NORTH DAKOTA

Ivan O. Wick, Brocket, N. Dak., in place of A. C. Connelly, retired.

Carl Raymond Culver, Dickinson, N. Dak., in place of A. C. Pagenkopf, retired.

Gerald D. Davis, Mooreton, N. Dak., in place of F. L. Gerou, resigned.

Ruby E. Omvig, Mylo, N. Dak., in place of M. V. Andersen, retired.

OHIO

Ruben E. Spurrier, Buffalo, Ohio, in place of James Blair, retired.

OKLAHOMA

Thornton J. Lucado, Jr., Blanchard, Okla., in place of T. C. Anthony, deceased.

PENNSYLVANIA

Richard S. Chesonis, Lucernemines, Pa., in place of D. M. Turify, resigned.

Henry R. Heintz, Perkiomenville, Pa., in place of N. B. Becker, retired.

Richard J. Griffith, Trucksville, Pa., in place of Gwilym Evans, resigned.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Jessie W. Jenkins, Wadmalaw Island, S. C., in place of M. P. Boykin, transferred.

B. George Price, III, Walterboro, S. C., in place of Stacy Kearse, deceased.

TEXAS

Buster Fleming, Emory, Tex., in place of J. B. Chastain, transferred.

Billy G. Williams, Freer, Tex., in place of E. C. Kelly, removed.

Joe C. Cobb, Lewisville, Tex., in place of M. S. Donald, retired.

Gilbert R. Thayer, Port Lavaca, Tex., in place of M. B. McConnico, retired.

Frederick H. Pearce, Sr., Thorndale, Tex., in place of V. F. Norris, resigned.

VERMONT

Harvey A. Dix, Brattleboro, Vt., in place of J. H. McKinnon, transferred.

VIRGINIA

George Guy Farrar, Afton, Va., in place of L. C. Dawson, retired.

Jane D. Nottingham, Carrollton, Va., in place of L. M. Latimer, deceased.

Clinton Lewis Epperson, Lawrenceville, Va., in place of T. E. Warriner, deceased.

WASHINGTON

John C. Nowadnick, Chehalis, Wash., in place of L. K. Sullivan, deceased.

WEST VIRGINIA

Kenneth B. Rouzee, Kingwood, W. Va., in place of J. T. Spahr, retired.

Guy S. Holliday, Layland, W. Va., in place of W. A. Johnson, deceased.

Charles C. Workman, Red House, W. Va., in place of L. E. Ambler, resigned.

WISCONSIN

Michael J. Stieber, Colby, Wis., in place of A. X. Umhoefer, resired.

Benjamin F. Goehring, Random Lake, Wis., in place of E. H. Toepfer, resigned.

Francis Mattis, Stone Lake, Wis., in place of J. C. Reinke, removed.

WYOMING

Bruce L. Bartholomew, Dayton, Wyo., in place of J. C. Adams, retired.

LeRoy Williams, Grass Creek, Wyo., in place of G. C. Burrier, resigned.

Iduma Slagowski, Mountainview, Wyo., in place of R. C. Taylor, resigned.

Noreen C. Hopkins, Story, Wyo., in place of A. A. Raycher, deceased.

CONFIRMATION

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate February 23 (legislative day, February 22), 1956:

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Douglas Maxwell Moffat, of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, to Australia.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1956

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal God, our Father, who hast been our shield in the stillness of the night, guide us now by Thy divine wisdom and gird us with Thy strength as we set our minds and hearts to the tasks of this new day.

May this Lenten season upon which we have entered daily become richer and more glorious in the culture and deepening of our spiritual life.

Cleanse our souls of all unrighteousness and grant that through self-examination and self-discipline we may gain the mastery over those desires and habits which are contrary to Thy holy will.

Help us to grow in the grace and knowledge of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour, from whom to turn away is to fall but in whom to abide is to stand fast forever.

To Thy name we ascribe all the praise. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

ADJOURNMENT OVER

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet at 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

CALENDAR WEDNESDAY

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that business in order on Calendar Wednesday next week and the following week be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

THE PRIME MINISTER OF IRELAND

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it may be in order on Thursday, March 15, at any time, for the Speaker to declare a recess for the purpose of receiving the Prime Minister of Ireland.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res. 403) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That Hon. JOHN W. McCORMACK, a Representative from the State of Massachusetts, be, and he is hereby, elected Speaker pro tempore during the absence of the Speaker.

Resolved, That the President and the Senate be notified by the Clerk of the election of Hon. JOHN W. McCORMACK as Speaker pro tempore during the absence of the Speaker.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. McCORMACK appeared at the bar of the House and took the oath of office as Speaker pro tempore.

MUST CONGRESS SURRENDER ITS POWERS TO OTC?

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, H. R. 5550 is such a short and innocent-looking bill.

Providing that "the President is hereby authorized to accept membership for the United States in the Organization for Trade Cooperation."

That is the sum and substance of it.

So disarming.

For who could object to the vague but pleasant generalities of Organization for Trade Cooperation?

But, wait a moment.

What is this OTC?

First, let us refresh our memory of the Constitution of the United States. Under article I, section 8, we note that "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, impost, and excises" and "to regulate commerce with foreign nations."

The State Department of today, in its zeal to acquire arbitrary control over tariffs and trade, has the effrontery to expect that Congress shall sign its powers away, in violation of the trust reposed in Congress by the people, and in contempt of constitutional procedures.

How?

By transferring authority from Congress to the State Department, via legislative approval of OTC.

H. R. 5550 is the instrument by which they would have Congress abdicate its responsibilities, upset the balance of representative government, and vest far greater power in the executive branch than the people ever intended that it should have.

For some years the State Department has been inching toward this goal.

OTC is the final and most subtle maneuver.

By this sidestepping technique, the regulation of our foreign commerce would be taken out of the hands of Congress, placed under the control of the State Department, and then come within the jurisdiction of an international trade organization known as the OTC, leading inevitably to control by a specialized agency of the United Nations of the type and amount and price of foreign goods that would flood the United States to the detriment of our own workers, industries, wage levels, and standard of living.

The attempt to sugarcoat OTC as a mere forum is not honest. OTC would be organized as an assembly, to gain compliance with the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Assemblies of this nature are not merely debating societies. They are lawmaking bodies.

Implicit in the OTC is the power to affect markets within the United States;

AUTHENTICATED U.S. GOVERNMENT INFORMATION GPO

to control production, profits, and employment here.

It would place us at the mercy of low-wage countries, and all the rest of the world would have an advantage over us in this respect.

We would have nothing to gain and everything to lose right here in the United States.

The announced objective of OTC is the "substantial reduction of tariffs." Even though in 1955 more than 200 trade associations and unions in the United States officially reported serious injury by cheap imports.

Furthermore, since the Trade Agreements Act of 1934, we have cut tariffs by as much as 75 percent. In return we got nothing but promises, which were betrayed when foreign countries increased their tariffs anywhere from 6 to 76 percent.

Due to imports of cheap cotton goods, the American textile industry alone has lost 200,000 jobs in the last 3 years.

Does the State Department show any concern over plight of these, and other jobless Americans whose livelihood has been traded away?

No nation has ever done more to help other nations than the United States. But there is a limit. We cannot give ourselves away.

Already, by imports and expenditures abroad we are putting $20 billion a year into the hands of foreign buyers. What are they doing with this purchasing power? Through tariffs, embargoes, and quotas, they are limiting their purchases of American goods.

We already take a lot of their products, the things that we need, such as tin, coffee, rubber, manganese, and so forth, have long come in duty free. Together with other foreign products that pay only nominal duties, they account for two-thirds of our imports.

But the State Department is not satisfied.

It wants to play international politics, using American industries and American workers as pawns in the game.

This is the same State Department that is considering the recognition of Red China, even though that outlaw government had killed tens of thousands of American boys by naked aggression, and is completely faithless to every moral precept.

This is the State Department that is supposed to protect American interests first.

Fortunately, the Congress of the United States, directly representative of the people, and responsive to their wishes, is alert to this ill-concealed giveaway that the State Department proposes, and will reject it.

H. R. 5550 is unfair to the United States.

INCREASE IN FREIGHT RATES

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker. I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to learn that the railroads and other carriers which are presently petitioning the Interstate Commerce Commission for authority to increase their freight rates and charges by 7 percent, effective February 25, 1956, have, upon the request of the Commission, decided to postpone the effective date of their new tariffs until March 7, 1956, in order to give the Commission more time to study the testimony and render a decision on this important problem.

This latest request by the carriers is the fifth time during the last 10 years that they have petitioned for a general rate increase. Each of the prior requests has been granted in whole or in part. The present level of rates, resulting from such increases, is approximately 80 percent above the level of rates that were in effect on June 30, 1946.

While I recognize that the carriers are entitled to just and reasonable rates, I believe that the shippers and the general public, which ultimately pays the freight, must also be protected. The only way to be sure that justice is done to all is to give the Interstate Commerce Commission all the time that it needs to weigh all the factors carefully, and to arrive at a decision that is fair to all parties concerned. At a later time, I expect to make a more complete statement on this subject.

AERONAUTICAL RESEARCH FACILITIES FOR NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR AERONAUTICS

Mr. VINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it may be in order on Monday, February 27, for the Committee on Armed Services to call up the bill (H. R. 8675), to promote the national defense by authorizing the construction of aeronautical research facilities by the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics necessary to the effective prosecution of aeronautical research; that general debate continue not to exceed 1 hour to be equally divided and controlled by the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. DURHAM] and the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. SHORT].

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I will not, as I understand, this bill was before our committee before a subcommittee headed by the gentleman from North Carolina. The bill has had ample consideration. It was unanimously reported by the full Committee on Armed Services. It is an important bill and certainly should be disposed of as quickly as possible. I am glad the gentleman has submitted this request for its consideration next Monday.

Mr. VINSON. I may say, Mr. Speaker, that I have discussed this matter with the chairman of the Rules Committee, and it is satisfactory to him that we submit this request instead of going before the Rules Committee and obtaining a rule.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

TVA APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, this is the year of decision for the TVA. The administration has sharply reduced appropriation requests for facilities necessary to have kept TVA in position to meet growing demands for power within its area. This year the administration has demanded that TVA greatly increase amortization payments to the Treasury. This demand is fiscally unsound and is a breach of faith with the people of the TVA area.

The failure to request new appropriations for additional facilities, which will soon be desperately needed, was based by this administration on the expectation that in this session of Congress provision would be made authorizing the TVA to issue its own bonds and thereby provide funds for additional facilities without resource to the Public Treasury.

I have long advocated that this be done, provided it is done in a way which would not artificially force up costs and hamstring the agency with redtape.

At the outset I will say that by demanding an abnormal increase in TVA's amortization payments to the Treasury, this administration is stripping the agency of resources which might be essential to the prompt and economical issuance of bonds.

If this proves to be the case, on analysis, the administration again must be condemned for lack of good faith such as was demonstrated in the ill-fated Dixon-Yates contract.

I wish to plead, however, that the Congress act with more speed in making provision for TVA self-financing.

This Congress, as all Members are aware, has been working diligently. We are moving along in consideration of measures of major concern to the Congress and the Nation. Yet in the matter of TVA self-financing, it does not seem to me that we are making the progress hoped for or expected by the people of the Tennessee Valley area.

This is an election year and as such it poses extra problems for Members. As is customary, every effort will be made by both Houses to perform work promptly and to adjourn at a relatively early date.

I fear that if we do not move more expeditiously with TVA matters, they may be left hanging fire, or in the rush of final business we may not be able to give full attention and consideration to this matter which is of such deep concern to the people of my district and the Tennessee Valley.

Some fears have been expressed that if additional facilities are provided, the TVA would somehow break out of its boundaries. This is not the case, and I do not think it ever will be.

What the people of my area wish to assure themselves of is a normal and natural growth in the TVA's ability to serve the growing power demands of its

present area. Any doubt about the ability of the TVA to do so would be a damper on the expansion of business, industry, and agriculture in the entire valley.

This area has made rapid progress in the last 15 years. Much of it can be attributed to the abundance of power generated by TVA. Economic growth of the valley has increased its social stability remarkably. I submit that this has been good for the Nation as a whole. The establishment of and economic stability in any region strengthens the whole. In payment of Federal taxes alone, there has been a marked increase over the past decade and a half.

For every passing day in which TVA is unable to meet the increasing needs for power, the growth of the valley is inhibited just that much. In penalizing, or attempting to penalize, TVA for being the success that it has been, the real victim is not the TVA but the people of the Tennessee Valley. They are an industrious people. They are hard-working people. They are hopeful people. They are fine Americans.

I can see no justification for saying to these people: "You may have no hope. You may make no plans for growth and progress. You must limit your industry." But, in failing to provide for the normally growing power needs of these people, that is just what we are doing.

The people of my district and of the Tennessee Valley, having had experience with the TVA, have been and are now willing to support development projects for many other sections of the Nation. They believe in progress. I ask the Members of this House to keep progress going in the Tennessee Valley. I ask that we act promptly so that the people of my district and the entire Tennessee Valley may know what to expect and what to plan for.

REVISION OF CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT ACT

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the bill, H. R. 9473, which I introduced yesterday embodies the provisions of S. 2875 introduced by the Honorable OLIN D. JOHNSTON, chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, and other similar bills. But those bills, which have for a primary purpose a long-needed overhauling of the Civil Service Retirement Act, except for one or two very minor provisions, would not benefit present annuitants but only those who are yet to retire.

The several rounds of salary increases which have occurred since 1948 have already produced a wide and only partially bridged gap in benefits between those who retired before that year and those who have retired since. The enactment into law of the provisions of S. 2875 as it stands would widen that gap.

The passage of Public Law 369 during the closing days of the 1st session of the 84th Congress removed for some annuitants a part of the inequities to which those who retired several years ago have been subjected, but it specifically excluded all those whose annuity increases under the law would, when added to the then existing annuity, bring the total to $4,104 or more. H. R. 9473 proposes to eliminate this discriminatory feature of Public Law 369.

Whenever the Congress determines that a cost-of-living increase is warranted for active employees in order that they may enjoy a decent standard of living, it is believed that in all fairness Congress should, at the same time, recognize the plight of the aged, the sick, and the disabled civil service retirees and grant them a similar increase. The principle has been recognized and approved by industry and also by the Kaplan committee. It has solid precedent in our Government, as it has been followed for years by the Navy, Army, Air Force, Coast Guard, Marines, Public Health Service, and some other Government agencies.

To remedy the foregoing deficiencies, H. R. 9473 accordingly includes the following provisions for present retirees which are not in S. 2875. A new section, as follows:

(a) The annuity of any person who now is receiving an annuity from the civil-service retirement and disability fund shall be increased, effective on the first day of the second month following the eactment of this act, by $100 plus $10 per each 2 full months elapsed between the commencing date of the annuity and the date of enactment of this act: Provided such increases shall not in any case exceed $300.

(b) The annuity of any person whose annuity was not increased by reason of the limitation contained in Public Law 369, 84th Congress, 1st session, is increased effective on the first day of the second month following the enactment of this act, by an amount in excess of $360; and the limitation in Public Law 369 is repealed as of the date of the enactment of this act.

(c) Section 8 of the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, as amended, is amended by adding: "Annuities shall be adjusted simultaneously with general adjustments in salaries of employees on the same average percentage: Provided no annuitant's annuity shall be decreased by reason of this amendment."

(d) The annuity of any survivor (except as provided in subparagraph (e)) who on the date of the enactment of this act is receiving or entitled to receive an annuity based on the service of an annuitant shall be increased by $80, effective on the first day of the second month following the date of the enactment of this act.

(e) The annuity of any child who on the date of enactment of this act is receiving or is entitled to receive an annuity based on the service of a parent annuitant shall be increased by $50, effective on the first day of the second month following the date of the enactment of this act: Provided the annuity of each such child shall not exceed $1,200 divided by the number of children of such parent-annuitant then receiving annuity.

It is fully recognized that the increases covered by H. R. 9473 will not nearly equalize the annuities of employees heretofore retired with the annuities of employees who will retire after January 1, 1957, but it will, to a degree, give them some deserved consideration. A considerable part of the salary deductions collected during their Government career from the employees already retired was in 100-cent dollars, and they are now being paid in 50-cent dollars. Unless there is a decided change in the future value of the dollar, these retired Government servants will continue to be paid in 50-cent dollars.

Other provisions in H. R. 9473 which are different from S. 2875 are as follows:

Annuities are computed at present under a formula using the employee's average annual basic salary for any 5 consecutive years. I believe the average salary period should be based on a 3-year period rather than a 5-year period, and I have so provided in my bill.

Present law provides that certain employees whose duties are hazardous and involve primarily the investigation, apprehension, or detention of persons suspected or convicted of offenses against the Federal criminal laws may, at age 50 and with 20 years of service, elect to retire, subject to the recommendation of the agency head. This has been interpreted to include FBI agents, customs agents, narcotic agents, port patrol officers, and so forth. S. 2875 would include employees in the field service of the Bureau of Prisons in this category. I have further broadened the provisions of this section to include customs inspectors whose duties I would classify as hazardous since these employees are charged with the preventing of smuggling, and frequently apprehend known or suspected criminals, narcotics peddlers, and so forth.

Under S. 2875 a reduction would be made in the ceiling on annuities from a maximum of 80 percent to 75 percent. I believe it should remain at 80 percent. It seems to me the reduction would be unfair to career employees with long service.

Another provision in S. 2875 is that annuities shall not be assignable, either in law or equity, or be subject to execution, levy, attachment, garnishment, or other legal process. My bill broadens this to include taxation. Employees pay income taxes on all their yearly earnings, including the amount deducted from their salaries for the retirement fund. There is no reason why they should pay taxes again on the same money that they have put into the retirement fund. Therefore, I am suggesting a $3,000 limitation on which there will be no taxation. Precedence for this has been established in the railroad retirement and social-security systems under which annuities, without limitation, are not subject to taxation.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR NEXT WEEK

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I take this time for the purpose of asking the

majority whip if he will kindly inform us as to the program for next week.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished minority whip for bringing this matter to the attention of the House at this time.

Monday is District day, but there is no business on the District Calendar. On Monday, under the unanimous-consent agreement heretofore obtained, the bill (H. R. 8675) dealing with the National Advisory Committee for aeronautical equipment will be considered.

On Tuesday House Resolution 356, concerning the Government Operations Committee, and H. R. 3383, the Colorado River storage project, will be called up for consideration.

On Wednesday there will be a joint meeting of the two Houses of Congress. The President of Italy will be the guest of the Congress at that time.

