. My full name is Anthony E. DeMaio.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Spell the last name?

Mr. DEMAIO. D-e-M-a-i-o.

Mr. MATTHEWS. M-a-i-o.

Mr. DEMAIO. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever used any other variations of that name?

Mr. DeMAIO. (No answer).

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever spelled it, for example, DeMayo?

Mr. DeMAIO. I just spelled that "D-i" because the committee in serving the subpoena spelled it "D-i", and I didn't want to give the committee the reasons for raising any question of doubt. That is why I spelled it "D-i". "D-e" is the regular spelling.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever gone under any other name for any purpose other than the name of Anthony DeMaio?

Mr. DeMAIO. I would like to state, Mr. Chairman, that I have been called in here for testimony regarding my activities in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and that any questions involving my personal life be kept out of it.

That is not the purpose of this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, he is asking you a question, whether you ever went under any other name besides the name that you have now. Is this your true name?

Mr. DeMAIO. That is my true name.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born?

Mr. DeMAIO. I was born in Hartford, Conn.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When?

Mr. DeMAIO. February 21, 1914.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you went to Spain—did you go to Spain?

Mr. DeMAIO. I went to Spain.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you travel on an American passport?

Mr. DeMAIO. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did?

Mr. DeMAIO. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Under what name did you get your American passport?

Mr. DeMAIO. I refuse to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the question.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I asked the witness under what name he got his American passport when he went to Spain. He declines to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you decline to answer?

Mr. DeMAIO. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair instructs you to answer that question. Do you still decline?

Mr. DeMAIO. I still decline.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you get your passport under the name of Anthony DeMaio?

Mr. DeMAIO. I decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you decline to answer that question?

Mr. DeMAIO. I decline.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair instructs you to answer the question.

Mr. DeMAIO. I decline.

The CHAIRMAN. You still decline?

Mr. DeMAIO. I decline.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But your testimony is that you did travel on an American passport, is that correct?

Mr. DeMAIO. That is my testimony.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever in any of the service branches of the United States Army or the Navy or Marine Corps or National Guard?

Mr. DeMAIO. Mr. Chairman, that is still going back into my own personal history, which has no bearing on this investigation.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you decline to answer that question?

Mr. DeMAIO. I decline to answer that question pertaining—

The CHAIRMAN. This particular question?

Mr. DeMAIO. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair instructs you to answer. Do you still decline?

Mr. DeMAIO. I still decline.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did travel on a false passport when you went to Spain, didn't you, Mr. DeMaio?

Mr. DeMAIO. I still refuse.

The CHAIRMAN. You have covered that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DeMAIO. I am not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DeMAIO. I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you join the Communist Party?

Mr. DEMAI0. I don't recall the exact date. It was when I returned from Spain.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time before you went to Spain?

Mr. DEMAI0. I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair wants to make an announcement. We are sitting as a subcommittee with the chairman, Mr. Mason, of Illinois, and Mr. Voorhis, of California.

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Chairman, you will note from the time Mr. DeMaio commenced his testimony to this present moment we were sitting as a full committee.

The CHAIRMAN. A quorum was present. Proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you get out of the Communist Party?

Mr. DEMAI0. I don't recall the exact time. It was just a dropping away process, that is all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Quite recently?

Mr. DEMAI0. No. It is about 6 months at least.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you expelled?

Mr. DEMAI0. I was not expelled.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you given permission to drop out?

Mr. DEMAI0. No. I just dropped out.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever assigned to work in any part of New Jersey for the Communist Party?

Mr. DEMAI0. I was not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever do any work for the Communist Party in the State of New Jersey?

Mr. DEMAI0. I did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Weren't you an official of the Communist Party during the seamen's strike in the spring of 1936?

Mr. DEMAI0. I had no connection with the seamen's strike in New Jersey in 1936. I don't even recall if I was in New Jersey at the time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever work as a merchant seaman?

Mr. DEMAI0. I never did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you assist in the raising of funds for the strike committee in the strike of 1936?

Mr. DEMAI0. I don't recall whether I might have or not in one way or another, but not as any particular job.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall whether you had any official connection with the strike committee?

Mr. DEMAI0. I had no official connection with the strike committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you remember the names of any of the members of the strike committee?

Mr. DEMAI0. I don't remember their names.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know two men by the names of Panchelli and Brown?

Mr. DEMAI0. I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who were arrested in connection with that strike, and are serving terms in Trenton, N. J.?

Mr. DEMAI0. I never heard of the men before, and I never knew them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It doesn't refresh your recollection to state that they are serving 15-year terms in the State prison at Trenton?

Mr. DEMAI0. Doesn't refresh my memory at all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did that case have anything to do with your leaving the State of New Jersey?

Mr. DEMAI0. Had nothing to do with my leaving the State.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you enlist for service in the International Brigade?

Mr. DEMAI0. Will you repeat that question?

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you enlist for service in the International Brigade in Spain?

Mr. DEMAI0. My service in Spain began in Albacete January 6.

Mr. MATTHEWS. No. When did you enlist—when did you volunteer to go across from this side?

Mr. DEMAI0. I didn't volunteer from this side.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you go to Spain?

Mr. DEMAI0. Some time in December 1936.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From what port did you sail?

Mr. DEMAI0. I sailed from New York.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On what ship?

Mr. DEMAI0. On the *Normandie*.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the date of the sailing?

Mr. DEMaIO. I don't recall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. December 1936 on the *Normandie*?

Mr. DEMaIO. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what class?

Mr. DEMaIO. Third class.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was your name listed on the passenger list?

Mr. DEMaIO. It was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the name on the passenger list?

Mr. DEMaIO. Mr. Chairman, this is bringing up the same question time and time again. I previously stated—

The CHAIRMAN. Do you decline to state what name you were listed under the passenger list?

Mr. SCHWAB. That isn't the question.

The CHAIRMAN. What?

Mr. SCHWAB. That isn't what he declines to answer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I asked him what name he was listed under on the *Normandie* in December 1936 when he sailed to Europe.

The CHAIRMAN. You decline to answer that?

Mr. DEMaIO. I decline.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair instructs you to do so, and you decline. Proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it the same name you used on the passport which you fraudulently obtained?

Mr. DEMaIO. I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You don't know whether it was the same name or not?

Mr. DEMaIO. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Under what name were you enlisted in the Loyalist Army in Spain?

Mr. DEMaIO. Under my own name.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did you do with your passport when you reached Spain?

Mr. DEMaIO. I turned it over to someone.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever get it back?

Mr. DEMaIO. The passport was lost at the front.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To whom did you turn it over in Spain?

Mr. DEMaIO. I don't recall his name.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How did you apply for your passport as to the purpose of your going to Europe? Did you state that you were going to Spain in your application?

Mr. DEMaIO. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was there a notation stamped on your passport that it was not valid for travel in Spain?

Mr. DEMaIO. I refuse to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute. You decline to answer that?

Mr. DEMaIO. I might add that at the time I went to Spain that there—

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't it a fact that all passports were marked, "Not valid for travel in Spain"?

Mr. SCHWAB. Mr. Chairman, may I ask that the photographs—they have got enough pictures now. I think I can be unmolested for a minute.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, gentlemen.

Mr. SCHWAB. Never having been at the front, those things annoy me.

The CHAIRMAN. No question about that, is there, about all the passports being marked "Not valid for travel in Spain"?

Mr. DEMaIO. I don't know about all of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you object to answer that so far as you were concerned?

Mr. DEMaIO. I don't know anything about that. I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what year was your passport issued?

Mr. DEMaIO. I refuse to answer any questions pertaining to my passport on my constitutional grounds.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you sailed for Spain, was it your intention to join the Loyalist Army?

Mr. DEMaIO. I hadn't that intention.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is, when you left the United States you had not intended to join the Loyalist Army?

Mr. DEMaIO. I didn't.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you go directly to Spain?

Mr. DEMaIO. No; I didn't.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, of course, you know the Spanish civil war did not break out until but a few months before that time.

Mr. DEMAIO. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did not go directly to Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. I did not go directly to Spain.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long after you arrived in Europe before you went to Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. Very short time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long would you say?

Was it long enough to go to Moscow and then back to Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. I don't know what transportation is like to Moscow and back. I couldn't tell you that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, it depends on how you travel. You could get there in a few days if you went by air.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you go to Moscow before you went to Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. I did not go to Moscow and could not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what countries did you travel in Europe before you went to Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. Just France and Spain.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What occupation did you give on your passport application?

Mr. DEMAIO. Refuse to answer the question.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the date of your arrival in Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. I don't recall the exact date. It was sometime—

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the month?

Mr. DEMAIO. It was January 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to clear up one thing. You have refused to answer certain questions. Do you refuse on the ground to answer those questions might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. DEMAIO. Not at all. I said that I do not recall the exact date that I landed in Spain.

Mr. LYNCH. That isn't an answer to your question.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you this: You have refused to answer certain questions heretofore about your passport. Do I understand that the reason for your refusal is it may tend to incriminate you?

Mr. DEMAIO. It is within my constitutional right to refuse to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. I am trying to get you to specify whether your refusal to answer is because you fear that it might tend to incriminate you? Is that the constitutional ground upon which you rely in your refusal to answer the questions?

Mr. DEMAIO. I am not giving any reasons beyond what I have given before, that it is within my constitutional rights not to answer any questions that I don't want to.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean in other words, then, you don't put it on the ground that it might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. SCHWAB. May I discuss it with my client for a moment?

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

(Inaudible discussion between Mr. Schwab and the witness.)

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you: What is the constitutional ground? Is it that you fear that it may tend to incriminate you in any way?

Mr. DEMAIO. Yes; that is it.

The CHAIRMAN. Then he shall not be required to answer the question with reference to the passport.

Mr. LYNCH. Well, Mr. Chairman, I think he should be required to answer the question in regard to his passport, because the statute gives him immunity.

Mr. SCHWAB. May I speak on that question, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. We are talking about the passport.

Mr. SCHWAB. I don't think, in the first place, it has anything to do with the purpose of this committee, but I don't think any committee can take away this man's constitutional right to refuse to testify on the ground that he has given. There is nothing in the statute—enabling statute dealing with congressional bodies which take away that right. He stated it, and I don't believe we should waste any more time on it.

Mr. LYNCH. If the gentleman wants me to, I will get him the law. I will send upstairs and get it. There is a statute of the United States which gives a right to a committee when a man refuses to answer to compel him to answer, and he doesn't have any right to refuse to answer on the ground his testimony might tend to incriminate him. He is still required to answer it. You have the same

precise law before the Communications Commission and the Interstate Commerce Commission and other Government agencies.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it may be that is true, that he has no immunity when testifying before a committee of Congress, and that you could require him to do so. However, the committee has hesitated in the past to require any man to answer a question on that ground.

Anyway, we will carry along. Go ahead.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who furnished you with the funds to travel to Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. I was working at the time just previous to that. I had my own money.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you reached Spain, to what duty were you assigned?

Mr. DEMAIO. I was a soldier in the infantry.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where did you go?

Mr. DEMAIO. Went to a training camp.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Which training camp was that,

Mr. DEMAIO. Villejara.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long were you in the training camp,

Mr. DEMAIO. About a month.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And then did you report at the front?

Mr. DEMAIO. Sent to the front.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long were you at the front?

Mr. DEMAIO. We were at the front for the entire campaign.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many days was that?

Mr. DEMAIO. The exact days—I think it was something like 120 days straight.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were there at the front during the entire 120 days?

Mr. DEMAIO. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And then where did you go?

Mr. DEMAIO. Went on rest.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was your rank in the army?

Mr. DEMAIO. Soldier at that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever promoted?

Mr. DEMAIO. I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To what rank?

Mr. DEMAIO. To sergeant.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever promoted beyond that?

Mr. DEMAIO. I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To what rank?

Mr. DEMAIO. To lieutenant, junior grade.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was there any other promotion after that?

Mr. DEMAIO. Lieutenant, senior grade, or rather lieutenant, because the lower rank was cut out.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And did you hold that rank at the time you left Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what other engagements were you at the front?

Mr. DEMAIO. I was in the engagement of Brunete and the Ebro offensive.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever assigned to any duties behind the front?

Mr. DEMAIO. No permanent duties.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Any temporary duties?

Mr. DEMAIO. Well, I had been in the area.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever assigned to Camp Luukas?

Mr. DEMAIO. I was never assigned there; no.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever there?

Mr. DEMAIO. I was recuperating from a wound.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was Camp Luukas a concentration camp for prisoners?

Mr. DEMAIO. I never considered myself as a prisoner.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it?

Mr. DEMAIO. It was not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you placed in charge of the Anglo-American section?

Mr. DEMAIO. No, I was not in charge of them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know William C. McCuistion in Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. I heard of him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever meet him personally?

The CHAIRMAN. He asked you if you knew him?

Mr. DEMAIO. I knew him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know him personally?

Mr. DEMAIO. I knew him.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew him in Spain?

(No answer.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have any conversations with him?

Mr. DEMAIO. He was at Camp Luukas with me at the time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was with you at Camp Luukas. What was your purpose at Camp Luukas?

Mr. DEMAIO. We certainly weren't there for the same reasons.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Why was he there?

(No answer.)

The CHAIRMAN. You say McCuistion was in the same camp and for the same purpose with you?

Mr. DEMAIO. I did not say that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He said a different purpose. Why was he there?

Mr. DEMAIO. I never asked him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know why he was there?

Mr. DEMAIO. I don't know why he was there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How do you know his purpose was different from yours then?

Mr. DEMAIO. He wasn't wounded. I know that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Wasn't he in charge of the military section of the Anglo-Americans there?

Mr. DEMAIO. McCuistion?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. DEMAIO. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he to your knowledge demoted or disgraced for assisting prisoners in the camp to escape?

Mr. DEMAIO. Don't know anything about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were any of the inmates of Camp Luukas placed there for the purposes of waiting for repatriation?

Mr. DEMAIO. I don't know if they were sent there for that purpose or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long were you at Camp Luukas?

Mr. DEMAIO. About 3 weeks, I think.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And was that entirely for recuperation?

Mr. DEMAIO. For recuperation purposes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were there any men at Camp Luukas who were there because they were labeled as dangerous or destructive or disruptive?

Mr. DEMAIO. I never inquired as to the reason why others were there. I was there myself for recuperation purposes and that is all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, don't you know of your own knowledge that the majority of the men at Camp Luukas were sent there because they objected to the tactics of the Communist Party in Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. I do not know of any such reason.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Because they resented the interference of political commissars and other politicians in army affairs?

Mr. DEMAIO. I repeat, Mr. Chairman, why I was at Camp Luukas, and I do not know why others were there.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. DEMAIO. I think that answers the question on that sufficiently.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were any Americans at Camp Luukas removed from there to Albacete?

Mr. DEMAIO. I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know of any others who were removed?

Mr. DEMAIO. I don't know of any others.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know of any who were removed from Camp Luukas to Albacete for the purpose of execution?

Mr. DEMAIO. I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Or Chinchilla for the purpose of execution?

Mr. DEMAIO. I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you superintend the removal of any persons from Camp Luukas?

Mr. DEMAIO. I did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And did you know Maj. Allen Johnson?

Mr. DEMAIO. I knew him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what capacity did you know him?

Mr. DEMAIO. Only that he was there. I never served with him or under him, so I don't know him personally. I know of him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he a former officer in the Regular Army of the United States?

Mr. DEMAIO. I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To refresh your memory don't you remember numerous speeches in which he talked of his experiences in the Fifteenth and Twenty-seventh Infantry of the United States Army?

Mr. DEMAIO. I never listened to any of his speeches.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he make speeches?

Mr. DEMAIO. I don't know if he did or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At this time you were given an official position as brigade police officer for the American section of the Fifteenth Brigade, were you not?

Mr. DEMAIO. That is not so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know of any police officers who were assigned to special tasks of that sort?

Mr. DEMAIO. I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Lieutenant Ehrlich?

Mr. DEMAIO. I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You don't know any one in Spain by that name?

Mr. DEMAIO. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Captain Cohn?

Mr. DEMAIO. I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know any police officer by that name?

Mr. DEMAIO. The only police officers that I can think of are Spanish police officers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Albert Wallach?

Mr. DEMAIO. I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever hear the name of Albert Wallach?

Mr. DEMAIO. I did not; never did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you in charge of the prison at Castle de Fells?

Mr. DEMAIO. I was never in charge of the prison at Castle de Fells.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever at the prison at Castle de Fells?

Mr. DEMAIO. I was never at the prison at Castle de Fells.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever see Albert Wallach?

Mr. DEMAIO. I don't know. I might have passed him. I didn't know him, so I couldn't say whether I saw him or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Paul White?

Mr. DEMAIO. I did not know Paul White.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever hear of Paul White?

Mr. DEMAIO. I heard of him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you read the notice given to the Lincoln Battalion of his execution?

Mr. DEMAIO. I heard of it but I didn't—

The CHAIRMAN. What was his answer?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That you heard of the execution?

Mr. DEMAIO. I don't know whether it was termed "an execution" or what it was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, you said you heard of it.

Mr. DEMAIO. I heard of him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, I asked you if you heard of his execution or if you read the notice, and you said you heard of it.

Mr. DEMAIO. Just a moment.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You heard of Paul White's execution?

Mr. DEMAIO. I did not hear of it in Spain.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You heard of it after you came back to the United States?

Mr. DEMAIO. I heard—some newspapers printed something to that effect. I never heard of it at that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where did you get that answer?

Mr. DEMAIO. (No answer.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. It differs from your previous answer.

Mr. DEMAIO. It does not.

Mr. SCHWAB. I suggest, Mr. Matthews, you don't start a personal altercation here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recognize that photograph as being any person you ever saw in Spain? [Handing photograph to the witness.]

Mr. DEMAIO. It looks like Carey Grant, the movie actor.

Mr. LYNCH. Ask him to answer the question.

Mr. DEMAIO. No. [Mr. Matthews handing the picture to the witness again.]

Mr. DEMAIO. I don't know him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You don't recognize these pictures as being Albert Wallach?

Mr. DEMAIO. I don't recognize him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you never heard of the name of Albert Wallach in Spain; is that correct?

Mr. DEMAIO. Never heard of him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long were you in Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. About 2 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know many of the men in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, so-called?

Mr. DEMAIO. I didn't know all of them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, in what capacity did you know Maj. Allen Johnson?

Mr. DEMAIO. I never knew him at the—in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know him in Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. I knew him as an officer in Spain, that is all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever deliver any prisoners to Maj. Allen Johnson in Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. I never did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of what was Maj. Allen Johnson an officer? You said you knew him as an officer?

Mr. DEMAIO. At the base in Tarragona.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did know him at Tarragona?

Mr. DEMAIO. I knew he was there. I didn't say I knew him there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you see him in Tarragona?

Mr. DEMAIO. I saw him once, I believe.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What were you doing in Tarragona at the time you met Maj. Allen Johnson?

Mr. DEMAIO. I believe I was at Camp Luukas at the time, and it was a short run over there, and I took a trip over there to see some of the men, and I saw him while I was there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you took prisoners from Camp Luukas to Tarragona and delivered them to Maj. Allen Johnson, did you not?

Mr. DEMAIO. I did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know of any men who were executed in Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. No; did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were there any disciplinary cases that were of such seriousness that executions resulted, to your knowledge?

Mr. DEMAIO. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever hear of any?

Mr. DEMAIO. Never heard of any direct cases of execution; no.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Except the one of Paul White to which you testified? Is that the only one?

Mr. DEMAIO. I did not testify that I knew he was executed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. No, only that you had heard of it. Did you know of any others who were executed?

Mr. DEMAIO. I did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. (No answer.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever meet George Mink in Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. Never heard of him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You never heard of the name of George Mink?

Mr. DEMAIO. Never did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know George Hirsch in Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. Never heard of him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You never heard of that name either?

Mr. DEMAIO. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know an American by the name of Moran?

Mr. DEMAIO. No, I don't.

The CHAIRMAN. Speak a little louder, please. It is very hard to hear.

Mr. DEMAIO. I never heard of him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever in Barcelona?

Mr. DEMAIO. I had been there; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall whether or not you were in Barcelona on May 2, 1938?

Mr. DEMAIO. (No answer.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was the day following the May Day celebration, to refresh your recollection.

Mr. DEMAIO. Then I wasn't there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were not in Barcelona on May 2, 1938?

Mr. DEMAIO. I was not there around any May Day.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever frequent the cafes on the Rambla de Catalonia in Barcelona?

Mr. DEMaio. Mr. Chairman, may I ask just what all that this here is about? Certainly if a man went to Barcelona in time of war on leave he visited a cafe.

The CHAIRMAN. That is just what he was asking you. Go ahead.

Mr. DEMaio. Then, but I ask what the purpose of this question is? Certainly, I visited some of these cafes, but what has that to do with the investigation?

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you meet George Mink or George Hirsch in any of the cafes?

Mr. DEMaio. I told you previously I never heard or saw these individuals.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever sit on a court martial to try two Finnish-Americans in Spain?

Mr. DEMaio. I never sat on a court martial in Spain.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you sit on a court martial to try a Canadian and Finn for drunkenness?

Mr. DEMaio. This is getting ridiculous.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute. You will find out how material it is later on. You are now being afforded an opportunity to answer certain questions.

Mr. DEMaio. No; I don't know anything about that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know the name of Paul Oskar?

Mr. DEMaio. I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever hear that name in Spain?

Mr. DEMaio. I never heard it in Spain.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever hear the name of George Nieminen in Spain?

Mr. DEMaio. I never did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever hear the name of George Kulksinemi?

Mr. DEMaio. I never did?

Mr. MATTHEWS. In Spain?

Mr. DEMaio. I did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You never heard of those three men?

Mr. DEMaio. I never heard of those men.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever hear that two Finnish-Americans and one Canadian Finn were executed on the beach in Barcelona?

Mr. DEMaio. I never heard of this.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know a man by the name of Sullivan who was a political commissar in the Irish-American Battalion?

Mr. DEMaio. I never heard of an Irish-American Battalion.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know a man named Sullivan who was a political commissar connected with any of the sections of the Loyalist army?

Mr. DEMaio. I never heard of him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Louis Oliver?

Mr. DEMaio. The name sounds familiar. I can't place him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, you placed him under arrest once, didn't you?

Mr. DEMaio. I did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In Barcelona, didn't you place Louis Oliver under arrest?

Mr. DEMaio. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever go aboard the American steamship *Oregon*?

Mr. DEMaio. I don't recall ever having done so. I might have—I think I went aboard one American steamer there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where?

Mr. DEMaio. In Barcelona.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In Barcelona?

Mr. DEMaio. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Wasn't it the American steamship *Oregon*?

Mr. DEMaio. I don't know whether that was the name of it or not. There were several American ships.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who went with you when you went aboard the ship?

Mr. DEMaio. I went alone.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you sure that George Mink and Colm didn't accompany you when you went aboard the ship?

Mr. DEMaio. They did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, what was your purpose in going aboard the steamship *Oregon* in Barcelona?

Mr. DEMaio. It was along the same line as visiting a cafe. It was part of the time—of killing time while in Barcelona—possibly being able to pick up a pack of American cigarettes; that is all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. DeMaio, didn't you go aboard the American steamship *Oregon* to place Albert Wallach under arrest?

Mr. DEMAIO. I did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In company with George Mink?

Mr. DEMAIO. I did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And Captain Cohn?

Mr. DEMAIO. I did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever have any acquaintance that you can now recall or any knowledge of Albert Wallach?

Mr. DEMAIO. No knowledge whatsoever.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Wayne Taine?

Mr. DEMAIO. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Lawrence McCullough; did you know him?

Mr. DEMAIO. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know anyone by the name of Frich?

Mr. DEMAIO. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know Mr. Wolff in Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. I knew Mr. Wolff in Spain.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever know Virgil Morris?

Mr. DEMAIO. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever hear the name in Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. Can't recall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. George Dempsey?

Mr. DEMAIO. (No answer.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever meet him?

Mr. DEMAIO. I think George Dempsey was once our cook, but I don't know him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know them any time as prisoners—calling the name, reading the names?

Mr. DEMAIO. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever see any prisoners in Spain who were members of the American section?

Mr. DEMAIO. Never paid much attention to them. I wouldn't recall their names or faces.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever see any prisoners?

Mr. DEMAIO. I saw the labor battalions but I never distinguished their faces or anything.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were members of the labor battalion the same as prisoners? Is that what you mean to testify?

Mr. DEMAIO. I don't know whether they were or not. I don't know anything about the disciplinary units in Spain.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Paul White?

Mr. DEMAIO. I did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever hear the name of Paul White?

Mr. DEMAIO. I can't recall the name definitely or the face.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You can't recall his face. Do you have a vague recollection of his face?

Mr. DEMAIO. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever know him as Johnnie Adams in this country?

Mr. DEMAIO. Never did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you now have some vague recollection?

Mr. DEMAIO. I have a vague recollection of the name but the individual I have no recollection or knowledge of.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you associate his name with the execution about which you say you have a vague recollection, is that right?

Mr. DEMAIO. That is right. That is the only recollection I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you meet Robert Minor in Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. Robert Minor spoke to us a few times only in the capacity of a correspondent.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that the limit of his duties in Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. As far as I know. I never knew him personally.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever talk to him personally in Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. I never did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you meet any of the members of the International Political Commission for the International Brigade in Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. What is the International Political Commission?

Mr. MATTHEWS. By whatever title it was known—the group of men—

Mr. DEMAIO. Tell me exactly what you mean.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, Andre Marty, for example, did you ever meet Andre Marty in Spain?

Mr. DEMAI0. I have seen him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever meet Harry Pollock from England?

Mr. DEMAI0. I never saw him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know he was in Spain, don't you?

Mr. DEMAI0. I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know Andre Marty was in Spain?

Mr. DEMAI0. I know Andre Marty was in Spain.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever meet Earl Browder in Spain?

Mr. DEMAI0. I never met him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you see him in Spain?

Mr. DEMAI0. I didn't see him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you did see Robert Minor there. How long was Minor in Spain?

Mr. DEMAI0. I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever make any reports to Robert Minor?

Mr. DEMAI0. I told you I never spoke to Robert Minor.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever make any reports to him?

Mr. DEMAI0. Never did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. About any matters?

Mr. DEMAI0. About nothing at all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Pertaining to the Lincoln Brigade?

Mr. DEMAI0. (No answer.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know John Little?

Mr. DEMAI0. I don't know him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. John Little, of the Young Communist League?

Mr. DEMAI0. I don't know him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You don't know him?

Mr. DEMAI0. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did not meet him in Spain?

Mr. DEMAI0. I did not meet him in Spain.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How much time did you spend at the front altogether? Can you give us a rough estimate of that, Mr. DeMaio?

Mr. DEMAI0. I think about 11 months, exclusive of a period that I spent convalescing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Eleven months at the front. And how much time would that leave? About 9 or 10 months when you were not at the front?

Mr. DEMAI0. About that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you familiar with the details of the retreat to the Ebro in April 1938?

Mr. DEMAI0. I am not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know that a large number of the American soldiers preferred to surrender to the Fascists at the time of that retreat than to continue in the service of the International Brigade?

Mr. DEMAI0. I never heard of it, and I don't believe it.

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. DeMaio, when did you return to the United States?

Mr. DEMAI0. Sometime in March 1939.

Mr. LYNCH. And did you return on a passport or not?

Mr. DEMAI0. I object; I refuse to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. You refuse to answer that?

Mr. DEMAI0. I refuse to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. On what ground?

Mr. DEMAI0. On the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. It will tend to incriminate you?

Mr. DEMAI0. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that right?

Mr. DEMAI0. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. What ship did you return on?

Mr. DEMAI0. I refuse to answer that on the same ground.

Mr. LYNCH. At what port did you land?

Mr. DEMAI0. I landed in the port of New York.

Mr. LYNCH. And where were you educated, Mr. DeMaio?

Mr. DEMAI0. In Hartford, Conn.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you graduate from high school?

Mr. DEMAI0. I did.

Mr. LYNCH. Which high school?

Mr. DEMAIO. Mr. Chairman, may I ask what that has to do with this investigation?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you object to answering that question—what high school you attended?

Mr. DEMAIO. (No answer.)

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know what high school you attended?

Mr. DEMAIO. I refuse to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you go under the name of Anthony DeMaio at that time?

Mr. DEMAIO. I did.

Mr. LYNCH. And you spelled it D-e-M-a-i-o; is that correct?

Mr. DEMAIO. That is correct.

Mr. LYNCH. And what was your address at the time you went abroad in this country.

Mr. DEMAIO. I believe it was—I refuse to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. On the ground it tends to incriminate you?

Mr. DEMAIO. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you have a witness to your passport application when you obtained a passport?

Mr. DEMAIO. I refuse to answer.

Mr. SCHWAB. Mr. Chairman, in order to save time, I would appreciate getting through with my last witness here so we could all leave. And I think the witness has indicated clearly that he won't answer any questions pertaining to the passport.

Mr. LYNCH. Now, Mr. Chairman, the section of the law, for the benefit of counsel who never heard of it, is section 103 of the Revised Statutes, says:

Mr. SCHWAB. Nothing in that statute, Mr. Chairman, that refers to a constitutional right that everybody in America knows about—nothing about refusing to testify on the ground that it may incriminate him.

Mr. LYNCH. Now, the next section:

"No testimony given by a witness before either House or before any committee or by the Houses of Congress shall be used as evidence in any criminal proceeding against him in any court except in the prosecution for perjury committed in giving such testimony."

I ask the chairman, in view of these two statutes, to direct the witness to answer the questions which he heretofore refused to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is a matter that the committee will have to forego for the time being. We will have to consider that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have one more question to ask the witness. Mr. DeMaio, did you know Bernard Ades in Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. Spell that last name?

Mr. MATTHEWS. A-d-e-s—Bernard Ades.

Mr. DEMAIO. I did not know him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Major Galleani?

Mr. DEMAIO. I heard of him; I don't know him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was his position in Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. A major, that is all I know. He was never connected with any unit that I was connected with.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you do know he was in Spain?

Mr. DEMAIO. I took that for granted.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next witness is Major Galleani, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHWAB. I was here all day yesterday—I had a matter on—there is one more of my witnesses here I think as a courtesy to me, if for no other reason, you should not make me stay over or come and I think—

The CHAIRMAN. Major Galleani.

Mr. SCHWAB. May I say this, I have to be back tonight. I was figuring on making the next plane.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You are not under subpoena.

Mr. SCHWAB. I am an attorney, and I am asking a courtesy.

The CHAIRMAN. We have to proceed in order. We will take that up in a few minutes.

Mr. SCHWAB. Will you hear this witness today?

The CHAIRMAN. I will have to confer with counsel with reference to this witness. What witness is it you have?

Mr. SCHWAB. Jerry Cooke.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take that up in a few minutes.

(7719)

The CHAIRMAN. The witnesses who have been subpoenaed and who are present, Tony DeMaio, Milton Wolff, Fred Keller, and Gerald Cook. They are witnesses who have been subpoenaed and they will remain here subject to the call of the committee. You will let the clerk of the committee know where you are located and he will advise you when we will hear you. We will hear you as soon as possible.

(7732)

Mr. WALLACH. By the, as I understand it, these people in charge of the affairs of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. This happened in a so-called prison camp or jail known as Castle de Fells, which I understand is about 25 kilometers south of the city of Barcelona and that it was done under the supervision of the officer known as Captain Gates, and that the man in charge of this prison was a fellow by the name of Tony DeMaio, who I understand was the actual killer, not only of my boy but of six other American boys whose remains to this very moment are in the courtyard of this prison camp, Castle de Fells.

(7815)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, I want to come back to that presently, Major Galleani, but I would like to ask you if you knew Tony DeMaio in Spain?

Mr. GALLEANI. Yes. I know—I have known Tony DeMaio. As a matter of fact I was in charge of the Fifteenth International Brigade in Grandesa around the 20th of March 1938, when a battalion arrived from the instruction base at Terregona. I saw the list of the men and I saw the name of this young Italian man, so I approached him and I asked him if he was Italian born. He told me he was American born. I saw that he was a husky young fellow, and I told him, "Well, I hope you will do good here."

After about 5 or 6 days I went to inspect the Lincoln Battalion and I asked where DeMaio was. DeMaio, by the way, had the rank of sublieutenant at the time. So I learned DeMaio left the battalion on a special mission, and I protested with Copic and told him not right young man like DeMaio just arrived at the front sent out on a mission. The right way to send him to the trenches before and see what he could do in the trenches and then send him on special mission.

Later on I found out DeMaio had been put in charge of the International Brigade prison at Castle de Fells, near Barcelona.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you hear DeMaio's testimony?

Mr. GALLEANI. I did not hear it completely, the testimony.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you testify that you learned that DeMaio was placed in charge of the prison for the—

Mr. GALLEANI. At Castle de Fells. And when I left Barcelona at the end of January, just a couple of days before the Fascists arrived in Barcelona, at the railroad station at about 15 kilometers from Barcelona, I don't remember the name just now, I met DeMaio with his prisoners—he had about, oh, I don't know—I can't estimate—180 or 200 prisoners—

Mr. MATTHEWS. In his charge?

Mr. GALLEANI. In his charge. And I talked to him, and as I know what military discipline is, I asked him the permission to see some of the Italian prisoners who had been in the formation of the Garibaldi Battalion. So I saw two or three of the prisoners—a man by the name of Ortega and a man by the name of Perogina and another man by the name of Oloca, and all the three complained to me about the brutal treatment that DeMaio was giving to the prisoners. But, of course, at the time the International Brigade was almost—there was no reason for making any way—we were where we could not take care of a matter of that kind any more.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long was it between the time that you first learned that DeMaio had been placed in charge of the prison at Castle de Fells and the time you met him on this occasion?

Mr. GALLEANI. About—now, I will tell you, from the middle of April 1938 to the end of January 1939.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For a period of 8 or 9 months?

Mr. GALLEANI. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. DeMaio was in charge of prisoners?

Mr. GALLEANI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In Spain?

Mr. GALLEANI. In Spain; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you learn of any individual cases which were handled by or under DeMaio which had to do with discipline—even with execution?

(7817)

Mr. GALLEANI. Yes. To whom DeMaio made the threat that he would never come back to the United States. I really don't know if Dougherty came back to the United States. Other prisoners who complained about the treatment by DeMaio were Frank Alexander, Paul Elliott, Robert Quinn, and, of course, these three Italian fellows whom I have named before.

I have been told also that the man whom I know very well at the brigade by the name if Isenberg was put in the old—you have to know the prison was an old monastery and there was a little church, of course, with marble floor and this was the place where the prisoners were put who had to be punished—were put without anything to sleep in, even without a little straw. They were sleeping on the floor. They were having very little food. They were forbidden even if they had the means, of smoking, and so on.

This Isenberg was put in the church because it seemed he complained to DeMaio about the treatment he was receiving there and about the fact that the guards were selling tobacco to people who had money instead of putting the tobacco among the prisoners.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What other facts did you learn about the system of punishment, or torture, or inhumanity practiced against prisoners?

Mr. GALLEANI. Well, let me tell you, I am absolutely in disfavor of any physical punishment, so when another battalion where DeMaio belonged to come over to Alcanz, I was sent to meet this battalion and I was informed for the first time that by order of Maj. Allen Johnson the instruction base at Tarragona had a special police and the officer in charge of the battalion told me that he had about 16 or 17 prisoners, most of them guilty of getting drunk, you know, which was very easy in Spain because the wine is very heavy and a great alcoholic content. We were in a village which was dominated by anarchists, and the anarchists didn't like at all the International Brigade, so I was particularly zealous that nothing happened that gave to the anarchists any reason for showing this displeasure for the International Brigade. Instead, when this little platoon of prisoners passed on, I didn't know myself for what reason the man in charge began to club them with the blackjack, and they never in any other brigade in Spain use the blackjack.

(7820)

Mr. GALLEANI. Well, these are two brothers, Joe and John, to whom DeMaio made threat that they would never come back to the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. DeMaio threatened them they would never come back to the United States?

(7827)

Mr. McCUISTION. I saw George Mink and Tony DeMaio and Captain Cohn on May 2, 1938, in a little cafe—one of the nicer but small cafes on the Rambla de Catalonia. I saw Tony DeMaio kill two men in that cafe.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please describe the circumstances?

Mr. McCUISTION. At that time, they were having a round-up of stragglers, a general round-up of a few of us who were out of the brigade. I was in the International Brigade at that time. I was carrying a Ministry of War letter that protected me somewhat from the International Brigade policy, and we were circulating more or less freely, but there were several hundred members of the International Brigade that were living under cover in Barcelona, looking for a chance to get away on the ships, and through the help of some influential Spaniards we established a means of stowing these guys away in Barcelona and helping them get out of the country.

We helped a large number of French, English, Americans, and various others to get out of the country. Several—a number of Spaniards helped us. Especially we were being helped by the Spanish Federation of Labor, which is similar to the Mexican Federation of Labor and controlled largely by the anarchists.

On this occasion, we were following DeMaio when he met the other two.

Mr. VOORHIS. Who is "we"?

Mr. McCUISTION. A group of us—some Spaniards and some Cubans and myself that were in this group helping guys out of the country that had legal papers to be in Barcelona.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you give the names of any of those people?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes; I can give the names of several of them. One of them was George Heins. Another boy from Buffalo called Kelke. Those are the only Americans that I can remember roughly by name. I think they are both alive.

Mr. VOORHIS. Were they with you at this time?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir. And we followed him into this cafe and just as we got into the cafe we heard the shooting and we naturally didn't want to be around there for fear we would get shot ourselves. We knew what was taking place because it was an everyday occurrence with other groups.

It hadn't been so frequent with the American groups, but the American that was killed at that time was going under the name of Matthews. He had a State Department passport issued under the name of Aronofski—I think that was his correct name, but he was using the name "Matthews" over there, and he was shot through the side—through the temple, right here [indicating.]

The other fellow wasn't quite dead. His name was Moran, an Englishman. He was taken away to the hospital. Whether he died or not, I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who shot them?

Mr. McCUISTION. Tony DeMaio shot them.

(7828)

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes, sir. Albert Wallach was stowed away on board the American steamship *Oregon* with the assistance of several members of the crew. I think one of them was named Samuel Singer. He is at present a member of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific Coast and is in San Francisco at this time. He was aboard the ship for 10 days. He got careless and he came out and was taken off the ship by Tony DeMaio and others, and placed in prison in Barcelona.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you meet DeMaio on any other occasion than the one you describe?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes. At one time I was placed in military charge of the Anglo-Americans at the concentration camp at Camp Luukas. They had some there for repatriation and some for disciplinary action. DeMaio was sent there as a political commissar, and I didn't want the job very bad anyway, and I had the full charge of issuing passes, so I issued everybody that wanted a pass and then I wrote myself out one and left.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were trying to assist the men to get away—escape?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And DeMaio was there at the time, was he?

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did he leave Camp Luukas?

Mr. McCUISTION. He left after they brought me back to Camp Luukas when all of us were transferred together to Tarragona and placed in the disciplinary company in Tarragona under Maj. Allen Johnson. And at that time Tony DeMaio went into Albacete with the other brass hats and got himself a job as brigade policeman.

(7829)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know of any other cases where violence was used against American boys?

Mr. McCUISTION. Yes. In the case of Wallach. There was violence used against him a number of times at Camp Luukas. Why, one time Tony DeMaio slapped him around. That was after I had been relieved of any authority and a fellow by the name of Howe, that is sailing under the name of Jameson, now an active seaman, was also beaten up pretty badly and thrown into prison at Chinchilla and held there for 4 months under sentence of death.

(7830)

Mr. VOORHIS. About Tony DeMaio: Was that the same man that testified here today?

Mr. McCUISTION. That was the same man. He knows me well. He admitted he knew me on the stand.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have any other contacts with Tony DeMaio at any time in Spain?

Mr. MCCUSTION. In the month of May in Barcelona, after this other thing happened, why, I was approached by Tony DeMaio and told that Bob Minor wanted to see me at the Majestic Hotel.

Mr. RANKIN. The witness testified, I believe, during the time he was out—you were in the armed service of the United States, from 1943—

Mr. JULIANELLE. No, Mr. Wood—

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Rankin.

Mr. JULIANELLE. Oh, is that Mr. Rankin?

Mr. RANKIN. Yes.

Mr. JULIANELLE. I see. I resigned from the local to enter the military service, which I was unable to do for physical reasons. Later I found employment with the Bridgeport Brass Co.

Mr. STRIPLING. Whom did you succeed as business agent when you came back in 1947?

Mr. JULIANELLE. I succeeded a man by the name of Frederick Blycher.

Mr. STRIPLING. During the period that Frederick Blycher was business agent of local 203, were the Communists in control of the local?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Well, they were not, because during the latter part of his term—1946, precisely—a strong anti-Communist group had developed within the local and by the time the election took place, the Communists had lost completely the influence they held within local 203. I will say that during 1945 there was a great deal of control, if you will, exercised by the Communists in local 203. These are known Communist members of our local, by the way. I am not referring to fellow travelers.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. JULIANELLE. I am speaking of members who declared their membership in the Communist Party of America.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, were any steps taken within the local to offset the activities of this Communist influence that you say was growing during the period when you were away from the union?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Well, the activity of the anti-Communist group was directed toward the displacement of fellow travelers like Frederick Blycher and of Communists like Arsenault. They were quite active. We held meetings. I participated in some of these meetings, in the latter part of 1946. We campaigned actively throughout the plant. Do you want me to say more about our campaign, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes. If there was any anti-Communist campaign within the local, I think the committee would be interested.

Mr. JULIANELLE. Well, we succeeded, as I say, from the period 1943 to 1946—and it was a gradual thing—in building up a strong anti-Communist faction, if you will, within the local. In our campaign we drew up a slate of anti-Communist members of the local, headed by Michael Beresick, who is now president, and who will testify later, and myself. We campaigned—and we had an open campaign—on an anti-Communist slate, if you will. We stated quite openly and frankly that if elected to office within the local we would clean out the Communists from local 203, and that further we would do what we could as a part of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America to do so, within the international union.

We haven't changed our mind on that.

MR. STRIPLING. On that point, is it your opinion the international office of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers is controlled by the Communists?

MR. JULIANELLE. We have reason to believe so, Mr. Stripling, but no proof.

MR. STRIPLING. You think it is under the influence of the Communists?

MR. JULIANELLE. We do.

MR. STRIPLING. What persons, that is, top officials, would you designate as being in your opinion Communists?

MR. JULIANELLE. Well, we are quite certain—but, let me repeat, we have no proof because the proof of Communist membership is confined to members of our local—we have good reason to believe that James Matles, director of organization within the UE, and Julius Emspak, its secretary-treasurer, are and have been members of the Communist Party. Insofar as Albert Fitzgerald is concerned, we don't know.

MR. STRIPLING. What is Albert Fitzgerald's office?

MR. JULIANELLE. He is the international president of the UE.

MR. STRIPLING. I am sorry to interrupt you, Mr. Julianelle. You go back now and describe to the committee the manner in which the anti-Communist bloc fought the Communist group within the union.

MR. JULIANELLE. Well, our campaign was confined purely to that. We said, if we were elected to office we would see to it that the Communist members of our local were stripped of their privileges and of the influence they wielded upon the membership of local 203.

We went further and said that we would reestablish the unit and harmony within the local. We did that based on the opinion we held then, and hold now, that you can only have a smooth-running organization of labor if you root out the Communists. As long as you have Communists in a labor union you are going to have disruption, discord, and discontent. We said we would confine our activities, after we got rid of the Reds, to collective-bargaining issues; we would negotiate with the company for better wages and better working conditions; we would exclude anything of a political nature—and, incidentally, let me add here the only reason we attacked the Communists the way we did, as vigorously as we did and shall continue to do so is because they are not interested in the aims and purposes for which the CIO was established, in 1937.

MR. STRIPLING. How about for the entire labor movement, do you think the Communists are aiding the labor movement as a whole: CIO, A. F. of L., or any other union?

MR. JULIANELLE. The Communist Party cannot aid the organized labor movement. They can only lend aid and encouragement to the Communist Party itself.

MR. STRIPLING. Is it your opinion—

MR. JULIANELLE. Of course, I am expressing my opinion, members of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right. That is what we want to hear.

MR. STRIPLING. You are certainly qualified to express an opinion. You are the business agent of one of the biggest locals in the United States, aren't you?

MR. JULIANELLE. I wouldn't say that.

Mr. STRIPLING. I mean, within your own union.

Mr. JULIANELLE. We are one of the largest of UE in district No. 2, which is the New England area. In fact, we are the second largest. There is only one larger than we are, and that is the big local up in Lynn.

Mr. STRIPLING. I was referring to your own union.

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. I mean within your international union.

Mr. JULIANELLE. Well, within the international I can say we are one of the largest, but I wouldn't say we are seventh, eighth, or ninth, or whatever we might be.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. McDOWELL. How many members do you have in your local?

Mr. JULIANELLE. I said previously we have 6,000 members in our local, out of a potential number of eligible members in the plant of eight or nine thousand.

Mr. RANKIN. You say the Communists are only interested in the aims and purposes of the Communist Party. What do you consider the aims and purposes of the Communist Party?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Well, I consider the Communist Party of America seeks to—and I use the word advisedly—Sovietize America. I think it is commonly known, Mr. Rankin, that they do not believe in our system of representative government and in the system of free enterprise that has made America the greatest Nation in the world today.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Julianelle, from what you have said, I assume your campaign, the campaign of the anti-Communist bloc, was successful. You have been successful within your own union?

Mr. JULIANELLE. We have literature to support that. We were going to do a job, so-called, on the Communists, if elected to office.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you have any Communists who were members of your executive board at any time?

Mr. JULIANELLE. We did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have they been ousted?

Mr. JULIANELLE. They have, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you tell the committee—

Mr. JULIANELLE. After being elected to office, there naturally was terrific pressure on the officers of the local to do the job that they had pledged to do and that was to clean out the known Communist members of our local. So in our first meeting of the executive board after the election was held, which was on January 13, Michael Berescik took issue on the seating of Josephine Willard, a known Communist in the city of Bridgeport. She was at that time a member of the executive board of our local. She was not permitted to be seated by a vote of the executive board.

Mr. Berescik, I repeat, took issue on her seating, and he was supported by the majority of the executive board at that time. So we started to do the job that we pledged ourselves to do, starting with Josephine Willard.

Mr. RANKIN. You say she was not permitted to be seated. You mean as an officer?

Mr. JULIANELLE. As a member of the executive board of our local.

Mr. RANKIN. I see.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Julianelle, I have here a throw-away, that appears to be a throw-away, with a picture of a woman on it. It says:

Jo Willard, a workers' candidate for State representative.

At the bottom it says:

Vote Communist, pull fifth lever, issued by Communist Party of Bridgeport, 231 Fairfield Avenue \* \* \*.

I hand this to you and ask you if this is the Josephine or Jo Willard to which you referred?

Mr. JULIANELLE. That is Mrs. Willard, whose maiden name was Guiseppina Senese.

Mr. STRIPLING. Spell that.

Mr. JULIANELLE. Guiseppina stands for "Josephine." Don't ask me to spell that.

Mr. STRIPLING. The last name is what?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Senese—S-e-n-e-s-e. This "brieflet" was distributed at the factory gates of the General Electric plant in Bridgeport during the campaign—that is, the political campaign last October.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, may I ask that that be received as exhibit 1 in the record?

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.<sup>11</sup>

Mr. STRIPLING. When you refused to seat Mrs. Willard, was there any disturbance at any meeting?

Mr. JULIANELLE. There certainly was, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you describe for the committee the occurrence on that occasion?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Well, on that occasion we had supporters of hers—not Communists. We had one by the name of Novick.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have his first name? Do you know it?

Mr. JULIANELLE. I should know it, I know the man so well. May I appeal to my assistant? Mike, Novick's first name?

Mr. BERESCIK. Harry.

Mr. JULIANELLE. Harry Novick.

There was a young lady, who is married now, by the name of Ruth Killinney. There were several others. The names escape me now. They took issue with the president's position. This was before the vote was taken to support the president in not seating Mrs. Willard. But the vote was taken, as I say, and Mrs. Willard was ordered to either remain silent—present but silent—or leave the chamber.

Mr. STRIPLING. What date was this meeting held, if you recall?

Mr. JULIANELLE. I repeat, it was January 13 of this year.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were they any other meetings held in connection with the seating of Mrs. Josephine Willard?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Then the regular membership meeting of the local was held on January 19. The membership of our local meets the third Sunday of each month. At that meeting the Commies did a pretty good job of coming down with their supporters. They were going to order the executive board to seat Mrs. Willard. They failed to do so, and miserably, because the motion made at that meeting and passed by the membership was to support the executive board in its position in not seating Mrs. Willard because of her known membership in the Communist Party.

<sup>11</sup> See appendix, p. 231, for exhibit 1, hearing, July 24, 1947.

I think I had better confine myself to that statement: Supporting the executive board in the position it took on January 13.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, were there any other meetings held on the matter?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Then a petition was sent in. Our local constitution and bylaws provide for special meetings of the membership if signed by a given number of members of the local. At that time only 50 names were required. The bylaws have been changed now so that 150 names are required. The 50 names were submitted on a petition and a special meeting called, in accordance with the provisions of our bylaws, for—I have these dates down here—

Mr. STRIPLING. Was that in February? February 2?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Now, just a moment, Mr. Stripling. I have got to add here—I am mixed up a bit. On February 2 the motion was to support the executive board in not seating Mrs. Willard, and then in addition to that a vote of confidence in the officers in what they did and instructing the officers to proceed with further action against members of the local who were either Communists, fellow-travelers, Ku Kluxers, and Columbians.

Mr. STRIPLING. That was on February 2?

Mr. JULIANELLE. On February 2 a meeting was held at the Warren Harding High School in Bridgeport, and the estimated attendance then was about 1,300.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who was authorized to do the expelling?

Mr. JULIANELLE. The officers of local 203, of which we have 10, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, after this motion was adopted, what action was taken?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Well, after that motion was adopted, the officers of the local, empowered as they were to take action, sat in special meeting, right after the meeting of the membership. We adjourned from the high school and went back to the hall. We got up a list of known Communists and supporters. Incidentally, we spent some time very carefully going over the list, because actually about 50 or 60 members of our local could have been accused of either Communist membership or Communist support. We were very careful to pick out the so-called energetic or vigorous members of the party and supporters.

They numbered 26.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, after you made up this list, what action did the officers take?

Mr. JULIANELLE. The officers then ordered me, as business agent, to send letters of expulsion to these 26 people.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you send the letters?

Mr. JULIANELLE. The letters were sent, copies of which I have here.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have a copy, please?

Mr. JULIANELLE. I haven't it with me, Mr. Stripling, but it has been reproduced in the UE News, which is the official organ of the UE.

Mr. STRIPLING. All right. Will you read the letter?

Mr. JULIANELLE. So I can't be accused of miswording, I will read it:

In accordance with membership action—

This is date February 4, and signed by me as business agent—

The CHAIRMAN. February 4, 1947?

Mr. JULIANELLE. '47, sir. [Reading:]

In accordance with membership action at a special meeting of this body Sunday, February 2, 1947, you are hereby informed of your expulsion as a member of our local. The power to expel has been vested in the hands of our officers by an overwhelming majority vote of those attending the meeting on the motion "that this membership empower the officers of the local to suspend or expel in accordance with the national CIO policy and our local constitution and bylaws a Communist or member who supports the doctrine of communism." Effective at once, therefore, you have no membership rights and will be removed automatically from our check-off list.

I might add there was no secret to this, because at the same time, on the same date, I sent a letter to Julius Emspak, in which I informed him of the expulsion of these members for cause.

Mr. RANKIN. What was the result of that?

Mr. JULIANELLE. May I answer that?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. JULIANELLE. On February 5 we received a telegram from Albert J. Fitzgerald, general president, UE-CIO, addressed to Michael Berescik and Joe Julianelle, in which he states:

You are hereby directed to cease at once the unconstitutional expulsion of members of local 203 and to withdraw and revoke immediately all expulsions you have issued in violation of the international constitution of the UE. The international office of this union has taken steps this morning to protect the jobs and contract rights of members threatened by your arbitrary and unconstitutional actions.

I might add this reference to jobs was superfluous because we did not then and we do not now intend to deprive anybody of a job.

The CHAIRMAN. The record will show at this point that Mr. Vail is present.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Julianelle, you say you sent the 26 letters?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you send one to Julius Emspak?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Not a copy of the letter of expulsion, but a letter addressed to him informing him that we were expelling for cause the 26 members on the list attached to the letter. I want to emphasize, sir, we didn't just do this and keep quiet about it. We wanted the international to know we had expelled these people.

Mr. STRIPLING. You didn't also ask Mr. Emspak to resign, did you?

Mr. JULIANELLE. I didn't get your question.

Mr. STRIPLING. You didn't ask Mr. Emspak to resign from the international office, did you?

Mr. JULIANELLE. From the—no; we did not, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you received the telegram from the international office, did the local comply with the request of the international office?

Mr. JULIANELLE. We did not, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Why didn't you?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Because we felt we had been elected by the membership of our local and had been ordered to do a certain thing by the membership of our local, and we took the position we would be guided by the will and the wish of our membership—solely by that.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. The 15-minute bell has rung. I am going to have to leave. The Bible says, "Watch as well as pray," and there is a good

deal to be watched on the floor of the House at this time. But there is one question I would like to ask the witness——

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. If I may.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. RANKIN. It was stated here awhile ago the international organization expelled your union for expelling these Communists; is that right?

Mr. JULIANELLE. No. They tried to revoke our charter, which you might say is expelling the local.

Mr. RANKIN. Now, you say the international union. Does that mean that unions in other countries have power over unions in this country?

Mr. JULIANELLE. At one time the UE was called a national union, but they have organized plants in Canada, and by virtue of that they call themselves now an international union; but actually the membership of the UE is overwhelmingly in the United States of America.

Mr. RANKIN. I see.

Mr. JULIANELLE. We have several thousand members in Canada.

Mr. RANKIN. This Communist platform of this woman reads like one of Kopplemann's speeches in the House. Mr. Chairman, I will ask to be excused.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sorry to see you go, John.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Julianelle, following local 203's refusal to reinstate the expelled members, what action did the international union take against the local?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Boy, oh boy! Plenty of it. I think I ought to read from the record on that, though. I finished by saying we got this telegram on February 5 and needless to say, we didn't ignore the telegram. Mike and I called in the rest of the officers and we said, "Here you are; just what we expected. What do we do?"

The answer—if the ladies will pardon me—was, "To hell with the international. We have taken this step and we are sticking by it"—and we did.

I may appear to be defiant here, but this is only because I feel so strongly against communism in local 203 and within the UE. We have, incidentally, quite a number of my fellow members, and I hope they take in every single word that I have to say here this morning. But what happened was this——

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment. You mean the members of the international union are present?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes; sure.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you care to name them for the record?

Mr. NIXON. You mean of the local union?

Mr. JULIANELLE. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. The international.

Mr. JULIANELLE. Of the international.

The CHAIRMAN. No. These people are entitled to the same consideration as others in the audience.

Mr. JULIANELLE. All right. Here is what we did. We got this telegram and we did nothing about it. Then we were sitting in session at an executive board meeting. This was on February 10. While we were in session, a newspaper reporter called me up and

told me he had been telephoned by a representative of the New York Times that the international general executive board—and a member of that board is here today—had taken action to revoke the charter of local 203. Now, that amazed us because prior to that bit of information we had no knowledge whatsoever that the international would move as rapidly and as arbitrarily as they did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, ordinarily, under regular procedure, wouldn't the local be advised that such action was being considered by the international executive board?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Well, a man by the name of John Cornell, who is a superior court judge, ruled just that. I will come to that later.

Mr. STRIPLING. All right.

Mr. JULIANELLE. Then, also following that, I got a telephone call from a female member of my local, who told me they were distributing leaflets at the factory gates. This was about 10:30. The leaflet, of which I have a copy here, and which I can submit for evidence, had this statement, pointing out that the charter of the local had been revoked, the international was taking over to protect the interests and privileges of members, and all that sort of stuff. I repeat, we had no knowledge, in any way. It all hit us just that way. Everything had been prearranged carefully, which I can support by court testimony. We were advised of that. We, of course, then dismissed the regular order of business that we were engaged in, and we started to talk about what we were going to do.

Well, we naturally figured the first step that would be taken, at 9 o'clock the next morning, would be for the international to try to seize the lands and properties of local 203. We were determined then, and we are determined now, that that wouldn't and will not happen. So we delegated three of the officers: Michael Berescik, the president; Patrick O'Boyle, the treasurer; and John Buckle, the financial secretary, to be down at the bank the first thing in the morning and withdraw funds from the bank, which amounted to several thousands of dollars. May I proceed?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes; go right ahead.

Mr. JULIANELLE. The following morning just that happened. I would like to slip over that because I think Mr. Berescik is going to report on that—isn't that so, Mr. Russell?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. JULIANELLE. Isn't Mike going to report on what transpired at the bank, and all that? I don't want to duplicate it.

Mr. RUSSELL. No.

Mr. STRIPLING. Go right ahead.

Mr. JULIANELLE. Anyway, they went down to the bank and saw these representatives of the UE talking with some members of the bank and apparently discussing the funds of the local.

Incidentally, they had a letter from Julius Emspak, a sort of an order, if you will, requesting the transfer of funds from local 203 to the international union.

Mr. STRIPLING. You say they had a letter. Who had this letter?

Mr. JULIANELLE. This group from the international union, headed by a man by the name of Albert Smith.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Albert Smith, personally?

Mr. JULIANELLE. We do now, sir; we didn't then.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is Albert Smith, or do you consider him to be, a Communist?

Mr. JULIANELLE. We think we have enough evidence to say that he is a Communist; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Go right ahead.