Also on Wednesday, the bill H. R. 3383, the Colorado River storage project matter will be further considered.

On Thursday an appropriation bill for general Government matters for 1957 will be considered.

There is the usual reservation that conference reports may be brought up at any time.

Any further program will be announced later.

ELECTION TO COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res. 404) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That ELMER J. HOLLAND, of Pennsylvania, be, and he is hereby, elected a member of the standing Committee of the House of Representatives on Banking and Currency.

The resolution was agreed to, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res. 405) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

Resolved, That JAMES C. HEALEY, of New York, be, and he is hereby, elected a member of the standing Committee of the House of Representatives on Banking and Currency.

The resolution was agreed to, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ARE WE LOSING A CONTINENT?

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, are we losing a continent? That is a question asked by Adm. Richard Byrd in an article published by him in January 1954. He raised the question because, while other nations have been claiming parts or all of the Antarctic Continent, the United States has not. As he has put it:

> The rest of the world has stuck their finger in the Antarctic pie while Uncle Sam is still sucking his thumb.

Yet, the United States has done more exploratory work in the Antarctic than all those other nations put together. Great Britain, Argentina, Chile, Australia, Norway, and France each have claimed parts. Russia has claimed all of it. She has sent a force to Antarctica to participate in the coming geophysical year activities. She has already planted her flag on the continent and clearly indicates through publicity releases that she intends to press her claims.

The Soviet action and statements have caused some concern in Great Britain. Dr. C. H. M. Waldock, professor of public international law at Oxford University, recently urged Britain to emphatically stake out her claims to the Antarctic before Russia takes over. He disagreed with a Soviet claim that Russia had discovered Antarctica, and said that Britain should maintain its claims with "absolute distinctness."

Argentina has zealously pressed her claims. In 1952, a group of Englishmen sailed toward the Palmer Peninsula, a 750 mile toe which stretches up toward South America. As they approached the shore they were greeted by a volley of shots overhead. It was a warning not to land on Argentine territory. Three days later a 4-gun British Navy frigate appeared on the scene, and an Argentine apology followed. The incident pointed up the competing claims of Argentina and Britain. Palmer Peninsula was named after Nathaniel Palmer, a Yankee sealer who was credited with its discovery in 1821. But Britain, Argentina, and Chile claim it. The latter has buried her claims under a military building constructed there.

Antarctica is a continent of 6 million square miles of land—about as large as the United States and Europe combined. Glacial ice covers most of it except where the mountains rise above the ice. On the fringes there are ice-free areas. Admiral Byrd found one oasis—a green valley protected by high cliffs. He saw fresh water mountain lakes warmed by ocean currents.

Admiral Byrd is now on his fifth expedition to the south polar region. Captain Finne Ronne and Lincoln Ellsworth are two other Americans who have done tremendous exploratory work there. The reports of these three intrepid men indicate quite clearly that the frozen real estate at the bottom of the world is actually a storehouse of fabulous riches. Byrd says he saw a vein filled with enough coal to supply the whole world. He brought back to America evidence that invaluable deposits of oil, copper, silver, molybdenum, iron, gold, and uranium lie beneath the ice waiting to be tapped. Atomic energy and new mining techniques can uncover these vast resources.

Mr. Speaker, in addition to the valuable resources in the Antarctic, which could be made available to us when those in the United States become depleted, there is the strategic value of that region to be considered. It could serve as a possible naval or airplane base in the future. Admiral Byrd has said that if the Panama Canal were knocked out in some emergency then naval and commercial vessels would be compelled to sail around the southern tip of South America. It would be vitally important then to have the control of the Palmer Peninsula in our own or friendly hands.

Mr. Speaker, it seems imperative that we delay no longer in asserting our claims to that portion or portions of Antarctica where we have concentrated our exploratory efforts. The National Security Council fully realizes the strategic importance of that region. Congress should act at an early date upon my measure, House Joint Resolution 25, which would declare our sovereignty over those areas. Congress as far back as about 1830 has authorized expeditions to the Antarctic. Whenever the subject of pressing our claims have arisen the State Department has stated that it would not act without congressional direction. But Congress has always failed to act. I think it should act now—in this session. There is no question of colonialism or imperialism involved. There are no people yet living in Antarctica—only penguins. I hope the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to which my bill has been referred, will hold early hearings upon it.

IRRIGATION AND POWER PROJECTS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Nebraska?

There was no objection.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, today I will insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the complete information relative to the number of irrigation and power projects this country is sponsoring in foreign lands. The RECORD will show there are 139 projects in 32 foreign countries. The International Cooperation Administration, which is a continuation of the Marshall plan and the FOA, sent me a report which shows that from April 3, 1948, to March 31, 1955, we were obligated to spend $288,600,000 on projects in Europe, the Far East, the Near East, Africa, and South Asia.

I know some of my colleagues hesitate to support irrigation or power projects in our own country. They, at the same time, do not hesitate to support similar projects all over the world. Some of these projects are in areas whose names not only mystify, but defy pronunciation. It is my opinion that $288 million plus for these projects is just the beginning. When a project is once started, it must be completed. This will take a good many millions more of the taxpayers' dollars. I have never voted for this giveaway program, which to date has drained the taxpayers of about $50 billion.

I do hope my colleagues will be tolerant when the upper Colorado River project comes up for consideration next week. I hope they will be tolerant and understanding when other good reclamation and power projects are presented for their consideration. In my opinion these projects are nothing more than an investment in the resources of this country. They repay every dollar which is invested in them. On the contrary the Foreign Aid reclamation and power projects pay back not one penny. In some countries they help to produce the very crops that are in surplus here at home. It makes it impossible for us to support our agricultural products. In many of the 32 foreign countries, the good will of this country is at its lowest ebb, in spite of all the dollars poured into these foreign lands. I commend a reading of the report which I will insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

SENATOR PAUL DOUGLAS OPPOSES UPPER COLORADO RIVER PROJECT

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, one of the distinguished Members of this body just a few moments ago asked your favorable consideration of the upper Colorado scheme. I would ask the Members also in their deliberations to consider the statements of a member of the other body, a distinguished economist, Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, who describes it as a lavish, extravagant, and unjustified program, and stated his opposition to it on the basis that, "This project is not good for the Nation. That is why I oppose it."

Other elucidating statements made by Senator DOUGLAS during debate on the project April 20 last year in the other body include the following:

The area covered by this bill is the worst place in the country at which to develop hydroelectric power. * * *

The cost of installing power capacity in the area covered by this bill will be over $500 per kilowatt, or 4 to 5 times the cost on the Tennessee River, and more than 5 times the cost of most dams on the Columbia River. * * *

If we were to pick out one of the worst places in the United States at which to erect a public power project, we would pick out this one. * * *

I doubt that this sum—the appropriation for power—will be paid out, for power from coal oil and shale oil in this region can probably be produced at the same or a lower cost. Furthermore what about atomic energy? Will not that be ready for use in 60 years?

* * * so if we add the hidden interest costs, which will amount to more than $1,100,000,000, the cost of the irrigation features will come to more than $2 billion and the total cost of all features to probably close to $3 billion or more.

The average cost of construction, let alone interest, for the project as a whole would be $952 an acre * * * if we include interest, the cost per acre will be $2,142. The cost for the central Utah project with interest will be $3,953. These are fantastic figures. The most fertile land in the country * * * is not worth more than $600 or $700 an acre. Here we are proposing to spend more than $2,000 an acre for land which, when fully irrigated, will not be worth more than $150 an acre. On a big project, we will be spending approximately $4,000 an acre.

We must remember that these irrigation projects are not in low altitudes * * * (at which) the average temperature is high and the growing season long. They are, instead, in the mountains, at altitudes from 4,500 to 7,500 feet, where the growing season is short, where the winters are long, and where the crops produced will be, by the admission of the proponents of this bill, primarily alfalfa, hay, and some corn, for the feeding of livestock. These are costs which cannot be borne. Irrigation can better be used to put water on the more fertile land of the Midwest to raise the yields per acre there. This would be at a very low cost instead of at the astronomical costs of this project.

* * * who then will pay for this gigantic project? The interest is forgiven, and borne by the taxpayer. Eighty-five percent of the principal is not to be paid by those who own the land, but is supposedly to be saddled on the power revenues. If we examine the costs and the power revenues, we find that it would be almost impossible for the power system to earn the money necessary to meet the 85 percent of direct irrigation costs. * * *

This is a lavish, extravagant, unjustified program.

MISUSE OF WELFARE AND UNION FUNDS

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include a magazine article.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, an article in the current March 6 issue of Look stresses the necessity of legislation which will prevent the embezzlement and misuse of welfare funds collected from employers, dues and other funds collected from employees.

The management of Look should be universally commended, especially by the officers of unions and those who are interested in union welfare, for giving wide publicity to the activities of a few dishonest extortionists and racketeers. Some are graphically exposed by Clark Mollenhoff and Fletcher Knebel of Look's Washington bureau. Both Mr. Knebel and Mr. Mollenhoff are well-known fact-finders, whose exposé in this issue of Look is documented and factual.

Unless the warning conveyed in the current issue of Look is heeded, money contributed by employers to a trust fund to be used only for the welfare of employees will continue to be embezzled, wasted, and misspent by individuals who should not go unwhipped of justice.

Unless the public, alerted by this and similar articles, insists upon remedial legislation, union dues and special assessments arbitrarily taken from the employee's pay check will be used to advance the political ambitions of union officers who do not represent the rank and file of organized labor.

The article to which reference is made reads as follows:

CAN BIG LABOR CLEAN HOUSE?

(By Fletcher Knebel and Clark Mollenhoff)

On the crisp December day last year when the AFL and CIO were married, some members of the wedding arrived for the ceremony only one step ahead of the sheriff.

Fifteen million workers entered the new temple of labor. At their head walked 68,000 local leaders. Most of these men came in the honored tradition of trade-unionism, but some came in the name of power and plunder. What distressed those who desired a bright future for the new AFL–CIO was not that a minority had come with unclean hands, but that nobody challenged them at the door.

For 2 years before the merger of the AFL and CIO, congressional investigators had spread upon the record a story that should have shamed every honest champion of labor.

Local union chiefs had played fast and loose with health and welfare funds. One insurance pool was looted of $1 million. Bombings, beatings, and vandalism beat a tattoo on the jukeboxes of the Midwest. Men who dared risk the wrath of labor thugs had their faces smashed.

The cynical self-interest of some labor bosses was bared to public view. Some claimed the fifth amendment privilege before congressional committees on the handling of funds of their own union members. Others got rich while paying lip service to the workingman. One leader bought diamond rings with union money and gave them to fellow labor bosses.

The handling of the $11 billion worth of new union-welfare insurance became a big business. In some places, it also became a big racket, spawning kickbacks, exorbitant commissions to pals of union chiefs and lucrative undercover deals that were cloaked from rank-and-file union members. In some locals, corruption rode into office with allies of the underworld.

The big issue with some labor czars was not how to boost the wages of the men, but how to keep themselves out of the clutches of the internal-revenue agents.

The stench finally became so great in one union, the International Longshoremen's Association, that George Meany, then president of the old AFL, booted that crime-ridden organization out of the AFL. But in the shadows of that expulsion, many officers of other unions who had battened on the wages of labor went unchastised and unrebuked by their superiors in the bureaucracy of labor.

From outside the big AFL–CIO merger, white-crested John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, bellowed a warning to his union contemporaries that human jackals were feeding on these welfare funds.

The new labor merger took account of the mounting criticism. It urged Congress to provide criminal penalties for officers who tamper with union-welfare funds or fail to file financial reports. It also denounced dishonest, corrupt, unethical conduct by union leaders and established a committee on ethical practices.

Al J. Hayes, president of the International Association of Machinists, heads the new five-man committee on ethical practices, which went to work early this year under wide authority to investigate racketeering and corruption.

The big question is not what the committee will find, but what it will do about it. Thus far, precious little has been done. Labor's hierarchy finds it easy to pass the buck. As a sample, the 1,250,000-member Brotherhood of Teamsters, largest union in the AFL–CIO, has been pockmarked with crime and terror, but President Dave Beck has failed to move against the culprits.

When AFL–CIO President George Meany was asked on a CBS-TV panel show if he had delivered Beck an ultimatum to cleanse his union, Meany demurred. "We do not have an FBI," he said. "We do not have an investigating department. We don't have that kind of money. The job of cleaning these things up is in the hands of the international union. They are supposed to watch these things."

One place where these things have been watched is Congress. Here, from the hearings and reports of Senate and House investigative committees, are glimpses of nine men of labor who remained uncensured months after their public testimony:

Eugene C. (Jimmy) James, secretary-treasurer, Laundry Workers International Union:

Senator IRVING M. IVES. "Is there any question that we can possibly ask you here, the answer to which will not incriminate you?"

Mr. JAMES. "I respectfully refuse to answer the question on the ground that the answer may tend to incriminate me."

Jimmy James may have set a record for reluctant witnesses before the Senate subcommittee on welfare and pension plans, headed by Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois. He invoked the fifth amendment no less than 229 times at one hearing. He even refused to answer when asked his union connection.

The big question was a $1 million one. A total of $1,008,500 had disappeared in 4 years from money collected to buy insurance premiums for the laundry workers. Through an intricate system of financial juggling, much of the money, according to Senate investigators, went through the hands of Louis B. Saperstein, a favored Newark, N. J., insurance broker, and wound up in a bank account controlled by the handsome, well-tailored Jimmy James.

Seldom has a Senate committee's official report used such words as "embezzled" and "looted," the verbs attached to the shrunken insurance pool of the laundry workers. "It is equally clear," declared the Douglas subcommittee, "that through James and/or Saperstein $900,000 in premiums and $82,500 in special service fees, and $26,000 in proceeds of the local 46 hotel-division funds were embezzled."

The report also stated that "James, who did not have any direct connection with the welfare fund, must bear the ultimate blame for having looted it of substantial money rightfully belonging to the beneficiaries, his own fellow union members."

Jimmy James had come a long way since the day, 15 years ago, when he was running a Detroit pool hall at a loss. He had bulled his way up through the echelons of professional labor organizers with obvious profit. Today, he can afford a limousine, a 10-room ranch house on 35 acres near Wheaton, Ill., 6 horses in the corral and a fine wardrobe of suits with matching accessories.

Jimmy James was cited by the United States Senate for contempt. He still serves as secretary-treasurer of the laundry workers. President Sam J. Byers made no move to unseat him. In fact, Byers missed the hearing on his union's welfare fund. A doctor's certificate excused him from appearing.

Angelo Inciso, president, Local 286, UAW (AFL), Chicago:

Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS. What was the purpose of this trip?

Mr. INCISO. I went to Europe to see how the living conditions were and also to see how the situation was.

Senator DOUGLAS. In other words, you were conducting a——

Mr. INCISO. Good-will tour.

Senator DOUGLAS. To whom were you spreading good will?

Mr. INCISO. Myself.

From a general account containing regular union dues and assessments, as well as health- and welfare-insurance funds, the 42-year-old Chicago labor boss financed a $3,400 tour of Europe. Inciso lived high on the hog from the union contributions of his 3,500 members. What's more, he had no apologies to make to nosy Senators. "I fight for them to get them the best of everything, and I am sure that when I travel they should give me the best of everything," he said. Inciso apparently felt, however, that this mutual regard was not shared universally. He arrived for the hearing with two bodyguards, who were requested to check their firearms at the door.

His lush junkets on union funds included trips to South America, with stopovers in Jamaica and Mexico; and to Puerto Rico, Europe, and California. Inciso insisted that these trips were on union business, but Senator DOUGLAS told Inciso's superior: "The only conclusion we can draw is that they are pleasure junkets paid for by relatively low-paid workers." Inciso also sought relaxation in a $45-a-day hotel suite in Las Vegas.

From the $350,000 to $400,000 a year that pours into his union pools, Inciso dispenses largesse to friends as freely as to himself. When a Chicago employer ran low on cash, Inciso loaned him $40,000. He believes he gave one $1,200 "gent's diamond ring" and another $1,100 "gent's diamond ring" to officials of the teamsters' union. Reason: "When you are on strike, it is wonderful to have friends who will * * * help you * * * and the teamsters * * * have done me many such favors." Inciso bought $360 diamond money clips from union funds, gave one to a teamsters' official and another to an attorney.

From his expensive trips abroad, Inciso always returned with an enormous love for the United States, despite past convictions for bootlegging and thievery. "Conditions are so terrible," said Angelo, of South America, "that I tried to forget it."

Inciso is not the only one who manages to forget his trips and easy spending of union funds. The president of the AFL International Union of United Automobile Workers of America, Earl Heaton, has yet to demand that Inciso give an accounting of his personal welfare.

N. Louis (Babe) Triscaro, president, Excavating and Building Materials Local 436, Teamsters Union, Cleveland:

Representative CLARE HOFFMAN. "Did you report the $200 a week, for example, as administrator of the welfare fund?"

Mr. TRISCARO: "I refuse to answer on the ground it may tend to incriminate me."

Babe Triscaro ruled as boss of a welfare fund for his union. He told the House Antiracketeering Subcommittee that he set aside 15 percent of these collected moneys for "administration." From this administrative budget, he promoted the welfare of his teamsters in curious ways—with the approval of union executives, he testified.

He spent $430 for cases of whisky as Christmas gifts to fund officials and gave them $96 worth of fight tickets. He also anted up $250 for a Bill Presser testimonial dinner. Luncheons, baseball tickets, and raffle chances flowed from the insurance pool's "administration."

In 2 years, Triscaro's local collected $790,000 for welfare, but under his rule, only about 20 percent had been used to buy insurance premiums for the workers.

What was he doing with the remainder? The Babe said he intended to build a clinic as a monument to himself.

"There is people," he said, "that are worried about their families. There is people that want to get them free benefits and have those benefits for a fact. And I felt that it would have been a sort of monument to me and the papers would have to throw flowers at me instead of dirt as they have been doing for the last 23 or 24 years. So I felt that it would be a monument to me and my membership."

As for his own income during the years when the welfare of his members nestled so close to his heart, Triscaro invoked a brand of welfare for himself and sought refuge behind the fifth amendment when questioned about matters in his income-tax returns.

Triscaro still rules his union roost; President Dave Beck of the International Teamsters has made no move to dislodge him.

Edward J. Gallagher, president, Pointers, Cleaners & Calkers Union, Local No. 52, Chicago.

Senator GORDON ALLOTT: "And there is no appeal to any person from your decision as to how funds shall be spent?"

Mr. GALLAGHER: "No, sir."