Mr. JULIANELLE. So Michael Berescik, who knows what to do, stepped into the picture immediately and protested the transfer of funds from the local to the international union.

Then there was this talk about lawyers, and what not. Mike, acting in an emergency and having that power to do so, as president of the local, immediately engaged counsel a man by the name of James O'Connell, in Bridgeport. As a result of his efforts, we were able to withdraw the funds and the international had to go back to their office and report to the UE in New York, I suppose, that they had failed to accomplish their mission. "

Mr. STRIPLING. Did they make any effort to physically take the union offices?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes.

" Now, in the morning, that same morning, after they took this licking at the bank, Mr. Smith came down to the union hall to try to force his way in. The object was to throw me out and take over the local—the functions and the administration of the local. In the meantime, the legal machinery of the UE was at work. They went to a Judge Mellitz and they sought a temporary injunction against the officers of local 203 restraining them from performing their duties. Judge Mellitz refused to grant the temporary injunction. He set a date for a hearing 2 days later. When that hearing was held, we find that Judge Mellitz couldn't serve and a Judge Cornell took his place.

Now, to support what I said, that the international had carefully prepared the revocation of charter several days in advance, at least several days in advance of the meeting of the international general executive board, which is the only body next to that of the general convention that can take such action, I present the testimony of Mr. Emspak himself—sworn testimony, included in a copy or transcript of those proceedings—which I have here. This is the local's property. We purchased this. The question asked by Mr. O'Connell, the attorney for local 203, was:

And the complaint in this action which is quite a voluminous document—

And, believe me, it was—

is mimeographed and is dated Bridgeport, Conn., on February 10, 1947. This complaint—

He is asking Mr. Julius Emspak this question—

Mr. Emspak, was drawn up, of course, after the meeting of the executive board, was it not?

And the answer was, "No."

Question again:

It was drawn up prior to the meeting?

The answer:

The general officers prior to the board meeting discussed naturally the problem that we considered we had here in Bridgeport and on the basis of the discussions among ourselves and the recommendation that we were prepared to make to the executive board, we requested our legal department to draw up the necessary papers.

Then the question again :

When did you have that conference?

The answer, "Which one?"

Question :

The one that you directed your legal board to draw up these papers.

And the answer was :

Oh, that must have been either the 6th or 7th, somewhere in there.

So, it is clear from the testimony of Julius Emspak himself that the three officers of this union: Fitzgerald, Matles, and Emspak, several days at least before the executive board met, drew up the necessary papers which were required to revoke the charter of local 203. May I proceed, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. JULIANELLE. I would like to continue this testimony about this preparation. This goes on. Mr. Emspak has continued to be questioned here by attorney——

Mr. STRIPLING. One point, Mr. Julianelle.

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. As to the status of the 26. During all these negotiations, they were still considered by the local to be expelled?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. The international considered them to still be in good standing, is that true?

Mr. JULIANELLE. That is true. In fact, the international took the step of telling the members of the international union they were still members, pending whatever decision was finally arrived at for the local.

Now, we talked about a pamphlet that was distributed at 10:30 before the factory gate, to cover the night shift, in Bridgeport. The question is:

And this pamphlet likewise was prepared before the general executive board convened at its meeting at 10 o'clock on Monday, February 10, wasn't it?

The answer was :

Oh, yes. We asked the publicity department to prepare that.

May I continue?

Mr. STRIPLING. I tell you, Mr. Julianelle, I think it would be well to go back to the 26. I think the committee should have the names of the 26 and why they were expelled. Do you have a list of the 26 people who were expelled?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes; we have a list, and we also have a brief history of their Communist activities in the local. You might call it a case history on all the 26.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, the information concerning the Communist activity of the 26 who were expelled was obtained by members of the union?

Mr. JULIANELLE. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. And the expulsion letters were sent out based upon the evidence and information which the officers of the union had before them, is that right?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes; that is true.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Chairman, would you like for the 26 names to be put in the record?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; put them in.

Mr. JULIANELLE. May I just hand them to you?

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you want them read?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; let him read them.

Mr. JULIANELLE. Well, the first one is Grace Yuchnyk, Raleigh Youngblood, Caroline Tangredi, Paul Balas, Julia Pietrowski, Frank Peterson, Hannah Drucker, Frank Fazekas, Cleopatra Daniels, Vincent Frazzetta, Clinton Brackett, Cornelius McGillicuddy, Antoinette Santora, Jacob Goldring, Harry Novick, Steve Haschak, Josephine Willard, Oliver Arsenault, Mary Riffon, Clarence Williams, Louis Colafrancesco, Ronald Gay, Henry Walker, Mary (Helen) Shuza, and Michael Morales. He is one of them. He is no longer employed in the plant today.

The CHAIRMAN. May I see that file you have there?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute.

(File handed to the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. These are the case histories of all these people, aren't they?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Briefed, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They are Communist records?

Mr. JULIANELLE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. I think all of this should go in the record.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes. I was going to make that request. That will be made a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered.

(The data referred to is as follows:)

#### GRACE YUCHNYK

Case identical to that of Mary Riffon.

Was a steward in the Radio Bond Street section of the Bridgeport General Electric plant.

Grace is a sister of Frank Fazekas. Her husband also is known as a sympathizer of communism.

Cell meetings have been held at her home at Yellow Mill Village.

Her husband attended local 203 meetings and voted at them although he is not a member of local 203.

During the strike he and Vincent Frazzetta wanted to have local 203 picket Poole's office at the Bridgeport Housing Authority.

#### RALEIGH YOUNGBLOOD

An active and militant member of the party. Aggressive and determined in his promotion of the Communist philosophy, Raleigh is a staunch supporter of his party members and can always be depended on for any work assigned him by his fellow party members.

He shows definite signs of Communist Party education pertaining to public speaking and passionate pleading for the cause which he advocates.

He was a keynote speaker against referendum pertaining to ousting commies from the local.

#### CAROLINE TANGREDI

A member of the Communist Party for many years, together with two of her daughters by separate marriages. Her present husband is also a member of the party but not employed in General Electric.

In addition to much evidence of her membership in the party, on December 12, 1946, she was openly accused of her membership in the party by Joe Julianelle, present business agent of local 203 and did not deny it.

Caroline was a steward in the wiring device section of the Bridgeport General Electric plant.

PAUL BALAS

An active supporter of the Communist Party and a willing worker for its members. Has voted consistently with the Reds on all matters supported by them. No proof has been secured of Paul's actual membership in the party but his active participation in Communist affairs brands him as one.

JULIA PIETROWSKI

A supporter of the Communist Party members and the doctrine of communism. Julia has lent herself completely to the "cause." She is most expressive both in the union hall and in public places, of her contempt for "decadent" capitalism and has associated freely with both sexes of the party in Bridgeport. No real evidence exists of her actual membership in the Communist Party but her actions and expressions would indicate complete subservience to the demands of the party members.

FRANK PETERSON

A quiet and conservative fellow, Frank is nevertheless active in party circles and a consistent supporter of the Communists. He has long been a member of the party and can always be depended upon for the utmost support by the Communist members of the local.

He has also distributed communistic literature at the General Electric plant and speaks freely to department employees of communism.

In 1944 or 1945 he was on the reception committee which met William Foster during his visit in Bridgeport. He was a subscriber and solicitor for *In Fact*, a leftist periodical.

HANNAH DRUCKER

An ardent supporter of the Communists in local 203. She has voted consistently their way and has been a willing and zealous party worker. Though no evidence has been secured of her actual membership in the party, and she has been extremely careful not to expose herself, there is no question as to where her sympathies or loyalties are. She is more than a "fellow traveler." She is a devoted adherent of the Communist philosophy.

Hannah was a steward in the Radio Bond Street division of the Bridgeport General Electric plant.

FRANK FAZEKAS

Admittedly a member of the Communist Party and actively engaged in every phase of Communist endeavor in Bridgeport. It was Fazekas who, as a member of the party in 1943, opened the door while business agent of the local and permitted the Communists to seize office and control of the local. A tireless worker for the local before his membership into the party, he achieved the high office of business agent by the support of honest union members who found this way of expressing their gratitude. Completely discredited even before the expiration of his single term of office, Fazekas has been unable to hold any office since.

He has stated he is president of the Bridgeport General Electric Communist cell.

CLEOPATRA DANIELS

Is a colored supporter of the Communists in our local. Quiet and unobtrusive, she has, however, consistently upheld the position of the party members and indicated in every other way her preference for their company and her readiness to comply with the demands of the party members.

Cleopatra was a steward in the wiring device section of the Bridgeport General Electric plant.

VINCENT FRAZZETTA

Most active and expressive in his support of the doctrine of communism and of the members of the party, Vincent is one of its most faithful members, a tireless worker, and completely subservient to the Communist "cause." Although no record exists of Vincent's admission of membership, there is no doubt in anyone's mind but that he is a member.

He is a steward in the home laundry section of the Bridgeport General Electric plant.

During the WPA days he worked on the writer's project and was supposedly discharged due to his communistic leanings and writings. He was discharged for 2 or 3 weeks and later replaced.

He spoke before the Bridgeport Civic League at the Stratfield Hotel, sent there by the Communist Party to speak on Communist principles.

#### CLINTON BRACKETT

A quiet supporter of the party. Not as active as some of its members or fellow-travelers, Clinton, however, can always be depended on to support the Reds in whatever undertaking they engage in. No proof exists of Clinton's actual membership in the party, but his loyalty to its principles and its members is unquestionable.

He constantly brings the Daily Worker into the shop and has a habit of leaving copies of the paper in the most obvious places.

#### CORNELIUS MCGILLICUDDY

A known Communist, together with his wife Rose, Neil has admitted his membership in the party in open local 203 membership meetings. A former organizer of the UE, Neil has been used by the party in any capacity they wished.

An able talker and an educated man, his fanaticism has turned the membership of local 203 against him completely.

Neil was a steward in the home-laundry section of the Bridgeport General Electric plant.

He propositioned Berescik in a bar on Fairfield Avenue, in 1944 relative to Communist Party affiliation stating that Berescik could go a long way in labor with the right backing (implying Communist Party ties).

#### ANTOINETTE SANTORA

Completely at the mercy of the party. Her activity in the party caused her husband to desert her and finally divorce her. Antoinette makes a pitiful figure and she endeavors to maintain some semblance of neutrality but continues to be dominated completely by the Communists. Actually membership in the party has been testified to by her husband who saw her membership book on many occasions and protested her activity in the party.

Antoinette was a steward in the wiring-device section of the Bridgeport General Electric plant.

#### JACOB GOLDRING

A known Communist of long standing and up until recently hard at work getting subscriptions for the Daily Worker. Jake has openly admitted his membership in the party at local 203 membership meetings.

Jake is an indefatigable worker and is used by the party for much of its hard work and principally in the preparation and distribution of leaflets.

Unashamed and completely a party member, Jake was a steward in the home-laundry section of the Bridgeport General Electric plant.

He attended Connecticut State College about 1938 where he acted rather reserved and only associated with a select group of people who showed leftist tendencies.

He was removed from the editorial staff of the Army paper Stars and Stripes for putting in communistic propaganda some of which was copied from the Daily Worker.

#### HARRY NOVICK

A son of a rabbi and loud in self-defense of repeated accusations made because of his membership in the Communist Party. Harry is one of the most militant fellow-travelers we have. There is no definite tie to link him in actual membership in the party, but no doubt whatsoever as to his beliefs.

If not a member it may be mainly or solely because of the position his father occupies in the Jewish synagogues. Loud and arrogant, completely the tool of the Reds, Harry is both a formidable foe and a pitiful figure.

Harry was an executive board member of our local by virtue of his position as chief shop steward of the radio Bond Street section of the Bridgeport General Electric plant.

Harry has attended Communist meetings and has also invited and taken neighbors of his from Stratford to these meetings.

## STEVE HASCHAK

A simple person of very limited intelligence and ability but an ardent supporter of the Communists in local 203. There is little doubt of his actual membership in the party and the complete control unquestionable party members have over him.

Steve was a steward in the home-laundry section of the Bridgeport General Electric plant.

Before and after working hours and during lunch hours, he has associated with the following people: Ronald Gay, Vincent Frazzetta, Frank Peterson, Jack Goldring, and Neil McGillicuddy.

## JOSEPHINE WILLARD

Foreign born and naturalized in 1941 at the age of 26, Josephine, together with her sister Edith and brother Ozzie, have been members of the party for a long time. Josephine precipitated the whole fight between the Communists and the anti by persisting to run for the position of chief steward in her section and so secure a seat on the executive board of local 203.

Her long history of communism as an active worker schooled and well-groomed to take the fullest possible advantage of positions she was elevated to in local 203, Josephine makes a formidable foe despite her sex and diminutive size.

Able to take as well as give orders, Josephine wields much influence in party circles. She completely dominated Fred Blycher, business agent of local 203 during 1945 and 1946, and has not hesitated to use her wiles as a female whenever necessary.

Josephine was an executive board member by virtue of her position as chief steward of the automatic-blanket section of the Bridgeport General Electric plant.

## OLIVER ARSENAULT

Ardent supporter of Father Coughlin's Social Justice theory from 1935 until his interest in communism sometime in 1941. Always considered himself a liberal and associated with Communists of both sexes frequently and freely. As a member of the Bridgeport Board of Education during 1943, 1944, and 1945, he consistently supported Bridgeport Communists in their applications for use of Bridgeport schools for public demonstrations and mass meetings.

When Browder visited Bridgeport in the fall of 1943, Arsenault was a companion speaker with Browder and was entertained by the Bridgeport Communists before and after the rally, which was held in Rakoczi Hall. At the time Arsenault was president of local 203. Because of his close association with the Bridgeport Communists and particularly because of his appearance with Browder, Arsenault was defeated in the elections for offices during the year 1944 and 1945.

There is ample evidence that Arsenault joined the party in 1943. At the close of a meeting in the headquarters of local 203, sometime during the early part of 1944, Arsenault confessed being a Communist when confronted with a demand to declare himself. This confession was made in the presence of Fred and Helen Mensch, Ed Rowan, Walter Clarke, James Clancy, Jim Shannon, and others.

On December 12, 1946, no denial was made by Arsenault when accused of being a Communist by Joe Julianelle, present housing agent of local 203. Arsenault's whole period of activity since 1943 has been one of support for the Communist cause. There is indication that he attended Jefferson School in New York City for the purposes of indoctrination and to prepare himself for a role of leadership in the Communist Party of Bridgeport.

At present he is most militant in his support of the international union and in his opposition to the present officers of local 203.

## MARY RIFFON

Merely a tool of the Reds. There is little doubt of Mary's actual membership in the party, but definite proof is lacking.

Mary is one of several girls completely dominated by Josephine Willard and is ready to render any service to the Communists.

Mary was a steward in the automatic-blanket division of the Bridgeport General Electric plant.

Mary is a friend of Helen Sluza and they have talked about communism and brought Communist literature into the Riffon home.

## CLARENCE WILLIAMS

A colored member of our local and a member of the board of trustees during 1946. An active but quietly efficient supporter of the Communists in local 203. There is much evidence to support our opinion that Clarence is a member of the Communist Party and actively engaged in the enrollment of others of his race into the party.

Clarence recently applied for membership with the NAACP and was denied because of his most apparent Communist leanings.

## LOUIS COLAFRANCESCO

Similar to Jacob Goldring.

Was a steward in the radio Bond Street section of the General Electric Bridgeport plant.

Louis lives with Harry Novick and attends all Communist meetings with Harry.

## RONALD GAY

Self-admitted member of the party, Ronald had consistently supported Communists in our local.

Quiet and unobtrusive, Ronald has, nevertheless, never failed the party and could always be depended upon to support them consistently at all meetings and at all affairs conducted by the party.

Was a steward in the home-laundry section of the Bridgeport General Electric plant.

During the strike, Ronald Gay was associate editor of the strike bulletin.

He was also president of the Bridgeport chapter of the American Youth for Democracy, an admitted Communist organization.

## HENRY WALKER

Case similar to that of Clinton Brackett.

## MARY (HELEN) SLUZA

Case identical to that of Mary Riffon.

Was a steward in the automatic-blanket section of the Bridgeport General Electric plant.

Mary lived with Josephine Willard and is her most ardent supporter.

She has carried out all of Josephine's orders at meetings and in the shop.

She is secretary of the American Youth for Democracy, which is a Communist organization.

## MICHAEL MORALES

Case almost identical to that of Clinton Brackett.

No longer employed in GE.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Julianelle, will you continue, giving the committee a picture of the status, as it is now, of the 26? In other words, has the union taken them back?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Their status is still that of expelled members. I can give you in rapid sequence the steps taken by them to restore themselves in good membership in the local, if you want me to.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they working in the plant now?

Mr. JULIANELLE. They are, sir, and they will continue to work as long as the company continues to employ them.

The CHAIRMAN. What sort of positions are the people who are known Communists holding in the plant?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Ordinary jobs. Some of them have pretty good jobs. I mean, take Josephine Willard. She is a known Communist, not only to us, but to management as well. She hasn't suffered at all, because during this period of expulsion she has received a higher rated job. She is now an inspector of the automatic appliance division, where they make these heated blankets. Actually, therefore, she

has improved her status in the plant. Certainly that doesn't prove discrimination, either on the part of the union or management.

The CHAIRMAN. She has improved her position since it came out that she was a Communist?

Mr. JULIANELLE. That is true, sir; but I cite that purely as a coincidence. I don't think management did it just to show they were unbiased. She probably merited the job, you see. She may have improved her ability in the department and received this promotion, if you will.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. STRIPLING. Any questions, Mr. Chairman, at this time, from the members?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Now, you have indicated rather generally that the Communists are bad for your local union and you believe for unions generally. I would like for you to be a little more specific on that point and indicate to the committee, by answering a few questions, just what Communists do in a local union that you can cite from your own experience you think in terms of the labor movement and to the interest of the members of your local union. In the first place, I think you indicated the Communist attempt to use the union for other purposes than the interest of the members. I assume you mean by that that they attempted to use the union for political purposes which do not have anything to do with wages, hours, or working conditions.

Mr. JULIANELLE. That is quite true.

Mr. NIXON. Now, first, do you mean that an attempt is made or was made in your union by the Communist bloc to divert union funds to Communist-front organizations?

Mr. JULIANELLE. That has been done, yes.

Mr. NIXON. Do you have any experience that you can relate to the committee in that particular regard?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Well, within the local I would have to check the records to give you precise information as to the motions carried at membership meetings for donation of funds to Communist-front organizations. There was never any direct contribution of funds to the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. I understand that.

Mr. JULIANELLE. But, frankly, I am not prepared to give to that. I can submit it later, after checking my files.

Mr. NIXON. The committee would be interested in that information.

Mr. JULIANELLE. I will see that you get it, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Where any union funds were diverted to what you would consider Communist-front organizations.

Mr. JULIANELLE. May I suggest, Mr. Nixon, that you ask the president when he testifies. Michael Bereseik may have some information.

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Now, in addition to that, the Communist bloc, I assume, might use the union for the purpose of furthering political causes through resolutions adopted by the local union. Have you had any experience in which the Communist bloc attempted to or were successful in getting the local union to adopt a resolution that had something to do with the Communist Party line, but not necessarily something to do with

local union matters in which members were interested because of their working conditions.

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes. While the Communists were in power in our local—I mean by virtue of the positions enjoyed by them in the local and also because of the ability they had to get attendance at meetings of supporters of their philosophy—they have passed many resolutions, not only in our local, but in all locals where they have influence, and these resolutions in the main were on the subjects of international relations—

Mr. NIXON. American foreign policy?

Mr. JULIANELLE. American-Soviet friendship—resolutions of that type.

Of course, most of that activity was carried on during the war and the period just preceding the war, first in opposition to the war and then during the war in support of American policy toward Russia.

Mr. NIXON. What brought the conflict between the Communist and anti-Communist blocs in your union to a head? I understand that controversy came to a head in February of this year. Was that a result of some direct action the Communist bloc had attempted to take in the union or was it simply a struggle for power between two groups of people in the union, in which the Communist issue was brought in?

Mr. JULIANELLE. I am glad you mentioned that, Mr. Nixon, because that is the kind of propaganda the Communists use and it sometimes defeats the purpose of an anti-Communist group. The assertion is made, whenever the Communists are being attacked, that it is not on the issue of communism at all, but rather it is one of power, it is one of influence, that the opposing group merely wants to take over.

Mr. NIXON. Now, may I interject there? I am aware of that line which you suggested being used, but I think it is essential in this hearing that as much as you possibly can you indicate the specific facts or actions which were taken by the Communist bloc which you feel would tend to controvert that charge which has been made.

Mr. JULIANELLE. That these people were members of the party?

Mr. NIXON. No. The charge has been made against you.

Mr. JULIANELLE. I see.

Mr. NIXON (continuing). That this is simply a fight between the two groups, to see who is going to take over the union, and your group did a little Red-baiting in order to win. I assume you deny that charge?

Mr. JULIANELLE. The charge of Red-baiting?

Mr. NIXON. I assume you deny that the reason you are bringing in these charges that the other members of the union are Communists—the ones you are attempting to defeat—is because you want to maintain your own power in the union? I assume you deny that all this amounts to is that you are attempting to maintain your own power in the union?

Mr. JULIANELLE. I think that can be supported by the fact that I was the business agent for 6 years prior to this new term of mine, having voluntarily resigned my position as business agent then.

Mr. NIXON. Now, what were some of the things the Communist bloc did immediately before this break occurred?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Well, during the war period, for example—I must refer to that—various committees were set up to promote production of war matériel. Issues were raised in that respect. I can think of one that caused a great deal of controversy, and that was the no-strike

pledge. At that time the international union itself went all out, with other CIO unions, in pledging themselves to no-strike action, because the war was paramount. Now, it might sound a bit unpatriotic for me to say that we took an opposite point of view. We were just as willing to make sacrifices to promote the war effort and provide our armed forces with the implements of war that they needed to win it, but we were equally jealous of the rights of organized labor. We wanted to make sure that during this war period the rights and privileges of organized labor would be maintained. There was a great deal of controversy on that. Then there were other issues relative to friendship toward Russia. The position of the anti-Communist group was—well, let me call them non-Communists at that time—they weren't as militant and as aggressive as they later became—that it was well to be a military ally of Russia, but because our systems of government and the economy of both countries were so diametrically different and opposed to each other they couldn't possibly conceive of a close friendship between the two nations once the war ended.

Precisely, too, there were resolutions presented by the non-Communist group opposed to the editorial policy of the local's newspaper, called *On-the-Beam*. The editor of that is the business agent, but the person who actually got the paper out was Josephine Willard. We distributed a leaflet here on her. In that paper, editorials were put in and statements made that the non-Communist group opposed and tried to prevent. We also had an open solicitation of members of our local to join the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. When did that occur?

Mr. JULIANELLE. During this period I am talking about: During the war and right after the war.

Mr. NIXON. Right after the war?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Now, when you speak of open solicitation of your members, how did they go about that?

Mr. JULIANELLE. They would talk to them within the departments and talk to them at their homes. I believe Mr. Berescik will testify that he himself was approached, and so was I, on several occasions to join the party. In each case we were given, well, let us call it the argument that if we joined the party we could go far higher—

Mr. NIXON. In the union?

Mr. JULIANELLE. And much further in the union—and the international union they meant—than we could by maintaining a position of opposition against communism.

Mr. NIXON. Did they mean to indicate that it was almost essential for a man to follow the Communist line, in order to go high in the international union?

Mr. JULIANELLE. That was indicated; yes, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. You have indicated, too, when the Communists take over a union they do not work for the interests of the members—that is, for improving wages, hours, and working conditions, except when such work is incidental to, or following the Communist line at the particular time. Do you have any illustration of that point?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Well, may I say this to illustrate my point, that since we have taken over, in January, January the 1st of this year, we have handled and settled more grievances between the local and management and we have more money in the bank today than the

local ever had during the administration of the local by the Communists and fellow travelers.

Mr. NIXON. Do you mean that in the settling of grievances where Communists are in control they are not as interested in the settling of the grievances as in stirring up difficulties and in aggravating them?

Mr. JULIANELLE. I wouldn't say that, sir, but they attach a political significance to a grievance. It depends upon what type you have. For example, we had one recently where we negotiated an increase for about 200 of our toolmakers out of a total of about 315. Now, the Communist group would have looked upon that from a political point of view. By doing that they would have felt that the toolmakers were indebted to them, that they had negotiated this grievance, had secured the increase, therefore there was an indebtedness to them. We just settled the grievance and dismissed it as an ordinary part of our job.

Further than that, we know, since we checked the records back, we find that some of the grievances were mislaid in the union office.

These grievances, by the way, pertain to members of our group, the anti-Communist group. So you see how selective they are. If they get a grievance they find out who the individual is, is he for you or against you. They attach importance of that kind to it. We make no distinction whatsoever.

Let me tell you that in the case of Rolly Youngblood, one of the boys that is a known Communist supporter, we are still handling the grievance concerning him. He is one of the expelled members. I bring that out purely to illustrate that even though we are opposed to them politically, if they have a problem within their job we will handle it for them to the best of our ability.

Mr. NIXON. Do you have any examples of where the Communist bloc or leadership in the union has deliberately stirred up trouble in the union or aggravated a grievance situation rather than worked toward its settlement?

Mr. JULIANELLE. I couldn't say that precisely as a general statement, Mr. Nixon, but I can say this, that in many instances the records of our local union will show where an adjustment could have been arrived at, the steward, who might have been a Communist or a supporter, upon the advice of the local union, at that time business agent Fazekas, and then Blycher, instructed the membership not to accept the settlement, that they could get far more. We believe that by doing that they did stir up discontent within the departments against management.

The records also show that by taking such action they did not achieve more. The records show that they got no more in the end. They achieved one thing, however, that of making the employees involved feel that they were the aggressive ones, the ones that were fighting for them to get more than the management had first offered, and that management was to blame in not giving them what the union wanted for them.

We don't call that true collective bargaining.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, where the Communists handle a grievance, or any kind of difficulty between the union and management, they make a great deal of it from a political standpoint?

Mr. JULIANELLE. They certainly do.

Mr. NIXON. They adopt a very aggressive and belligerent attitude and are more interested in convincing all parties concerned that they

are, shall we say, fighting for the cause of the laboring man, than in actually working for his best interests and settling the dispute in his interest?

Mr. JULIANELLE. That is true, sir, and building up, mind you, in the mind of the employee, a feeling against management, which represents capital. In other words, "See, that is management for you."

Mr. NIXON. Don't you think that is a good idea, as a trade-union man?

Mr. JULIANELLE. No; I do not. A company is a part of the American institution. We believe in capital. That is, I do. I believe that capital has a place in the American economy. We as a labor union will endeavor to secure for the members of our union the highest possible wages and the best possible working conditions, but we do not seek the distribution of capital.

I don't want to make a speech, sir, but I want to state that emphatically. The Communist, however, seeks, above all things, the distribution of capital, as is well known to all of us.

Mr. NIXON. I would like to ask a few questions about the international operation of your union and the methods used by the Communist bloc.

In the first place, the great majority of the members of your local are, shall we say, non-Communist?

Mr. JULIANELLE. They certainly are, sir.

Mr. NIXON. What percentage of the total membership of the union would you say was Communist?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Well, an indication of that was a vote taken last Sunday at a membership meeting where a report of the district council recommending to the local the reinstatement of these people was placed before the membership. They only had 74 votes.

Mr. NIXON. Out of how many?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Out of a total membership of close to 6,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Out of how many votes?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Each member has a vote, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they all vote?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes. They had 74 votes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of the 6,000 voted?

Mr. JULIANELLE. We had, let's say, about 550 members—we don't bother counting because we don't have a roll call—we had between five and six hundred members present, and only 75. I think it was, were supporters of the Communists that were expelled.

Mr. NIXON. There are 6,000 members of your union. How many of those 6,000 members, in your best estimate, would you say are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Well, the actual membership, from what we know, by open declaration on their part, and as contained in this report, and other evidences, admissions elsewhere, they have been seen going to Communist meetings, and all that, I would say roughly between 50 and 60. We only expelled 26, by the way. About 50 or 60 members of the party we believe in our local.

Mr. NIXON. That is approximately 1 percent of the total membership?

Mr. JULIANELLE. It is very small, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Yet with 1 percent of the total membership of the local they were able to exert almost complete control over the union at one time, were they not?

Mr. JULIANELLE. That is true, and I can explain why, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Why?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Because, sir, a Communist is an exceedingly active person.

Mr. NIXON. On that score, you mean to say that the average union member is not particularly active?

Mr. JULIANELLE. He is not, sir.

Mr. NIXON. It is hard to create interest in internal union politics?

Mr. JULIANELLE. That is quite true, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Go ahead.

Mr. JULIANELLE. The average member, who is a good American, who loves his wife, family, and friends, believes in putting in an honest day's work and going home and staying with his family. It is difficult for him to come to a meeting.