Ed Gallagher operated one of the fanciest vanishing union welfare funds of our era, a hearing before a Senate subcommittee on welfare and pension funds indicated. A 7½-cent-per-hour levy on employers yielded the Pointers, Cleaners & Calkers' welfare fund $215,752 in 4 years. At the end of that period, the fund had shriveled to $7,339, with hardly a scrap of documentary evidence to show that union members had received any benefits from it. Part of the money was transferred by check into the union's "defense" fund, whence it went out on drafts which were cashed in spots ranging from a Chicago bar and grill to a Florida motel.

Gallagher stoutly maintained that he doled out the cash in "welfares" to members who needed it for ailments, births, funerals, etc. But he admitted he had scant written proof to show the nature of the welfare. Even his attorney, Nathan Cohen, conceded that Senators might properly term Gallagher's method of operation: "How Not To Operate a Welfare Fund."

Endorsements on some of the checks seemed to indicate transactions far from the realm of hospitals and clinics: a $1,166 repair bill for Gallagher's new Cadillac; a $347.07 check to an airline for tickets to Miami; a $1,700 payment on a Chrysler for a union official.

One $500 check through a furrier was explained by Gallagher as probably a 10-week disability payment to a member who used it to buy something for a "sweetheart" or "whatever you might call it."

The Senators were not impressed by Gallagher's protest of virtue in connection with the vanishing welfare fund. Their report concluded "that a great portion of the welfare fund and, for that matter, the other fund created by deductions from employees' wages went to the benefit of Gallagher."

The Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers International Union, presided over by Harry C. Bates, has taken no action on Ed Gallagher of its Chicago affiliate.

Anthony Doria, international secretary-treasurer, UAW (AFL).

Mr. DORIA: "I think labor representatives today are entitled to the position they hold."

Senator DOUGLAS: "To diamond rings?"

Mr. DORIA: "If the man sitting across the table from me wears a diamond ring, I think I am entitled to the same thing. I represent my people on the same level."

President Angelo Inciso's fast and loose spending of union funds of a local under Doria's jurisdiction troubled the international secretary-treasurer not a whit. In fact, he was at pains to explain to investigating Senators that a new day of plush comfort had downed for labor leaders. Diversion of money collected for the benefit of the rank and file to the high living of union officials received his tacit approval. He declined to plunge into the icy water of ethics.

Senator DOUGLAS denounced as highly improper, if not illegal, the practice of expensive junkets from union funds by the men entrusted with the money. Doria believed DOUGLAS had missed the point.

"Senator, to the contrary," he said. "It is expenditures such as these that expand the horizon of labor leaders to the point

where they can more adequately compete with what is sitting across the table from them that has been doing this for 100 years."

This attitude toward the custodians of these funds has brought no public reprimand from Doria's immediate superior, Earl Heaton, international president of the AFL auto workers.

William Presser, president, Ohio Conference of Teamsters.

Representative CLARE E. HOFFMAN: "Didn't you withdraw from the Cleveland Trust Co. during 1952 something like $46,829.88?"

Mr. PRESSER. "I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me."

In the course of one session before a House antiracketeering subcommitte, headed by Representative GEORGE H. BENDER, Republican, of Ohio, Presser used that phrase or its equivalent 55 times, even refusing to answer the simple inquiry as to what compensation he received from his teamsters' union.

Presser is lord of a jukebox and cigarette-vending machine empire that sprawls over northern Ohio. The nickels and quarters yield a rich harvest. A typical location for a vending machine is valued at $300. In 1953, Presser was fined $1,500 on a Federal charge of conspiring to create a monopoly in the candy and cigarette business.

A criminal record is no bar to employment under Presser. According to witnesses and the report of the Bender subcommittee, this is the pattern of operations in Presser's domain: Employers are forced to join the union. Operators outside the association risk stench-bombings, beatings, picketings, and wrecked machines. Distributors who sell to operators on the union blacklist learn what enforcement means. One distributor who tried it was bombed 2 days later. Another operator who was stench-bombed 3 times now carries a .38 for protection.

Although Presser disclaimed liability for violence in his territory, the subcommittee found that it "must of necessity be the responsibility of Presser." More than a year has passed since the congressional report, but International President Dave Beck of the teamsters has taken no action on Presser.

Paul Dorfman, secretary-treasurer, local 20467, Waste Material Handlers' Union, Chicago:

William F. McKenna, general counsel of House Committee on Government Operations:

Mr. MCKENNA. "Mr. Dorfman, do you report part of the income of the Union Insurance Agency of Illinois on your returns as personal income each year?"

Mr. DORFMAN: "I decline to answer the question. The answer might tend to incriminate me."

House investigators received 70 similar answers from Paul Dorfman. Most of the investigative interest centered about Dorfman's connection with the Union Insurance Agency of Illinois, which handled lucrative union welfare-fund accounts of the Union Casualty and Life Insurance Company of Mount Vernon, N. Y.

Dorfman admitted that his wife Rose and his son Allen were partners in Union Insurance, but declined to answer questions about his wife's cut of the profits. However, a committee investigator presented a breakdown. It showed that in fiscal 1952, Allen Dorfman got $31,000 or one-fourth of the net profits, while Rose Dorfman received three-fourths, or $94,000. The following year, the investigator said, they split the net profits 50–50, or $118,500 for each.

Commissions and expenses received by the agency in a 4-year period totaled $791,000, according to the investigators, the bulk of it in connection with two teamsters' welfare funds and a fund of local 1031 of the electrical workers.

Paul Dorfman testified he knew both James Hoffa of the teamsters and Frank Darling of the electrical workers, but declined to answer when asked if he discussed insurance with them.

Allen Dorfman, the son, invoked the fifth amendment 64 times while appearing before the House committee.

Paul Dorfman still rules as secretary-treasurer of the Waste Material Handlers' Union, which operates on a direct charter from American Federation of Labor headquarters. President George Meany has taken no action in the matter.

James R. Hoffa, vice president, Brotherhood of Teamsters;

WILLIAM F. MCKENNA: "How many Cadillacs do your business agents use?"

Mr. HOFFA: "Well, I'll tell you, we have, let's see, in our particular local union I guess maybe about 11 Cadillacs, or 12. We have a couple of Fords and maybe a Mercury. * * * We change them every year."

When Jimmy Hoffa, labor's little Napoleon, meets one of his teamsters, he likes to fling a "Hiyuh, capitalist!" greeting. As a servant of the workingman, Hoffa has become quite a capitalist himself. His individual and family ventures show no lack of vision.

They included, according to testimony before a House Subcommittee on Welfare Funds and Labor Racketeering, headed by Representative WINT SMITH, Republican, of Kansas, an outfit known as Test Fleet, Inc., which leased equipment to a company hauling automobiles. Hoffa's wife and Mrs. Owen Bert Brennan, wife of another Detroit teamster official, established the business for $4,000. Within 4 years, the subcommittee said, it had returned the ladies $62,000 in dividends, although their only work was to ask that a dividend be declared now and then.

Hoffa said he owned a $10,000 chunk of Northwestern Oil Co. in North Dakota. Others with a $10,000 interest included an officer and an agent of the insurance company which held the teamsters' welfare-insurance business, with a fat profit for the company.

Other past Hoffa enterprises were half of a $25,000 stock interest in a realty company, a share of the Columbus Trotting Association, which operated a racetrack, and a $3,500 share of Jack-O-Lantern Lodge, a Wisconsin girls' camp. Other investors in the girls' camp included insurance agents for the firm that handled the teamsters' welfare account. Hoffa also said he lost $20,000 in a "little syndicate" that included a brewery.

For a time, Mrs. Hoffa drew $100 a week on the payroll of the jukebox local in Detroit, but never went near the office. Hoffa said this was really a method to repay him money he loaned to the union.

At the time House investigators quizzed him in 1953, Hoffa also swore that he owed more than $38,000 to individuals, although none of the sums were formalized in notes or other evidence of intention to repay.

House probers were interested in Hoffa's capitalistic ventures primarily because some of them involved mutual investments with Dr. Leo Perlman, head of Union Casualty and Life, and Allen Dorfman, head of Union Insurance Agency, which handled huge teamster welfare funds under Hoffa's influence. Hoffa said he received no money for swinging the insurance to the Dorfmans and Perlman, but he insisted on his right to draw a normal profit from joint business enterprises with these same people.

Hoffa, twice convicted of labor-law violations, still retains his official teamster positions. International President Dave Beck has made no move to oust him. Some people think Beck couldn't—that Hoffa has more power than Beck.

M. Frank Darling, President and business manager, Local 1031, Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Chicago:

Representative PHIL M. LANDRUM: "You think he just paid you $42,000 to have his name spread out over the air?"

Mr. DARLING: "I think he felt the advertising for a new company competing against older companies for insurance, and particularly advertising that would reach factory workers that he was trying to reach, that he thought it was worth it."

In addition to his chores for the Chicago electrical workers' local, Frank Darling had active financial dealings of his own.

One of them was an 80-percent interest in a short-lived girls' baseball league. For one team, he obtained a $42,000 sponsor, Allen Dorfman's Illinois agency. In return, the girls advertised the insurance firm on their uniforms. What interested House investigators in this deal was the fact that Dorfman's agency handled the rich welfare fund of Darling's Local 1031 of the electrical workers, which in 4 years paid premiums totaling $2,500,000. In 4 years, Allen Dorfman's commissions on the deal totaled $250,000, the Smith subcommittee reported. Dorfman's partner in the agency was his mother.

Admiral Corp., which employed five or six thousand members of Darling's union, also anted up $20,000 for sponsorship of one of Darling's girl baseball teams. The Smith subcommittee noted that girl baseball was a "personal enterprise of Union President Darling" and "totally unrelated" to collective bargaining between the company and Darling's union.

Darling's union office sweetened his financial life in other directions. He received commissions from a furniture and appliance store which gave discounts to his union members. He received about $1,000 in 1952 from check-cashing companies which cashed paychecks of his union members at a profit. Darling said he arranged with company officials to permit the check cashers to park outside the plant's gates.

If some of Darling's ventures seemed to indicate a conflict of interest, officials at international headquarters were not disturbed. Neither the late International President J. Scott Milne nor his successor, Gordon M. Freeman, made any move to oust or censure Darling.

These are but nine men of labor. There are scores of other Pressers, Dorfmans, Gallaghers, and Jameses ruling unions throughout the land. Some have been investigated by Congress, Others have not. The question before labor's new house is what the Hayes committee on ethical practices will do about them.

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Agriculture have until midnight tonight to file a report on the bill, H. R. 8750.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

TREE PLANTING ON SURPLUS CROPLANDS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SIKES] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, in 1949, 16 of my distinguished colleagues in the House from both sides of the aisle joined me in introducing legislation to provide cooperative forest management advice and assistance to farmers and other owners of small woodlands. The proposed bill became law in 1950 and now some 270 technically trained foresters are employed by 41 States which are

cooperating with our Federal Forest Service in this woodland management endeavor. Each year now some 30,000 small owners are helped to do a better job of growing, harvesting, and marketing their tree crop.

Mr. Speaker, the tree crop is one that is not in surplus. It never has been in surplus. A recent review of our timber resource status for the next 50 years indicates increasing needs for the products of our forests—particularly pulp and paper products. We know that there are some 60 million acres of denuded, overcut and depleted forest land in need of regeneration to trees. Tree planting is therefore truly a subject of great importance and of national interest.

We are fortunate today that the general public, and more particularly our farmers, realize that trees can be used for many purposes. Tree seedlings can be planted on open lands, grown for a various number of years, harvested for pulpwood or lumber, or just left to grow as insurance against a time when national needs in an emergency may require huge quantities of wood and cellulose derivatives such as were required in World War II.

In the proposals to create a national soil bank there are millions of acres of surplus croplands which can be planted to trees. However, the farmer who diverts such land needs Federal aid in the form of tree seedlings and technical help to get them planted and tended for the several years it takes to establish the new plantation. There are many such acres in the South that can be diverted to trees, for whatever period desirable, then if conditions demand, the better acres could be converted back to the growing of crops.

Mr. Speaker, the bill I am introducing today will make it possible to give farmers the tree seedlings needed to plant open lands that have been declared surplus for the growing of crops. The bill also provides the additional technical forest management assistance necessary to insure a good job of planting and care of the seedlings being done by the farmer. It will help get surplus croplands in the South into trees; it will do this same job anywhere in the Nation where incentives are needed to get the tree planting job on diverted acres underway.

One feature of the bill calls for the State forestry commissions to appoint a county forestry or tree planting committee to act as an advisory group to counsel with the other State and Federal agencies in the counties in the preparation of a coordinated tree planting plan.

Since there are some 90 forest tree nurseries now being operated by 43 States in cooperation with the United States Forest Service, a local county advisory group familiar with tree planting procedures as to the procurement of seedlings will be essential to help plan and carry out the tree planting activities at the county level.

Mr. Speaker, the planting of forest tree seedlings on designated surplus croplands is a sound idea. It would not solve the problem of huge crop surpluses now on hand, but it will help to prevent the further accumulation of these surpluses.

It is my hope that the Congress will give serious attention to this matter of the careful and calculated use of trees in any program of Federal aid and assistance to farmers in the wise use of their surplus cropland. Land in a national soil bank that is put to work growing trees will be a capital investment that will produce attractive annual interest rates. Well stocked forests return up to 15 percent per year interest on the investment. At the same time the land will be protected from deterioration while growing a crop that never has been in surplus.

I feel that sound and substantial progress is being made in the great field of forestry conservation and improvement in the United States. We are fortunate in having an able and dedicated Forest Service. It is headed by Richard E. McArdle, one of the greatest foresters this Nation has produced. He is joined in this work by an outstanding corps of capable and conscientious experts on forestry. The Nation is fortunate also in the caliber of the State foresters who are spearheading effective work in their respective States. Representative of this group are Joseph Kaylor, of Maryland, and H. C. Coulter, of Florida. Through the efforts of the State and National leaders like these, America can truly rejoice in the efforts which are being made to save her forests. Even so, we are barely holding our own. The great work of education in conservation must be stepped up and forest conservation must be improved if we are to meet the demands of the future. The proposal set forth in my bill is only one step, but I believe it is an important step and I hope it will receive the endorsement of my colleagues.

Mr. WINSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIKES. I yield to my distinguished colleague who has always been outstanding in this important field.

Mr. WINSTEAD. I compliment the gentleman for his outstanding work in behalf of forestry in this country. Would the gentleman's bill furnish free seedlings to those who have already reduced their acreage? Is the gentleman's bill broad enough to cover that?

Mr. SIKES. It is broad enough to cover that phase also.

Mr. WINSTEAD. I thank the gentleman.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SIKES] has expired.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. FORRESTER] is recognized for 90 minutes.

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, shortly after coming to Congress, I had the privilege of attending a banquet honoring Captain Carlson, the brave commander of the *Enterprise*, which he rode for 13 days while it floated on its side in a turbulent and stormy sea. That act of loyalty, bravery, and devotion captured the interest of good people everywhere. After many eulogies, Captain Carlson was presented and afforded an opportunity to speak, and the following is almost verbatim what he said:

> I deserve no honor nor praise. I am only a plain seaman who was entrusted with a little piece of America, and my only regret is that I failed to bring it safely home.

Mr. Speaker, it was men like Captain Carlson who gave us this country for our home, and every Member of Congress is peculiarly given the responsibility of guiding the destiny of this Nation for the purpose that it shall always remain our home, strong and undivided. In humble recognition of that trust and accompanying responsibility, it is sometimes hard to determine when to speak and not speak. This much I do know: if my uttered thoughts will add to the confusion of the moment, then I owe it to my God and country the duty to remain silent. On the other hand, when I see this great country of ours torn with strife and confusion, if I can add a single word of counsel, or furnish any information to the end that peace, friendship, and understanding can prevail over our land, even though that counsel is not accepted, and my feeble efforts come to naught, I am constrained to believe that I owe the duty to the present and to posterity to speak out.

Mr. Speaker, I am appalled and sorely grieved over the strife and bitterness aroused over our land at a time when everyone knows, or should know, that we are facing the most critical era in all of human history. Never has it been so important that the true and loyal citizens of this country stand agreed and united. I do not like strife; neither do my people. I do not like the idea of stirring section against section, as apparently some do, and neither do the people whom I represent. There is nothing romantic in fighting or the drawing of blood, and no one knows this better than I or my people. Some have said in the past few days, and there is substance to those sayings, that internal strife in this country has mounted to such alarming proportions that the present is comparable to the days of 1860. God grant that these statements are wrong. The War Between the States constitutes the blackest pages of our history. Fire-eaters and agitators both North and South brought about that tragic era. Good men both North and South worked fervently and prayerfully for a peaceful solution then, but the voice of reason was drowned out by demagogues and the ignorant of that day. During those terrible and trying days preceding that gigantic war—and it was a horrible war, some of the battles still being comparable to the major battles of World Wars I and II, snuffing out the lives of the cream of our young manhood both North and South—a kinsman of mine stood on the floor of Congress, and though the atmosphere was charged with hatred and prejudice, quoted the Biblical statements of Abraham to Lot, saying:

> Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee. Is not the whole land before us? * * * If we cannot agree, let us divide it.

Those were the words of Alexander H. Stevens, of Georgia. Perhaps the

strongest friendship existing in the Congress at that time was a strange paradox, because that friendship was between Stevens of Georgia and Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. As then, so it is now; the agitators did not do the fighting, and it was the quiet, peaceful boys of the North who died by the thousands in Virginia, Mississippi, Georgia, and other Southern States, and the identical type of beardless boys from the South, many of whom now sleep in unmarked graves in the Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania hills. Mr. Speaker, simply as a matter of history and probably in explanation of my present position, my mother's father spoke out against secession at the secession convention in Georgia. My grandfather said then:

> Let us not grow weary in seeking a peaceful solution. Even the agitators, both northern and southern, are mortal. The grave will claim them, if good people will postpone their grievances to a more convenient time.

He recommended against secession, but said that if that was the act of his State, then he would offer his life to his State, and as captain of the 11th Georgia Regiment under Longstreet, though always small and never strong physically, he participated in all of the battles of northern Virginia, beginning with Manassas, including Gettysburg, and was with General Lee when he surrendered at Appomattox.

Mr. Speaker, I know war, and I know the result of strife. Beginning with the Revolution, young men by my name and by my mother's name have given their lives in battle. In the district I represent is Andersonville Cemetery. Thirteen thousand northern prisoners died and are buried there. Many times have I walked through the cemetery and read the names of those who sleep there. They are American names, they were American boys, just as the southerners were American boys, and I always shuddered over the realization that both sides lost thousands of men that this country could ill afford to spare. Disloyal people agitate, Mr. Speaker, but only the loyal fight and die.