Another reason, too, is that once he has elected to office men and women whom he has confidence in, he feels that they will take care of the union for him. It is only when we have an issue like the one we have in local 203 where you can really do a job. When I said we had 1,300 members at the Warren Harding High School, that was the largest membership of any meeting we ever held in local 203, even surpassing that when we were given an increase by the company and the vote was to accept or reject. You would think that at a meeting like that most of the members would come out.

Now, the Communist, however, we believe, because he is directed to do so, but primarily also because he has dedicated himself to a cause, some of them are quite fanatical in their belief of communism—by the way, we have had personal experiences with some of these Reds—they will attend meetings no matter what happens, they will set everything aside, they will be there, if they are members of the executive board they will be at those meetings, if they are members of the committees they will be at those meetings, and they will be at meetings of the general membership whenever directed to do so.

In addition to that, I must admit that they are quite learned in the ways of union matters—

Mr. NIXON. Parliamentary procedure?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Parliamentary procedure.

They also know when elections take place, they make sure they study up on the constitution and by-laws of the local.

And all that would lead someone to believe that they have got a good trade unionist, here is a man who knows the union, knows the functions, he attends the meetings, they have got a good union man there, and that is what they keep harping on, that they are good trade unionists.

However, the experience of unionists like myself has been that they do this for an ulterior purpose, they do this to achieve control of the union and then to run it, we choose to believe, for the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. NIXON. Then, do you have any specific example that you could give this committee of how a resolution was passed, or an election conducted, or a meeting conducted, in which these tactics which you have generally described, were used?

Mr. JULIANELLE. I have an excellent one, Mr. Nixon.

While we were campaigning for the election of our slate, we agreed it would be a good thing to have a referendum vote on the question of whether a Communist should be permitted to be an officer. Not a member, but an officer of local 203. We thought there would be no objection to a thing like that. We were proposing something which we thought the Communists themselves should be willing to do, to settle the issue in local 203 once and for all. So at a membership meeting called for that express purpose, a special meeting for the purpose of deciding whether we would have a referendum vote on the question as I have illustrated, the Communists did a terrifically good job of coming down with their supporters and beating down the motion for a referendum vote.

Prior to a meeting of the membership it is well known, we have plenty of evidence, that the Communists, with their supporters, meet at homes, and other meeting places, and they delegate to themselves certain tasks—you make a motion, you second it, you raise the question, you do this and you do that. Everybody is instructed just what to do when they attend these meetings. We have any number of examples of that. I am not prepared to give you names and dates now, but I can submit that kind of evidence.

But I give you the illustration there. We wanted to settle the issue within our own local once and for all, have a referendum vote on this, and decide the question.

They came to the meeting and they were able to muster up enough of their supporters to beat down the motion. So as the result we didn't have a referendum vote on the question.

Mr. NIXON. Didn't you have some of your own people there?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes, we did, but, incidentally, that served to bring out to the members who were opposed to communism what could happen when they don't come to meetings. We went around and told our people, come down to the hall Sunday because we are going to have this vote, and we want this referendum vote. It was at the time of the election of officers, and we felt there would be no extra expense to the local. We had the election machines set up in the plant. We thought that as they voted for the officers they could reach over and pull another lever and vote yes or no on this question. We urged them to come down.

Mr. NIXON. And they out-voted you at the meeting?

Mr. JULIANELLE. They did. But let me say that later it was revealed that some of the members present were not members of the local. As a result of that we then issued a membership card. We now hold closed meetings of the local.

Mr. NIXON. Those members present that were not members of the local, which way did they vote?

Mr. JULIANELLE. They voted for the Communists, of course.

We also discovered that they used cars to pick up the people and take them to the union hall—which taught us something, too, and maybe we will use cars when we have to.

But those are the tactics used by them to insure support for what they want. By those tactics they achieve and put through resolutions and motions which give them virtual control, even though their membership is exceedingly small.

Mr. NIXON. Another method that is used, I take it from something you have said here, is to take over the publication of the union; is that true?

Mr. JULIANELLE. They did in our case, sir.

Mr. NIXON. How did they do that?

Mr. JULIANELLE. If they have a business agent and they have a president who are party members or fellow-travelers it is exceedingly simple, sir, because the business agent of each local union is generally the editor of the local's paper.

Mr. NIXON. What happens to the paper when they take it over?

Mr. JULIANELLE. The business agent is a very busy man and he generally has little to do with the paper except to review it before it is brought to press. So he usually assigns someone to the task of preparing the news for his paper. If it falls into the hands of a woman like Josephine Willard you can well realize what happens to it.

We have copies of *On the Beam* which I could submit to the committee wherein resolutions are made—and, incidentally, they did an exceptionally good job for the Communist Party during the strike last year. They succeeded in getting themselves on all of the committees and they had a real field day then.

Mr. NIXON. Who controls the policy of the union paper?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Well, the local is supposed to control the policies through its business agent.

Mr. NIXON. Through its business agent?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. And the editor of the paper more or less is responsible to the business agent?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Oh, yes, he is, and the business agent in turn is responsible to the membership.

Mr. NIXON. The only way the membership can affect the policy of the paper is to change its business agent or the editor?

Mr. JULIANELLE. No, a member can bring up a point at a membership meeting, and if he has enough support on it they can order the business agent to alter some comment made in the paper. But then there, too, he has got to have enough support to put through the change of that kind, and it is exceedingly difficult to do that when you have a business agent who is either a Communist or a pro-Communist.

Mr. NIXON. There is one other method that I would like for you to discuss briefly.

Have you noted any attempt by the Communist bloc to discredit their opposition in the union leadership through false charges?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Mr. Russell has ample evidence of that which I have submitted. I have submitted many leaflets that were distributed prior to the campaign and following the campaign by these members of the Communist Party and by the international union. We are "finks," we are "stooges," we are "Red baiters," and my presence here today brands me as a traitor to the cause of organized labor.

Mr. NIXON. Now, those are all fairly generally name-calling terms. Have you any evidence of where the Communist bloc has accused any member of your group falsely of some specific act, either a criminal act or an act which is looked upon as being immoral in the eyes of people generally?

Mr. JULIANELLE. We have heard of cases where that has been done, although in local 203 they haven't done so, either because of the high

moral character of the present officers of local 203, or because of lack of evidence or proof. They haven't done so in our case, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. But there are cases in which that particular method has been used?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes, sir; we know of cases where it has been used, but in local 203 it has not been used.

Mr. NIXON. will you please let me amend that: Not in local 203 as to the present slate of officers. I would have to check back during the years 1943, 1944, and 1945 to see whether it was done against the non-Communists of that time. I am not sure.

Mr. NIXON. A high official in the Communist Party has made the statement that with 5 percent of a union being either Communist or fellow-travelers, the Communists can take over the control of the union. From what you have indicated here today, even 1 percent of the membership was Communist and they were successful in taking over the control of that union. From what you have stated, then, do you mean to indicate that if you have a group of hard-working people, as you had in your union, that as small a percentage as that may be effective in a union for taking over control of it by the Communist bloc?

Mr. JULIANELLE. That is quite true, because our case is an example of that.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. I would like to ask the witness, after it became known in Bridgeport that you were opposing Communists in the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, were you subject to the usual and customary threats, aspersions, and all that sort of thing?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes, sir. As I said before, Mr. Russell has in his hands now plenty of evidence to that effect in the form of leaflets. The radio talks, of course, we haven't got transcribed records of those, but there were radio talks against us.

This Mr. Smith that I mentioned before went on the radio and publicly stated to the citizens of Bridgeport that Joe Julianelle was a sell-out and a company stooge, the only reason for his return to the local was to sell out the local in Bridgeport, GE.

And they do a good job with an amplifying system. They have corner meetings. They came into my area 2 weeks ago, only a block away from my home, and they did a swell job on me.

Mr. NIXON. May I ask one question right there?

Mr. McDOWELL. Just let me finish this.

I am familiar with all of that as I have in my country a United Electrical union of 22,000 membership. I am very familiar with the sound trucks, the radio speakers, and so forth.

Mr. JULIANELLE. I see, sir.

Mr. NIXON. May I ask, who paid for this radio talk?

Mr. JULIANELLE. The international union did. The international union.

Mr. NIXON. Are you sure of that?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Absolutely, sir. That was testified to, and it is in the record here—by Mr. Smith. He was asked by the attorney, who is paying for all this, and his answer, after a lot of hedging, was, well, he was an international representative.

Mr. McDOWELL. Were you ever called a Fascist or Fascist-minded because of your activities?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Not yet, but I am waiting for that charge, because I am sure they are going to use it very soon.

Mr. McDOWELL. You can be very sure it will come.

You were speaking of the publication of your union. Do you ever read the publication of any other United Electrical union?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes; we do.

Mr. McDOWELL. One published say, in Pittsburgh or New York?

Mr. JULIANELLE. We do, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. Has it struck you that they are generally very similar, that outside of a little bit of local news, that the cartoons are usually the same, they change the bylines, they change the headlines, but have you noticed that otherwise they are very similar?

Mr. JULIANELLE. We remarked on that yesterday when we caught sight of a pamphlet that was distributed here yesterday by the food and tobacco workers. We found that the drawings, the cartoons, were exactly the same as we have in the UE News.

Mr. McDOWELL. Has it ever struck you that there was a great similarity between these united electrical publications and the Daily Worker? Do you ever see the Daily Worker?

Mr. JULIANELLE. No; I frankly haven't. At one time I was compelled to see it because I used to receive it every day, and I had a hell of a time getting free of it, but I did, and I resolved then that I wanted nothing to do with it any more. I think that was unwise. I think I should read the Daily Worker to keep abreast of what the Commies are going to do next.

Mr. McDOWELL. As a labor leader, I recommend that you read the Daily Worker. I read it every morning. It is just like coffee to me. I couldn't do without it. I urge you to familiarize yourself with the Daily Worker.

Mr. JULIANELLE. I will make sure I do that.

Mr. McDOWELL. I would like to ask you this: Congress recently passed a so-called labor law. It is sometimes called the Hartley-Taft labor bill. This bill, when it was finally written and presented to the Congress in both Houses, was dubbed by the Daily Worker, the Communist newspaper, as a "slave labor law."

Is it your opinion that the United States Congress is attempting to enslave the workers of America because they are unionized?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Of course not, sir. My opinion is that the bill is a bad bill, that it restrains the members of organized labor to an extent where it is going to hamper the organizational attempts of unions. We believe that time will prove to Congress that the bill was a bad bill. We hope that the Members of Congress will see fit to amend it as times goes on. But let me say quite clearly and definitely that it is my own honest opinion that the propaganda against the bill as a slave-labor bill was not justified at all. It is a bad bill but certain unions will continue to function under the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947, with many limitations, true, but organized labor will still continue to function. We hope that as we point out the deficiencies in the bill to Members of Congress like you gentlemen, and as time goes on, that you will see fit to recognize the injustices against us within the bill and make the proper amendments.

I want to say, though, that in local 203 we carried on an extensive and vigorous campaign against the bill. Not against the entire bill, but against provisions within the bill which we thought were injurious to members of unions. Right after the bill was made law, the executive board issued a statement—and we were taken to task for it by the international, by the way—but we issued a statement to the effect that we resisted the passage of this bill because we thought it would be a bad bill for members of organized labor, but today this bill is law, we will, therefore, comply with the provisions of this law, reserving to ourselves the right, as citizens, to bring to the attention of Congress parts of the bill which we believe should be amended or repealed.

We went further and we ordered the officers of local 203 to submit immediately to the National Labor Relations Board sworn affidavits, as required by section 9 (h) of the new act. Those affidavits, by the way, are in my possession now, and I intend to place them in the hands of the National Labor Relations Board before we leave today. I don't know whether we are the first union to do that, but if we are we hope it will serve as an example to other unions to do it soon.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Chairman, of course, I disagree with the witness; I think it is a good bill. Nevertheless, I want to compliment this gentleman for making a very fine American statement. He opposes the bill. Nevertheless, he has made a very fine, patriotic statement of opposition. I wish you well in your endeavors.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Julianelle, in reply to a question by Mr. Nixon, you said that you had been called a "traitor" because of your decision to appear here today. Are you under subpoena?

Mr. JULIANELLE. I am, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who called you a "traitor"?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Well, the best answer to that is to refer to a resolution passed by district council No. 2 last Saturday.

The CHAIRMAN. What is district council No. 2?

Mr. JULIANELLE. District council No. 2 is the district comprising the New England States and of which we are a part, local 203 is a part of that district.

The CHAIRMAN. And district council No. 2 is a part of the international?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes, sir. There are 11 or 12 districts in the United States. Each district has a president.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead about the resolution.

Mr. JULIANELLE. The resolution, briefly, was to the effect that this committee itself was un-American, and blah, blah, blah, and anyone submitting to it was a traitor to the cause of labor, and so forth and so on.

As soon as we get a copy of it—and we hope we will—we are still a part of UE, and we will remain so as long as we can—I will be glad to submit a copy to this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, you do that.

Mr. JULIANELLE. But please let me say this, Mr. Thomas, that at a General Electric local conference in New York City about a month ago, the president of that union told Mr. Beresick and myself that for what we had done—and mind you, what had we done, we took 26 members, on whom we had ample proof to satisfy us, and we can satisfy others, were Communists and fellow travelers and expelled

them—but for that, for what we had done we could never be excused, and if we got on bended knee before the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America for the rest of our lives we could not be excused for what we had done.

The CHAIRMAN. Who told you that?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Albert—what is his middle initial—

The CHAIRMAN. Never mind the middle initial.

Mr. JULIANELLE. Albert J. Fitzgerald.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his position?

Mr. JULIANELLE. President of the union.

He went further and said that we were only allowed to be present at that conference by virtue of a superior court judge's decision in our case

The CHAIRMAN. Is he president of the international?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes; he is, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When the international sent to Bridgeport some officers, at the meeting that you refer to held at the bank, were any of those officers, officers of the international, members of the Communist Party?

Mr. JULIANELLE. I couldn't say, sir. As I say, Matles and Emspak, have been branded Communists, and the knowledge we have is derived from information we have received via literature and statements, and all that. I have no knowledge that Mr. Emspak or Mr. Matles are members of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you knowledge of the fact that any members, any officers of the international, are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. JULIANELLE. No; there has been no admission by them in my presence, you see, or any kind of proof which I have seen that they are members. If you are asking me what I believe, then I have an answer.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you believe?

Mr. JULIANELLE. But if you are asking me what I know, my answer is there is no proof that I have that Matles, Emspak, or any other officer, is a member of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it your opinion that the officers of the international follow the Communist line?

Mr. JULIANELLE. They certainly do. That is evidenced by the UE News and by acts of theirs at conventions and by statements issued to the press, and in many other ways.

The CHAIRMAN. Getting to your own local, when does the contract expire between your local and the management of your company?

Mr. JULIANELLE. On the 1st of April, sir, of each year, but it goes on unless termination or modification notice is served by the union or the company.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's look to next April, now. Your local has in effect been expelled from the international?

Mr. JULIANELLE. It has not. We were, but the expulsion by the international was revoked by the court order.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Supposing next April comes along, and we will assume that the contract hasn't been revoked between now and next April, and you begin negotiations with the management for a new contract. What position do you think the international will take in connection with that?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Well, the contract really has nothing to do with it, Mr. Thomas, because the contract is drawn up between the General Electric Co., as such, not only the Bridgeport works, and the International Union, and then it is applied by the locals. Local 203 administers the contract in Bridgeport.

The CHAIRMAN. So the officers of the international and the management of the company are the ones that will draw up the contract?

Mr. JULIANELLE. That is true. In addition we have a committee composed of delegates representing the General Electric plants, usually a committee of 8 or 10, who go in with the international officers. They don't negotiate a new contract alone. We have a representative group in with them.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think the officers of the international will try to do everything they possibly can at that time to see to it that the management of your company will not recognize your local?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Precisely, sir, because at the time they sought to revoke the charter of local 203 and drag us into court to defend ourselves, at that very same time they sought to get an injunction against the company restraining them from negotiating with us.

We like to look upon the international as a parent body, but an act of that kind, first in trying to revoke the charter of the local, the way they did, and then endeavoring to sever relations between the local with the company, was certainly not the act of a friendly parent.

The CHAIRMAN. One more question. In the event of a conflict between the United States and Russia, what, in your opinion, position would a Communist-dominated union take?

Mr. JULIANELLE. My honest opinion, sir, is that they would engage upon activities of sabotage which would hamper seriously the efforts of this country to wage a successful war against Russia. I think the Government would have to round up these Communists and put them where they could do no harm to us because their loyalty is to Russia and not to the United States of America.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all the questions I have. Are there any other questions?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Julianelle, are you acquainted with the various international representatives that were sent to your local from time to time—like the international organizer?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. In your opinion were any of those men Communists?

Mr. JULIANELLE. My opinion is that they were all Communists.

Mr. STRIPLING. All international organizers that were sent to you?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Into the Bridgeport area.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were Communists?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you think it is possible for a person to be an organizer for the international without being a Communist?

Mr. JULIANELLE. My honest opinion is that you have either got to be a member of the Communist Party or you have got to pledge support to the Communist Party and make ample contributions. I don't say you must be a member of the party, but I am quite sure that you either follow the party line or you don't get a job in the UE. That is the international.

Mr. McDOWELL. Have you ever heard of an organizer of the United Electrical Union named Rossner, Steve Rossner?

Mr. JULIANELLE. I have not, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. Have you ever heard of one named Charles Newell?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes; I know Charlie quite well. He is one of the organizers sent up to Bridgeport.

Mr. McDOWELL. Do you think Mr. Newell is a Communist or fellow traveler?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes; he was called that many times, and he never denied it. He certainly supported the Communist line, associated freely with them in Bridgeport, attended meetings of the Communist Party. We have every reason to believe that Charlie Newell is a Communist.

Mr. McDOWELL. I called him that and he threatened to sue me for a hundred thousand dollars. He never did.

Mr. JULIANELLE. He can start suing me, then.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, those are all the questions I have. Mr. Russell has a question.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Russell.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Julianelle, you have read from the transcript of testimony given by the members of your union and by the officials of the international union regarding the petition which the international union filed in the superior court in Bridgeport, Conn., to revoke the charter of local 203. Is there anything contained in that testimony which would support the evidence gathered by the local against those persons who were discharged because they were Communists or fellow travelers?

Mr. JULIANELLE. Yes, there is; because several of our members were called to the witness stand and they testified to having heard admissions by many of those that have been expelled that they were members of the Communist Party and generally added, "Quite proud of it."

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the committee be permitted to take certain extracts from that testimony and insert it into the record of this hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. RUSSELL. Is there anything contained in the testimony which I have just mentioned which might indicate the views of certain officers of the international union toward the fact that they would permit Communists to remain in labor unions or to control them?

Mr. JULIANELLE. There is, sir, and I can quote from the testimony of Julius Emspak, which was quite clear, he admitted to Judge Cornell, judge of the superior court, that the mere fact that a member is a Communist does not exclude him from membership in the UE or from attaining any office within the UE. The testimony is right here before me, the testimony before Judge Cornell, superior court judge of Fairfield County. I understand he has made similar assertions before other committees here in Congress.

We have it here, anyway. He made it quite clear that if a member of the UE is a Communist, so what.

Mr. RUSSELL. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

(No response.)

Thank you very much, Mr. Julianelle.

Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, is Michael M. Berescik.

The CHAIRMAN. Please raise your right hand.

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

Mr. BERESCIK. I do, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down, please.

Mr. Stripling.

### TESTIMONY OF MICHAEL M. BERESCIK

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you state your full name, please?

Mr. BERESCIK. Michael Mathew Berescik.

Mr. STRIPLING. B-e-r-e-s-c-i-k?

Mr. BERESCIK. That is right, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born?

Mr. BERESCIK. September 24, 1916, Bridgeport, Conn.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your occupation?

Mr. BERESCIK. I am employed by the General Electric Co. as a maintenance mechanic.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you a member of any trade-union?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir; the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America.

Mr. STRIPLING. What local?

Mr. BERESCIK. Local 203, Bridgeport.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many years have you been a member of local 203?

Mr. BERESCIK. Since its inception; about 10 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you hold any office in local 203?

Mr. BERESCIK. I am president.

Mr. STRIPLING. Prior to your election as president of local 203, did you hold any other office?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes; since 1937 I have held the office of steward, executive board member, section chairman, and business agent.

Mr. STRIPLING. During the 10 years in which you have been connected with the union, have you noticed any evidence of Communist influence within the local?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir; in 1938 I was approached by the then chairman of the local Communist Party, Mike Russo, who came to my home for a copy of Soviet Power, by the Dean of Canterbury, and also a copy of Das Kapital, by Karl Marx. At that time he told me that the party was interested in signing up liberal-minded labor men and he had been referred to me. I questioned him at length as to who had referred him to me. He refused to divulge. So I asked him to leave.

I proceeded to go to the union hall and met Mr. Julianelle, who was at that time business agent. I told him, in effect, Joe, I says, the Commies are working their way into the local. Frankly, Mr. Julianelle was quite amused. He discounted it, considering, more or less, that I was an alarmist. He says, it is merely a fad, something that will pass, like the passing of the tide.

I said, frankly, Joe, this communism is a big thing, I, for one, am going to step off and tee off on it every time they rear their head, irrespective of what position you take.

Subsequently, from 1938 up to the time I went in the Army, I was like John the Baptist, the voice in the wilderness. A couple of the boys supported me, but everybody else was looking up in the air because they just didn't understand.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, was there any particular period that in your opinion Communists dominated the union?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir. In 1933, shortly after Mr. Julianelle resigned—

Mr. STRIPLING. 1933 or 1943?

Mr. BERESCIK. 1943, I am sorry, sir.

1943, shortly after Mr. Julianelle resigned, Mr. Fazekas became business agent—

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you spell that, please?

Mr. BERESCIK. Frank Fazekas, F-a-z-e-k-a-s.

I would say, sir, that they had been marking time for about a month or two prior to Mr. Julianelle's resignation. On the day Mr. Fazekas took office the Communist organization within local 203 took over the local, lock, stock, and barrel. I say that without reservation because immediately there was considerable noise made about creating a local union newspaper, the picture unfolded before our eyes, the party line was followed, it became a transcript for the Daily Worker, everything the so-called Red organizations supported word for word appeared in our local newspaper. There was little or no space given to union functions.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you go in the Army?

Mr. BERESCIK. May 5, sir, 1945.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you hold any position at the time you went in the Army?

Mr. BERESCIK. At the time I went in the Army I was business agent, but, frankly, things were very unstable, because I wasn't elected by the membership, I was merely appointed in the interim period by the executive board, at the resignation of Mr. Koons, who had been elected in January of that year.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was that in the period when the Communists were dominating the union?

Mr. BERESCIK. In 1944 we elected Mr. Koons. I can give you a little background, if you are interested.

During 1943, conditions in the local were really bad. It was extremely hard to get anybody to discuss union business because all the time was taken up by "the-Yanks-are-not-coming" and the "50 destroyer" deal was no good—they hollered about that for about 3 or 4 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you characterize those as party-line issues?

Mr. BERESCIK. Oh, yes. Every left-wing newspaper in the country called it an imperialistic war, they were sending delegates to the American Peace Mobilization, American Youth for Democracy, Marcantonio was a god—

Mr. McDOWELL. You are referring to Congressman Marcantonio?

Mr. BERESCIK. I am, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were the meetings of the local being used as a sounding board to promote the Communist Party line during that period?

Mr. BERESCIK. Well, sir, if I can amend your statement, certainly not a sounding board, because of the conditions very few people came to the meetings, and consequently a small minority, of 15, 18, or 20—and, incidentally, I was once again a voice in the wilderness—they kept steam rolling anything they wanted through, so the rank and file were unaware of this, because they didn't dare come near the union hall, in fact, they were afraid, because you never knew when a riot would start—they were filibustering, they would come early and stay late.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, you were talking about Mr. Koons. He was the business agent—

Mr. BERESCIK. 1944, sir, early part of 1945.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did he succeed Fazekas?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir. Mr. Clark, who had been an executive board member for a few years, and myself, and together with the other boys, got together in the latter part of 1943, and we said, let's put up a candidate against Fazekas, in fact, a slate of officers. We did. We planned it very carefully for about 5 months before election and when the election came by a bare majority were able to defeat Mr. Fazekas and his cohorts and we put in a new slate of officers for the year 1944.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who was president?

Mr. BERESCIK. Walter Clark was president; Mr. Koons was business agent.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you elected to any position?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir; I was a member of the executive board.

Mr. STRIPLING. And after you were elected to control of the union, did you take any action against the Communists?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. What did you do?

Mr. BERESCIK. We proceeded to tell the people the condition confronting the local, the general condition of the local, making them aware of the issues, and really asking the people to come down to the union, because, we said, there would be no further filibustering and we wouldn't allow these people to come in and present these asinine resolutions.

I would say sir, that for about 3 months we were fortunate in doing so, and at that time we started to formulate some plans as to how to oust the people from our midst.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean oust the Communists from your midst?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir. But along about then Walter Clark evidently had been threatened, in one way or another, and he got a little scared. And lo and behold, at the next membership meeting they came in with resolutions as long as your arm, and the meeting was started at 1 o'clock and wound up about 9 in the evening, and in between Walter got disgusted, because he was a sick man, he put the gavel away and went home. They decided to reopen the meeting and have a beautiful rump session and by 8 or 9 o'clock nobody was there but 15 or 20 people, and that was the time the business of the local was really conducted, when everybody had gone home.

I might say that in 1944 we never held a meeting after about the fourth month where we didn't have to have police in the immediate vicinity or in the hall because if you came in, unless you carried heavy insurance, you didn't know if you were coming out in one piece or not.

Mr. STRIPLING. What do you mean by "heavy insurance"?

Mr. BERESCIK. Casualty insurance.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever a delegate to any of the international conventions?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir; I was an elected delegate to the 1944 convention held at Manhattan Center, New York City.

Mr. STRIPLING. As the delegate of local 203 at the international convention, did you take any action against the Communists?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Within the international, or within your local in the form of resolutions or speeches?

Mr. BERESCIK. Well, frankly, the trick was to get the floor. I waved my hand for 3 days before I was finally recognized. But at the 1944 convention a local from district 1 submitted and proposed to the convention a resolution stating in effect that the national officers of the UE should henceforth be elected by a referendum vote. In other words, allowing 400,000 then members of the union the privilege of casting the ballot whether or not they wanted the general officers of the international union to continue in office.

Local 203 were proponents of that resolution. However, the resolution had tough sledding all the way. At that time Leo Jarendau was chairman of the resolutions committee—business agent of local 303, Schenectady, N. Y. The resolutions committee came out with a vote of nonconcurrence for the resolution. However, there was a minority report. We carried the ball for the minority on the convention floor and the thing was shouted down because at a convention usually only those people who are part of a very closely knit and powerful machine are allowed to attend. So a minority could never put anything over at any convention. Consequently, the officers of the UE are still elected by convention vote.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you familiar with any of the international officers of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir; I had met Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Emspak, Mr. Matles, various members of the general executive board.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you closely observed their leadership of the international over a period of 10 years since you have been a member?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you consider Mr. Matles or Mr. Emspak to be Communists?

Mr. BERESCIK. Well, sir, Mr. Emspak, frankly, from what I have heard him say—he is quite evasive, a very able speaker—on the basis of what I read in the paper I would call him a Communist, but on the basis of conversation with the man I couldn't say, I couldn't call him a Communist.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you think that he and other officials of the international union conducted the affairs of the international union in such a way as to conform to the Communist Party line?

Mr. BERESCIK. So far as Jim Matles is concerned—he is the director of organization—I will say that if I was to give credit to any one man in the UE for building up the UE to its present position, I would give it to him. He is second to none in any CIO group in this country when it comes to organizational matters. However, in the last few years Mr. Matles has deviated from his original program and I think, and have every reason to believe, the international ranks—that is, their

organizational staff—is primarily—that is, in district 2—interested in doing a job on local 203 and any other so-called dissident forces within the UE. But from the organizational standpoint, Jim built the UE where it is.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you think the Communist issue is involved?

Mr. BERESCIK. Definitely.

Mr. STRIPLING. What do you think Mr. Matles' position is on the Communist issue?

Mr. BERESCIK. Mr. Matles' position on the Communist issue is, in effect, although not openly, that local 203 must be smashed—Julianelle, myself, and the rest of the officers should be smashed, and everything we stand for. In fact, they would tear down local 203 to nothing to destroy us because we took such a position on the Communist question. "We have been told by Albert Smith, whom I suspect has more power in district 2 today than the international president or the district president, that if they can't beat us in the courts they will tear down local 203, get rid of us, and rebuild it."

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your opinion of Mr. Smith as to his being a Communist or following the Communist Party line?

Mr. BERESCIK. Mr. Smith, I would say, sir, if you are asking me to create a mold for an ideal Communist within the labor movement, I would say use Mr. Smith as a mold. Extremely able, very clever, and a very able organizer, and an extremely fast talker.

Mr. STRIPLING. After you were inducted and entered the Army, who succeeded you as business agent of local 203?

Mr. BERESCIK. Frederick Blycher.

Mr. STRIPLING. While in the Army did you keep in touch with the affairs of local 203?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir. I used to get on an average of three letters a week from the boys. They ran into considerable difficulty, and they used to write to me asking what they should do—because they had been put on the proverbial spot and I used to write from Louisiana, Georgia, Mississippi, as to what they might do to offset this pressure group.

Mr. STRIPLING. In talking of "this pressure group," you refer to the Communist group within the local?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. When were you discharged from the Army?

Mr. BERESCIK. October 6, sir, last year.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you return to your old position?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. In General Electric?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes. Primarily because once again the Communists had taken over the local, lock, stock, and barrel.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you again become active in the affairs of local 203?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir. Three days after I went to work I was elected by my section as a security board member. I contacted Mr. Julianelle, and we got together, and I said, "Joe, let's put a slate in the field, see what we can do about getting rid of these fellows who have taken over the local."

Mr. STRIPLING. And you succeeded?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was the result of the election?

Mr. BERESCIK. The result, sir, was that we won by an overwhelming majority.

Mr. STRIPLING. How many votes did you receive?

Mr. BERESCIK. About 4,300, sir, to 1,400.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were elected president?

Mr. BERESCIK. I was elected president.

Mr. NIXON. Was the Communist affiliations of the other slate in issue in that election?

Mr. BERESCIK. Definitely; yes, sir. We purported in the newspapers that the slate opposing us was Communist-controlled and Communist-dominated; that they were doing nothing more than to promulgate a doctrine of communism within the local.

Mr. NIXON. Was that the major issue within the election?

Mr. BERESCIK. That was the major issue.

Mr. McDOWELL. Are you paid as president?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir; I receive \$15 a week as expense money, but I work in the shop.

Mr. McDOWELL. You are not paid a salary?

Mr. BERESCIK. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Russell has some questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Russell.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. Berescik, you stated that the delegation from local 203 at the 1944 convention of the international supported a resolution to have the international officers of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America reelected by referendum vote of the membership. Will you tell the committee how the national officers of the UE are elected at present and how they were elected during the year 1944.

Mr. BERESCIK. Well, sir, in answer to that last part of your question, in 1944 they were elected by the convention. At present they are still elected by convention—which, it is my honest opinion, is the irony of the entire labor movement. The national officers are elected by convention. I have had occasion, over a period of 10 years, to be a delegate of my local to various conventions, and I have found, over a period of years, the same people as delegates of their particular locals go to every one. I suspect that the reason why these people go there, the same faces, is to keep the rank and file of the particular local in the dark as to the real issues confronting them as working people.

They become a part of a very important and highly efficient machine. It is common knowledge that when the time comes to elect delegates to any convention, especially a national convention, the rank and file as a rule are unaware of the meeting that is going to be held to vote for the delegates; it is done too quietly. In that way the machine is insured of getting only the right people—people who have premeditated principles relative to these people holding office, and who desire to promulgate their tenure of office.

Here it is, the rank and file—400,000 or 600,000 members, such as in our international union. They are unaware of the issues; they are unaware of the position taken by their so-called accredited delegates. These people come back and, I have reason to believe, they submit reports to the rank and file, they spend the people's money—we went to the convention and so and so was elected; we had a good time—that

is all. That is how these people stay in power year in and year out—because they have these machines. I sincerely believe that if we had a referendum in the labor movement, we could dissipate the entire Communist movement in a matter of time.

MR. STRIPLING. Do you feel that since your local has removed these 26 Communists it is a stronger union, better able to conduct its union affairs?

MR. BERESCIK. Since we have removed the Communists from our local, sir, we have increased our membership, I would say, approximately 600; we have conducted our business in a businesslike manner; the relationship between the company and ourselves is more amicable than it has been at any time in a good many years; and our meetings never last over 2 hours. We educate the people, in fact, the people look forward to coming to our membership meetings—because we conduct the business in a businesslike way.

We feel now, and the membership supports me in my feeling, that we have become a credit to the community of which we are a part, and also, I think, a credit to the labor movement and all it stands for.

MR. RUSSELL. Mr. Berescik, Mr. Julianelle testified concerning some of the events that transpired between the local and the international union after certain members of the local were expelled from the union because of their Communist associations. Would you tell the committee whether or not the officers of the international union have furnished any assistance to the local whatsoever in its present fight against the Communists?

MR. BERESCIK. No, sir. "At the time we took this action against the Communist members, Mr. Smith was brought all the way from California. He set up a union office about a block away from ours and issued leaflets and various other things to disrupt and create confusion—a point on which he is a master. Seven or eight organizers were brought into town to help him—at, as I figure it, \$80 a week. The pay roll was increased within the city of Bridgeport. The so-called organizing the unorganized just became a high-sounding slogan—because here we had unorganized in the town a half-dozen shops that are yet to be organized. They forgot about them. They were primarily interested in doing a so-called ax job on the local officers of local 203.

The entire organization supplied funds to print literature in the name of the international union. The international union financed the fight in the courts—because certainly other members had been expelled from local 203 over the period of years and the international union never lifted a finger. But because Mrs. Willard and a few more people who subscribed to the Communist ideology were thrown out, the international union took us to court, during the most trying time—when we were in negotiations.

To sum it up, the international union has done everything in its power to impede our program to make local 203 a real, bona fide labor union."

MR. STRIPLING. Because you didn't want the Communists?

MR. BERESCIK. "Because we did what we did, I was told at a General Electric conference board meeting held in the Hotel Shelton on Lexington Avenue in New York City, in the presence of some hundred delegates, by the international president, Albert Fitzgerald, that the international union, including himself, would do everything in his power to smash Joe Julianelle, and everything we stood for—which

is strong language coming from a fellow whose position as international president is extremely shaky. ♫

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. I will pass right now.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. In your union activities, have you ever heard of S. E. Rossner?

Mr. BERESCIK. I have read about him, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. You wouldn't know anything about him except what you have read?

Mr. BERESCIK. No; I have never met the man.

Mr. McDOWELL. Have you ever heard about or met Charles Newell?

Mr. BERESCIK. Back in 1936 or 1937; yes, just casually.

Mr. McDOWELL. Would you know whether he was a Communist or not?

Mr. BERESCIK. No, sir. My own individual opinion would be, predicated on what I have heard, I would say he was a Communist, but I have no proof.

Mr. McDOWELL. Do you read *Das Kapital*?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. Has it occurred to you, as a labor leader, that there is a striking similarity between many of these Communist organizers in this "class struggle of the laboring people"? So far as I can discover none of them ever worked. Their efforts to lift the workingman have been their only efforts. None of them have done productive work, such as working on a farm, or in a factory. Very few have ever been tainted with that. Their entire income comes from politics, political organizations, such as the Communist Party.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. You have had an opportunity to witness the Communist bloc in your union pretty closely; haven't you?

Mr. BERESCIK. I have, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. I wonder if you would, for the purpose of the record here, from the standpoint of knowing just how the Communists work in a union, if you could give some specific examples of some of these general activities which you have described.

Do you recall, for example, any resolutions that have been passed or which have been supported by the Communist bloc on nonunion matters, in the past, say, 2 years.

Mr. BERESCIK. In the past 2 years, sir, from my particular standpoint it wouldn't apply, sir, because I spent time in the Army, and the first meeting we had when I became president we ousted Mrs. Willard—ousted Communists—so we have kept them pretty well in line, and so they haven't had occasion to do it in the last 2 years.

However, prior to my going into the service, I can remember at the time the destroyer deal with Great Britain was on, circular letters were circulated at practically every executive board meeting, our late President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, was called a warmonger, and it was a "war of imperialism," and these people supported and subscribed to using the local's funds for the American Peace Mobilization.

Mr. NIXON. How did they use the local's funds?

Mr. BERESCIK. At an executive board meeting, sir, the motion was made, seconded, and carried to donate \$25 or \$30 of the local's funds for that cause.

Mr. NIXON. Do you recall any other organizations that the American Peace Mobilization to which funds were donated at that time?

Mr. BERESCIK. American Youth for Democracy, sir. I remember we tried continually to get them to donate money to the NAACP, and they never gave a dime, but the National Negro Congress were always willing to give them money.

These organizations, I might say, sir, their names leave me at the moment, because they spring up and there are so many of them, they spring up overnight, but every time there was a letter supporting some organization which these people knew was a Communist-front organization, or a Communist organization, right away the motion was made, seconded, and carried, and they got money, even if it was the last \$10 the local had in the till, they got it.

Mr. NIXON. Do you have knowledge of this meeting that was referred to by Mr. Julianelle in which nonmembers were brought to the union for the purpose of affecting the vote?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir; I was present at that meeting. Julianelle made the motion, it was seconded, and I was the first speaker for it. They packed the meeting. At that time the chairman was Oliver Arsenault, the president. He very skillfully maneuvered the meeting, he was waiting for Neil McGillicuddy to come from the national CIO convention, which had been held that week in Atlantic City. They timed the thing to stall it. Then when Neil McGillicuddy came he said the same thing, about the 400 families—as he always does—he ought to get a recording made and save his breath, that is all he ever says. And we were beat by 13 votes on that particular issue.

After the smoke cleared we discovered that we had been badly outmaneuvered.

Mr. NIXON. How did you find out that nonmembers had been voting in the election?

Mr. BERESCIK. Through a process of elimination; and various colored people, who are supporters of ours, told us that they had seen individuals that had come from as far as Westchester County, they were allowed into the meeting to vote. And human nature being what it is, people boasted to one another that they had taken part in a meeting in an organization of which they were not a member.

Mr. NIXON. Do you have any evidence of examples of personal attacks that have been made upon those who opposed the Communist doctrine?

Mr. BERESCIK. Personal attacks, you mean physical or otherwise?

Mr. NIXON. No, I am speaking now of attacks which have been made on your character or untrue charges about the members or officers who were opposed to the Communist domination.

Mr. BERESCIK. In my particular case, sir, they used to make weekly visits to my draft board inquiring as to why I wasn't in the Army. They issued leaflets—I was told that by the draft board chairman—they issued leaflets calling me, in effect, a little worse than they called Julianelle—of course, he is in the same boat with me now—but I have been called everything but a gentleman.

Mr. NIXON. Do you have examples where the Communists in the union, or the Communist bloc, have resorted to any threats of violence?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir. The first meeting we had this year, 1947, which was about January 19, shortly after I refused to seat Mrs. Willard as an executive board member, we had quite a crowd of people, the meeting ended in a riot. I was struck, my glasses were knocked off.

Mr. NIXON. How was the riot started, do you recall?

Mr. BERESCIK. The riot was started in this way: There were three little boys, young fellows—working in Mrs. Willard's section, the automatic blanket division—they were standing, evidently placed there by the powers that be on this particular bloc—

Mr. NIXON. The Communist bloc?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir. Not 3 feet away from me. I was chair-maning the meeting. And they kept heckling the speakers, and I told the boys, I says, "You may disagree with a man violently, but, however, while I am chairman he will have a chance to be heard." I said, "Take it slow."

Then I had the sergeant at arms watch them. I said to them, "Two more warnings and you are going out."

The second time they started the usual tactics, "sit down," "you are out of order," and so forth. I sent for the sergeant at arms and sent him over to warn them again, and as the sergeant at arms approached them, two of the boys jumped on him and one started swinging at me. Well, I protected myself and I went into the office and I called the police. A squad of police came down, 12 or 15, and they asked me what I wanted to do, clear the hall? I said: "The meeting is over."

First, I asked, "If somebody gets killed, who is responsible?" He says: "Who is the chairman?" I said, "I am." He said, "Then you are responsible." I said, "Fine, clear the hall."

The police cleared the hall. They went outside. They were bent on having a rump session, such as they had in 1944, so the police dispersed the crowd, and the meeting ended, and they then resorted to the radio and to loud speakers and to leaflets, and everything else.

Mr. NIXON. Have you ever been personally threatened with violence because of your conduct of union affairs and your attitude on the Communist issue?

Mr. BERESCIK. Well, sir, not directly. Various innuendoes and im-plications have been made as to what a job could be done on me, but nothing ever came up and I always considered the source, because the man that was making it always had a toehold; he was all set to run.

Mr. NIXON. Were any innuendoes or threats made by this group against you or other officers or members of your families, intimidation of any type?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes. One Frederick Henry Minch, president of the building board, was attacked at a bar sometime in March right after the court proceedings. Three men jumped on him and gave him quite a working over.

Mr. NIXON. Who was he?

Mr. BERESCIK. Frederick Minch, president of the building board, formerly treasurer of our local.

Mr. NIXON. Which group was he in?

Mr. BERESCIK. He supports us, sir.

Mr. NIXON. The union newspaper at the present time is under the control of the anti-Communist bloc, is that the case?

Mr. BERESCIK. There is no union newspaper at the present time, sir. It was dissolved by membership action.

Mr. NIXON. Then so far as the methods which have been used in your local are concerned, you would probably corroborate the testimony which has been given by Mr. Julianelle that the Communist bloc has resorted to these methods, the use of the filibuster, which you have particularly described, attending all meetings, coming early and staying late, and if necessary conducting rump sessions after the meeting is over and transaction of business in those sessions?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir.

Excuse me, if I may I corroborate what Mr. Julianelle has said with one exception. Mr. Julianelle feels violently about the Communist question. However, there are some 600,000 members of the UE and 6,000 in our local. The testimony given, either by Mr. Julianelle or myself, is not indicative of casting any aspersions on the American labor movement as a whole. I look up it purely as a family squabble. We are members of a great international union. We have these dissident individuals attempting to inject a foreign political ideology in our union politics. I believe that the rank and file can very well dissipate these forces but an extensive educational program must be carried by people such as myself and Julianelle—and people more educated than ourselves.

But I would like to make one thing clear, and I repeat it, that the condition existing in local 203, thank God we have coped with it up to now, but it certainly is not indicative, nor should American labor, nor the UE, be castigated and vilified, because, let's remember here, we are dealing with a small minority of individuals, who are vicious, but it certainly does not represent the rank and file who are a part of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America. We will get rid of these people, but time is of the essence, and we can do it, we feel quite sure we can.

Mr. NIXON. Do you agree with Mr. Julianelle that in the case of your local, as few as 1 percent of the membership were Communists or fellow travelers?

Mr. BERESCIK. I agree.

Mr. NIXON. And yet were able at one time to completely control the policies of the union?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir; and I blame the membership for not attending their meetings and participating in the functions of the organization to which they paid their dues.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, where you do not have a vigilant group of people who are non-Communist in a union, then as few as 1 percent of them, from your own experience, you can say, can conceivably take over the union and control it?

Mr. BERESCIK. Very easily, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Even though the other 99 percent might be non-Communist?

Mr. BERESCIK. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. Your main opposition, as I understand it, to the Communists in your own union and in the labor unions, generally, is primarily because you think they are harmful to the cause of the workers in the union?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir; and harmful to our American way of life.

Mr. NIXON. Not simply because you disagree with them politically, because in working in the trade-union movement they do not work for the best interests of your people, your membership, but they work for the interest of the membership only where those interests happen to coincide with the party line at that particular time?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes. If I might add, sir, the average Communist has very little respect for the man in the street's intelligence. He appeals to one's whim. If an individual is gullible, they make him a Communist overnight. He distorts the facts. He implies a lot of things but he never gives you the true picture. They have methods. They use women if that is the man's weakness. If he likes John Barleycorn, they supply him with that. No matter what he likes, if he has a hobby, they play it up and build up his ego to a point where he is a dead duck. That way they get him into this group.

Consequently, for the average Communist to get out on the street corner with a leaflet and pass it out, he insults the average man's intelligence—and that, I will tell you frankly, burns me up as an individual no end, because God gave us a head, and gave us an average mind and intelligence to think with. All the average man has to do is to not be gullible, look around, keep his eyes open, and he can see through things.

Mr. NIXON. Aren't the Communists fairly successful in building unions?

Mr. BERESCIK. Fairly successful, sir, to a point; just to a point. A Communist will build the union; if he can't run it his way, he will tear it down.

Mr. NIXON. Are they fairly successful in representing the membership in grievance cases, things of that sort?

Mr. BERESCIK. To a degree, yes, sir; just to a degree, because a labor man—I believe the trend has changed—more or less must be able to meet with management on an even footing and be able to discuss problems of management. The day of the labor man walking around with a club, overturning street cars, those days are gone. Labor has moved into the drawing room. It is what you have upstairs. You have to have something on the ball mentally. A Communist devotes so much of his time to carrying on and promulgating a theory, the theory of communism, that he cannot possibly apply himself, because these Communist affiliations are so trying on his time and efforts that he can't possibly devote any time to knowing the inner workings of management—what constitutes a fair price, what is an unfair price, whether a job is properly classified or evaluated. He can't apply himself, he hasn't the time, around the table he has a loud voice. "The man is underpaid," but if you ask him why he doesn't know why.

Mr. NIXON. What is the interest of the Communist in the trade union?

Mr. BERESCIK. The interest of the Commy in the trade-union movement, sir—and I think it has been demonstrated——

Mr. NIXON. You have seen it in your own union?

Mr. BERESCIK. In my union, yes. It is primarily to build up a powerful political force, so when elections come they can sway the people's thinking.

Mr. NIXON. Do you mean in national elections or State elections?

Mr. BERESCIK. National, city, county, municipal, anything. So they can put the proper people in power and they have a new jumping-off point to the next echelon.

Mr. NIXON. That is point No. 1. What else do you think they use the union for? Do they use it for supporting the foreign policy of the United States? You have commented upon the foreign-policy resolutions that they have introduced.

Mr. BERESCIK. My experience has been that other than at the time Russia was attacked by Hitler—and if I could cite an illustration—prior to the time Hitler attacked Russia I had occasion to sit in on an executive board, and we constantly heard, as I said, "Imperialist war," "The Yanks are not coming," and so forth. I think it was a Sunday when the German army moved into Russia and the executive board was called into extraordinary session on Monday or Tuesday, and these same people whom I had listened to for 2 or 3 years expounding a policy "Imperialist war," they came in, something new has been added, it is a people's war, no strike pledge, we have got to fight.

Mr. NIXON. That was before the United States had entered the war?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. At the present time what is the policy of the Communist leadership in the union or in the Communist bloc insofar as foreign policy is concerned?

Mr. BERESCIK. Well, sir, so far as foreign policy is concerned, Tehran, Casablanca, and other conferences hadn't been finished, proponents of resolutions supporting them to the high heavens were presented at various union functions. And I have attended a lot within the last 3 months and I have yet to hear a resolution supporting the so-called Truman doctrine and the Marshall plan.

Mr. NIXON. You would say they are more interested in following the policy of Russia than in trade-unionism?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Would you agree with the statement that Mr. Julianelle made that in the event of a conflict with Russia the Communist leadership in the union would support Russia rather than the United States?

Mr. BERESCIK. That is an extremely hard question, sir, because as far as Albert Fitzgerald, the international president, is concerned. I don't think he is at the point where he will sell his birth, soul, and birth-right for a principle, because he is not a Communist, but assuming that—

Mr. NIXON. Assuming that the union is Communist-dominated in the first instance, I don't mean the international, but any union is Communist-dominated—you have seen what it means.

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Where would that union go in the event of a conflict with a Communist country?

Mr. BERESCIK. Well, I suppose they would call strikes, suddenly bring up things you have been living with for 5 or 6 years and magnify them to a degree, saying that they were no good, that they should do something about it, and really put the machine to work to bring confusion, distort the facts, and bring about chaos, because that is when they operate at their best.

Mr. NIXON. The loyalty of a Communist trade-union leader—

Mr. BERESCIK. Is first to the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. Not to the United States?

Mr. BERESCIK. Well, I don't know that as a fact, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Unless the United States always follows the Communist-Party line?

Mr. BERESCIK. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell II.

Mr. McDOWELL. The witness testified here that they had a riot at a meeting.

I believe you said that three young men were stationed there to heckle and that two of them jumped on your sergeant-at-arms. What did he do?

Mr. BERESCIK. He protected himself. He was hit in the lip and his lip was split.

Mr. McDOWELL. And the third young man?

Mr. BERESCIK. He went to work on me.

Mr. McDOWELL. You protected yourself?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes.

Mr. McDOWELL. You did protect yourself?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes. He lunged at me and the chair I was on, I put the chair between him and me, and he went over the chair, and I went in the office and called the police.

Mr. McDOWELL. But you didn't hit him with the chair?

Mr. BERESCIK. No, sir; I moved the chair between him and myself.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, you put the chair in front of him as he was moving?

Mr. McDOWELL. And, unfortunately, he fell?

Mr. BERESCIK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair wants to make this very brief statement. If all locals in the United States where they have a Communist bloc, such as local 203 had, would take the same action that you people did, we wouldn't have to pass some of the labor laws that we are passing today. As a result of Communist influence in many of the unions, our whole economy has been retarded. As a result of Communist influence in many other fields, we have got a condition in the world today which is just about as far from peace as we can think of.

You fellows did a good job but the heat was put on you, and the heat is going to be put on you. But keep your chin up. Continue to educate your people and expose communism, just as this committee has been exposing communism in the country. And we are going to win out.

The Chair wants to thank you very much for coming here today.

The Chair also wants to make this announcement, that tomorrow we will have the following witnesses, James Joseph Conroy, of New York City, organizational representative of local 1237 of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, and S. M. Vottis, of Schenectady, N. Y., former union official of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America. There will be no meeting this afternoon. We stand adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:50 p. m., the committee adjourned, to reconvene at 10 a. m., Friday, July 25, 1947.)

# HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNISM IN LABOR UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

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FRIDAY, JULY 25, 1947

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

Staff members present: Mr. Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator and Mr. Louis J. Russell, investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order. The record will show that a subcommittee is present consisting of Mr. McDowell and Mr. Thomas.

Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. The first witness, Mr. Chairman, is Mr. James Joseph Conroy.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you be sworn, Mr. Conroy.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CONROY. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Conroy is former president of local 430, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, and a former member of the Communist Party. At the present time he is organizational representative of local 1237 of the UE. He will testify concerning communism in the union which I have just mentioned.

## TESTIMONY OF JAMES JOSEPH CONROY

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Conroy, will you state your full name?

Mr. CONROY. James Joseph Conroy.

Mr. STRIPLING. When were you born?

Mr. CONROY. I was born in New York City, October 11, 1911.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you a member of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America at the present time?

Mr. CONROY. I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. What local of this union are you presently affiliated with?

Mr. CONROY. I am affiliated with local 1237.

Mr. STRIPLING. What type of worker does 1237 represent?

Mr. CONROY. Local 1237 represents the mechanics and business machine industry.

Mr. STRIPLING. Any particular business concerns?

Mr. CONROY. Companies such as Underwood Typewriter, Remington-Rand, and others.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first become associated with the labor movement, Mr. Conroy?

Mr. CONROY. I became associated with the labor movement in 1938.

Mr. STRIPLING. What company were you connected with at that time?

Mr. CONROY. I was employed by Decca Records, Inc.

Mr. STRIPLING. While you were employed by the Decca, did you perform any organizational work insofar as union affairs were concerned among the employees of that plant?

Mr. CONROY. While employed at Decca I assisted in the organization of the shop. I was elected the first shop chairman, and I was elected the first chairman of the negotiating committee.

Mr. STRIPLING. This local which you organized, did it become affiliated with any international organization?

Mr. CONROY. Decca became affiliated with local 1237 of the UE.

Mr. STRIPLING. After you organized the Decca employees did the international union recognize your work in performing that organizational work and make any offer to you?

Mr. CONROY. The international union recognized my ability by offering me a position on the staff of the international union as a field organizer.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you state to the committee the functions of the field organizer in the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America?

Mr. CONROY. The functions of a field organizer are to organize the unorganized workers of the industry and to negotiate agreements and to carry on the day-to-day problems of the union.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Conroy, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first join the Communist Party?

Mr. CONROY. I joined the Communist Party in 1940.

Mr. STRIPLING. 1940?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you employed at the time you joined the Communist Party?

Mr. CONROY. I was employed as a member of the international staff of the UE.

Mr. STRIPLING. Why did you join?

Mr. CONROY. I joined the Communist Party because I was convinced at that time that by being a member of the party I could best serve the membership that I was working for.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who convinced you of that?

Mr. CONROY. The people who were responsible for my joining the Communist Party.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you sincerely believe that the Communist Party could promote the best interests of labor?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you believe that now?

Mr. CONROY. I do not.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you joined the party, what unit or section were you affiliated with or a member of?

Mr. CONROY. I was affiliated with a unit, a party unit of local 1206.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where was local 1206 located?

Mr. CONROY. Local 1206 was located in Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know how many members it had? I mean, members of the local, not members of the Communist Party.

Mr. CONROY. I couldn't state exactly.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it a large local?

Mr. CONROY. It may have had, roughly, between two and three thousand members.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever held any position in the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. CONROY. No, sir; I have not.

Mr. STRIPLING. After you joined the Communist Party and after you became affiliated with the international union, were you elected to any office in the international union or did you become an officer of any of the locals?

Mr. CONROY. I became an officer of local 1206, to which I was elected president; I became an officer of local 430, which was a successor local to 1206, and of which I became president.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you were elected president, was it a close vote, or did you have a substantial majority?

Mr. CONROY. It the first election I won by, if I remember correctly, three votes.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, when you were president of this local, you were also a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you follow the dictates of the Communist Party during that period, so far as the local's affairs were concerned?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; I did.

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask a question there?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a member of the Communist Party before you were elected president, or did you become a member of the Communist Party during the time you were president? What I want to find out is: Were you a member of the Communist Party before you became president of that local?

Mr. CONROY. No; I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you joined the Communist Party after you were elected?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Can you recall some of the Communist Party line activities or resolutions which you were instrumental in putting through while you were president of the local?

Mr. CONROY. The party line at one point was petitioning President Roosevelt for the freedom of Earl Browder, in which I actively participated—the campaign which I actively participated in, as the president of the local union.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did the local adopt a resolution asking for the release of Earl Browder?

Mr. CONROY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are speaking of when Earl Browder was serving a term in Atlanta Penitentiary for conviction of passport violation?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. What year did local 1206 become a part of local 430?

Mr. CONROY. I believe it was in 1941.

Mr. STRIPLING. For how many years were you president of 1206 and later 430?

Mr. CONROY. I think my presidency of the two locals extended over a period of 3 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CONROY. I am not.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you resign from the Communist Party?

Mr. CONROY. I resigned from the Communist Party in 1946, January.

Mr. STRIPLING. January?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Prior to 1946, did you become disillusioned as to the actual and real purposes of the Communist Party relative to organized labor?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did you first begin to have your doubts as to the real program of the Communists?

Mr. CONROY. I had doubts when I went into the Party, which I tried to compromise in my own mind; and I had doubts while I was a member of the party, but I lacked the courage to leave the Party at that time.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you a Catholic?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was it somewhat difficult to reconcile your religious faith with the activities of the Communist Party?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; it was.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you became disillusioned, so to speak, about communism, did you resign from the union?

Mr. CONROY. From the union?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. CONROY. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You continued on with your functions as an official of the union?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did your term of presidency expire in local 430?

Mr. CONROY. I believe it was in 1943.

Mr. STRIPLING. What did you do after your term expired?

Mr. CONROY. I went back to the shop.

Mr. STRIPLING. The Decca shop?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. And what type of work did you do?

Mr. CONROY. I ran a hydraulic press which made records.

Mr. STRIPLING. After you returned to the shop, did the international union send you out on any special assignments?

Mr. CONROY. Six months after I had returned to the shop I was requested to leave the shop and accept an assignment as representing the international union in Sharon, Pa.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was any particular reason given why the international union selected you to go to Sharon, Pa., as international representative?

Mr. CONROY. The international believed I was a loyal party member and would see that the proper job was done.

The CHAIRMAN. Loyal Communist Party member?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who was the head of the Sharon, Pa., local?

Mr. CONROY. There was no president of the Local, since the local was a newly organized local union.

Mr. STRIPLING. This local at Sharon, is that the Westinghouse local?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You don't recall who was head of it?

Mr. CONROY. The organizer whom I succeeded was a man by the name of Tom Flanagan.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was Tom Flanagan a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Why did Flanagan leave the Westinghouse local?

Mr. CONROY. Flanagan went into the armed services.

Mr. STRIPLING. And you replaced him?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you conduct the affairs of the union, or attempt to conduct the affairs of the union, in conformance with the Communist Party line while you were at Sharon, Pa.?

Mr. CONROY. The issue of communism was not a factor in the Sharon local, since it was a newly organized local and we actually didn't have the unit built to the extent—

Mr. STRIPLING. The local was not under control of the Communists?

Mr. CONROY. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who sent you to the Westinghouse local at Sharon, Pa.?

Mr. CONROY. The arrangements were made by Edward Matthews, international representative of the UE.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is Edward Matthews, to your knowledge, a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; he is.

Mr. STRIPLING. How do you know that?

Mr. CONROY. Because I attended Communist Party meetings with Ed Matthews.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long were you at the Westinghouse local?