Mr. Speaker, a sad situation exists over my section today. Of a truth, it exists in every section. This condition is not caused by the old-fashioned Yankee, or by the old-fashioned southerner. This confusion and strife lie directly at the door of the arch enemies of the church, and the human race. This condition was started by Lenin, carried on by Stalin, and furthered by the Communist Party International. That I want to burn into the heart of every person who loves this country. I know whereof I speak. I am weighing my words carefully, for who knows but what someday all of our remarks on this floor will be scrutinized carefully by future generations, and that we will be judged by what we have said and done here. We must tell the truth and the truth only, for only truth can stand through eternity.

Mr. Speaker, the House Un-American Activities Committee has repeatedly furnished to us and to the public unassailable and unimpeachable evidence that the Communists began years ago to stir up racial strife in America. Sad to relate, but completely true. This conspiracy could have been wiped out years ago, but the United States Supreme Court, by the reversal of a conviction in Georgia rendered it impossible to destroy that conspiracy. In the 175th Georgia Supreme Court report, pages 832–869, will be found the case of Herndon against the State. Herndon was indicted in Fulton County, Ga., for the offense of attempting to incite insurrection, and the Fulton County jury did its duty and convicted Herndon, and the court did its duty and sentenced Herndon to the penitentiary for not less than 5 and not more than 20 years. In that report, the evidence in that case is found. It was proven that Herndon joined the Communist Party in Kentucky and was sent to Atlanta as an organizer for that party; that he held meetings in vacant houses and in private homes; that the Communist Party was declaring that this country must be overthrown by force and violence, and that he was teaching this doctrine at those meetings; also, that they must accept the Communist Party decisions, irrespective of their own opinions; that the Communists were planning for the Negro of the South a territory known as the Black Belt, containing portions of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, and Georgia, and thence up the coast through several States, and that in this territory the Negroes would be given the complete rights of self-determination, including the right to set up their own government in this territory, and the right to separate from the United States; that all of the lands in that territory would be taken from the whites and given to the Negroes. It appeared quite plainly that this territory was to be acquired only through successful revolutionary struggle, and by force and violence.

Mr. Speaker, in volume 301, United States Code Reports, pages 242–264, will be found the majority opinion of the United States Supreme Court reversing the conviction of Herndon in Georgia. Some of the so-called tired old men who sat upon that Court dissented, thinking that Herndon's conviction should stand. Those men were not tired, but disgusted over the failure of our highest court to sustain the principles on which this country must exist. God bless those so-called tired old men.

Mr. Speaker, had the United States Supreme Court called a halt then, communism could have been snuffed out as easily as passing your hand over a candle to extinguish its flame. The House Un-American Activities Committee has repeatedly told us how Communist organizations would bring Negroes from the South up to large cities in the North, indoctrinate them with communism, and send them back South to sow the seeds of discontent. I personally know this to be true. Before coming to Congress, as prosecuting attorney I tried the cases known as the Ingram cases. A Negress and her 3 sons ambushed and methodically killed a white man 65 years of age and weighing 125 pounds. This man was murdered with a rifle, claw hammer, hoe, and rake by all 4 of the Ingrams as he lay helpless upon the ground. These persons were tried and convicted, having every constitutional right accorded them. The sentences were for life imprisonment. The next afternoon, while sitting in my room at home, I was startled to hear a radio broadcast emanating from California wherein it was charged that this Negress and her sons had been railroaded to prison. Within 24 hours my judge was literally deluged with telegrams from all sections of this country, all using practically identical language and expressions of hatred, some of which contained the names of Communists, with their Communist lodge numbers, as they had not gone underground at that time. This identical language told me, and should tell everyone, that they were simply the result of instructions from headquarters. Millions of dollars were raised over this country ostensibly for the defense of the Ingrams, and this I can prove.

The House Un-American Activities Committee has previously taken notice of the fact that millions of dollars have been raised for the Communists by these campaigns. The NAACP entered into the Ingram case. The Civil Rights Congress distributed leaflets all over Chicago denouncing the South. When the motion for new trial was heard in Americus, approximately 250 persons from other sections of the country descended upon that little town. They did everything they could to incite a riot. They invaded the jail and the private home of the sheriff. I was there and well understood what they wanted to accomplish. They wanted one southerner to strike them so they could wire Congress that civil-rights legislation must be enacted against the barbarians of the South. I restrained the southerners, but no one could restrain those shock troops. They were not looking for the truth and they did not want the truth. They did not want the truth then, and they do not want the truth now. They did not think nearly as much of the Ingrams as you do, and they simply used that incident to promote their cause. I have the complete file of that case, Mr. Speaker, including the telegrams, and I will be delighted to show them to any congressional committee. As a sample of what some of the Negro newspapers did, I have a newspaper published by one of the largest, wherein it tells of them sending a reporter to Georgia to see the Ingrams, and that he was tied to a lamppost in Atlanta, severely beaten, and was told that was the way we treated Yankees. The paper goes on to say that this brave, loyal, and truthful reporter did finally get to Americus, went to the old wooden jail, and talked with the Ingrams. The truth is that the reporter never got any further than Atlanta, inasmuch as he became enamored over a colored female in Atlanta, spent his money in debauchery, and wrote that terrible lie. Instead of the jail being a wooden jail, it is and was completely of brick construction and built about the year 1900. Then you might want to see an edition from another large Negro newspaper, wherein it published the photograph of the Negress defendant holding up a sweater which had been torn to shreds, and above that photograph in

boxcar headlines, was this statement: "He Tried To Go With Me." So, that paper spread to the four corners of this country the lie that she and her children killed the white man in defense of her honor.

Mr. Speaker, prior to the visit of that reporter, I had personally held that sweater in my hand many times. I tell you. and all the officers working on this homicide will tell you that the sweater was not torn until the visit of that reporter. I also tell you that I had repeatedly discussed this homicide with that defendant and she had repeatedly told me that the white man had never made any improper advances or suggestions to her, but contended to the officers and to me that the killing was done to prevent the white man from shooting her with a rifle. The evidence of course showed that no self-defense was involved, and that the white man was ambushed and chased 200 yards before he was caught from behind and methodically beaten to death.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the South has, for all practical purposes, been invaded. The case that I have related my personal experience with has been repeated time and time again in my section. The United States Court has destroyed our white primary. To destroy that primary, you would have to decide that a straw vote held by southern white people was illegal. Now, under the United States Supreme Court edict, despite the fact that before that decision virtually every Negro in Georgia claimed to be a Republican, they are now voting as Democrats in our primary, and then voting en bloc in the general election, without any regard whatsoever for their obligation to support the candidate nominated in the primary. So, they are getting 2 votes to 1 vote for the white man. I could tell you for days and days wrongs that have been inflicted upon the white people of the South, but I shall only attempt to tell enough now that would cause an honest person to see the situation in its true light. I well know that there are groups in America which positively do not intend to believe. The Communist conspiracy was that the fight against us would be first waged on the grounds of equality, but denying that intermarriage and integration was sought or desired. That lasted only for a season. They are now demanding in unmistakable terms social equality and intermarriage. In fact, they are now contending that their race is the greatest in all history, and that they are only displaced Africans. I have never read in history where all of the native Africans were displaced, but I suppose the Communists could prove that as easily as they do that the Wright brothers did not build the first airplane.

In the South, the Negroes incited by outsiders first started the boycott and the bringing of economic pressure. I had hoped that they would not. I hope now that they will quit. They cannot win an economic boycott, and I will tell you why. No matter how low you reduce a white man in poverty, the white man will rise again from his own efforts. There is very little in history that would justify the Negro in feeling that he would do so by his own efforts. The economic pressure groups formed in the South by white people were simply in answer to the economic pressure put into practice by the Negro. Since the economic pressure and boycott theory they inaugurated did not turn out so well for the Negro, the NAACP and the Antidefamation League of the B'nai B'rith would pass a Federal law making it a felony for white people to join any such organizations, and they ask this legislation knowing full well that they are the ones who set these practices into motion.

Mr. Speaker, I doubt that any State in the Union has finer school buildings for the Negroes than does my State of Georgia. They were built for the Negroes by the white man's tax dollars, in the full faith that the United States Supreme Court would hold that separate but equal school facilities would satisfy all constitutional concepts. Now, this so-called superior race does not wish to be left to themselves. Strange, isn't it. Only the inferior could possibly insist upon mixing with a group when they know they are not wanted.

Now, a great hue and cry is heard over the land about the trouble at the University of Alabama and the troubles in Mississippi. Just why some people in other sections want to regulate our conduct from our cradle to our graves, I will never know. Never have we tried to regulate other sections of this country except our own. It is not because we do not know of many more grievous circumstances that have occurred in other sections than have occurred in our section. We know that in New York City gangs of Negroes are running wild on the streets, shooting, stabbing, robbing, and raping. We have heard of the wolf gangs in Harlem. We know about the terrible race riots in Detroit. We know about the race riot in Cicero. Some of us have even read the book by Camille DeRose, in which she tells how this race riot was planned by the NAACP, and how she was betrayed by her disloyal colored friends. We know the charges that were made in her book about corrupt courts, and the unfaithful officers in those courts. We also know that the only way we could properly judge what the facts were in any of these instances we would have had to have been on the ground and witnessed them first hand. Consequently, we do not indict and convict those cities. We leave those matters strictly to them, to be determined in the manners that their consciences dictate. All that we ask, and I think it is a reasonable request, is that they quit indicting and convicting us when they should know that they are incapable of knowing the facts.

Mr. Speaker, a few days ago my State was gratuitously insulted by the United States Department of Justice. That Department ordered the FBI to investigate the jury system of Cobb County. That investigation cannot be justified, for if the jury system had been illegally set up, every defendant would have had the right to challenge that jury system before going to trial in any case. Everyone knows that upon any kind of showing of any irregularity in a jury panel in Georgia, that the United States Supreme Court will set aside the verdict of that jury.

Mr. Speaker, there is another problem that I wish to discuss, which I think is or should be of much concern to our country. That problem is that in our military, some of our southern boys are being mistreated because they are imbued with our southern traditions, and even their right of expression of their views is being denied them. Has the time come in this country that a man cannot express his opinion while serving his country? If so, when did that time come about? Mr. Speaker, for some reason, maybe economic, the exact reason I do not know, our southern people have liked the military. The South and the West furnished this country practically all of the admirals and generals that led our armies to victory in World War II.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to remind the public that Gen. Courtney Hodges, the commander of the First Army, and the first army that penetrated into Germany, was from the little town of Perry, Houston County, Ga., and in the district that I have the honor to represent. Mr. Speaker, I am satisfied that General Hodges believed in our southern traditions, but he was a wonderful fighting man, wasn't he? Mr. Speaker, Captain Dixon, that intrepid young flyer that thrilled the world in the early days of World War II by his simple announcement to his commander, "Scratch off another flattop," was born and reared in the little city of Richland, Stewart County, Ga. The world was glad to hear that news, Mr. Speaker, because up to that time our forces in the Pacific were faring badly indeed. His father and his family still live in Richland, and I apprehend, Mr. Speaker, that every one of them is completely southern, but unalterably a loyal citizen of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, the district that I have the honor to represent will always remember with pride that young Luther Story, Americus, Ga., weight 125 pounds, was probably the greatest hero in that so-called police action in bleak and mountainous Korea. Luther Story has not been aggrandized, but his record and the citation accompanying the Congressional Medal of Honor posthumously awarded to his mother tells eloquently what he did. He was Private Story, Company A, 9th Infantry Regiment, a weapons squad leader. The citation says that Story observed a large group of the enemy crossing the river to attack Company A, and that he seized a machine gun from his wounded gunner and killed an estimated 100 enemy soldiers. And, facing certain encirclement, the company commander ordered a withdrawal, but Private Story noticed the approach of a truck loaded with enemy troops and towing an ammunition trailer. Alerting his comrades to take cover, he fearlessly stood in the middle of the road throwing grenades into the truck; out of grenades, he crawled to his squad, gathered up additional grenades, and again attacked the vehicle. Private Story was wounded in this action, but disregarded his wounds and rallied the men about

him and repelled the attack. Realizing that his wounds would hamper his comrades, he refused to retire to the next position, but remained to cover the company's withdrawal. When last seen by his withdrawing comrades, he was firing every available weapon and fighting off another hostile assault. Mr. Speaker, Private Story, his mother and father, sisters and brothers, and all of his people were and are complete adherents to our southern sentiments. We have many others in our district that are made from the same kind of mold, who will fight for our Republican form of government, and I do not believe there is anyone here so naive that he would not welcome this assistance. I know, however, that there are some in our country who would deny such people any right of voice whatever in this Government.

Mr. Speaker, it is amazing to read and hear people arguing that my people have rebelled against our Government, because my people say that the United States Supreme Court decision concerning segregated schools was wrong. Those people do not know history, or else they feel that my people occupy a colonial status and should not be permitted to express their opinion. I think it well at this time to give our critics the benefit of some history. I want to tell those critics that one of the motivating causes of that unfortunate War Between the States was that the North and East refused to accept a United States Supreme Court decision.

I am referring to the Dred Scott decision. Beveridge, in his book Abraham Lincoln, IV, page 158, has this statement:

> Not until Republican leaders in the Senate next year, as a matter of party strategy, concentrated their attacks on the complicity of the Supreme Court in a crafty scheme to spread slavery over the whole country, did Lincoln take up that indictment.

On pages 157, 158, same volume, we read:

> The Dred Scott decision, cried Trumbull, was an "odious and infamous opinion of a slave driving court which must be wholly and totally revolutionized."

Consequently it appears, Mr. Speaker, that an entire political party in the year 1857 not only criticized a Supreme Court decision, but demanded that the decision be revolutionized. That helped bring about a war, but I doubt that any southerner disputed their right to oppose the decision, although they did not agree on the dispute.

President Abraham Lincoln vigorously denounced the Dred Scott decision, and I think, whether he was right or wrong, he had the right as an American citizen to do it, it being an American privilege. In Springfield, Ill., June 26, 1857, Mr. Lincoln said:

> We think the Dred Scott decision is erroneous. We know the Court that made it has often overruled its own decisions, and we shall do what we can to have it to overrule this.

Also:

> Judicial decisions are of greater or less authority as precedents according to circumstances. That this should be so accords both with commonsense and the customary understanding of the legal profession. If this important decision had been made by the unanimous concurrence of the judges, and without any apparent partisan bias, and in accordance with legal public expectation, and with the steady practice of the departments throughout our history, and had been in no part based on assumed historical facts which are not really true; or, if wanting in some of these, it had been before the court more than once, and had been affirmed and reaffirmed through a course of years, it then might be, perhaps would be, factious, nay, even revolutionary not to acquiesce in it as a precedent. But when, as is true, we find it wanting in all of these claims to the public confidence, it is not resistance, it is not factious, it is not even disrespectful, to treat it as not having yet quite established a settled doctrine for the country. But Judge Douglas considers this view awful.

In that speech, Mr. Lincoln referred to the fact that this same Supreme Court once decided a national bank would be constitutional, but General Jackson, as President, disregarded the decision and vetoed a bill for a recharter, partly on constitutional grounds, using this as an argument to buttress his contention that objections did not constitute rebellion. Also, in that same address, Mr. Lincoln said:

> That all there ever was in the way of precedent up to the Dred Scott decision, on the points therein decided, had been against that decision.

And again in the same speech, Mr. Lincoln said:

> Again and again have I heard Judge Douglas denounce that bank decision and applaud General Jackson for disregarding it. It would be interesting for him to look over his recent speech, and see how exactly his fierce philippics against us for resisting Supreme Court decisions fall upon his own head.

Also:

> I have said, in substance, that the Dred Scott decision was in part based on assuming historical facts which were not really true, and I ought not to leave the subject without giving some reasons for saying this: I therefore give an instance or two, which I think fully sustain me.

Then, Mr. Lincoln proceeded to point out statements made by Justice Taney which he said were not historically true, and cited statements by Judge Curtis, who said that Justice Taney had erred in the recitation of historical facts.

Mr. Speaker, all of these quotations from Mr. Lincoln have been taken from Lincoln Works I, Nicolay and Hay, pages 226 to 230, which I obtained from the Library of Congress. So we say, Mr. Speaker, that Mr. Lincoln did exactly what my people are doing. My people have not rebelled against this Government because of the school case decision, although they have criticized that decision. Criticism of that decision has not been restricted to the South, but actually is common amongst the legal fraternity in every section of the United States. Everything Mr. Lincoln said about the Dred Scott decision applies equally to the school decision, except in one particular; maybe the Supreme Court was conscious of Mr. Lincoln's criticism that the Dred Scott decision was not unanimous. I say, and I believe Mr. Lincoln would have said, that the school case decision was contrary to all precedents, and that a unanimous decision was indicative of political or partisan bias, as he used that language in the Dred Scott case. Certainly Mr. Lincoln would have said that the school decision was based upon a false assumption of historical facts. I feel certain also, that Mr. Lincoln would have said that the school case decision was based on sociology instead of law, and would have repudiated that decision on that ground also.

Mr. Speaker, sometimes it appears that some people in this country willfully distort the views and the acts of Mr. Lincoln. Every historian knows that the Emancipation Proclamation was not conceived or designed for the freeing of all slaves. Every historian knows that Mr. Lincoln termed it a war measure, and contended that he had the power as Commander in Chief to do everything that he deemed expedient to defeat the enemy. Mr. Lincoln explained that the freeing of the slaves in States of rebellion would weaken the abilities of those States to wage war. Mr. Lincoln excepted States and portions of States which had slaves but which were not a part of the Confederate States of America, and had not taken part in the War Between the States. It is common knowledge that Robert E. Lee, who voluntarily freed all of his slaves, fought against generals on the battlefield who had their slaves with them during those conflicts.

While citing statements from Mr. Lincoln, it might be well for the people to be reminded again what Mr. Lincoln said concerning the Negro race. In that same Springfield, Ill., speech, he said:

> There is a natural disgust in the minds of nearly all white people to the idea of indiscriminate amalgamation of the white and black races; and Judge Douglas evidently is basing his chief hope upon the chances of his being able to appropriate the benefit of this disgust to himself. If he can, by much drumming and repeating, fasten the odium of that idea upon his adversaries, he thinks he can struggle through the storm. He therefore clings to this hope as a drowning man to the last plank. He makes an occasion for lugging it in from the opposition to the Dred Scott decision.