Mr. CONROY. For a period extending from May to October.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you go then, after you left the Westinghouse local?

Mr. CONROY. I went to local 419 in Mount Vernon, N. Y.

Mr. STRIPLING. What were your functions with local 419?

Mr. CONROY. My functions as a representative of the international union at local 419 were to negotiate contracts for the shops in that local.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you serving in the nature of business agent?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were still a Communist at that time?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; I was.

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask a question right there?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This local 419 in Mount Vernon, N. Y., what company was that?

Mr. CONROY. Local 419 was an amalgamated local which had about five or six different companies as part of the local union.

The CHAIRMAN. What were some of the companies?

Mr. CONROY. Some of the companies were North American Films, Ward-Leonard Electric Co., and Rex Products and others.

Mr. STRIPLING. Electronic factories?

Mr. CONROY. No; there was no electronic work, with the exception of Ward-Leonard, which had some electronic work.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was this local in the control of the Communists?

Mr. CONROY. No, sir; it was not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, I want to get the time established as to when you decided to resign from the party.

Mr. CONROY. I resigned from the party in January of 1946.

Mr. STRIPLING. At the time you resigned, did you make any statement—public statement—about it?

Mr. CONROY. On March 21, of 1946, I made a public statement to the membership of local 419 at a meeting held at Turneverein Hall in Mount Vernon, N. Y.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I request that the witness be permitted to read that statement. It is not very long.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. CONROY (reading):

Statement made to the membership of Local 419, United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, CIO, at Turne verein Hall, Mount Vernon, N. Y., on March 21, 1946.

I will preface this statement by saying the religious practices or the political beliefs of any member of the local union should not, in my opinion, become the subject of a public debate.

Our union has been built on the proposition that all members are equal—regardless of race, creed, color, sex, religious, or political beliefs. This democratic proposition is one all of us must fight to maintain.

Since I am an elected representative, in a position of trust in this local union, I therefore cannot place myself in the category of a rank-and-file member. Anything I may have said or done which might reflect against our union should be revealed to the membership, so as to enable them to pass judgment.

I am fully aware of the serious implications contained in this statement. I am likewise conscious of the fact that there might be serious consequences for me. However, this in no way lessens my determination to reveal to you, the facts pertaining to my past political affiliations.

I became a member of local 1237 in March 1938, while an employee of Decca Records. In April of 1940 I was offered a position on the staff of the UE, which I accepted. During my first months on the staff I was urged by various staff members to join the Communist Party. Although hesitant and with reservations, I nevertheless became a member of the party late in 1940.

Although I never agreed with the position of the Communist Party with respect to religion and the church, and despite my differences with the party on questions of how to work in the trade-unions, I nevertheless remained a party member until January 27, 1946.

My resignation from the Communist Party was brought about by the vicious, unprincipled attack of the party against the head of my church.

These attacks against the head of the Roman Catholic Church were brought about because of the appointments made to the College of Cardinals. The Communist Party charged the appointments were being made for political reasons alone. This attack left no doubt in my mind as to the position of the Communist Party with respect to my church.

On Thursday, January 31, I was requested to attend a meeting to explain my resignation from the Communist Party. I went to the meeting, where I was informed that I could not resign from the party and told I would be expelled. I stated one could not be expelled from an organization to which he no longer belonged.

What followed my resignation from the Communist Party is known to many of you. A smear campaign placed me in Hitler's class. The Communist Party members in this local have been partially successful in raising false issues upon

which to attack me. They have attempted to make it a personality fight between Bahassin and Conroy.

This statement has already been made to the local executive board on March 12, to the Rex stewards council on March 13, and to Albert Fitzgerald, general president of the UE, and Edward Stewart, secretary of UE district No. 4, on March 18.

I am determined to fight for the right of a non-Communist to maintain a position to which he has been elected by the membership. My fight will continue despite the smear campaign of the Communist Party members who will continue their disruption of every meeting and will use every trick to divide and conquer the membership.

To those members of the Communist Party who are determined to make me quit, I'm telling you here and now that I have no intention of quitting this fight. I will make allies with every progressive force which will assist me in my fight to continue in office as a non-Communist union leader. I will seek the advice and assistance of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists in my fight.

There is room in this organization for every member, regardless of his race, color, creed, sex, religious, or political beliefs. However, there is no room in this union for domination by a force outside this union. This union must continue to be a rank-and-file organization.

Mr. STRIPLING. After you made that statement, were you ousted from the union?

Mr. CONROY. No, sir; I was not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you resign from the union?

Mr. CONROY. I did, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Then what did you do?

Mr. CONROY. I returned to the company from which I left, Decca Records.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long were you employed with Decca Records?

Mr. CONROY. I was employed in Decca Records for a period of 1 week.

Mr. STRIPLING. One week?

Mr. CONROY. One week.

Mr. STRIPLING. Why did your employment terminate?

Mr. CONROY. My employment terminated because Anthony Salese, president of local 430, and Peter Aboandoni, international representative of UE, went to the management of that company and demanded my immediate dismissal on the ground that I had been barred from the UE, that I had been expelled from the CIO, and that I was a character unfitted to be employed by any employer in the United States.

Mr. STRIPLING. Had you been expelled from the CIO?

Mr. CONROY. No, sir; I had not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you think that their demand for your dismissal was based upon the fact that you had resigned from the Communist Party?

Mr. CONROY. Their demand for my dismissal was based upon the fact that I had left the Communist Party.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was Tony Salese president of local 430?

Mr. CONROY. He was and still is.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have any knowledge as to whether or not he is a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; he is.

Mr. STRIPLING. How do you know that he is a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. I attended party meetings with him.

Mr. STRIPLING. While you were a member of the party and while you were an official of the UE?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you still a member of the UE?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. What local are you presently associated with?

Mr. CONROY. I am associated with local 1237.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your official position with local 1237?

Mr. CONROY. I am the business agent of that local.

Mr. STRIPLING. Going back for a moment to local 430 and Tony Salese; do you think that local 430 is under the control of the Communists?

Mr. CONROY. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are other officials of the local members of the party besides Salese?

Mr. CONROY. I believe some are.

Mr. STRIPLING. What percentage of the membership do you think are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CONROY. A very insignificant number.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was that the case in other locals in which you were an officer or a member during the period in which you were a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. That is true of every case in the UE.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, the Communist influence is at the top?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. And not among the rank-and-file members of the organization?

Mr. CONROY. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you were associated with local 430 did you have any dealing with Al Stern, who is the business manager of local 430?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you consider him to be a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. Yes; I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever sit in any meetings with him?

Mr. CONROY. Yes; I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. While you were a member of the party and while you were an official of the UE?

Mr. CONROY. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you ever associated with an individual named Frank Burns?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. While you were in local 430?

Mr. CONROY. Yes; I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. What position does he hold?

Mr. CONROY. I believe he is a business agent of that local.

Mr. STRIPLING. Business agent?

Mr. CONROY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not he is a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. He is.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you sat in meetings with him?

Mr. CONROY. Yes; I have.

Mr. STRIPLING. I am speaking of Communist Party meetings when I say that.

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you become associated with an individual named Jeffrey Van Clief?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he an official of local 430?

Mr. CONROY. I don't believe he was at the time I was in that local.

Mr. STRIPLING. He was just a member of the local?

Mr. CONROY. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CONROY. He was.

Mr. STRIPLING. How do you know he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CONROY. I attended meetings with him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual named Morris Kirstein?

Mr. CONROY. Yes; I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is he known to you as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; he is.

Mr. STRIPLING. You attended meetings with him?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Conroy, there has been considerable testimony before this committee concerning Julius Emspak, who is an international official—I believe secretary and treasurer, is he not, of the international union?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; he is.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you personally acquainted with Julius Emspak?

Mr. CONROY. Yes; I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not he is a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. To my knowledge he is not.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have no knowledge that he is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CONROY. No, sir; I have not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you think he has ever followed the Communist Party line in conducting the affairs of the international union?

Mr. CONROY. I think the international union has and he as an officer has followed the dictates of the international union.

Mr. STRIPLING. But you have no knowledge that he himself is a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. No; I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. At this point the record will show Mr. Nixon is present.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I will ask that the subpoena which was served upon Mr. Conroy to appear here, which is dated July 1, 1947, be made a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Conroy, do you know James Lustig, who is an international officer of UE?

Mr. CONROY. I know James Lustig. He is not an international representative of the union. He is a district representative.

Mr. STRIPLING. District representative?

Mr. CONROY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. What position does he hold?

Mr. CONROY. He is a district representative of district 4.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know what district 4 comprises, what cities or States?

Mr. CONROY. It comprises New York City, the northern part of New York City, and the metropolitan parts of New Jersey up to Trenton, I believe.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is James Lustig a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; he is.

Mr. STRIPLING. How do you know that?

Mr. CONROY. I attended party meetings with him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you acquainted with an individual named James McLeish?

Mr. CONROY. Yes; I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. What position does he hold?

Mr. CONROY. He is president of district 4.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is the same district of which Mr. Lustig is an official?

Mr. CONROY. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have any knowledge as to whether James McLeish is a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. He is.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you sat in meetings with him?

Mr. CONROY. No; I have not. He told me he was.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did he tell you he was a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. In 1946.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you acquainted with an individual named Walter Barry?

Mr. CONROY. I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether he holds any position in the UE?

Mr. CONROY. He is an international representative.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have any knowledge concerning his Communist activity?

Mr. CONROY. He is a party member.

Mr. STRIPLING. How do you know he is a party member?

Mr. CONROY. I attended meetings with him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not Walter Barry has been known by any other name other than Walter Barry?

Mr. CONROY. To my knowledge, he has not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an Israel Eisenstat?

Mr. CONROY. I do not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you acquainted with a person by the name of Ruth Young?

Mr. CONROY. I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is she an official of the UE?

Mr. CONROY. She is secretary of district 4.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not she is a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. She is.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you sat in meetings with her?

Mr. CONROY. I have.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Ernest DeMaio?

Mr. CONROY. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. What position does he hold in the UE?

Mr. CONROY. He is a vice president of that union.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have any knowledge as to whether or not he is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CONROY. To my knowledge he is not.

Mr. STRIPLING. He is not?

Mr. CONROY. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever heard the charge that he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CONROY. I have.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you acquainted with his brother Anthony DeMaio?

Mr. CONROY. I know him.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever heard that he was a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. I have heard that he was, but I cannot tell—I cannot testify.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have no knowledge?

Mr. CONROY. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Thomas Fitzpatrick?

Mr. CONROY. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Does he hold any position in the international union?

Mr. CONROY. He is an international vice president.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have any knowledge as to whether or not he is a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. He is.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you sat in meetings with him?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you acquainted with Michael Fitzpatrick?

Mr. CONROY. I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. What position does he hold in the union?

Mr. CONROY. I do not know at this time.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not he was at one time president of district 6?

Mr. CONROY. Yes; he was.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not he is a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; he is.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you sat in meetings with him?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you acquainted with an individual by the name of John Gojack?

Mr. CONROY. Yes; I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. What position does he hold?

Mr. CONROY. He is an international vice president.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have any knowledge that John Gojack is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CONROY. I have not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual by the name of Harold Conroy?

Mr. CONROY. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. What position does he have in the union?

Mr. CONROY. He is an official of district 2.

Mr. STRIPLING. What district does that comprise?

Mr. CONROY. The New England district.

Mr. STRIPLING. Massachusetts-Connecticut?

Mr. CONROY. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not he is a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you sat in meetings with him?

Mr. CONROY. I didn't; no. He told me he was.

Mr. STRIPLING. When did he tell you he was a Communist, Mr. Conroy?

Mr. CONROY. At one of the UE conventions.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you recall what year it was?

Mr. CONROY. No; I do not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you definitely understand from him that he was a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you a party member at that time?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were in position to know?

Mr. CONROY. I was not in any position to know other than the fact that he told me so.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is he any relation to you?

Mr. CONROY. No; he is not.

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask a question right there?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What influenced you, and all these other persons, to join the Communist Party?

Mr. CONROY. I didn't understand.

The CHAIRMAN. What influenced you, and in your opinion these other persons, that you said were members of the Communist Party, what influenced you and those people to join the Communist Party?

Mr. CONROY. Mr. Thomas, I won't attempt to speak for the other members. I can only speak for myself.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. CONROY. I will repeat what I said earlier in response to a question put to me by Mr. Stripling. That was that I believed at that time, at the time I became associated with the Communist Party, that I could better serve the working people who are members of my union.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you believe that?

Mr. CONROY. I believed that because I was very much impressed with the way certain of the members of the Communist Party functioned in the union.

The CHAIRMAN. How did they function that was superior to the way the other members functioned?

Mr. CONROY. They were in many cases much more diligent and in many cases seemed to have the answers where other union officials floundered around, and, at least, they always know where they are going.

The CHAIRMAN. How often did those Communists, including yourself at that time, have meetings?

Mr. CONROY. It depended on the situations. They may be weekly, they may be once a month, depending on the situations.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you meet?

Mr. CONROY. At various places.

The CHAIRMAN. Name one place.

Mr. CONROY. We met in the Plaza in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Plaza Hotel?

Mr. CONROY. Irving Plaza.

The CHAIRMAN. How many persons usually attended each one of those meetings?

Mr. CONROY. It varied.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say 30?

Mr. CONROY. It could have been 30, and it could have been less, depending on the reason.

The CHAIRMAN. At the meetings, did you take up union-labor affairs, or did you take up every subject known to mankind that the Communists were pushing at that time?

Mr. CONROY. We took up many varied problems.

The CHAIRMAN. Problems that were part of the Communist line at that time?

Mr. CONROY. Not only those problems. Legitimate trade-union problems also.

The CHAIRMAN. You said you got out of the Communist Party because of your religious views. After those Commies stopped you in that job that you held for a week, you had different ideas about the Commies, didn't you?

Mr. CONROY. Yes; I had. I had those ideas before I got out of the party. I want to repeat what I said before, that I had many questions in my mind long before I left the party, but, frankly, I lacked the courage to leave the party.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you need courage to leave the party?

Mr. CONROY. Because they can do a job on you.

The CHAIRMAN. They can do a job on you?

Mr. CONROY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Not only a job to keep you out of a job, but they could do a physical job, too, couldn't they?

Mr. CONROY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Stripling.

Does any other member have a question at this time? Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Not now.

Mr. STRIPLING. I will be through very shortly, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Conroy, do you know Albert Fitzgerald, who is the president of the UE?

Mr. CONROY. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have any knowledge that he is a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. To my knowledge he is not a member of the party.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know Russell Nixon, one of the officials of the UE?

Mr. CONROY. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have any knowledge that he is a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. To my knowledge, he is not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know William Sentner?

Mr. CONROY. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. What position does he hold in the Communist Party—I am sorry—in the union?

Mr. CONROY. He is an international vice president.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not William Sentner is a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. As a matter of fact, Mr. Sentner was secretary of the Communist Party for the State of Missouri at one time, was he not?

Mr. CONROY. I can't verify that.

Mr. STRIPLING. He was, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CONROY. William Sentner openly admits he is a Communist.

Mr. STRIPLING. He is also an international vice president.

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you acquainted with an individual named Harry Block?

Mr. CONROY. Yes; I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether he holds any position in the union at this time?

Mr. CONROY. I believe he is secretary of the Pennsylvania Industrial Union Council.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not Harry Block is a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. He most certainly is not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Conroy, there are approximately how many members in the UE in the United States?

Mr. CONROY. Over 400,000.

Mr. STRIPLING. Over 400,000?

Mr. CONROY. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your explanation as to how the Communists, people you have identified as Communists, all occupied high positions in the union, how can such a small group capture these positions, how do you explain that?

Mr. CONROY. The explanation I can give is that, first of all, they have a program; secondly, they have iron discipline; and, thirdly, and most important of all, they work like beavers.

Mr. STRIPLING. I mean, are the Communists within the UE, are they organized into any kind of a control commission or tight-knit group, is their work coordinated, or is it just within each local?

Mr. CONROY. They have a very strong centralized control of the union through the international representatives and the field organizers.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you think James Matles is a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. To my knowledge he is not.

Mr. STRIPLING. He is not?

Mr. CONROY. He is not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know an individual by the name of Neil Brandt?

Mr. CONROY. I do.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not Neil Brandt is a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. He is.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is his position in the union?

Mr. CONROY. He is an international representative.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not he was ever arrested in the State of New Jersey?

Mr. CONROY. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. The record will show that Mr. Vail is present.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know of any other positions that Neil Brandt holds within the union, have you ever been associated with him on any boards?

Mr. CONROY. Neil Brandt is the chairman of a conference board.

Mr. STRIPLING. Conference board?

Mr. CONROY. Not a chairman. He is, I believe, secretary, or an active official, of a conference board.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you also serve on the conference board?

Mr. CONROY. Not on this particular conference board. I had served on conference boards.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that Neil Brandt is a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. Neil Brandt told me he was a member of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. When did he tell you?

Mr. CONROY. Some years ago; 1940 to be exact.

The CHAIRMAN. 1940, to be exact?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all the questions I have at this time, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Conroy, you first began operations in Sharon, Pa., did you say?

Mr. CONROY. That wasn't the first.

Mr. McDOWELL. Well, you belonged there, you were active in Sharon?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. McDOWELL. What district of the UE?

Mr. CONROY. That is district 6.

Mr. McDOWELL. Do you know Dick Fitzpatrick?

Mr. CONROY. Yes; I do.

Mr. McDOWELL. Is he a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. Yes; he is.

Mr. McDOWELL. Do you know his brother Tom Fitzpatrick?

Mr. CONROY. Yes; I do.

Mr. McDOWELL. Is Tom a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. Yes; he is.

Mr. McDOWELL. Do you know Charles Newell?

Mr. CONROY. Yes; I do.

Mr. McDOWELL. Is Mr. Newell a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. McDOWELL. Do you know a minor figures called Rossner, R-o-s-s-n-e-r, Steve Rossner?

Mr. CONROY. No; I do not.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Conroy, you testified here that your thoughts on communism changed or were crystalized because of your religious convictions and that caused you to leave the Communist Party. Will you agree with me that outside of the people of the United States themselves and their natural instincts, the strongest force against communism in the world, for more than a quarter of a century, has been the Roman Catholic Church?

Mr. CONROY. Yes; I will.

Mr. McDOWELL. I say that not being a member of the Catholic Church.

You said that you were active in the efforts to have Earl Browder released from jail where he was sent for falsifying a passport. You, of course, are familiar with the fact that since that time Browder has fallen from grace in the American Communist Party and has been subject to the smears of the Communist Party, as you have been, and I have been, and as the chairman has been, and all the rest of us. You know that, don't you?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; I do.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Conroy, I have before me here this morning's copy of the Daily Worker. I haven't had time to go through it. I examined it for a few moments only. The leading articles in the Daily Worker—which is the official publication of the Communist Party—attack and smear and threaten the Army of the United States—that is the No. 1 story,—organized labor of the United States, the Congress of the United States, industry of the United States, and even fellow-traveling Communists or Communist fellow travelers who wavered a bit in their adherence to the Communist Party line—that is just today's edition of the Daily Worker.

A story on the back page says, among other things—written by Fred Vast, the correspondent of the Daily Worker in Washington—that four members of the Committee on Un-American Activities, Chairman Thomas, Congressman Vail, Congressman Nixon, and myself are going to be the subject of a very vigorous campaign for defeat next year in case we are candidates. I think I should tell the Communist Party, Mr. Vast, and the Daily Worker, that that has been gone through by all of us. As a matter of fact, the Daily Worker is, so far as I can discover, after years of reading, has never agreed that anything is right here in America. I don't know what these Communists want in America.

I had some other things, but I will pass them for the moment, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. How long have you been in the trade-union movement?

Mr. CONROY. Since 1938.

Mr. NIXON. You believed in it when you went into it, didn't you?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Still believe in it?

Mr. CONROY. The trade-union movement is a very necessary part of a free democracy.

Mr. NIXON. You would like to see it grow and become expanded?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir; I would.

Mr. NIXON. Isn't it true that the Communists also want to see the trade-union movement grow and expand?

Mr. CONROY. Yes; they do.

Mr. NIXON. You have indicated they have a program, they have discipline, and they work hard, and that is why they go to the top?

Mr. CONROY. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Why did you oppose them in the UE? Why do you oppose the Communists' attempts to take over the UE?

Mr. CONROY. I opposed the efforts of the Communist Party to take over the UE or any other trade-union movement because to them the

trade-union movement is a means to an end. It is not the end. To the average trade-union member, he joins the union to get a better living—to provide himself and his family with a better share of the wealth he has helped to create.

Mr. NIXON. Don't the Communists in their work in the trade-union movement attempt to get the workers a better living, as you have indicated?

Mr. CONROY. Yes; they do.

Mr. NIXON. Isn't that the end, then, that they are working for?

Mr. CONROY. No; it is not.

Mr. NIXON. What is the end that they are working for in the trade-union movement?

Mr. CONROY. My experience as a member of the Communist Party has convinced me that the Communists are using the trade-union movement as a political arm of the international Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. Well, if that nevertheless has the effect, however, of making the trade-union movement stronger and better, because of the discipline, the program that they have, why do you consider that bad? In other words, suppose that they are using it as a political arm of the Communist Party, do you feel that in doing so that in the end trade-unionism is going to be stronger, if they accomplish their end?

Mr. CONROY. Definitely not.

Mr. NIXON. Then, in the final analysis, you don't believe that the Communists are working for an eventually strong, free trade-unionism as you thought of it when you went into the movement in 1938?

Mr. CONROY. Definitely.

Mr. NIXON. Then what is going to be the end result? Assuming the Communists accomplish this end, what is going to be the effect on free trade-unionism?

Mr. CONROY. There will be no free trade-unionism.

Mr. NIXON. Why do you say that? Is that what they told you in the Communist Party or from what—what makes you draw that conclusion?

Mr. CONROY. Why, I draw that conclusion from the present trade-unions in the Soviet Union, where they have state-controlled unions.

Mr. NIXON. They aren't free trade-unionists?

Mr. CONROY. No, sir; they are not.

Mr. NIXON. Do they strike there?

Mr. CONROY. They do not, to my knowledge.

Mr. NIXON. Then, the reason you feel it is necessary to remove Communists from positions of power in American trade-unions is that you believe if they are able to take over the trade-unions in this country and as a result of being able to take over the trade-unions to take over the country politically as well, that in the end they will turn on the unions and in effect destroy them, at least destroy them insofar as their freedom is concerned, in the sense you have been speaking of?

Mr. CONROY. That is correct. I believe history is now showing us that it is possible to control the Government without being in power, by simply controlling the trade-unions. It is being demonstrated in France.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, by controlling the trade-unions, you control the economy of the country because you have the power to call a general strike?

Mr. CONROY. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. And therefore, by using that threat and that power, you can dictate to the Government as to what the Government policy is going to be on any matter which may be before it at that time?

Mr. CONROY. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Now, in order to be helpful to this committee and the other committees in Congress who are interested in this subject, I would like to have your comments very briefly on the methods which the Communists use in the trade-union movement. I will ask you just a few specific questions and if you know of your own knowledge how they have operated, I would appreciate your enlightening us. Do the Communists recruit members for the party through the trade-unions?

Mr. CONROY. They do.

Mr. NIXON. How do they go about that? Do they approach them directly, through the mails—or what are the methods you have noticed they have used? What are the methods you used yourself since you have been a member?

Mr. CONROY. So far as my experience is concerned, I can talk of the way I was recruited to the party.

Mr. NIXON. That is a good example.

Mr. CONROY. And that was by personal contact. They gave me literature to read. They sent me through the mails free copies, of the Daily Worker and other Communist material. They invited me to sit in on meetings and listen to the Communist program and the discussions of the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. Any other methods used? That is a pretty individual approach they used with you.

Mr. CONROY. I can't speak of any other approach, excepting that, because that was the only one that has ever been used, as far as I was concerned.

Mr. NIXON. I see. Now, in taking over a union, you have indicated the reason the Communists do it is they have a program, have discipline, and they work hard. When you were in the union as a Communist, was it a general rule that the Communists were instructed insofar as the party line was concerned to follow strictly legal means in operating within the union?

Mr. CONROY. I don't quite understand the question.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, did you work completely within the union framework—that is, fair elections, democratic elections, without using any illegal means as far as union rules were concerned or unethical means to gain power in the union?

Mr. CONROY. Well, to my knowledge, the party in my experience varied. That is, certain individuals in the party have done things which certainly were not democratic or fair, while other members of the party have taken a different position or different approach. The party, like any other organization, is made up of individuals.

Mr. NIXON. So the method the Communists use within any union will depend pretty much on the individuals?

Mr. CONROY. And the situation.

Mr. NIXON. And the situation. But if necessary, is it true the Communists within a union will use any means they can to gain control or power over it?

Mr. CONROY. Yes; it is true.

Mr. NIXON. Including discrediting through any means whatever the anti-Communist forces or leaders of a union?

Mr. CONROY. Absolutely.

Mr. NIXON. You have known of examples of that, I assume?

Mr. CONROY. It has happened to me. It is happening now. The paper of our union is being used now as a personal weapon by the Communists in our union to smear every member who has dared to question the policy of our international union, which for a period of 10 years has been consistent with that policy as put forth by the Communist paper through the Daily Worker.

Mr. NIXON. How do they smear you? Just generally, or do they make any attacks on your character?

Mr. CONROY. Well, today I am an agent of the National Association of Manufacturers. I am an agent of the Pope. I am down here because I favor the Taft-Hartley bill, which I have been against and which I am still against and which I feel, incidentally, is a boon to the Communists, who will enjoy the confusion the Taft-Hartley bill will cause. I am everything undesirable, as far as the UE News is concerned. The UE News is a typical example of what a Communist organization does with so-called freedom of the press. We cannot under any circumstances have our position made clear in the UE News. When this meeting is over, I am going to write to the UE News challenging them to put in my testimony before this committee, so that the membership of my union can judge whether or not I have vilified the 99 percent membership who are loyal Americans or the 1 percent, or less, of the Communists who are trying to use our union as a political arm of the international Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. You mean to indicate that that 1 percent, or even less, in a union of Communists or fellow travelers is enough to take over a union?

Mr. CONROY. Absolutely. They have done it. That speaks for itself. The record is clear. There certainly is much less than 1 percent members of the Communist Party in the UE. We will give them the benefit of the doubt and say it is 1 percent. But they control the union lock, stock, and barrel.

Mr. NIXON. Then, those people who have indicated on several occasions that there is no reason to worry about Communist control of any unions, because there are so few of them in the movement, are probably being misled by their numbers, are they not?

Mr. CONROY. They are absolutely wrong.

Mr. NIXON. You indicated you were fearful of leaving the union because of what might be done to you, from the standpoint of your job, and in answer to a question from Mr. Thomas, even from the standpoint of threats of personal harm. Do you have any personal testimony that you can give, from your own knowledge, of action which was taken by the Communists in an attack upon opponents within a union—your union or some other union—which was the basis for causing you to be fearful of leaving? In other words, do you know of any threats of violence against the Communist opposition in a union—against yourself or anybody else?

Mr. CONROY. I would like to clear one thing, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. CONROY. I didn't say I was afraid to leave the union. I said I didn't have the courage to leave the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. Fine. Go ahead.

Mr. CONROY. I would like to say to the committee it takes more courage to leave the party than it does to join the party, because anyone who has been a member of the Communist Party knows of the possible consequences if he leaves the party. If you will review my testimony, you will see for example that I had a job and that the Communist Party came into that company——

Mr. NIXON. And took it away.

Mr. CONROY. And threatened to close the plant down unless the management dismissed me immediately. Further than that——

Mr. NIXON. That is one means they have used.

Mr. CONROY. Well, I want to report another means.

Mr. NIXON. Go ahead.

Mr. CONROY. My wife was called on the telephone and simply told, "Tell Jim it won't do him any good," and the phone was slammed down. I didn't tell you the reaction that had on Mrs. Conroy.

Mr. NIXON. On your wife?

Mr. CONROY. She, of course, considered that a threat. It simply said, "Tell Jim it won't do him any good," and slammed down the phone.

Mr. NIXON. It is rather typical of the Communist approach, is it not, to make threats to third parties and to get at a member or a disgruntled person who is going to get out or who has gotten away from the line by threatening his family, his job, his employer, or something of that sort.

Mr. CONROY. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Do you have any examples of any threats of violence to yourself or to other people in the party who were contemplating getting out or had gotten away from the party line?

Mr. CONROY. As far as I am concerned, I was not threatened in any way, except for the fact that I lost one job and the fact that my wife received a telephone call, that I reported on already. I do say this, however: It is clear and unmistakably written in all of the Communist propaganda, which any member or any citizen of the United States can secure, that the party says, "Its end must be achieved by any means, under any conditions." In other words, they do not believe that to cause someone to lose a job because he left the party is wrong. They believe they are helping the cause.

Mr. NIXON. They don't believe to threaten you through your wife or to intimidate is wrong, either?

Mr. CONROY. No, sir; they do not.