The last two quotations, Mr. Speaker, are taken from pages 230–231 of the volume heretofore referred to. Page 234 of that same volume quotes Mr. Lincoln as follows:

> But Judge Douglas is especially horrified at the thought of the mixing of blood by the white and black races. Agreed for once—a thousand times agreed. There are white men enough to marry all the white women, and black men enough to marry all the black women; and so let them be married.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Lincoln was a segregationist no matter what any wild-eyed leftwinger says. I ask that volume IV, "Abraham Lincoln," by Albert J. Beveridge, be read. Page 155 of that volume quotes Mr. Lincoln in his Springfield, Ill., address, saying:

> The only "perfect preventive of amalgamation," Lincoln insisted, was the separation of the races; but since that could not be done at once, "the next best thing is to keep them apart where they are not already together." For instance, if whites and blacks "never get together in Kansas, then they will never mix blood in Kansas."

And the same page says:

Colonization of Negroes in Africa was the only way to bring it about, declared Lincoln; and he bemoaned the fact that no political party was doing anything for colonization. It was a hard job; "but where there is a will there is a way, and what colonization needs most is a hearty will." When the people should come to see that it was morally right and also to their interest or, at least, not against it, "to transfer the African to his native clime, we shall find a way to do it, however great the task may be."

Mr. Speaker, any student of history knows that Mr. Lincoln was not considering the abolition of slavery in the slaveholding States, but was objecting to the extension of slavery in the new States, such as Kansas, Nebraska, but those who do not know can find for themselves on page 216 of the last-quoted volume that Mr. Lincoln's purpose was not to extend. According to the last-quoted volume, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Lincoln spoke at Charleston, and on page 312 he is quoted, saying:

"While I was at the hotel today," began Lincoln, "an elderly gentleman called upon me to know whether I was really in favor of producing a perfect equality between the Negroes and white people. [Great laughter.] * * * I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races [applause]; that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people. * * * And, inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together, there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race."

A few days ago, Mr. Speaker, the 147th birthday of Mr. Lincoln was observed by much speechmaking, some temperate, but many being highly inflammatory and completely inconsistent with anything Mr. Lincoln ever said or stood for. The executive secretary of the NAACP stood at Springfield, Ill., on that day and urged that our schools be immediately desegregated under the principles of Mr. Lincoln. I do not think that Mr. Lincoln ever did or said anything that could sustain any such position.

Mr. Speaker, some of the Southern States, including the State that I was born in, still live in, and will be a resident of so long as I live, have seen fit to exercise their undoubted right to dispute the correctness of the United States Supreme Court decision concerning public schools. None of those States have rebelled or suggested rebellion. They think that they have a right to dispute that decision, and I think so, too. To dispute that decision, or even abolish public schools and substitute private schools, could not constitute rebellion in any sense of the word. Nevertheless, we have read in the papers, heard over television and radio, and even on this floor, that because we have disputed the correctness of that decision that we should not be allowed to receive one cent of any school-construction money that might be provided under the pending legislation for school-construction purposes. On February 6, 1956, the gentleman from Montana [Mr. METCALF] posed this question:

Are these defiant States entitled to school lunch money for segregated schools? Are they entitled to money under Public Laws 815 and 874 for construction and operation of schools in federally impacted areas?

Since that time, another Member of this House has suggested that the farmers in the States disputing that Supreme Court decision are not entitled to receive support prices for their farm products.

Mr. Speaker, we know only too well that there are some who would be completely willing to compel the southern taxpayers to pay into that school construction fund and deny them 1 cent of their own money. We also know that there are some who would deny our States any money whatever for schools in federally impacted areas, although they know that the impact is due solely to our defense installations in our section of the country. Many of the children that they would deny this education would not be southern or of southern extraction. They are the children of the workers from the four corners of this Nation, engaged in building airplanes, ships, atomic energy projects, and the like. There are too many who would starve the people of our section by denying the benefit of the support prices on farm products, simply because our people do not believe that the Supreme Court should go unchallenged when it assumes a dictatorial role.

Mr. Speaker, in the past few days my people have read with much apprehension statements from Mr. Nixon, Mr. Harriman, Mr. Kefauver, and others. In California, Mr. Adlai Stevenson told a Los Angeles Negro audience that he would not cut off Federal funds from segregated schools nor use Federal troops to enforce segregation. Mr. Stevenson was asked the blunt question as to whether he would use the Army and Navy to enforce the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public schools. Mr. Stevenson wisely said:

That is exactly what brought on the Civil War. It can't be done by troops or bayonets.

Mr. Stevenson said that he would not deny Federal aid to Southern States that refused to integrate their schools, adding:

You should not cut off your nose to spite your face.

Mr. Stevenson explained that he was for integration, but that he would not have anything to do with dividing this country at the most serious time this country has ever faced. Make no mistake about it, these agitators wanted bloodshed, for the newspaper article concerning these questions and answers also said when Mr. Stevenson gave those answers:

There was a murmur of protest in the crowd, and one tall Negro standing next to this correspondent said flatly: "I think he is a phony."

And also that Mr. Stevenson's stand was not one that pleased many in his audience of 200 at the Watkins hotel. Thank God that there is one man soliciting the nomination for President who is not willing to throw this country into confusion, strife, and bloodshed. Can that man's position fail to appeal to our noblest and Christian instincts? Has the lust for power and high office developed to such an extent that a man would array section against section and brother against brother? Can it be that aspirants for the high office of President would cause confusion when we are told that Russia has developed missiles that penetrate 1,500 miles? Can any man who has the interests of this country at heart sow seeds of disruption when it is so vitally necessary now that we remain united? Can any northerner or southerner approve the demagogic statement of Governor Harriman to the effect that he would cut off all Federal funds to all States which refused to desegregate schools and proposed immediate Federal enforcement of the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling?

Mr. Speaker, can anyone approve the various statements attributed to Mr. KEFAUVER, particularly when the statements attributed to him in secret meetings are completely contrary to his public utterances?

Mr. Speaker, can any sound mind believe that it would be conducive to peace for the Federal Government to tax the Southern States for school construction, assistance to schools in federally impacted areas, school lunch money, and the benefits of the farm program? Do they believe that this issue is one of dollars and cents? It would be a tragedy indeed for such punitive action to be taken. I hope that it will not be taken. Do not agitators know that they are kindling hatred, do not they remember the story of Aesop? Dr. Holley, perhaps the greatest Negro educator in the United States, does remember that story, and he commends it to the consideration of Mr. Harriman, Mr. KEFAUVER, and their like. Here is what Dr. Holley said:

Aesop understood how men's minds work. He has a story about the North Wind, the South Wind, and the man with a cloak. The swift harshness of the one merely drove the man to gather his garment closer about him, while the gentleness and warmth of the other gradually prevailed upon him to take the garment off. This is the same truth that the modern minstrel offers: You can push me, but don't shove me.

There are too many people shoving us, and they are wittingly or unwittingly making the job of preserving the peace harder for temperate people everywhere.

A few days ago, Mr. Speaker, a Negro schoolteacher in Fort Gaines, Ga., made a speech to a Negro audience, and told them that they had mighty good schools built with white people's money, and that it was in their best interests to forget integration "and remember that they had not learned how to pool their resources and build even a recreation hall for their children"; that everything they had came from the white people and without assistance from the Negro race. He also told them that "we still want that which we either do not deserve or that which we are not ready for. I have noted from time to time that every time something happens to Negroes, it is stated that it is because of his color. I say 99 or more percent of what happens

to Negroes as well as others is because of what he has done to warrant it." A few days later, that Negro schoolteacher advised the school authorities at Fort Gaines that threats made upon him, his wife, and family, by Negroes in that community had forced his resignation; that he was hastily leaving town, knowing that his life was not safe.

Mr. Speaker, outsiders have fanned the flames of hatred in our section to such an extent that that Negro schoolteacher was absolutely correct, for the chances were good that those Negroes would have killed him, and that cool heads might not have been able to control the situation.

Mr. Speaker, there has been much said about the unfortunate trouble at the University of Alabama. The NAACP has not left a stone unturned to agitate in that instance. A few days ago the Washington newspapers carried a story to the effect that two Negro soldiers waylaid a white student on that university campus, and although they did not know the student, they assaulted him, saying only that their savagery was because of the treatment accorded the Negress student. I had hoped that the NAACP would change its tactics, and would come to the defense of a white person for a change, but it did not, and they do not intend to do so. The truth is, the NAACP does not accord a white man any civil rights.

Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post, February 20, 1956, issue, page 3, carried an article entitled "Civil Rights Parley Aims To Bar Leftists." That article says that there is to be a 3-day meeting here in Washington beginning on March 4, and that the organizer of that meeting has warned that leftwing groups are attempting to infiltrate it, and that he has pledged every effort to keep Communists from influencing the gathering. The executive secretary of the NAACP is described in that article as writing a letter to the NAACP branches warning against leftwing infiltration among delegates to that meeting.

Mr. Speaker, does not this warning excite our interest? Can it be that Communists may attend that meeting? Evidently so. Now I ask that organizer, were you not warned way back in 1948, and was not the NAACP warned back in 1948 by George S. Schuyler in his article appearing in the Pittsburgh Courier, and did he not tell you then to quit playing footsie with the Communists? Is it news to these leaders that the Pittsburgh Courier, July 31, 1948, page 19, carried an article by Marjorie McKenzie, wherein it was stated that the indicting of 12 Communist leaders on charges of conspiracy to overthrow the United States Government by force was a direct attack on civil rights? Did that reflect the opinion of these organizations then, and does it now?

I well understand, Mr. Speaker, that some ministers are contending that to dispute the recent Supreme Court decision in the school case is a sin against God. I note that in Mr. Lincoln's speech he was regretting the fact that several ministers in his section were saying that slavery was ordained by God. We find ministers on both sides of this issue now. Some say that God has told them that to dispute that decision is wrong. I wonder why God did not tell George W. Truett, Spurgeon, and even Paul the Apostle that. It is my opinion, Mr. Speaker, that God would tell everybody of good will that, including me, for if I know my heart, I would accept anything that he told me. As a matter of fact, all of the lawbooks that I have ever read on the Bible tell me that God Almighty never approved the brotherhood of man, and that the only brotherhood was that established through the brotherhood of Christ, and the indispensable ingredient of that brotherhood was that Jesus Christ was the Son of God, and that he died as our substitute. If anyone cares to show me where the Bible endorses any other brotherhood, I will welcome that information.

Mr. Speaker, the Communists are still holding out to the Negroes the establishment of the black belt, to be composed of Southern States. See hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, July 14, 1949, 81st Congress, 1st session, and particularly see hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 80th Congress, 1st session, July 21, 1947, and see the picture of the proposed black belt on page 90 thereof. In view of that history, I think every Congressman should read the recent book by Theodore Browne, entitled "The Band Will Not Play Dixie." That book was published about 6 months ago and is now in the Library of Congress. That book tells about a Negro reporter who was interested in one Solomon Morehouse, who was interested in establishing the black belt in the South. According to the book, that reporter, when he was not being intimate with every female he met, was seeking Solomon Morehouse, and according to the book, this reporter discovered that a Georgia Senator had kidnaped Morehouse, carried him to Georgia, turned him over to the Ku Klux Klan, and wrecked Morehouse mentally, on the direction of the Georgia Senator, Mr. Salter; that Morehouse escaped Senator Salter and the Ku Klux Klan, and that this reporter, after risking his life to help Morehouse, went to Atlanta, and while there, Atlanta was burned to the ground and the black belt established. Of course everyone knows that there was never a Georgia Senator by the name of Salter, and all of those sayings concerning Georgia were tissues of lies. But how well that fits in with the situation today. Have they abandoned the idea of the black belt? Are the agitators willing to listen to reason? I doubt it, unless we can have the help of the Members of this great body in trying to preserve peace and unity. There is a fact that we southerners realize, and all police departments recognize, and all people had better recognize in this country. That is that there is scarcely a Negro dwelling anywhere that does not contain an assortment of deadly weapons, consisting of shotguns, rifles, pistols, knives, razors, ice picks, and so forth. On the other hand, there are few white homes over this land containing those deadly weapons. It would surprise the white people of Washington, New York, Chicago, Detroit, and other large metropolitan cities if they knew that virtually every Negro home is practically an arsenal. I think that their police could tell them this was so.

Mr. Speaker, all of these things I have said have been simply for the reason that I want other sections to know our side. My section needs the help of good people now, and I solicit the help of the Congress of the United States in their behalf. I think we deserve that help. We deserve your sympathy. I hope we are going to have your sympathy and your assistance. We do not wish to see the white gentile race disappear, and we do not intend for it to disappear. If you will sympathize with us now to the end that we shall have peace, I promise you that we will return that friendship, and if the struggle comes between godless communism and our form of government, that every southerner will take his position in the ranks and give an account of his citizenship and loyalty that will be an inspiration to coming generations.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORRESTER. If the gentleman will just wait a few minutes until I have concluded my remarks.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. I trust that in the spelling in your manuscript your pronunciation of the word "Negro" is not followed, that is, that the word in the printed record of these proceedings will not be spelled as the gentleman pronounces it.

Mr. FORRESTER. I will be happy to pronounce it for the gentleman, and I will be glad to accept anything he says in that respect.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Then, sir——

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, I do not yield any further.

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. FORRESTER. I yield to my distinguished colleague from Georgia.

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. I think the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. O'HARA] would like for the gentleman from Georgia to put it in capital letters and pronounce it "K-n-e-e-g-r-o-w."

Mr. FORRESTER. Now, I will take up where I left off. I am quoting Mr. Lincoln now.

Mr. TUMULTY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORRESTER. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. TUMULTY. Do I construe the gentleman's remarks at this point as a commentary on what Archbishop Rummel, of New Orleans, said? He has stated publicly that segregation is a sin. Does the gentleman imply he is a member of the Communist Party; that he is carrying on Communist propaganda?

Mr. FORRESTER. Let me say to the gentleman now he was not listening.

Mr. TUMULTY. I was listening.

Mr. FORRESTER. Oh, no; you were not. I will say to the gentleman and I will say it to the churches: "No; I never said any such thing."

Mr. TUMULTY. Will the gentleman tell me what his opinion is with regard to what the archbishop said?

Mr. FORRESTER. I do not even know that the archbishop said anything.

Mr. TUMULTY. He has said that segregation is a sin. That was announced publicly. I wonder if the gentleman has any opinion about that.

Mr. FORRESTER. I say that is one man's opinion. I do not yield to the gentleman further.

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORRESTER. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Did not the newspaper article also say that the archbishop's own flock down in Louisiana was not accepting his statement; that they were proceeding to do as they have been doing about advocating segregation in the schools?

Mr. FORRESTER. Unfortunately, I did not know about that incident. I had not read that incident. But I am sure that whoever said it is going to have a division in his congregation. I am certain about that.

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. I read it and the article stated that his congregation is not accepting his dictum in that respect. I insert herewith a news item from the Atlanta Journal of February 20, 1956, captioned "Catholic Solons Ignore Prelate on Race Plea":

CATHOLIC SOLONS IGNORE PRELATE ON RACE PLEA

NEW ORLEANS, February 20.—A group of Catholic lawmakers Monday proceeded with plans to prevent integration of Louisiana Catholic schools, despite a pastoral letter from Archbishop Joseph Rummel condemning segregation as morally wrong and sinful.

The 6-page letter was read at all masses Sunday in the 120 churches throughout the archdiocese of New Orleans and clearly indicated the archbishop intends to end segregation in church and school facilities as soon as a special committee completes its study of the problem.

The archbishop gave no hint when that would be, but church spokesmen previously have used the target date of sometime after September 1956.

Representative E. W. Gravolet, Jr., of Plaquemines Parish said the pastoral letter would have no effect on his group's plans to restore parochial schools to Louisiana's 1954 school segregation laws when the legislature meets in May.

The State's segregation laws were declared unconstitutional last Wednesday by a 3-judge Federal appeals court, which ordered New Orleans public schools to begin carrying out the 1954 United States Supreme Court decision banning school segregation.

"We're going to appeal that decision," said Gravolet in behalf of other Catholic lawmakers supporting his proposed bill to head off parochial school integration. "If the appeal fails then we'll come up with some new segregation laws. Catholic schools definitely will be included.

"It's a matter of justice. Catholic schools should be treated the same as public schools. Why discriminate against Catholic parents and children?"

Parochial schools were removed from the State's segregation plans at the insistence of Archbishop Rummel.

The archdiocese is the largest in the Deep South with a Catholic population of more than a half million. More than half of the South's Catholics and about one-fifth of the Nation's Negro Catholics live in Louisiana.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORRESTER. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. LANHAM. I have heard the story that when these people came to Lincoln, some of the ministers from Chicago came and told him that God had sent them to tell him that he ought to free all of the slaves. Mr. Lincoln said:

Now, that is rather strange.

He said:

God has never said anything like that to me and it seems very strange that he would send that message to me through the wicked city of Chicago.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORRESTER. I yield to the gentleman from Montana.

Mr. METCALF. I have listened with attention to the very able statement that the gentleman from Georgia has made. Since he honored me by mentioning a discussion in which I participated on the floor the other day, I would like to go a little further into the matter that I was discussing at that time. The gentleman, I know, has read my speech, because he put the questions I posed, whether or not, as a matter of law, under the decision of the Supreme Court and without any further legislation such as the amendment to be proposed by the gentleman from New York, [Mr. POWELL], these funds should not be withheld. Now, I was intrigued by the statements made about Mr. Lincoln, especially those where Lincoln criticized the Dred Scott decision and suggested that perhaps he had a right, oftentimes a duty, as a lawyer and as a citizen to oppose a Supreme Court decision in which he did not believe but that after one, two, three, or several decisions then it would be somewhat revolutionary to suggest that they should not be followed.

Mr. FORRESTER. I do not have too much time to yield, but I thank the gentleman for catching what I said.

Mr. METCALF. May I continue for a moment?

Mr. FORRESTER. My time is very limited.

Mr. METCALF. I understand it is, but the gentleman was kind enough to mention my discussion, and I would like to put it in the right order and the right perspective. I want to say to the gentleman from Georgia that I agree wholeheartedly with the statements that were made by Mr. Stevenson that this is a matter that should not be handled by force, and I hope that the administration will clarify, by probing the Supreme Court's decision, some of the matters surrounding it before we even use executive or administrative orders. And, I hope this Congress will leave it to the administration and to the courts to work the question out before Congress tries to adopt any such legislation as the Powell amendment whether on the school bill, on the agricultural bill, Public Law 815 or any of these other acts before the Congress.

Mr. FORRESTER. I thank the gentleman for that statement, and I am glad the gentleman was listening. And, I am glad the gentleman said he posed the question; that the gentleman was not saying it was his opinion but simply posed it as a legal question.

Mr. METCALF. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORRESTER. I am very happy to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Florida.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman for bringing up this matter that is fraught with so much difficulty, and is a matter that I know the gentleman realizes is not at all pleasant. But as a great American, as a great Congressman from a great State, he has sensed it to be his duty to inform this Nation of this great problem that we have, especially now, in our beloved Southland.

Mr. Speaker, to those who are not familiar with the problems of the Southland may I say it is very difficult to explain—and I believe the gentleman would agree with me—when I say that there is an indignation over this attempt to solve these great problems on the basis of a Supreme Court decision.

Those of us who believe in the Jeffersonian principle of States rights feel innately that this great problem of the administration of our schools should rest with our States and I think those of us from the South are doing this Nation a disfavor if we do not point out a fact, however unpleasant it may be, which is that our people are not in sympathy with this Supreme Court decision. We feel that the administration of our schools is a matter that should rest with our States.

Specifically I want to congratulate the gentleman for introducing legislation that would keep the Federal courts from the administration of our schools. The gentleman will recall that I have introduced similar legislation. I should like to ask the distinguished gentleman from Georgia if he knows whether or not we will have an opportunity of an early hearing on his bill which I think is a very good bill.

Mr. FORRESTER. That I am not prepared to answer now, but I do want to take this time to thank the gentleman for introducing a companion bill and for the splendid assistance he has rendered me in the preparation of my bill, and getting it into the House.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to yield to the gentlewoman from Georgia.

Mrs. BLITCH. Mr. Speaker, I should like to say to my distinguished colleague from Georgia that I deeply appreciate the erudite speech he has made here today. My only regret is that every Member of this House is not present.

The gentleman has gone into this subject with such complete understanding and such a great show of intelligence that I feel there is nothing more that any of us could add to complete the statement he has made. But with respect to his appeal, at the conclusion of his speech, to all the Nation for sympathetic understanding of the situation in the South, may I say that sympathetic understanding of the situation means

sympathetic understanding of ourselves no matter what part of this Nation we come from. The day has long passed when we can afford to substitute irresponsibility for clear facts. We cannot be politically irresponsible any more.

Yesterday I had the great pleasure of spending the day in Georgia. I appeared at the 100th anniversary celebration of the county of Berrien. I spoke there to thousands of people for some 45 minutes. I dwelt on the great love of the South not just for the South but for this Union, this country of ours. I warned the colored citizens of our State that they must not listen to the voices of false idols that are tempting them to destroy completely the terrific advance they have made in their own welfare, in their relations with one another, and in their relations with us, their white friends, in the past number of years.

At the conclusion of that speech there were hundreds of people who came up to me with tears streaming down their cheeks and said, "We are with you. Take the message back to the other Representatives in Congress to tell the other people in this Nation for heaven's sake not to sacrifice principle, the principles of this great Government, for political expediency in any section of this Nation. Let us all stand together united, as we have tried to do so valiantly since the unfortunate War Between the States."

I thank the gentleman for his wonderful speech and for the opportunity he has given me to comment upon it.

Mr. FORRESTER. I thank the gentlewoman from Georgia, and I want her to know that I receive much confidence and satisfaction out of her statement that she endorses the remarks I have made, because in my heart what I want to do is reflect the sentiments of my people and the people all over the United States of America.

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORRESTER. I am delighted to yield to my colleague and friend, the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. May I say to the distinguished gentleman from Georgia who has just addressed the House that I appreciate the message he has brought us. I know of my own personal knowledge that the gentleman is a former solicitor general with a great record of service to the people of his judicial circuit in that capacity. I know that the gentleman is a close student of the law and of the Constitution of the United States. I know also that he is not a man who by nature is quarrelsome. He is a man who, when the occasion requires it, will rise to his feet and state his convictions and will do it in no uncertain terms.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the distinguished gentleman for the facts he has brought to us today about the speeches of Abraham Lincoln. The speeches of Mr. Lincoln have been quoted out of context in many instances to support positions which Mr. Lincoln actually did not support. I appreciate that the gentleman has done the research necessary to bring to us today with reference to some of these issues the true position of Mr. Lincoln. I think it will be worthwhile to the Congress and to the country that these facts have been brought forth today. I want to thank the gentleman also for the courage he has displayed at this particular time in stating the facts relating to some of the issues which plague us to such an extent today. There were some of us who as long as 5 years ago took the floor in this body to point out that the Supreme Court of the United States was preparing to usurp legislative functions; was preparing to change the law, which function belongs exclusively to Congress, and was preparing to amend the Constitution, which function belongs only to this Congress and to the States. What we are seeing take place today, which the gentleman has pointed out to us, is merely the result of that unwarranted action on the part of the Federal Supreme Court. The people of this country do not intend to let the Supreme Court of the United States become a dictator. The people do not intend to have the rights of the States taken away from them by any unwarranted action of the Supreme Court. If this policy is persisted in, you are going to see even more tumult and turmoil than has occurred up to this time.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for what he has said and I commend him for making this learned speech to us today.

Mr. FORRESTER. May I say to the gentleman from Georgia that I do not know of anyone who has more courageously faced up to these issues than the gentleman from Georgia? If my colleague approves of anything that I have said or done here today, it is a source of much satisfaction to me.

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORRESTER. I yield to my good friend and colleague, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LANHAM].

Mr. LANHAM. I commend my colleague for his splendid presentation of the position of the South. I wish that the people of other sections of the country could realize just how difficult our problem is. I wish they could realize that we are not trying to keep the negro in subservience; that we believe they should have all their legal rights; but we do object to the mingling of the races socially and in our schools because we know it is going to mean a mongrel race. I commend the gentleman for the way he has presented the facts this afternoon. The gentleman was an able solicitor general in his State. He knows about the prosecution of the three cases that he has told you about today. I agree with my colleague from Georgia [Mr. DAVIS] that as bad as that decision was and as wrong as it was on the matter of segregation in our schools, it is realized by legal minds everywhere that it was fundamentally wrong in a deeper legal sense in that it was legislative in nature and a usurpation of the powers of the Congress by the Supreme Court. A couple of weeks ago, I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial taken from the Wall Street Journal in which that most conservative newspaper criticized the Supreme Court not for this recent decision with reference to segregation, but for the decision in which they held that the Federal Government had the right to regulate the collection of natural gas at the wellhead. Now I know nothing about the soundness of that decision because I have not studied it, but the Wall Street Journal made the point that the Supreme Court was usurping the legislative power of the Congress. That is the fundamental issue in this whole problem. A very distinguished former judge of the United States circuit court of appeals, Judge Sibley, who is retired now but whose mind is as keen as ever, recently made this statement to me: "The older judges are concerned because the present-day judges tend to decide the law not as it is but as they think it ought to be."

As this fine old southern gentleman said to me, "whatever judge or court does that is legislating." It seems to me that like all of our problems in the South—and this problem will pass as all others have passed—this problem will be solved by the understanding, calm people, by moderate people of our Nation, and it will be settled properly. I do not know what the solution is, myself, but eventually it will be settled. But if the Supreme Court continues to usurp the power of Congress, then our way of life is doomed.

Mr. FORRESTER. I certainly thank the gentleman. The gentleman is a splendid lawyer, a man of fine reputation and standing, and I get much comfort out of the fact that he agrees with me in what I have attempted to say.

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, will the genleman yield?

Mr. FORRESTER. I will be glad to yield to my colleague from Georgia.

Mr. FLYNT. I want to commend my distinguished and courageous colleague from Georgia for bringing this matter to the floor of the House. I know he did so after careful preparation. I know he did so after carefully weighing and studying the words with which he brought this message to the floor. I would like to add, if I may by way of emphasizing some of the things that the gentleman has said: The Supreme Court decision handed down on Black Monday, the 17th of May 1954 did more to destroy the progress that had been made in race relations in the South than anything that has happened in the past 80 years. The U. S. News & World Report, in a current issue, carries an article based on questions asked and answers given by 15 newspaper editors and publishers of the South, including white newspaper editors and publishers and Negro editors and publishers alike, and without exception each of them said that the progress which had been made toward an early solution of this problem is worse now than it was 2 years ago. Every one of them placed the blame for this worse situation on the decision of the Supreme Court. Mr. Speaker, as a lawyer, as a man whose adult life has been devoted to the practice of law, I am of the firm opinion that the decision in the school cases, handed down on May 17, 1954, may be marked as the beginning of the decline and fall of the United States of America, because it was most definitely

the beginning of the end of constitutional law on the basis of legal precedents heretofore established. It is the first time in the history of that great Court that it ever completely disregarded 80 years of judicial precedents and admittedly based that decision on the sociological writing of a Swede by the name of Gunnar Myrdahl. The Court in that case could not quote any legal precedents for the decision which it handed down. They had to go outside of the judicial precedents from the Supreme Court of the United States and the court of last resort of every State in the Union. They had to completely overturn 80 years of established judicial precedents, and base that decision on sociological and psychological grounds.

Mr. Speaker, if the time ever comes that our laws are disregarded and cast into the discard in order that the Supreme Court of the United States, or any other court can usurp the powers of legislation, then, when that day comes our sacred form of constitutional government which we love, which we respect, and which we revere will be gone and will be gone forever. It will be like the tomb and the grave: Once it receives its victim it never returns him or gives him back.

Mr. FORRESTER. I thank the gentleman very much. The gentleman himself was a prosecuting attorney just as I was, and he also served as president of the Georgia Bar Association. I appreciate the fine contribution he has made.

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORRESTER. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I want to remind the House that Lincoln also said that those who remain silent when they should speak out makes cowards of men, or something along that line; so I want to compliment the gentleman from Georgia for so ably expressing his convictions and speaking out.

I can say to the gentleman from Georgia that the people of South Carolina, the vast, overwhelming majority of them agree with the statements expressed by my distinguished and able colleague from Georgia. And at this point I want to take the opportunity to congratulate the entire American people of all of the 48 States of this great Union for not solving its racial and religious differences as the racial and religious differences of the Middle East are being solved today by mass killings, strife, and threat of general war. I was told when there a few years ago that a hundred thousand people have been killed and many more wounded in the Near East in the last 10 years because of racial and religious differences.

I was told in Karachi, Pakistan, that 1 million people have been killed since the close of World War II because of religious differences between the Moslems and the Hindus. My driver in Karachi told me that his own wife and children were burned to death before his very eyes because he differed with the other crowd in religion.

I am glad that America is not today solving its religious and racial problems as are being solved in that area of the world.

Also I could point out South Africa where a thousand people have been killed recently—purely on racial grounds.

I think the United States of America can point to its record with pride. Every single American State and every American city, should be proud of and advertise, this record in America, but the South should be particularly proud. Let us continue our record of racial tolerance, of respect for the other man's religion and respect for the other man's rights. We have made in America both North and South, East and West, a better record along that line than any other country, or any other region of the world that I know of, and I hope and pray we will not resort to the methods being adopted and resorted to in the Near and Middle East at this very moment because of racial belief and religious prejudice. The South can well point to our splendid record with pride. I hope all Americans who really believe in our country will let us and help us continue to solve our problems as the South has so wonderfully been doing for many years.

Again I commend the distinguished gentleman from Georgia for pointing out this insidious threat to American unity and our national well-being.

Mr. FORRESTER. I thank the gentleman very much. I now want to yield to the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS], a gentleman who has been in this fight in the heat of the day. I am happy and proud to be able to yield to him.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Georgia has spoken with candor and courage. He has told the truth, in spite of the fact that he knows that it will bring down upon his head vilification, abuse, slander, libel, and every form of smear from the radical and left-wing press of this country.

I think the gentleman might well point out that those who are farthest removed from this problem and who are the most ignorant about it are the first to come forward with solutions for it.

They think that we, who are closest to the problem and who know most about it, should be forced to accede to their desires, even if it means our own self-destruction, the mongrelization of our people, and the end of constitutional government.

I want to congratulate the gentleman also for pointing up the illegality of the recent Supreme Court decision. Of course, I can add nothing to what the gentleman has said on the subject, but I would like to point out that it is a sad day in this country when the United States Supreme Court is so irresponsible that its decisions can be attacked by reputable lawyers who, in brief after brief, show the illegality of their decisions and not have one single eminent or reputable attorney rise to defend the legality of the decisions which they rendered. I challenge anyone in this House or in the other body to come forth with a legal defense of the Black Monday Court decisions. They cannot be supported or defended on the basis of law or judicial precedents.

Mr. FORRESTER. I thank the gentleman very much.

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORRESTER. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. ANDREWS].

Mr. ANDREWS. I want to command the gentleman for his fine statement. I share the view he has of our Supreme Court. I believe I can correctly say that 90 percent of the good lawyers of American men who have studied law, today have no respect for the ability of the members of the Supreme Court. I have been in the Congress for 12 years. We have spent half the time since I have been here correcting the illegal, unwise decisions rendered by the Supreme Court. Now we are concerned with the decision in the school case. Two years ago we were concerned with the tidelands oil case. That Court since 1935 has knocked down literally scores of old legal precedents that have been the law of this land for a hundred or more years.

One of the Justices of that Court—he is not on the bench now—made this statement with reference to one of the decisions in a dissenting opinion. He said that the thing that disturbed him most about the Court was the trend that the Court was following, namely, repealing or knocking down old legal precedents. He said it was impossible for a man to tell from day to day what the law was and that the opinion in that particular case reminded him of a railroad ticket that had stamped on it: "Good for this day and this train only."

What is the hope of those of us who believe in States rights, who believe in the Constitution, who believe we should have a country of laws and not a country of men? The only hope I see is for the majority of those members of the Court to fade away and for the appointees in the future to be better than they have been in the past, especially the Chief Justice; according to the testimony of the Vice President of the United States, the school decision was political. It has been my opinion all along that that decision in the school case was a political decision. There is not one single legal authority cited in that case to uphold their final conclusion. It is politics headed by a master politician, a man who was able to carry water on both shoulders in his own State and get the nomination of both parties. Is that not a politician?

I want to commend the gentleman for the courageous speech he has made and say that it will take more than a Supreme Court decision to make your people and mine violate their own laws and customs and do things in our schools that no member of the Court does in his own family. Again I want to commend the gentleman.

Mr. FORRESTER. I certainly thank my colleague.

Mr. GRANT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORRESTER. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama?

Mr. GRANT. Mr. Speaker, I see that my colleague's time is about up and I do not want to trespass upon it at the present time. It seems as if the Su-

preme Court has been pretty well taken care of today. I do want to say to my colleague that we in Alabama have the same problem that he has in Georgia. It is going to take time and patience to work it out. We are having some trouble at the present time which has been brought about in my own district largely by a man not too far removed from this Chamber today. The people who are suffering are those whom he says he wishes to help. In discussing this decision of the Supreme Court, other sections might laugh at our plight today, but tomorrow it will be some other sections of our country who are, I am sure, dedicated to States rights and the principles of self-government the same as we. I just want to say that I approve of every word that the gentleman has spoken and congratulate and commend him upon this great address.

Mr. FORRESTER. I certainly appreciate that statement from my friend.

Mr. WINSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FORRESTER. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. WINSTEAD. I, too, wish to congratulate the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. FORRESTER] on the wonderful speech he has made here today. He is one of the most able and conscientious Members of the House. I just hope that the solid thinking people from all sections of our country will recognize the truth of the statement he made here today. I concur with what he had to say and he certainly speaks the sentiment of the vast majority of the white people not only in Georgia and Mississippi but in other Southern States.

Mr. FORRESTER. I thank the gentleman.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members who took part in this debate with the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. FORRESTER] may be permitted to revise and extend their remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may extend their remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore [Mr. METCALF]. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SELDEN] may extend his remarks at this point.

Mr. SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Georgia?

There was no objection.

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, my colleague from Georgia mentioned in the fine statement he has just made the recent disturbances that took place at the University of Alabama. This institution is located in the congressional district that I have the privilege to represent.

Reports concerning the admittance of two Negro women to the University of Alabama have not always presented the complete record.

Let me cite a specific instance relating to Pollie Anner Myers Hudson, one of the two who recently sought admittance to the University of Alabama. In the February 20 issue of Time magazine, on page 40, it is stated that Pollie Anner Myers Hudson was denied admission "on grounds of 'her conduct and marital record' (she is involved in a divorce action), . . ."

This statement, to say the least, omits many of the pertinent facts in her case. Let me now quote to you from the February 13 issue of the news magazine South:

Pollie Anner Myers, unmarried and pregnant, applied for admission the third week in September 1952. Two months later, November 14, 1952, she married Edward Hudson, whose 3-year sentence for burglary had been revoked in Jefferson County in 1948. Six months and 4 days after the marriage Pollie Anner Myers Hudson gave birth on May 18, 1953, to a male child. It was a normal birth, length of pregnancy was 40 weeks.

Henry Myers, the woman's father, was sentenced from Elmore County on September 26, 1938, for 1 year and a day for possession of a still and manufacture of whisky. Edward Hudson, from whom the Associated Press reported she was separated and seeking a divorce, was sentenced to 3 years in the penitentiary February 14, 1947, for daytime burglary of an uninhabited dwelling in Jefferson County. Probation was revoked October 8, 1948, and sentence was imposed. He was sentenced for a year and a day on August 28, 1948, on another charge of burglary of an uninhabited dwelling.

To substantiate these facts, the magazine South printed in the same issue a photostatic copy of the marriage license of Pollie Anner Myers Hudson and her husband, Edward Hudson, as well as a photostatic copy of the birth certificate of her child.

I regret to say that I have never seen these unpleasant but significant facts published by the press at large.

The University of Alabama, now in its 125th year of operation, has a proud and distinguished record in the field of education. From its halls have graduated many men and women of distinction.

I am quite certain the University of Alabama is only one of many great institutions in this country which would not have admitted a student, white or colored, under the same conditions that existed in the case of Pollie Anner Myers Hudson.

Mr. BROWN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I want to congratulate the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. FORRESTER] on the able speech he has just made. It shows that he has given a lot of study to the subject he discussed. I hope all the Members who are not present today will read his remarks in the RECORD because, as he has plainly pointed out, the Supreme Court in the segregation case and many other cases in recent years failed to follow judicial precedent and the Constitution in its decisions.

The Supreme Court should interpret the law as what it is and not what they think it should be, as someone has said.

Our Founding Fathers believed not only in a balance of powers between different branches of the Federal Government, but also believed in a restriction on the abuse of Federal power through the exercise of certain governmental functions by the various States.