Mr. NIXON. That is a rather surprising statement, in the light of testimony that has been given before this committee by other people, because as I recall the new constitution of the Communist Party in the United States and the line which is being followed by Communist leaders in their publications, their radio talks, and so forth, is that those days are gone; that the instructions that any means are to be used to accomplish the end was the party line at one time, but that now that is all changed. From what you have indicated, that is still the party line.

Mr. CONROY. Mr. Nixon, the Communist Party can best illustrate that by opening the pages of the UE to those members of the union

who are opposed to our international union following the Communist Party line. If the party will take one step in our union to give the membership freedom of the press and freedom of expression, then we may say in the UE that the Communist Party line has changed. Until that times comes, we certainly can't agree with any other publication of the party.

Mr. NIXON. Well, the UE generally has claimed, through its UE News, that it is the most democratic union in the country; that it believes in free press, free speech, and free elections, and all that sort of thing. From what you have indicated, you would, I suppose, disagree with that statement?

Mr. CONROY. I only have to say the Soviet Union considers itself the highest form of democracy in the world.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, the UE is a democratic union, if you judge its democracy according to the standards of the Soviet Union, but it is not a democratic union if you judge its democracy according to the standards of democracy in the United States?

Mr. CONROY. That is correct. It cannot be a democracy if freedom of expression is denied to the membership and if members live in fear of their jobs.

Mr. NIXON. Then, if I understand your testimony, the claims that have been made time and time again, during the past year particularly, that the Communist Party line has changed in the United States and that the Communist Party is no longer using illegal means to accomplish its ends, or any means, as you have put it, to accomplish its ends—that that claim is untrue and that, as far as loyal Communist Party members are concerned, it is still the party line to use any means to accomplish their ends in a trade union, or in government, or in any other institutions in which they are working.

Mr. CONROY. I would like to say, in my opinion, that question can't be answered yes or no simply on that premise. I think, for example, where the Communists are in a minority in a trade union they are the most democratic people in the trade-union movement, but where they have control—

Mr. NIXON. May I insert there—because that is the best means of convincing the other members of the union that they should be put in a position of power.

Mr. CONROY. That is correct. In other words, they are democratic for a purpose, not because they believe in democracy.

That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. At that time.

Mr. CONROY. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Go ahead.

Mr. CONROY. But where they are in control all of the programs they fight for when they are in a minority position are forgotten about. We have situations where freedom of expression, freedom to assemble, and freedom to differ from the position taken by certain members of our union is treated with scorn and the workers who differ with the Communists in our union in many cases are subjected to the severest type of penalties.

Mr. NIXON. But you would say that where it appeared the best means are taking over an organization which the Communists wanted to take over did not happen to be a democratic means or even legal

means, the Communists would not hesitate to stoop to illegal methods in order to take it over?

Mr. CONROY. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. Mr. Conroy, do you know a man named J. T. Bernard?

Mr. CONROY. No, sir, I do not.

Mr. VAIL. Ever hear of him?

Mr. CONROY. I have.

Mr. VAIL. He is connected with the United Electrical Workers, isn't he?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, he is.

Mr. VAIL. Have you any idea whether or not he is a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. To my knowledge, he is not.

Mr. VAIL. To your definite knowledge, he is not a Communist?

Mr. CONROY. To my knowledge, he is not.

Mr. VAIL. You mean to the best of your knowledge he is not?

Mr. CONROY. That is correct.

Mr. VAIL. He is a former Congressman, is he not?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, he is.

Mr. VAIL. Do you read the UE News regularly?

Mr. CONROY. Sure. I want to see what my new name is this week.

Mr. VAIL. Have you complete confidence in the nature of its contents? Do you believe it is written based on a desire to present to the membership of your organization the complete facts?

Mr. CONROY. I believe the UE News is written for the 1 percent, or less, of our membership, and not for the 99 percent of our membership who are certainly loyal Americans and disagree with the policy of the UE News.

Mr. VAIL. The editorial policies, then, are controlled by that 1 percent?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, sir.

Mr. VAIL. I happen to have in mind an incident that occurred some time ago. A group of electrical workers dropped into my office. It was headed by Mr. Bernard. Among them was one gentleman who hailed from one of the wards in my district back in Chicago. He said, "If I had had any knowledge of your attitude with respect to labor, I never would have voted for you; and now that I know how you stand, I am going to tear up my membership card in this local ward organization." Well, I said, "I imagine the ward organization will be just as glad to hear that as I am."

When I read the account in the column of the UE, it had a decidedly different flavor. You would never have recognized it as the same incident. This gentleman had torn up the card and thrown the pieces in my face.

Now, what was the object of the UE, do you suppose, in submitting that kind of a story to its membership? Wasn't it to depreciate the stature of a Member of Congress?

Mr. CONROY. Yes.

Mr. VAIL. In the minds of people who read that article?

Mr. CONROY. Yes, it was.

Mr. VAIL. No further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

MR. McDOWELL. I have one question. Are you familiar with what happened in Yugoslavia after Tito became the dictator, to Mikhailovich? Well, it doesn't matter. If in the flight of fancy America should become communistic and Comrade Foster would become the generalissimo of America—these high-ranking Commies don't hesitate to take very high military titles, regardless of their military experience—but if this theoretical Generalissimo Foster were running things in America, what do you think would become of Mr. Conroy?

MR. CONROY. Mr. Conroy would be eliminated in the quickest way possible.

MR. McDOWELL. Yesterday it was testified here that Mr. Fitzgerald, president of the United Electrical Workers, some few days back told one of those gentlemen from Bridgeport, after berating him for fighting the Communists in the Bridgeport local, that it was determined by him that if he got down on his knees for the rest of his life the United Electrical Workers would never forgive him for what he had done. That strikes an old familiar phase. Had this been Europe or had Generalissimo Foster been in the saddle, there would have been a shooting the next morning, don't you suppose?

MR. CONROY. Definitely.

MR. McDOWELL. Mr. Conroy, what do you suppose, if the Communist Party took over the United States, would become of the Committee on Un-American Activities?

MR. CONROY. You would probably go ahead of me.

MR. McDOWELL. I would guess according to rank and seniority.

MR. CONROY. I don't know whether you are familiar—too many Americans are not—with how one becomes a member of a congressional committee, after becoming a Member of Congress. You don't select your own committee. You don't choose that thing that you would like to do. You are chosen by a committee on committees, according to what they think are your talents. If you are a brilliant lawyer or an outstanding attorney, you become a member of the Judiciary Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN. I think we are going a little afield.

MR. McDOWELL. I don't. I want to explain here—Mr. Fitzgerald is blaming per se all members of the Committee on Un-American Activities for being zealots and bigots, as opposing organized labor, and trying to do something to the trade-union movement. I can only speak for one member of the committee, but that is not true. We are assigned to the committee by the House of Representatives to do a job. We are sworn to do the job and we are trying to do it. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling, do you have any more questions?

MR. STRIPLING. No, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN. All I can say to you, Mr. Conroy, is just keep your chin up—as I told the witnesses yesterday. It may seem like a tough fight, but you have done a good job. You saw the error of your way. You had the courage to get out of that kind of an organization. Keep up that fight. You can count on it that this committee and the large majority of Congress is behind you. Any time you need a little help, don't hesitate to call on it. Thank you very much for coming.

MR. CONROY. Mr. Thomas, I would like to make a statement, if I may, to the committee before I finish.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it a prepared statement?

Mr. CONROY. Yes. It is very short. It will take no longer than 3 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. May I see your statement, please?

Mr. CONROY. Surely.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, without objection, it is so ordered. I want to say, Mr. Conroy, the reason I asked you to come up was it is the policy of the committee to examine all statements before we decide whether or not they can be made. You go ahead.

Mr. CONROY. I appear here today as a witness under subpoena.

My testimony, given under oath, concerns certain Communists and certain activities engaged in by officials of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, CIO.

The testimony I have given in no way reflects upon 99 percent of the US membership, who are loyal American citizens, dedicated to the democratic way of life.

These workers have joined the UE for the sole purpose of securing for themselves and their families a just share of the wealth they have helped to create. They seek nothing more.

On the other hand, the Communists who comprise 1 percent of the UE membership are using this great organization as a means to an end. They use the UE as a means for enlisting workers in the Communist Party. They use the UE as a promotion agency for Communist front organizations, such as the Civil Rights Conference, to which the UE general executive board contributed \$1,000.

The UE Communists have conspired to make this powerful organization completely subservient to the International Communist Party.

The UE membership can best serve its country, its union, and itself by throwing off the Communist yoke. This task is now being undertaken by thousands of UE members throughout the country. I am confident it will be successful.

I would like to request that the committee give to all persons I have named as Communists an opportunity to defend themselves against my charges. I certainly don't want to be a party to the same type of procedure that they used and are using against people who are opposed to them. I think these people I have named should have a chance to come here and defend themselves against my charges.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a very fair request on your part. The Chair will say the committee will take that under consideration.

Any other questions of this witness?

(No response.)

Thank you very much, Mr. Conroy.

Mr. STRIPLING. We have one more witness, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the committee will recess for 5 minutes, before we take up the other witness.

(A short recess was taken.)

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order. Before the next witness, the Chair would like to make this announcement:

The members of this committee who are mentioned in the Daily Worker, in the article that Mr. McDowell read, gladly accept that challenge, but we want to make it plain that we don't intend to be intimidated. This Committee on Un-American Activities is going to continue to expose Communists in whatever field they may be. It

doesn't make any difference whether the Communists are in labor, in education, in Hollywood, in the Government, in atomic energy, or what else. We are going to continue to expose them and expose them to the point where they just won't be able to operate. We will expose them so fully that the American people in every walk of life just won't put up with them.

In that connection, the Chair wishes to announce that the next hearing after today will be held in the large caucus room in this building September 23. That will be the beginning of the Hans Eisler case, the first phase of the Hollywood hearing, and from September 23 on, there will be one witness right after another in connection with the alleged Communist infiltration in the moving-picture industry.

Mr. STRIPLING. The next witness, Mr. Chairman, will be Salvatore M. Vottis. Mr. Vottis.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you stand and raise your right hand, Mr. Vottis?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. VOTTIS. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vottis is the former financial secretary of local 301 of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, and former president of the CIO industrial union council of Schenectady, N. Y. Mr. Vottis is a former member of the Communist Party. His testimony will deal with communism within local 301 of the UE.

Now, Mr. Vottis, will you state your full name?

Mr. VOTTIS. Salvatore M. Vottis.

### TESTIMONY OF SALVATORE M. VOTTIS

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born, Mr. Vottis?

Mr. VOTTIS. I was born in Schenectady, on October 29, 1905.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where are you presently employed?

Mr. VOTTIS. I have a business of my own—a pipe and tobacco shop.

Mr. STRIPLING. Tobacco shop?

Mr. VOTTIS. Right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Vottis, will you briefly outline for the committee your association with the labor movement and the positions you have held?

Mr. VOTTIS. I first joined the union in 1934. It was known at that time as the Electrical Industry Employees Union. I wasn't active in the organization until June 1935. At that time it was still the Electrical Industry Employees Union.

In December, I became the financial secretary and treasurer. In 1936, while away at Communist Party school for 6 weeks, they split the office and had a financial secretary and treasurer. I remained financial secretary of local 301 until March 1944.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were financial secretary from 1935—

Mr. VOTTIS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Until March 1944?

Mr. VOTTIS. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Of local 301?

Mr. VOTTIS. Right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Of local 301, in Schenectady, N. Y.?

Mr. VOTTIS. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you first became the financial secretary of that local, about how many members were there?

Mr. VOTTIS. Well, I would say there were about 330 dues-paying members. At that time, they used to pay 50 cents a month.

Mr. STRIPLING. And what was the peak membership while you were financial secretary?

Mr. VOTTIS. Approximately 28,000.

Mr. STRIPLING. 28,000?

Mr. VOTTIS. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were financial secretary at that time?

Mr. VOTTIS. Right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Vottis, are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. VOTTIS. I joined the Communist Party in 1935—May 1935—and I was a member of the Communist Party until 1939.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you a member of the Communist Party under your proper name?

Mr. VOTTIS. No. My name was John Cabell in the Communist Party.

Mr. STRIPLING. How do you spell the last name?

Mr. VOTTIS. C-a-b-e-l-l.

Mr. STRIPLING. At the time you joined the Communist Party, were you an active member of the Electrical Industry Employees Union?

Mr. VOTTIS. No; I was not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were you a member of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers?

Mr. VOTTIS. I was a member of the Electrical Industry Employees Union, which later became the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you joined the party?

Mr. VOTTIS. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, I believe you testified a few moments ago that you were the financial secretary from 1935 to 1944, except for a period of 6 weeks; was it?

Mr. VOTTIS. Six weeks; that is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. When you attended the Communist school. What Communist school was that?

Mr. VOTTIS. The Communist school was at Beacon on the Hudson.

Mr. STRIPLING. Camp—

Mr. VOTTIS. Camp Nitgaidiac, they called it at that time.

Mr. STRIPLING. What kind of instruction did you receive at the school?

Mr. VOTTIS. Well, some instructions were on work in trade-unions and illegal party work. Lectures were given to us by party members with dark glasses. We were told there were two or three Japanese that came in and some Chinese, we were told, that came from the Chinese Red Army. They had—there were several lecturers that we were told came from the Soviet Union.

Mr. STRIPLING. You received instruction on special subjects?

Mr. VOTTIS. Well, instructions consisted of—some people in the class were given instructions on how to write pamphlets, leaflets, and

so forth. Some whom they felt were a little more advanced were given higher ideological instructions.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Vottis, this committee has held hearings this year which involved the use of fraudulent documents on the part of Communist Party members. Did you receive any instruction, or do you know whether any instruction was given at this Camp Nitgaidiac—Mr. Chairman, which is spelled N-i-t-g-a-i-d-i-a-c—in the preparation of fraudulent documents?

Mr. VOTTIS. We weren't given definite instructions. We were told that when necessary such documents would be made up and that special instructions would be given the Communist Party members. The emphasis was put, in any case, that if the police contacted any of the party members they were to say nothing at all. They spoke about ex-party members who had been tortured in the so-called capitalist dungeons and how they acted, reacted, and so forth, and so on, and how to act under duress, under torture, and under questioning. We were given a thorough schooling in that respect.

Mr. McDOWELL. Here in America?

Mr. VOTTIS. Am I in America?

Mr. McDOWELL. I say, did they tell you that happened here in America, where people were tortured in dungeons?

Mr. VOTTIS. No. They spoke mainly of foreign countries: Rumania, Germany, and so forth. I mean, they didn't give any specific cases in the United States, but they said that that was coming.

The CHAIRMAN. The torture was coming?

Mr. VOTTIS. Yes.

Mr. McDOWELL. Here in America?

Mr. VOTTIS. And we should be prepared for it.

The emphasis that was made at the party school was to make the pupils definitely class-conscious. What they meant by class-conscious was they had to be imbued with the ideology that the Communist was the vanguard of the working people all over the world, but at all costs the Soviet Union was the first country that had won socialism and therefore was looked upon as the fatherland of the working people. In other words, the Soviet Union was the fatherland of all Communists, regardless of whether they lived in the United States or any other country.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Vottis, you testified that you joined the Communist Party and that you were also the financial secretary of your local, local 301. Were you the only Communist officer of local 301, say, in 1936?

Mr. VOTTIS. In 1936? I want to point out here in relation to that that my party assignment was to work in the trade-union. That was my first party assignment. That is how I became active in the union. I was not an active trade-union member before that. I had been reading considerable of Marxism, Leninism, and so forth. In other words, I was prepared for the party when the Daily Worker was handed to me. Then I attended a party meeting in the city, at which there was the State organizer, a Comrade Amter.

Mr. STRIPLING. Israel Amter?

Mr. VOTTIS. Israel Amter; a Steinberg; and a Sadie Durand, who was to become organizer of the city.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you speaking of Schenectady?

Mr. VOTTIS. Of Schenectady. A party member by the name of Martini—a young boy, I would say, about 18 or 19—got up and gave a report on the General Electric Co. The General Electric Co., I believe, as everyone knows in Schenectady, is the home office of the General Electric Co. The main offices are in Schenectady, N. Y.

He gave a report on the strategic position of the General Electric in Schenectady. He also reported that there were about 250 dues-paying members in the General Electric, who were ready to take over the plant within a week. Well, I got up and stated that I had been working in the plant several years and that I saw no indication that the workers were so far advanced in communism that they were ready to take over the plant.

The following week, this Sadie Durand became the organizer. In checking the records, she found that there were only about 40 members of the Communist Party in the General Electric. They were all rank and file members of the union. At that time there were no officers of the union who were members of the Communist Party. Well, I was asked to join the party at that time, and I did. About a week or two later, in May 1935, I was laid off by the General Electric Co. for lack of work. I existed for almost a year on some relief, and I cashed a couple of insurance policies, as I say, to live.

A certain Albert Lenta, who now is employed in building 53 in the General Electric Co.—

Mr. STRIPLING. What is his name, again?

Mr. VOTTIS. Albert Lenta.

Mr. STRIPLING. How do you spell it?

Mr. VOTTIS. L-e-n-t-a—not important in the organization as such today, and he never was. He was given the task—as they call it in the party—of introducing me into the union. I was introduced as a person who could write articles, and so forth. I was introduced to the then president of the union, who was a William Turnbull.

Mr. STRIPLING. William who?

Mr. VOTTIS. Turnbull.

Mr. STRIPLING. How do you spell it?

Mr. VOTTIS. T-u-r-n-b-u-l-l. William Turnbull, to my knowledge, never was a member of the Communist Party. He had been an ex-Socialist. He still considered himself a Socialist. But I was told I could speak quite plainly with him—tell him I was a member of the party—and it wouldn't matter too much. Bill Turnbull said he was willing to work with anyone, regardless of whether he as a communist or not, if he was a good trade-unionist. So we left it at that. Then it was decided that I should become an officer in the organization. Well, in the meantime I became a full-time worker at headquarters. I wrote articles—

Mr. STRIPLING. You are speaking now of the local headquarters?

Mr. VOTTIS. I am speaking now of the union headquarters.

Mr. STRIPLING. The union headquarters?

Mr. VOTTIS. I will go into detail, to show you how the party works in labor unions. My main job was to deal with the day-to-day grievances of the workers and to make myself generally useful, to prove that I was the most useful member of the organization in the area.

Leo Jandreau at that time was—

Mr. STRIPLING. Spell that.

Mr. VORTIS. J-a-n-d-r-e-a-u—was recording secretary. I never knew Jandreau before, until I was introduced to him in the union. Also, a little later, I became acquainted with Julius Emspak, who was not too active in the organization at the time. My party assignment at that time was also to sign up members in the Communist Party—my main assignment.

During the following year I signed up about 50 party members.

Mr. STRIPLING. All union members?

Mr. VORTIS. All union members—people who came into the party and drifted out. You will find in the party most people drift in and drift out. Jandreau was considered a very good front in the union. He was considered good material. I was asked to sign both him and Julius Emspak into the Communist Party. I spoke to both of them for a long time, and they knew I was a member of the Communist Party. However, I was not successful in either case.

After I left the school I came back to Schenectady. Schenectady was having a sit-down strike in building 109. The Communists were all excited over the sit-down strike, claiming that it would be one of the first sit-down strikes in the country and therefore they could learn the tactics, and so forth—how to carry on sit-down strikes in other places. Later on—

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, now, had you taken the position of financial secretary at that time?

Mr. VORTIS. In 1936?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. VORTIS. Yes; I was financial secretary while attending the Communist Party school.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes. Did the party have anything to do with your being elected financial secretary or appointed financial secretary?

Mr. VORTIS. It was all planned by the Communist Party.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you explain to the committee how it was done?

Mr. VORTIS. Every member of the Communist Party must attend union meetings. That is one of the first prerequisites of anyone employed in the plants. That is one of their main tasks. Each one was told to contact two or three other people, and they would tell these others how good I was, that they had known me for a number of years, and so forth. Anyway, in short, the task was to sell me to the members.

Mr. STRIPLING. The membership was very small at that time?

Mr. VORTIS. That is right. I believe when the election took place there were about 72 members present. It was quite a tough fight. I won by about three votes. That was in December 1935.

Mr. STRIPLING. Go right ahead.

Mr. VORTIS. At this time I would like to say something about how the party school was conducted. When I joined the party, I had been working in the plant on a conveyor line. I had also been in the contract business—building houses for about a year or two. Then, finally I found myself in the plant. Now, my ambition for years had been to become a writer—to write articles and things of that sort. I had been doing a lot of writing, but I was never able to sell any of my stuff. So I got sick and tired of the conveyor and I got sick and tired of working in the plant. So I used to do a lot of reading of Marxism and so forth. As I say, when I was asked to join the party, I joined it because I hated what I was doing.

At the party school, I first started to learn there was a difference between communism as you find it in the books, and Communist Party tactics, and the Communist Part as such. We had what they called a production meeting in the school. At that production meeting the pupils were to get up and tell how they actually felt about the party and whether they were ideologically clear. There were two members there at a party who came from the maritime union, who saw kind of eye to eye with me and we used to laugh at some of this light comic opera scenes that they used to put on—although it isn't as funny as it then appeared. At this production meeting the pupils got up, one after another, beat their breasts and said:

I am very party conscious. I am clear. I know the Communist Party is the vanguard of the working people. I know the Communist Party must accomplish the overthrow of the capitalist system through any means possible.

One after the other got up and said that. Well, I got up and said, "I don't think I am quite clear on the situation; but it seems to me we have a mutual admiration society here. Everyone gets up and says what is expected of them, and not what they really feel."

I said, "I joined the Communist Party because I felt I could walk in here and state my true feelings."

"Comrade Cabell, leave the class at once." That was the end of my experience with the production meeting. The next day the instructor of the class got hold of me and said, "Comrade Cabell, maybe you were right in speaking your thoughts, but we had to discipline you for the sake of the others. After all, we've got to make black appear black and white appear white, and we can't take chances with people like you disrupting our production meetings."

So much for that.

Things got from bad to worse in the class, and finally the class took up the question of expelling me from the party. Well, graduation exercises came around in the class on a Sunday afternoon, when they gave a banquet at the dining room of the Camp Nitgaidiac. The party functionaries were there. The hero of the affair was Comrade Crumbine, who was State secretary of the Communist Party at that time. He had just spent some time in jail. But he was our hero and the class named the class "The Charles Crumbine Class."

Then there was a characterization given by the instructor of the class, a comrade Mendel. He characterized me as coming from a small capitalist family and that my head was still full of dirty capitalist rags, which had to be eliminated. A motion was made by one of the members of the class that I be expelled. Someone whispered to another member of the class, one of the members of the State committee, and a substitute motion was made that my case be referred to the State committee. In the meantime, the organizer from Schenectady was there to see the graduates, a Sadie Durand. She was crying throughout the whole affair because I didn't turn out to be quite the pupil she expected.

Well, anyhow, after dinner they called me before the committee, which was sitting on the grass eating ice cream, and they said, "Comrade Cabell, we have considered your case very much. We have given it a lot of deep thought. We think you will make a good comrade, after all. Go back to Schenectady and do your work in the labor union, and we will look for greater things from you," and so forth and so on.

Well, that was the end of my experience in the class.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you get your diploma?

Mr. VOTTIS. They failed to give me a diploma.

Incidentally, later on—to show you how the party works—I was called to New York. The party line apparently had changed and they were purging a lot of people, and so forth, within the party. The Soviet Union was purging other people, so the party in the United States had to do a certain amount of purging also. The instructor of the class was a Comrade Mendel. We had a lot of personal talks between he and myself. He agreed there was more sincerity in me than all the rest of the members there. Of course, he didn't tell that openly. He wouldn't dare. But somehow or other this must have leaked out, because I was called into New York and I was asked if this Comrade Mendel had at any time demoralized me while in the class—meaning with his teaching, his actions, and so forth—and was he the reason, or was it through his actions that I didn't receive a diploma in the class.

Well, I said that as far as I was concerned, I thought Mendel was one of the finest persons I had met, certainly he was a very sincere person in the belief, and so forth. That was the end of that. I just quote this to show you how things changed from day to day.

Mr. STRIPLING. Let me interrupt you, Mr. Vottis. I would like to get back to your activities in local 301, because that is what is before the committee.

After you returned from Camp Nitgaidiac, did you resume your duties as financial secretary of the local?

Mr. VOTTIS. Yes, I did. I was supposed to have been away at the labor school during this time.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. VOTTIS. I came back with a lot more prestige into the local, because I was supposed to have been instructed in trade-unionism, and so forth and so on.

I believe they said I had been away to Brooklyn Labor College, and so forth.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you sign up any other officials or members of the union after you returned from camp?

Mr. VOTTIS. In the fall of 1935, I signed up Frank Emspak into the Communist Party.

Mr. STRIPLING. What position did Frank Emspak hold in the union?

Mr. VOTTIS. Frank Emspak was a member of the executive board in the union at that time. He became president of the union in January 1937.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is he any relation to Julius Emspak?

Mr. VOTTIS. He is a brother of Julius Emspak.

Mr. STRIPLING. What position does Julius Emspak hold in the international?

Mr. VOTTIS. Julius Emspake is the secretary-treasurer of the UE International.

Mr. STRIPLING. You signed up his brother?

Mr. VOTTIS. Right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you sign up anyone else in the union?

Mr. VOTTIS. Oh, I signed up a good many people. I don't recall now.

Mr. STRIPLING. I mean, any officials.

Mr. VOTTIS. But I don't think they are important. I mean, they have been in and out of the party.

Mr. STRIPLING. Well, at any time that you were financial secretary of the Communist Party, were the Communists in control of the union—that is, were they in active control of local 301?

Mr. VOTTIS. The Communist Party was in control of the union at all times. Even back in 1935, we used to write the reports that Mr. Jandreau used to put down and the Communist Party even used to prepare all the resolutions, all the reports, and so on, that were given at the meetings.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did the local make contributions to any Communist-front organizations?

Mr. VOTTIS. I don't recall—I mean specifically, but I have minutes, and so forth, which I will turn over to this committee. I didn't bring the material down with me. We contributed several times to the Lincoln Brigade, and things of that sort, in 1936.

Mr. STRIPLING. I mean, was it a policy of the union to contribute union funds to various organizations which were Communist fronts, and which you knew were Communist fronts?

Mr. VOTTIS. It was a question of how much we could get away with.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. VOTTIS. It was discussed. If there was too great reaction by the membership, we couldn't be as aggressive. It was a question of how much we could get away with and how much we felt the membership would put up with.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you hold any position in the Communist Party while you were also financial secretary of the union?

Mr. VOTTIS. Well, I was educational director of the Communist Party from the very time I joined the party, in 1935. I was considered as such throughout, though I was educational director for about 2 of 3 years at that time. I used to do more reading than any other member of the party, so I used to interpret their pamphlets and literature to the rank and file.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you attend various meetings of the Communist Party in Schenectady from time to time?

Mr. VOTTIS. Up to 1939 I attended all the meetings of the shop unit. The Communist Party is formed into different units. There are many members in the Communist Party that don't know who the other members of the party are. That is for the purpose of secrecy, and so forth.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you attend any of the international conventions of the union?

Mr. VOTTIS. I attended the conventions of '36, '37, '38, and '39.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was the party active in those conventions—that is, the Communist Party?

Mr. VOTTIS. The Communist Party controlled all those conventions.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you ever sit in any meetings during those conventions?

Mr. VOTTIS. Yes; I did.

Mr. STRIPLING. Party meetings?

Mr. VOTTIS. Party meetings.

Mr. STRIPLING. In which strategy was outlined?

Mr. VOTTIS. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who were some of the—

Mr. VOTTIS. At every convention the party had its fraction there, and when we hold conventions in the different cities the purpose of the party was to send as many delegates as possible so we would have a strong fraction at the convention.

Mr. STRIPLING. At these fraction meetings, were many international officers present?

Mr. VOTTIS. We usually met either in the room of James Matles, who was the international general organizer, or in the room of Julius Emspak. Small committees of us would meet as party members.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is it your opinion that James Matles and Julius Emspak are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. VOTTIS. Yes; they both are members of the party, to my knowledge.

Mr. STRIPLING. You sat in meetings with them?

Mr. VOTTIS. I sat in meetings with them. They have met in my home as members of the Communist Party. James Matles slept at my home several times.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, they are two—Mr. Matles and Emspak—of the most prominent officials of the international union. Over a period of years there has been considerable controversy as to whether or not these two officers were Communists.

Mr. VOTTIS. Now—

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Vottis, when did you relinquish your position as financial secretary of this local?

Mr. VOTTIS. Well, relinquishing my position is putting it mildly. I left under duress.

Mr. STRIPLING. When?

Mr. VOTTIS. In 1944.

Mr. STRIPLING. And you had held that position from 1934?

Mr. VOTTIS. 1935.

Mr. STRIPLING. 1935.

Mr. VOTTIS. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. For a period of 9 years?

Mr. VOTTIS. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. You had continuously been the financial secretary?

Mr. VOTTIS. Right.