I hope that the people in other sections of the country besides the South will appreciate the danger of interfering with States rights as was done in the segregation case.

SUBVERSIVE CHARACTER OF NAACP

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MARSHALL). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. GATHINGS] is recognized for 45 minutes.

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include citations of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and other pertinent data.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. SPEAKER, on February 3, the Memphis Commercial Appeal carried an article written by Paul Malloy quoting from an interview with Thurgood Marshall, Negro special counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In the article it was stated, and I quote:

The meeting sponsored by the Memphis NAACP chapter heard Marshall angrily deny claims his organization is Communist tainted.

Marshall said:

Edgar Hoover, boss of the FBI, says we are not subversive. Our conventions have been addressed by Harry Truman, and President Eisenhower and Vice President Richard Nixon.

Subsequently, on Tuesday, February 21, 1956, Frederick Woltman, Scripps-Howard staff writer, writing in the Washington Daily News, stated, and I quote:

The country's largest Negro organization, which has been accused of working in league with Communists by white citizens councils in the South, has taken steps to head off the move.

Each of the 1,300 local branches and youth councils of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) has received a stern warning that the Communists are making intensive efforts to infiltrate the nationwide civil rights assembly here in Washington March 4–6.

Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, directed units of his organization to exercise special care in selecting delegates to avoid any possibility that the assembly will be captured by leftwing individuals and groups.

"Otherwise," Mr. Wilkins said, "The whole civil rights movement will receive a black eye and we will get very little attention, if any, by Congress."

The Communist Party in the Daily Worker last week officially called for support of the mass lobby.

Which of these statements are we to believe—the statement of Thurgood Marshall, made in Memphis on February 3, which would lead the people of the country to believe that the NAACP is free of subversive influences, or are we to believe the article of Mr. Woltman dated February 21? It seems to me that

if the NAACP is free of subversive influences on February 3, there would be no need to issue a warning about intensive efforts to infiltrate on February 21.

The issue of the Daily Worker which Mr. Woltman refers to in his article is dated Tuesday, February 14. In it an editorial appears, and I quote:

The great debate will go on. But the Negro people and other democratic forces will not lose sight of the primary requirement for action: Demand that Eisenhower and Brownell act to enforce civil rights in the South. Support the mass lobby for civil rights in Washington March 4, 5, and 6.

Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, would have the people of the Nation believe that the NAACP has just been marked as a Communist target for infiltration.

In 1925 the Communist line as published by the Daily Worker Publishing Co. in the official report of the American Communist Party's fourth national convention held in Chicago, Ill., August 21–30, the party was directed to penetrate the NAACP.

Even in this organization (NAACP), under present circumstances, it is permissible and necessary for selected Communists (not the party membership as a whole) to enter its conventions and to make proposals calculated to enlighten the Negro masses under its influence as to the nature and necessity of the class struggle—

The report reads.

Now, let us look at this fellow Wilkins. He seems to be greatly disturbed about this issue of Communist infiltration of the NAACP because of its effect being the whole civil-rights movement will receive a black eye. Here is the record from the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives:

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Roy Wilkins, national administrator and executive secretary, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The Daily Worker of July 15, 1949 (p. 5), in an article datelined Los Angeles, July 14, reported that "Roy Wilkins, acting secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told a press conference * * * he voted for Benjamin J. Davis, Negro Communist, at the last election. Davis is now on trial for his Communist beliefs, along with 11 other national Communist Party leaders in New York City. Wilkins, however, refused any comment on the trial itself." The same information appeared in the Daily People's World of July 13, 1949 (p. 1).

Mr. Wilkins was a member of the national committee, International Juridical Association, as was shown on the leaflet entitled "What is the IJA?" and a letterhead of the group dated May 18, 1942; he was identified as being from New York State. The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the International Juridical Association as "a Communist front and an offshoot of the International Labor Defense" report 1311 of March 29, 1944); the Committee on Un-American Activities cited the organization as having "actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line" (report dated September 17, 1950, p. 12).

A letterhead of the Conference on Pan American Democracy dated November 16, 1938, contains the name of Roy Wilkins in a list of sponsors of that group, cited by the Attorney General as subversive and Communist (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; also included on his consolidated list released April 1, 1954); the special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Conference as a Communist-front organization which defended Carlos Luiz Prestes, a Brazilian Communist leader and former member of the executive committee of the Communist International (report 1311 of March 29, 1944; also cited in report dated June 25, 1942).

According to the Daily Worker of September 24, 1937 (p. 6), Roy Wilkins was one of the sponsors of a joint meeting of the American League Against War and Fascism and the American Friends of Chinese People.

The American League Against War and Fascism was cited by the Attorney General as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; also consolidated list of April 1, 1954); it had previously been cited by the Attorney General as a "Communist-front organization" (in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10); and as "established in the United States in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7442.) The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American League * * * as "completely under the control of Communists" (reports of March 29, 1944; January 3, 1939; January 3, 1940; and June 25, 1942). American Friends of the Chinese People was also cited by the special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist-front organization (report of March 29, 1944).

The Daily Worker of January 23, 1937 (p. 8), reported that Roy Wilkins spoke for the International Labor Defense in Brooklyn. The International Labor Defense was cited by the Attorney General as the legal arm of the Communist Party and as subversive and Communist. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446; and press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list released April 1, 1954.) The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the ILD as the legal arm of the Communist Party (reports of January 3, 1939; January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944); the Committee on Un-American Activities also cited the group in a report released September 2, 1947.

Roy Wilkins spoke at a New York State convention of the Workers Alliance, as reported in the Daily Worker of February 11, 1939 (p. 1), and February 7, 1939 (p. 5). The Workers Alliance was cited as a Communist-penetrated organization and later as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7443, and press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; included on consolidated list released April 1, 1954). The special committee cited the Workers Alliance as among the successes in the Communist-front movements (report dated January 3, 1939; also cited in reports of January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944).

In an article by Blaine Owen which appeared in the Daily Worker of June 17, 1936 (p. 1), entitled "1936 Communist Party Convention Significant to Negroes," he stated: "The greatest significant undoubtedly attends the 1936 convention of the Communist Party," Roy Wilkins, assistant national secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and editor of the Crisis, said today. "It must be patent to anyone who has kept track of the news that the political leftwing—and especially the Communist program—has been an important factor in bringing the plight of the Negro people, along with other underprivileged groups, more sharply to the attention of those parties which have been in power. * * * Nevertheless, there is no doubt in my mind that the program and demands of the Communists have had a very wholesome effect of the Negro people themselves. They have been emboldened by the basic and basically right demands put forth." This, it was pointed out to Wilkins, is what the Communist Party means when it bases its entire campaign on the proposal for and toward the realization of the broad People's Front. He nodded.

To understand the civil rights movement as propagated by the NAACP, I feel that a person must know something of the history and development of the American Negro movement here in the United States subsequent to the reconstruction period.

In 1895, Booker T. Washington, president of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, was selected to speak for the southern Negro at the Atlanta Exposition. Dr. Washington stated his position clearly and with great effect. I would like to quote several paragraphs from Booker T. Washington's address which I feel sum up the entire philosophy enunciated by him and his group:

The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercises of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house.

Also:

Cast it down in agricultural, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world, and in nothing is this exposition more eloquent than in emphasizing this chance. Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labor and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life; shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.

There was an entirely different school of thought, however, which was headed by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, of Atlantic University. Dr. DuBois was a very bitter critic of the Washingtonian movement, which he referred to as "the Tuskegee machine." Dr. DuBois was the leader

of the left-wing element of American Negro Society which, in 1905, met at Niagara Falls, N. Y., and devised plans whereby complete social equality could be attained. This group was subsequently called the Niagara movement.

The Niagara movement was not very effective, because it was hampered by lack of funds. However, in 1908, a race riot occurred in Springfield, Ill., the home of Abraham Lincoln, which aroused the interest of the dormant abolitionist movement in the North. As a result of the feeling which was aroused by the Springfield race riots, William English Walling made a strong appeal for the emancipation of the American Negro in the fields of political and social equality. This appeal later became the clarion for the formation of a new organization, called National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which joined the white liberals of the northern abolitionist traditions with the Negro liberals of the Niagara movement.

Dr. DuBois was one of the founding fathers of the present-day NAACP, which was founded in 1909. This Dr. DuBois, who broke away from the Booker T. Washington group, was the leader of the Niagara movement. His record of citations from the House Committee on Un-American Activities takes up nine pages single-spaced:

FEBRUARY 21, 1956.

Subject: Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, founder NAACP, leader Niagara movement.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The Worker (Sunday edition of the Communist publication, the Daily Worker) on April 27, 1947, reported that "almost 100 Negro leaders, headed by W. E. B. DuBois, Paul Robeson, and Roscoe Dunjee, last week called upon President Truman 'to repudiate decisively' steps to 'illegalize the Communist Party.' * * * As Negro Americans * * * we cannot be unmindful that this proposal to outlaw the Communist Party comes precisely when our Federal Government professes grave concern over the democratic rights of peoples in far distant parts of the world" (p. 8 of the Worker).

Dr. DuBois sponsored a statement attacking the arrest of Communist Party leaders (Daily Worker, August 23, 1948, p. 3); he sponsored a "Statement by Negro Americans" on behalf of the Communist leaders (the Worker of August 29, 1948, p. 11); he filed a brief in the Supreme Court on behalf of the 12 Communist leaders (Daily Worker, January 9, 1949, p. 3); he signed statements on behalf of Communist leaders, as shown in the following sources: Daily Worker, January 17, 1949 (p. 3); February 28, 1949 (p. 9); Daily People's World, May 12, 1950 (p. 12); Daily Worker, September 19, 1950 (p. 2); and in 1952, he signed an appeal to President Truman, requesting amnesty for leaders of the Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act (Daily Worker, December 10, 1952, p. 4); also an appeal on their behalf addressed to President Eisenhower (Daily People's World, November 17, 1954, p. 2). Dr. DuBois was one of the sponsors of the National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the 12 Communist leaders, as shown on the back of their letterhead dated September 9, 1949.

A statement on behalf of Eugene Dennis, a Communist, contained the signature of Dr. DuBois, identified as an educator (Daily Worker of May 5, 1950, p. 2); he signed a telegram of the National Commitee To Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims, greeting Eugene Dennis on his 48th birthday (Daily Worker, August 11, 1952, p. 3); Eugene Dennis was formerly secretary general of the Communist Party.

The Daily Worker of August 2, 1949 (p. 2), disclosed that Dr. DuBois endorsed Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., well-known Communist leader; he was honorary chairman of the Committee To Defend V. J. Jerome, chairman, cultural commission of the Communist Party, United States of America (letterhead dated June 24, 1952). A leaflet of the Civil Rights Congress (dated March 20, 1947) named Dr. DuBois as having defended Gerhart Eisler, Communist. He was one of the sponsors of the Committee To Defend Alexander Tractenberg, former member of the national committee of the Communist Party (Daily People's World of April 17, 1952, p. 7; and the Daily Worker of April 18, 1952, p. 6).

The Daily Worker of February 16, 1948 (p. 16), reported that some "80 leading New York civic leaders, trade unionists, and professionals yesterday joined Dr. William Jay Schieffelin, president emeritus of the citizens union, to demand the prompt seating of Simon W. Gerson to the city council seat made vacant by the death of Councilman Peter V. Cacchione, Brooklyn Communist. * * * The civic leaders' statement is directed to Mayor O'Dwyer and city council majority leader Joseph T. Sharkey. It is a reprint of a letter to the New York Times by Dr. Schieffelin in which he charges that the real reason for the refusal to seal German (sic. Gerson) is 'the current anti-Communist hysteria.'" Dr. DuBois was named as having signed the statement. (See also advertisement in New York Times of February 19, 1948, p. 13.)

Dr. DuBois was a member of a committee formed to protest the arrest of Pablo Neruda, Communist Chilean senator and world famous poet; he signed a statement of the organization in support of Neruda. (Daily Worker of April 7, 1948, p. 13, and April 10, 1950, p. 2, respectively.) He was sponsor of a reception and testimonial for Harry Sacher, defense attorney for the Communist leaders. (Daily Worker of December 5, 1949, p. 2.)

When Earl Browder (then general secretary, Communist Party) was in Atlanta Penitentiary serving a sentence involving his fraudulent passports, the Communist Party's front which agitated for his release was known as the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder (special Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944); the Attorney General of the United States had cited the Citizens' Committee as Communist (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447, and press release of Apr. 27, 1949). Dr. DuBois was a member of the Citizens' Committee * * * in 1942, as shown on their letterhead dated February 11, 1942; he sponsored a dinner of the group, according to the Daily Worker of February 5, 1942, and signed the call to the National Free Browder Congress, as shown in the Daily Worker of February 25, 1942, pages 1 and 4.

A 1950 letterhead of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born carries the name of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in a list of sponsors of that organization; the same information appears on an undated letterhead of the group, distributing a speech of Abner Green at the conference of December 2–3, 1950; a letterhead of the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born dated April 30, 1951, names him as a national sponsor of the organization. He signed the group's statement opposing the Hobbs bill (Daily Worker, July 25, 1950, p. 4); he signed their statement opposing denaturalization (Daily Worker of August 10, 1950, p. 5); and signed a telegram prepared and dispatched by the organization to the Attorney General of the United States, protesting holding nine noncitizens without bail under the McCarran Act. (Daily Worker of November 24, 1952, p. 3.) He was also listed in the Daily Worker of October 21, 1954 (p. 2) as one of 95 sponsors of the National Conference to Defend the Rights of Foreign Born Americans, to be held December 11 through 12 in New York City by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

The special committee cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States" (report of March 29, 1944: also cited in report of June 25, 1942); the Attorney General cited the organization as subversive and Communist (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; also redesignated pursuant to executive order 10450, see consolidated list of April 1, 1954).

"For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City, they have been unable to win control" (Special Committee's Report 1311 of March 29, 1944). Dr. DuBois spoke at a State conference of the American Labor Party (Daily Worker of December 12, 1950, p. 5); he spoke at a dinner, April 18, opening the presidential campaign in New York City (Daily Worker of April 14, 1952, p. 8, an advertisement; and the Daily Worker of April 21, 1952, p. 1); he spoke at an election rally in Madison Square Garden, May 13, held under the auspices of the American Labor Party (Daily Worker of May 8, 1952, p. 8, an advertisement; and May 14, 1952, p. 1); and he spoke at an election rally in Madison Square Garden, October 27 (Daily Worker of October 22, 1952, p. 8, an advertisement; and October 29, 1952, p. 2).

The Daily Worker of March 29, 1948 (p. 7), named Dr. DuBois as a member of the Executive Board and of the Policy Committee, Council on African Affairs; he signed the council's petition to the United Nations as shown in the Daily Worker of June 5, 1950 (p. 4); drafted their statement against the policy of the United States in Korea (Daily Worker of July 25, 1950, p. 3) and spoke at the Council's conference on April 24 at Friendship Baptist Church in New York City (Daily Worker, April 23, 1954, p. 8 and April 26, 1954, p. 6). The Attorney General cited the Council on African Affairs as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948); also redesignated—consolidated list of April 1, 1954.

The Attorney General cited the Jefferson School of Social Science as an "adjunct of the Communist Party" (press release of December 4, 1947); also redesignated—consolidated list of April 1, 1954); the Special Committee reported that "at the beginning of the present year, the old Communist Party Workers School and the School for Democracy were merged into the Jefferson School of Social Science." (Report 1311 of March 29, 1944.) Dr. DuBois was honored at the Jefferson School, as shown in the Daily Worker on February 1, 1951 (p. 2); it was announced in the Daily Worker on January 2, 1952 (p. 7), that Dr. DuBois was scheduled to conduct a seminar on "Background of African Liberation Struggles" at the Jefferson School; the January 26, 1952, issue of the same publication (p. 7), named him as a faculty member of that school, as did the Worker, October 4, 1953 (p. 10) and the Daily Worker, October 14, 1953 (p. 8)—advertisement. He signed statements on behalf of the Jefferson School as shown in the Daily Worker, November 25, 1953 (p. 2) and the Daily People's World, July 6, 1954 (p. 7).

In a report of the special committee, dated March 29, 1944, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was cited as having been, in recent months, the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian (report dated March 29, 1944); the organization has been cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also redesignated consolidated list of April 1, 1954). Dr. DuBois signed a statement of the national council in 1947 (Daily Worker, October 17, 1947, p. 4); he signed the organization's statement protesting the Iron Curtain, as reported in the Daily People's World on May 20, 1948 (p. 5); he signed a statement of the council, praising Henry Wallace's Open Letter to Stalin in May 1948 (from a pamphlet entitled "How To End the Cold War and Build the Peace," p. 9); he signed their statement calling for a conference with the Soviet Union (Daily Worker, June 21, 1948, p. 3); he signed their Roll Call for Peace (Daily Worker of August 31, 1948, p. 5); he sent greetings through the national council on the 31st anniversary of the Russian Revolution (Daily Worker, November 10, 1948, p. 11); he signed the council's appeal to the United States Government to end the cold war and arrange a conference with the Soviet Union (leaflet entitled "End the Cold War—Get Together for Peace," dated December 1948); he spoke at the Congress on American-Soviet Relations, December 3–5, 1949, arranged by the national council and signed the council's letter to the American people, urging that a unified democratic Germany be established (Daily People's World, August 13, 1952, pp. 4 and 6).

A letterhead of the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, dated August 21, 1949, lists the name of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois as having signed an open letter of the organization, addressed to Senators and Congressmen, urging defeat of President Truman's arms program; he answered a questionnaire of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy in favor of recognition of Chinese Communist Government, as shown in Far East Spotlight for December 1949–January 1950 (p. 23).

The Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact was cited as a meeting called by the Daily Worker in July 1949, to be held in Washington, D. C., and as having been instigated by "Communists in the United States (who) did their part in the Moscow campaign" (Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 378 on the Communist "Peace" Offensive dated April 1, 1951). The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy has been cited as Communist by the Attorney General (press release of April 27, 1949); also redesignated-consolidated list of April 1, 1954.

A page of signatures from the Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union, "sponsored by American friends of the Soviet Union, and signed by hundreds of thousands of Americans," was published in the November 1937 issue of Soviet Russia Today (p. 79); the Golden Book was to be presented to President Kalinin at the 20th anniversary celebration. The page carried the title, "I hereby inscribe my name in greeting to the people of the Soviet Union on the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet Republic," and a facsimile of the name, W. E. B. DuBois, appeared on that page.