Mr. STRIPLING. And the union had grown from 330 to 28,000 members?

Mr. VOTTIS. Right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, will you explain to the committee the circumstances under which you left?

Mr. VOTTIS. Well, it is quite a long story. I believe it goes back to the time that I attended the Communist Party school. I mean, I never was considered on the inside of the party. Still, I was more or less tolerated. The rupture started definitely around 1939. In 1939, I announced to a shop committeeman and membership meeting that I was through with the Communist Party. We had had some trouble with a man by the name of Frank Gifford. At that time he was working on the unemployment committee and the present president of local 301—who is in the room at this time—Andrew Peterson, was the chairman of the industrial union council, a small council of locals within the city, and so forth. We were having considerable trouble with Frank—Frank Gifford—and it was decided to liquidate him—I mean, get him out of the union. So rumors were started about

Gifford having sold out to the Republican machine. That was the usual procedure. "He was seen going over to Mr. Cushing," who was the chairman of the Republican Party at that time.

Mr. NIXON. That was considered the worst thing they could say about them?

Mr. VORTIS. That is right. I will come to more of that later. All kinds of rumors were started, and finally he was called an enemy of the working class. He was called in before the executive board. He said he wanted to meet with the executive board.

Then the party met. He had been a member of the Communist Party. It was a question of how to handle ourselves. While a member of the Communist Party I had never denied to any member of the union that I was a member of the party, so I couldn't very well get up and deny that I was a member of the party. But Frank Emspack and the rest all were instructed to get up and deny very vehemently that they had ever known Frank Gifford, they were members of the party, and so forth and so on. Gifford got up and named all as party members, and they all called him a liar, including myself. Of course, I got up and said I had been a member of the party and that from that night on I would not be a member any longer. That was the party instruction. I announced that also at a meeting of the union—both at a shop committeemen's meeting and at the membership meeting. We decided definitely that as far as we were concerned we were through with the party.

So the party called us in——

Mr. STRIPLING. You say "we." Who are you referring to?

Mr. VORTIS. Well, my brother and myself. I signed my brother also into the Communist Party.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was his name?

Mr. VORTIS. Pasquale.

Mr. STRIPLING. What was his party name?

Mr. VORTIS. I don't recall. I can't remember.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he employed——

Mr. VORTIS. He was employed in the General Electric Co. He was a member of the executive board of local 301. The party didn't want an open fight with us, so we made a sort of a tentative agreement with the party. They said, "Well, suppose we call you in now and then, even though you are not a member of the party, and we will tell you what is going to come off. Let's fight our differences out on the floor on the basis of the question and not whether we are party members or not."

So we went along with that proposition. But in the meantime the party had started its underground campaign to eliminate him.

In 1940 we had another incident there. John L. Lewis came out and announced that if Willkie lost the Presidential election he would resign as chairman of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Two rank and file members of ours met Mr. Willkie at the train in Schenectady and made a statement that they were supporting Willkie—as many other members of the local would also do—in a quarter page advertisement. The local got all excited. We called a membership meeting. The membership meeting was inspired by nonmembers of the Communist Party. Leo Jandreau at that time was in New York. I want to point out that Leo Jandreau, who is the present business agent of local 301, joined the Communist Party in December 1936

and was signed up by Dorothy Loeb, who was a writer for the Daily Worker. Some time in January his wife discovered his party book and there was a considerable fracas in the house because his wife was a devout Catholic.

He paraded as such. He told me about it, and from then on I collected Leo Jandreau's dues for about 2 or 3 years.

Mr. STRIPLING. He is the present business agent of local 301?

Mr. VORTIS. He is the present business agent of local 301.

Well, to go back to 1940. We held this membership meeting. We denounced John L. Lewis as the Benedict Arnold of the labor movement. The local went on record for Roosevelt. Leo Jandreau came back the following Sunday. At the executive board meeting he cast the only vote against the action of the whole local, because he had not been given instructions by the national office.

Then the national office was very peeved about it. From then on I wasn't taken into any definite confidential business of the party, although from time to time I was called in.

We have in the local a William Mastriani, who is the chief shop steward, which is an important position in the local. He meets with the shop committeemen. He is a member of the Communist Party.

In 1942 we had a field day in the union. I want to mention a couple of cases to show that the party will work with any type of a person, if he follows the party line. William Mastrani was found short in some funds. He was the chairman of the field day committee, that is, the sports chairman, of that division of the field day. He was given about \$40 to give to prizefighters and wrestlers. He and Vincent Iovinelli, who is also a member of the Communist Party, was in charge of the sports events. They were to give \$5 to all these young kids who were to do the fighting, and so forth. The boys reported that they did not receive the money.

William Mastriani was called into the executive board, and we had quite a fracas over it. I exposed the situation, and the Communist Party called me in to discuss the question of Mastriani. They all promised they wouldn't do it again. Mastriani was given a dress-down by Iovinelli, who was also a member of the Communist Party and was an assistant business agent of local 301—

Mr. STRIPLING. What is her name?

Mr. VORTIS. Sadie Iovenilli.

Now, William Mastriani appeared on the Communist Party nominating petition for 1946. Also, he is the present president of the American Labor Party in Schenectady. The petition is also signed by Lena Mastriani, his wife. Also, it is signed by Harold Klein, the present organizer of the Communist Party in Schenectady.

We have here, also on a petition, another member of the Communist Party: Sidney Friedlander. Sidney Friedlander at one time was the treasurer of local 301, after I left in 1944. Sidney Friedlander became a Communist through his wife. His wife's name was Regina Roskoczy. She was sent into the local by the international office to take care of dues collections, under a new system that was installed. That was the beginning of my end. The purpose of bringing her in was to have her take charge of the dues. In the meantime, I was constantly being told by the business agent that I was to do nothing else in the organization but collect dues and be a financial

secretary—not to discuss any problems with the membership because that was entirely the job of the business agent, although I used to write all the publicity and write most of the pamphlets for the local up to the time I left.

While in the party I also met Clifford McEvoy, who is a Communist, on June 17, 1942, at the home of Regina Roskoczy. Clifford McEvoy was the legislative director of the CIO Industrial Union Council for the State of New York.

Mr. STRIPLING. He is a former employee of the city of New York?

Mr. VOTTIS. I can't say truly. I don't know.

Now, we have an Albert Davis, who is a trustee of the union. He was found to be a thief in the union in 1938, and I have papers here to prove it.

Mr. STRIPLING. Does he hold a position now?

Mr. VOTTIS. He is now a trustee of local 301. He was also chairman of the legislative committee of the local. At the time we caught him short in his funds he was a dues collector and a committeeman. He was not a member of the Communist Party at that time. However, he later joined the Communist Party and became a trustee of the local, although Mr. Jandreau and the officers of the local knew that Mr. Davis was found short in his money. I have here a statement, under the signature of Albert Davis, where he promised to pay back to the union within 90 days \$53.20. On the basis of his signature and also his resignation as shop committeeman and dues collector, we did not send him to jail. Here are the records, and here is an account of the shortage, and so forth.

We also had witnesses to this signature. We have Leland Bellinges, Seymour Schreiter, and H. C. Aussiker. These three are entirely familiar with the situation.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, the two petitions to which the witness referred, and also that document, I ask be received as exhibits.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.<sup>12</sup>

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, Mr. Vottis—

Mr. VOTTIS. I would like to introduce the rest of these Communist Party petitions, or turn them over to the committee.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do they relate to anyone who is an officer or a member of local 301?

Mr. VOTTIS. I was just wondering here. We have Vincent Iovinelli on a petition. Incidentally, he and William Kastriani formed the strong-arm squad for the Communist Party and the intimidation committee. I will go into details on that. They are ex-prize fighters.

They were kind of sloppy in writing these petitions. I notice the organizer signs the petition and also witnesses his own petition. Here you have the signature of Harold Klein, and he witnesses his own petition. A lot of these petitions were countersigned or, rather, notarized in New York City.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Vottis, you were president of the CIO Industrial Union Council in Schenectady for a while, weren't you?

Mr. VOTTIS. That is right; and I would like to speak on that.

Mr. STRIPLING. What part did the Communist Party play in the formation of the policies—

<sup>12</sup> See appendix, p. 231, for exhibits 1-4, hearing. July 25, 1947.

Mr. VORRIS. The Communist Party controlled the CIO council throughout. It was formed at a Communist Party meeting—that is, it was decided to have a council and the members of the council were predominantly members of the Communist Party. I have here some of the members. First is Clarence Carr, from Gloversville, who was president of the Fur Workers Union in Gloversville. He was an admitted Communist. We have a John Wright, from Albany, who is a member of the Communist Party. He was an official in the State, County, Municipal Workers Union. We have a Janet Scott, who was employed by the Times Union in Albany. She is a member of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you happen to know that these people are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. VORRIS. Because I met constantly with them as Communist Party members.

Now, I would like to show how the Capitol District Industrial Union Council operated and how it followed the party line consistently. I don't have too many minutes here, but I will read excerpts. In April 1941 you will recall that the Soviet Union had made a marriage with the Nazis. So we find the council adopting a motion:

Motion made and seconded that we go on record against convoys and any second American Expeditionary Force. Motion carried.

That was the time the party was calling Roosevelt a warmonger and cartoons were being made of him with his hand dripping with the blood of the innocents.

On May 14, 1941, we have another one:

Motion made and seconded that we send a communication to Governor Lehman protesting against the appointment of Major General O'Ryan to the office of Director of Civil Defense for the State of New York. Motion carried.

The purpose of that was the party wanted no military man in any defense position of the country.

Now, on June 22, 1941, the Soviet Union was double-crossed by the Nazis. It is all-out war effort from then on. In 1942, the Communist Party group met and they asked me to go in and meet with them—and, mind, you this is the Communist Party. They asked me if I knew the heads of the political party in the area—mainly Mr. Cushing of the Republican Party, who is the enemy of the working class in Schenectady.

They decided they had to find a military man to run for Congress. Everything was military at that time. They hit on Congressman Kearney. So Kearney came from Gloversville. The council met and decided to have this Carr, who up to that time felt that Kearney was the greatest antilabor baiter that existed, contact Kearney on his labor views. Brother Carr reported on the meeting of the committee with Bernard Kearney to ascertain his views with relation to the war and labor. Mr. Kearney made clear to the committee that he was a 100-percent supporter of President Roosevelt and the seven-point program. His views toward labor were also very satisfactory.

The committee decided to endorse Mr. Kearney to the office of Congressman from this district, and the motion made that the council approve, and so forth. So he was approved.

Then Brother Clifford McEvoy appeared here and gives a report, and so forth. I just state this to show how the whole trend was

changing. A funny part of this situation is that in 1941, in the early part of 1941, the party was all-out for Frank Crowder, Congressman from this area, because they considered him an isolationist. The council adopted a resolution applauding his action. In 1942, they adopted a resolution condemning Crowder for the action he took in 1941.

Here is a communication that was sent to all the political heads in the area. I met with Mr. Cushing. Mr. Cushing, this enemy of the working class, was asked to come to the CIO headquarters to discuss the problem. We had a nice party at the CIO headquarters: The chairman of the Democratic Party, the chairman of the Republican Party, Communists, and so forth—everyone was “palsy-walsy.” I mention this because this was used against me, as a friend of Cushing, later on.

Then on February 18, 1942, a resolution was adopted to free Browder. They were afraid to turn it into the locals. They were afraid it was a little too hot for local 301. Everything that was too hot for the separate locals was referred to the Capitol District Industrial Union Council. Then a piece would come out in the paper—not 28,000 employees of the General Electric Co., but 60,000 members of organized labor in the capitol district endorse a resolution to free Browder. That is the way it was done. Incidentally, later on a special delegation was sent from the council to attend a “Free Browder” meeting. I was one of the delegation that was sent there, and a Mr. McMahon.

At this period I was not a member of the Communist Party, but they figured I was a good front.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were going along with them?

Mr. VOTTIS. On things that we felt we could get along on.

Mr. STRIPLING. You weren't openly opposing them, however?

Mr. VOTTIS. No; that is right. That is that for the council.

Now, I want to point out—and this is the thing that has griped me mostly—the Communist Party, ever since I joined it, were adopting all kinds of resolutions, in local 301, against the rebels in Spain, for Loyalist Spain, and so on. “The world cannot be divided half slave and half free”—and all these kind of slogans—paraphrasing Lincoln and so forth and so on. “American Communism had become Twentieth Century Americanism.” But at no time since the ending of the war in 1945, when these disclosures have come out about the slave camps in Russia and the illegal voting that has taken place in Poland and in Austria—at no time has local 301 adopted a resolution or even suggested a resolution condemning slave labor in the Soviet Union.

I ask Mr. Peterson, the president of local 301, to take that back with him when he goes to Schenectady.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't refer to anyone here.

Mr. VOTTIS. I am sorry, Mr. Chairman.

It is these things here that have proved, in my mind—I want to state here very unequivocally that I joined the Communist Party because I thought that is where I would find personal freedom, a place where I could talk, a place where I thought everyone would be sincere. It took some courage to join the Communist Party, because of the way people felt about the party. I realized it was

taboo in any decent community. I realized that. Maybe I had sort of a martyr complex. I don't know what it was, but there it was. I found the Communist Party was the most totalitarian party that ever existed.

Mr. STRIPLING. And this same party that you have just labeled as totalitarian you state was directing, practically directing the affairs of this local union?

Mr. VOTTIS. Before every meeting that takes place, or at least some place in local 301, a meeting of the Communist Party took place.

Mr. STRIPLING. And there were 28,000 members at one time in this local?

Mr. VOTTIS. There were 28,000 members, but the average attendance at union meetings is approximately 75. That is a quorum.

Mr. STRIPLING. Seventy-five?

Mr. VOTTIS. Seventy-five. I might add there happens to be a saloon below the union headquarters and they always have to go down and pick them off the bar, to make the 75.

Now, you may ask how is it the party puts things over. Within the Communist Party, we used to make a deep study of all the active individuals in the union. We used to find out their backgrounds. We used to make cards of them. We used to find out all about their family lives, and so forth. We discovered that some of the union members could be won over by sending them to conventions, by giving them a good time now and then, and so on. We found that some of the members—for instance, when we used to pay commission on dues—used to like that little commission on dues. The question always in the party was: "What does that man want? What is he looking for?" On that basis, we used to play that individual.

Jandreau was not exposed to the rank and file of the Communist Party because he used to sort of squash things when things became too hot. He would call a member in and have a little chat with him. Every member was assigned two or three people to keep in constant contact with—people that were not party members. That was the way we won people over into seeing things the way we wanted them to see them.

I want to say that the Communist Party members are experts at making out human nature and at analyzing people, and so forth. We made a deep study of it. I will say this: A small, well-knit minority will always rule a majority. At one point I got to be quite cynical, myself, about this majority rule, because it seems at times there was no such thing as majority rule. Everything was organized by a small minority. The average individual didn't take too much interest, and, if he did, a campaign of slander was immediately instituted against him. This campaign of slander consisted of everything. The decent average American citizen—the decent average American worker in a plant—cannot possibly imagine a small group getting together and planning an official campaign of slander against them.

A Communist approaches a poor innocent, or a man in the shop, and says, "Now, that man there is a crook. I know he stole." "But you have no proof." I will give a case involving myself, while we were fighting with them. The rumor was spread around that I had stolen money from the General Electric Co. and that I had been fired.

It so happened I have several machines at home, for which I had receipts and everything. I had not even purchased them at the General Electric Co. They told the people that I stole these machines.

Well, when the question came up, "Can you prove it? The General Electric Co. certainly should have a record of this man being fired for stealing."

"Oh, the company doesn't want to expose him. The company doesn't want to tell anybody. It feels sorry for him. So we feel sorry for him, too, or else we would put it in the paper. After all, a man has got to make a living."

They go from person to person to person——

Mr. STRIPLING. Those are the tactics the Communists use?

Mr. VETTIS. Those are the tactics the Communists use; yes. They are trained in that kind of tactics.

At one time I felt this was a means to an end, but it seems as if the means finally corrupt the person that is using them. You lose yourself in this morass of evil and corruptability. The average party member becomes such.

We have another interesting character in this city of Schenectady, and that is Milo Lathrop. Milo Lathrop came to Schenectady from the UE office to do a job on the Political Action Committee. He was paid from the funds of the UE national office. Milo Lathrop later became educational director in local 301, from 1944 until some time in 1945. Now, I have lost track of him. I don't know exactly who pays him. But he is either on the pay roll of local 301 or district 3.

Here is a letter from a former member of the Communist Party. I want to say that Milo Lathrop is a very clever operator. He works among the intellectuals in the city of Schenectady. He works among the college professors. He has also become a member of the Unitarian Church, where he lectures to the youth in the church. Here is a letter, signed by Charles Campbell, and I would like to read it.

When I last saw you in Schenectady——

Incidentally, Mr. Lathrop is running for councilman in the city of Schenectady. He says:

When I last saw you in Schenectady you asked me if I knew Milo Lathrop who is now connected with the United Electrical and Radio Workers Union. I first knew Milo Lathrop in New Haven, Conn., in 1935. He was the secretary of the Yale unit of the Communist Party. He was also a member of the executive committee of the Communist Party of New Haven.

I next met Milo Lathrop in 1943, in Plattsburg, N. Y. This was during the primary fight in the American Labor Party and he was engaged in soliciting votes for the Communist left wing. I had quite a conversation with him in the Cumberland Hotel in Plattsburg. I asked him if he still was a member of the Communist Party, and he said that he was. He also told me that he was a member of the New York State executive committee of the Communist Party. I asked him why he, as a Communist Party member, did not stay in his own party and keep out of the American Labor Party. His answer was that a great many people are afraid of the name "Communist Party," and that if the Communists could win control of the American Labor Party, they could operate in a much broader field than in the Communist Party. Control of the American Labor Party would allow them to fool a great many liberals into joining the American Labor Party, and to attract malcontents of the other parties.

As you know, the Communists were successful in winning control of the American Labor Party, and we thereupon formed the Liberal Party. Soon after the Communist victory in the American Labor Party, I learned that Milo Lathrop had been assigned to the United Electrical and Radio Workers by James Matles, who is well-known as the Communist political commissar for that union.

Unfortunately, I have no tangible proof of the above statements, but you have my word for them that they are true in every respect.

I wish you success in your efforts to rid the Schenectady local of the United Electrical and Radio Workers of Communist domination and control.

I may add this letter is dated September 10, 1946. Mr. Campbell is a former member of the Communist Party, and he said he will come here and testify before the committee at any time.

Mr. STRIPLING. How is that letter signed?

Mr. VOTTIS. Charles W. Campbell.

Mr. STRIPLING. He is a former member of the local?

Mr. VOTTIS. No. He was a former member of the Communist Party; and he was the up-State director of the Liberal Party of New York State.

Mr. STRIPLING. Of the American Labor Party?

Mr. VOTTIS. No; the Liberal Party.

Mr. STRIPLING. Which is an off-shoot of the American Labor Party?

Mr. VOTTIS. An off-shoot of the American Labor Party; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I have covered the points I had in mind, in dealing with the Communists within the local. I think the witness has stated his connection and his knowledge of the Communist leadership in local 301. If the committee wants to pursue it any further, I suggest you go ahead now.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any questions, Mr. Nixon?

Mr. NIXON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling, any more questions from you?

Mr. STRIPLING. I have no more.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any other particular point there that has to do with communism in this local?

Mr. VOTTIS. No; I don't have any other particular point that I can think of.

I have here an excerpt—I don't know if the committee has this information or not—from the New Leader, pointing out the different actions of the members of the Communist Party. I want to name some of these names here. Incidentally, there is a James Lustig, whom I met at a Communist Party meeting at party headquarters, on Thirteenth Street in New York City. I also met James MacLeish.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that the same James MacLeish that was mentioned here by Mr. Conroy?

Mr. VOTTIS. That is right. Also at this meeting of the Communist Party in the Communist Party headquarters in New York, on a Sunday morning were some experienced Communists in trade-unions. This was in 1936, in the summer of 1936. The Schenectady group was supposed to go down and meet with some experienced Communists in trade-unions. At that meeting I met for the first time Michael Quill, of the transport workers' union; John Santos, of the transport workers' union; James MacLeish; James Lustig; and—

Mr. STRIPLING. Michael Quill—was he president of the transport workers' union at that time, do you know?

Mr. VOTTIS. I don't recall. I don't recall that he was, but he was active in the transport workers' union.

Mr. STRIPLING. You met him in the Communist Party headquarters in New York City?

Mr. VOTTIS. Right.

Mr. STRIPLING. In 1936?

Mr. VOTTIS. Right.

Mr. McDOWELL. Is that the New York City councilman?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. VOTTIS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. I would suggest, Mr. Stripling, that you look over these other exhibits that Mr. Vottis has and if there is anything there that should be—

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that Mr. Vottis remain under subpoena, with the idea of the committee calling him back at a future hearing in connection with other matters.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. STRIPLING. It is my understanding that you didn't want to interrogate him on anything except communism in local 301.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. But I think he is in the position to give the committee very valuable information on communism generally in the State of New York, because of his long association with them.

The CHAIRMAN. So you remain under subpoena, Mr. Vottis.

Mr. STRIPLING. We would like to call him again.

The CHAIRMAN. We will call you at a later date in connection with the broader field of communism.

Mr. VOTTIS. Yes, sir, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You heard the message I gave Mr. Conroy. Well, the same applies to you. Just keep your chin up.

Mr. VOTTIS. I want to say, Mr. Chairman, that I have already experienced the worst that the Communists can give me. I opened a small novelty shop. The shop prospered under the direct and constant barrage of Communist slander, and so forth—through the union headquarters, of course. Anyone seen walking into my store was a stooge and a spy, and he was called that. Many people were told to keep out of my shop because I was an enemy of the working people, and so forth and so on.

Mr. STRIPLING. You were one of the original members of the local, were you not?

Mr. VOTTIS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much for coming here today.

The Chair wishes to state, in conclusion, that we stand adjourned and the next hearing, as I announced before, will be on September 23, when we begin the Hans Eisler hearing.

(Whereupon, at 12:50 p. m., the committee adjourned.)

## APPENDIX

HEARING, FEBRUARY 27, 1947

Items found in the desk drawer of Owen Lambert, a member of Local 248, United Automobile Workers, CIO, Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co., West Allis, Wis., by Floyd D. Lucia, introduced with testimony by him, and retained by the committee as exhibits:

Exhibit—

1. New Masses, subscription blank.
2. The Worker, subscription blank.
3. Political Affairs, subscription blank.
4. Receipt book used by Owen Lambert containing carbon copies of receipts signed and given by him for money collected as union dues, assessments, and subscriptions to the Worker, Daily Worker, In Fact, and New Masses.
5. Copy of In Fact, addressed to but not subscribed for by Floyd D. Lucia.
6. Envelope addressed to Floyd D. Lucia by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.
7. Reporter on American-Soviet Relations sent unsolicited to Floyd D. Lucia.
8. Leaflet, "Inside Story," advertising Reporter on American-Soviet Relations sent to Floyd D. Lucia.
9. Self-addressed return envelope imprinted with address to Reporter on American-Soviet Relations.
10. Leaflet, Mass Protest Meeting Against Lynch Law, March 10, 1946; issued by Communist Party of Milwaukee County, Wis.
11. News letter, Germany Today.
12. Program, American Youth for Democracy.
13. The Story of the American Youth for Democracy.
14. Leaflet, Stop American Imperialist Intervention in China! Bring Our Boys Back Home, issued by Communist Party, United States of America, 35 East Twelfth Street, New York City.
15. Leaflet, Bring Our Boys Home! Get Our Troops Out of China! advertising rally for a democratic policy in China, December 8, 1946; issued by Communist Party of Milwaukee County, Wis.
16. Leaflet, Take Our American Soldiers Out of China, issued by Communist Party of Wisconsin.
17. Booklet, Reconversion, by George Morris.
18. Leaflet, "Is Your Newspaper Fighting for You?" seeking subscriptions to the Worker.
19. Typed card found in desk drawer of Owen Lambert listing events for "Thursday Nights at Club 248."

Items introduced with testimony by Walter Petersen and retained by the committee as exhibits:

20. Letter addressed, "Dear American," by the Milwaukee Sentinel enclosing reprints of articles on Communists and their sympathizers in Wisconsin.
21. How the Milwaukee Sentinel exposed Milwaukee Communists and fellow travelers, reprints of articles dated September 23, 1946 through November 21, 1946.

Communist front affiliations as contained in the files of the committee on various officials of Local 248, United Automobile Workers, CIO, Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co., West Allis, Wis.:

BURJA, JOHN

| Organization                        | Affiliation                                                 | Source                                     |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| UAW-CIO, Local 248, Milwaukee, Wis. | Petitioned President Roosevelt for release of Earl Browder. | Daily Worker, Jan. 25, 1942, sec. 2, p. 5. |

## CHRISTOFFEL, HAROLD

|                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War.<br>National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.                             | Sponsor.....                                                                                                                                                                      | Letterhead, dated Aug. 10, 1940.                                                                                               |
| Provisional Committee for the CIO Problem.<br>Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee.<br>Socialist Party.....                   | Signer of message to the House of Representatives opposing renewal of the Dies Committee.<br>Member, Wisconsin.....                                                               | Leaflet, attached to undated letterhead.<br>Daily Worker, Aug. 14, 1936, p. 2.                                                 |
| Industrial Union Council, CIO, Milwaukee, Wis., president,<br>UAW-CIO, Local 248, Milwaukee.<br>UAW-CIO, Allis-Chalmers' union..... | Signer of declaration honoring Dimitrov.<br>Member, 7th ward branch, Wis.; signer of statement against Trotskyism.<br>Petitioned President Roosevelt for release of Earl Browder. | New York Times, Dec. 22, 1943, p. 40.<br>Daily Worker, Mar. 19, 1937, p. 4.                                                    |
| UAW-CIO, Local 248, president.....                                                                                                  | President.....<br>Opposes deportation of Harry Bridges.                                                                                                                           | Daily Worker, Jan. 25, 1942, sec. 2, pp. 4 and 5.<br>People's World, June 17, 1942, p. 3.<br>Daily Worker, June 5, 1942, p. 5. |

## KASLOW, JOHN

|                                  |                                                             |                                            |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| UAW-CIO, Local, 248, Milwaukee.. | Petitioned President Roosevelt for release of Earl Browder. | Daily Worker, Jan. 25, 1942, sec. 2, p. 5. |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|

## KENNEDY, JOHN S.

|                               |                                                             |                                            |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| UAW-CIO, Milwaukee, Wis. .... | Petitioned President Roosevelt for release of Earl Browder. | Daily Worker, Jan. 25, 1942, sec. 2, p. 5. |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|

## LAMBERT, OWEN

| Organization                    | Affiliation                                                                   | Source                              |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Communist Party, Wisconsin..... | Candidate for Governor and assemblyman; speaker at anti-war rally, Milwaukee. | Daily Worker, Sept. 23, 1946, p. 8. |

## LINDBERG, L.

|                                                 |                                                             |                                            |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| UAW-CIO, Local 248, Milwaukee, Wis., treasurer. | Petitioned President Roosevelt for release of Earl Browder. | Daily Worker, Jan. 25, 1942, sec. 2, p. 5. |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|

## MATTSON, E.

|                                     |                                                             |                                            |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| UAW-CIO, Local 248, Milwaukee, Wis. | Petitioned President Roosevelt for release of Earl Browder. | Daily Worker, Jan. 25, 1942, sec. 2, p. 5. |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|

## ROTH, LESLIE

|                                     |                                                             |                                            |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| American Peace Mobilization.....    | Attended meeting and signed petition to free Earl Browder.  | Daily Worker, May 2, 1941, p. 2.           |
| UAW-CIO, Local 248, Milwaukee, Wis. | Petitioned President Roosevelt for release of Earl Browder. | Daily Worker, Jan. 25, 1942, sec. 2, p. 5. |

## HEARING, JULY 23, 1947

Articles presented by Mr. Eugene C. Pratt in conjunction with testimony and retained by the committee as exhibits:

**Exhibit—**

1. Communist Party, membership card No. 77026, for year 1946.
2. Communist Party, United States of America, membership card No. 77027, for year 1946.
3. Workers Voice, November 1946.

## HEARING, JULY 24, 1947

Item introduced with testimony by Joseph Julianelle and retained by the committee as an exhibit:

Exhibit 1. Leaflet, Jo Willard, a Workers' Candidate for State Representative, issued by Communist Party, Bridgeport, Conn.

## HEARING, JULY 25, 1947

Items introduced with testimony by Salvatore M. Vottis and retained by the committee as exhibits:

Exhibit—

1. Promissory note signed by A. E. Davis to Local 301, United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, CIO.
2. Resignation of A. E. Davis from offices of recording secretary, shop committeeman, and dues collected of Local 301, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO.
3. Dues Collection Record, by A. E. Davis, Local 301, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO.
4. Communist Party, Independent Nominating Petitions, pages 3806 through 3828, to the Secretary of State of the State of New York—State elections, November 5, 1946.

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