The Golden Book of American Friendship was cited as a "Communist enterprise" signed by "hundreds of well-known Communists and fellow travelers" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944).

A letterhead of the New York Committee To Win the Peace, dated June 1, 1946, contains the name of W. E. B. DuBois in a list of New York committee members. The National Committee To Win the Peace, with which the New York committee is affiliated, was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General. (Press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also redesignated consolidated list of April 1, 1954.)

Dr. DuBois sponsored a petition of the American Council for a Democratic Greece, as disclosed by the Daily People's World of August 23, 1948 (p. 2); he signed a statement of the same organization, condemning the Greek Government, as reported in the Daily Worker of September 2, 1948 (p. 7). The American Council for a Democratic Greece has been cited as subversive and Communist, an organization formerly known as the Greek-American Council (Attorney General of the United States in press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948); also redesignated—consolidated list of April 1, 1954.

Dr. DuBois was a sponsor of a conference of the National Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions, October 9–10, 1948, as shown in a leaflet entitled "To Safeguard These Rights," published by the Bureau of Academic Freedom of the National Council; a letterhead of the National Council (received for files January 1949) named him as a member-at-large of that organization; he was named as vice chairman of the group on the leaflet, Policy and Program Adopted by the National Convention, 1950; a letterhead of the same organization's southern California chapter, dated April 24, 1950, lists him as a member-at-large of the national council; he was elected vice chairman of the group in 1950 (Daily Worker, May 1, 1950, p. 12); a letterhead of the group dated July 28, 1950, names him as vice chairman of the group; he endorsed a conference on equal rights for Negroes in the arts, sciences, and professions sponsored by the New York Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (Daily Worker, November 9, 1951, p. 7); the call to the conference contained the same information. A letterhead of the national council, dated December 7, 1952, named him as vice chairman.

The call to a Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, issued by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions for New York City, March 25–27, 1949, as well as the conference program (p. 12), and the Daily Worker of February 21, 1949 (p. 9), named Dr. DuBois as one of the sponsors of that conference; he was a member of the program committee of the conference, honorary chairman of the panel at cultural and scientific conference (program, p. 7), and spoke on the Nature of Intellectual Freedom at that conference (p. 78 of the edited report of the conference entitled "Speaking for Peace").

The National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Committee on Un-American Activities in its review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, released April 19, 1949; in the same review, the Scientific and Cultural Conference was cited as a Communist front which "was actually a supermobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations."

The Daily People's World of October 28, 1947 (p. 4), named Dr. DuBois as one of the sponsors of a national conference of the Civil Rights Congress in Chicago, November 21–23, 1947; he sponsored their Freedom Crusade (Daily Worker, December 15, 1948, p. 2); the Call to a Bill of Rights Conference, called by the Civil Rights Congress, for July 16–17, 1949, in New York City, named him as one of the sponsors of that conference; the program of the National Civil Rights Legislative Conference, Janauary 18–19, 1949, called by the Civil Rights Congress, lists him as one of the conference sponsors; he was chairman of a conference of the Congress, as reported in the Worker of January 2, 1949 (p. 5); Dr. DuBois was defended by the Civil Rights Congress (Daily Worker, February 13, 1951, p. 3); he signed the organization's open letter to J. Howard McGrath, United States Attorney General, on behalf of the four jailed trustees of the bail fund of the Civil Rights Congress of New York (advertisement "paid for by contributions of signers" which appeared in the Evening Star on October 30, 1951, p. A–7); he participated in the organization's sixth anniversary dinner in New York City, March 26, 1952 (Daily Worker, March 28, 1952, p. 4).

The Civil Rights Congress was formed in 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations, the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; it is "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it" (Rept. 1115 of the Committee on Un-American Activities, dated September 2, 1947); the Attorney General cited the congress as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948); also redesignated—consolidated list of April 1, 1954.

Dr. DuBois spoke in Washington, D. C., on May 9, 1947, under the auspices of the Washington Book Shop, as shown by a leaflet of the Book Shop, cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General; it had previously been cited by the Attorney General as follows: "Evidence of Communist penetration or control is reflected in the following: Among its stock the establishment has offered prominently for sale books and literature identified with the Communist Party and certain of its affiliates and front organization" (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also redesignated—consolidated list of April 1, 1954; and the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447). The special committee cited the Washington Book Shop as a Communist-front organization (report of March 29, 1944).

The Workers Book Shop catalog for 1948 (p. 5), advertised Dr. DuBois' The World and Africa for sale; the 1949–50 catalog (p. 11) advertised his Black Folk Then and Now; the Worker for March 1, 1953 (p. 16), carried an advertisement of Dr. DuBois' books, The Battle for Peace and Black Reconstruction on sale at the Workers Bookshop, New York City. The Workers Book Shops are a chain of Communist bookshops which are official outlets for Communist literature.

As shown on the following sources, Dr. DuBois was a member of the Advisory Council of Soviet Russia Today: Letterhead of the publication dated September 8, 1947; a letterhead of September 30, 1947; and an undated letterhead received April 1948. The Daily People's World of November 6, 1952 (p. 7), reported that Dr. DuBois had written an article for the November issue of New World Review; and his article entitled "Normal United States-China Relations" appeared in the issue of August 1954 (pp. 13–15). He was also shown by the Daily Worker of October 20, 1954 (p. 7), as one of those who attended the annual banquet held by New World Review on October 14 at which special tribute was paid to Mr. and Mrs. Paul Robeson. Soviet Russia Today has been cited as a Communist-front publication by the special committee in reports of March 29, 1944, and June 25, 1942; the Committee on Un-American Activities also cited it as a Communist-front publication in a report dated October 23, 1949. Soviet Russia Today changed its name to New World Review, effective with the March 1951 issue.

The Daily Worker of July 6, 1951 (p. 7), reported that Dr. DuBois was author of the pamphlet, I Take My Stand for Peace, published by the New Country Publishers, official Communist Party publishing house which has published the works of William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis, Communist Party chairman and executive secretary, respectively. (Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of May 11, 1948).

In 1947 and 1948, Dr. DuBois was contributing editor on the staff of New Masses magazine and later of Masses and Mainstream. (New Masses, July 22, 1947, p. 2; Masses and Mainstream, March 1948, vol. 1, No. 1; and issue of August 1950, p. 1; June 1954, inside front cover.) He contributed articles to the following issues of New Masses and Masses and Mainstream: New Masses for September 10, 1946 (p. 3) and June 10, 1947 (p. 20); Masses and Mainstream for April 1951 (pp. 10–16); and February 1952 (pp. 8–14).

In 1940, Dr. DuBois signed New Masses letter to President Roosevelt as shown in New Masses for April 2, 1940 (p. 21); he was honored at a dinner in New York City, January 14, 1946, arranged by New Masses and at which awards were made for greater interracial understanding (Daily Worker of January 7, 1946, p. 11, cols. 1 and 2); the endorsed New Masses, as reported in the Daily Worker of April 7, 1947 (p. 11); he sponsored a plea for financial support of New Masses, as disclosed in the issue of that publication for April 8, 1947 (p. 9); he received the New Masses award for his contribution in promoting democracy and interracial unity at the publication's second annual awards dinner (New Masses of November 18, 1947, p. 7); the February 1953 issue of Masses and Mainstream carried a chapter from Dr. DuBois' book, The Soul of Black Folk, written 50 years ago (Daily Worker, February 23, 1953, p. 7); he was author of In Battle for Peace, described as the story of his 83d birthday, and which was published by Masses and Mainstream (the Daily Worker of June 18, 1952, p. 7; Daily People's World of September 17, 1952, p. 7; the Daily Worker of September 23, 1952, p. 7; and the Worker of December 21, 1952, p. 7).

The Attorney General of the United States cited New Masses as a Communist periodical (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7448); the special committee cited it as a nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party. (Report of March 29, 1944; also cited in reports of January 3, 1939 and June 25, 1942.) Beginning with the March 1948 issue, New Masses and Mainstream (Marxist quarterly) consolidated into what is now known as Masses and Mainstream, with the announcement that "here, proudly, in purpose even if not in identical form, is a magazine that combines and carriers forward the 37-year-old tradition of New Masses and the more recent literary achievement of Mainstream. We have regrouped our energies, not to retire from the battle but to wage it with fresh resolution and confidence" (Masses and Mainstream for March 1948, p. 3).

A letterhead of the Committee To Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, dated March 15, 1952, carried the name of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in a list of sponsors; he joined in a request of that committee for a new trial for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg (Daily Worker of June 12, 1952, p. 6); he participated in a rally October 23 in New York City, to demand clemency for the Rosenbergs (Daily Worker, Oct. 27, 1952, p. 8); he signed an amicus curiae brief presented to Supreme Court in Washington, D. C., urging a new trial for the Rosenbergs (Daily Worker of November 10, 1952, p. 3; and the Daily People's World of November 13, 1952, p. 8). He wrote an article entitled "A Negro Leader's Plea To Save Rosenbergs" (The Worker of November 16, 1952, p. 3M); and the Daily Worker of January 21, 1953 (p. 7), reported that he had urged clemency for the Rosenbergs.

The Daily Worker of April 11, 1949 (p. 5), reported that Dr. DuBois was a member of the Sponsoring Committee of the World Peace Congress in Paris; he was cochairman of the American Sponsoring Committee of the Congress, as disclosed on a leaflet entitled "World Congress for Peace, Paris," April 20–23, 1949, he was proposed as a candidate for the World Peace Prize, awarded by the World Peace Congress (Daily People's World of December 7, 1951, p. 4); he was a member of the Executive Committee of the World Peace Congress (Daily Worker of September 14, 1950, p. 5); he was one of the sponsors of the Second World Peace Congress in Sheffield, England (Daily Worker of October 19, 1950, p. 3); he was elected to the Presiding Committee of the World Peace Congress (Daily Worker of November 17, 1950, p. 1); he was a member of the World Peace Council of that Congress (Daily Worker of November 24, 1950, p. 9); a mimeographed letter dated December 1, 1950, contains his name in a list of sponsors of the American Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the World Peace Congress.

Dr. DuBois was a member of the United States Sponsoring Committee of the American Intercontinental Peace Conference (Daily Worker of December 28, 1951, p. 2, and February 6, 1952, p. 2); the Peace Conference was called by the World Peace Council, formed at the conclusion of the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw; he was awarded the International Peace Prize for "six world figures" by the World Peace Council (Daily People's World of January 29, 1953, p. 7; the Worker of February 8, 1953, p. 5; and Daily People's World, November 25, 1953, p. 4). He awarded the Stalin Peace Prize for 1953 to Howard Fast in ceremonies held in the Hotel McAlpin in April 1954. (See Daily Worker, April 26, 1954, pp. 3 and 6 and the Worker, May 9, 1954, p. 9.)

The Daily Worker of June 20, 1950 (p. 2), reported that Dr. DuBois signed the World Peace Appeal; the same information appears on an undated leaflet of the enterprise, received by this committee September 11, 1950. A mimeographed list of individuals who signed the Stockholm World Appeal To Outlaw Atomic Weapons, received for filing October 23, 1950, contains the name of Dr. DuBois. He was Chairman of the Peace Information Center where the Stockholm peace petition was made available. (Daily Worker of May 25, 1950, p. 2; and Aug. 16, 1950, p. 5.)

The World Peace Congress which was held in Paris, France, April 20–23, 1949, was cited as a Communist front among the "peace" conferences which "have been organized under Communist initiative in various countries throughout the world as part of a campaign against the North Atlantic Defense Pact" (Committee on Un-American Activities in reports of April 19, 1949; July 13, 1950; and April 1, 1951). The World Peace Council was formed at the conclusion of the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw and was "heralded by the Moscow radio as the expression of the determination of the peoples to take into their own hands the struggle for peace." (Committee on Un-American Activities in a report dated April 1, 1951.)

The World Peace Appeal was cited as a petition campaign launched by the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress at its meeting in Stockholm, March 16–19, 1950; it "received the enthusiastic approval of every section of the international Communist hierarchy" and was "lauded in the Communist press, putting every individual Communist on notice that he 'has the duty to rise to this appeal.'" (Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of April 1, 1951.)

The American Peace Crusade, organized in January 1951, was cited as an organization which "the Communists established as a new instrument for their 'peace' offensive in the United States" (Committee on Un-American Activities in its reports of February 19, 1951, and April 1, 1951); Dr. DuBois was one of the sponsors of the crusade (Daily Worker of February 1, 1951, p. 2); minutes of the sponsors meeting which was held in Washington, D. C., March 15, 1951 (p. 4), named him as one of the initiators of the crusade and also as having been proposed as cochairman of that meeting; he was a sponsor of the American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace, which was held in Chicago, June 29–July 1, 1951, called by the American Peace Crusade to advance the theme of world peace (Daily Worker, April 22, 1951, p. 2; May 1, 1951, p. 11; the American Peace Crusade, May 1951, pp. 1 and 4; the Daily Worker of May 9, 1951, p. 4; Daily Worker of June 11, 1951, p. 2; a leaflet of the congress; Daily Worker of July 1, 1951, p. 3; a leaflet entitled "An Invitation to American Labor to Participate in a Peace Congress"; the call to the American People's Congress; the Daily Worker of July 3, 1951, p. 2). He signed a petition of the crusade, calling on President Truman and Congress to seek a big-power pact (Daily Worker, February 1, 1952, p. 1); he attended a meeting of Delegates Assembly for Peace, called by the crusade and held in Washington, D. C., April 1 (Daily Worker, April 3, 1952, p. 3); he was one of the sponsors of a peace referendum jointly with the American Peace Crusade to make the end of the Korean war a major issue in the 1952 election campaign (Daily People's World of August 25, 1952, p. 8).

Dr. DuBois issued a statement on the death of Stalin which read in part as follows: "Let all Negroes, Jews, and foreign-born who have suffered in America from prejudice and intolerance, remember Joseph Stalin" (Daily Worker of March 9, 1953, p. 3); the Daily Worker of January 18, 1952 (p. 8), reported that he had renewed his fight for a passport in order to attend the American Intercontinental Peace Conference in Rio de Janeiro; it was reported in the Washington Evening Star on May 10, 1952 (p. B–21), that Dr. DuBois was refused admission to Canada to attend the Canadian Peace Congress because he refused to undergo an examination by the Canadian Immigration Service. On September 14, 1952, the Worker (p. M6), reported that Dr. DuBois had experienced passport difficulties when leaving the United States; and on May 4, 1953 (p. 2), the Daily Worker reported that United States delegate, Betty Sanders, told the opening session of the Continental Cultural Congress in Santiago, Chile, that DuBois would have attended in person "as well as in spirit," if he had not been denied a passport.

According to Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, "subversion" means "act of subverting, or a state of being subverted; overthrow; utter ruin; destruction. That which subverts."

The time element would prevent my reading all of these citations on the various individuals who compose the high echelon of this organization. I will, however, read excerpts from some of them and would like to ask later for permission to incorporate each of them in full in the RECORD.

OCTOBER 13, 1955.

Subject: Arthur B. Spingarn, national president, member of board of directors, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Arthur B. Spingarn is listed as an individual participation in the Conference on Africa, held by the Council on African Affairs in New York City, April 14, 1944, according to the Council's pamphlet, For a New Africa (p. 37).

The Attorney General of the United States cited the Council on African Affairs as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948. The Attorney General redesignated the organization April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included it on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list of organizations previously designated.

An undated leaflet, The Only Sound Policy for a Democracy and the Daily Worker of March 18, 1945 (p. 2), listed Arthur Spingarn, president NAACP, New York, N. Y., as one who signed a statement of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties supporting the War Department's order on granting commissions * * * to members of the Armed Forces who have been members of or sympathetic to the views of the Communist Party. An advertisement in the New York Times, April 1, 1946 (p. 16), listed Arthur B. Spingarn as a signer of a statement of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties opposing use of injunctions in labor disputes.

The Attorney General cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The group was cited previously by the Attorney General as part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446.) The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 50), cited the National Federation as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party." The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 3), cited the National Federation * * * as among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law."

An undated letterhead of the Public Use of Arts Committee listed Arthur B. Spingarn as a sponsor of the organization. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 112), cited the Public Use of Arts Committee as a Communist front which was organized by the Communist-controlled Artists Union.

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the Board of Directors, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

An undated leaflet, "The South Is Closer Than You Think," named Channing Tobias as a member of the executive board and as cochairman of the New York committee, Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The "Southern Patriot" for December 1946 (p. 8) named him as an advisory associate for 1947–48 of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. This organization has been cited as a Communist front by the special committee on Un-American Activities (Report of March 29, 1944, p. 147); and, was the subject of a separate report by the Committee on Un-American Activities (Report No. 592, June 12, 1947) wherein it was cited as a Communist-front organization "which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

Channing H. Tobias was shown as a member of the Council on African Affairs, Inc., in the pamphlets, "Eight Million Demand Freedom" (back cover). "For a New Africa" (p. 36), "Africa in the War" (inside back cover), and "Seeing Is Believing"; the leaflets, "The Job To Be Done," and "What of Africa's Place in Tomorrow's World?" all issued by the organization; and a letterhead of the council dated May 17, 1945. In this connection, it should be noted that the New York Times reported on May 29, 1948 (p. 6) that Channing H. Tobias had resigned from the Council on African Affairs. The Council on African Affairs has been cited as a subversive and Communist organization by the Attorney General (letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also redesignated pursuant to Executive Order 10450 in Attorney General's memorandum to heads of departments, April 29, 1953).

The call to a dinner forum on "Protestantism Answers Hate," which was held in New York City, February 25, 1941, named Channing H. Tobias as one of the sponsors of the forum, arranged by the Protestant Digest Associates; he was a member of the editorial advisory board of the Protestant Digest, as shown on a letterhead of the publication dated October 7, 1941; and the June-July 1942 issue of the Protestant named him as an editorial adviser. The Protestant Digest, later known as The Protestant and published by Protestant Digest Associates, was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as "a magazine which has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line under the guise of being a religious journal." (Report of March 29, 1944, p. 48.)

A letterhead of the People's Institute of Applied Religion, dated April 9, 1942, named Channing H. Tobias as one of the sponsors of that organization. The United States Attorney General has cited the People's Institute as subversive and Communist. (Letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948; also redesignated pursuant to Executive Order 10450 in Attorney General memorandum of April 29, 1953.)

The Daily Worker of March 4, 1939 (p. 2) reported that Channing Tobias endorsed the fifth New York City Conference of the American League for Peace and Democracy; and a letterhead of the organization, dated June 12, 1939, showed him as a member of the executive board. The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American League for Peace and Democracy as "The largest of the Communist front movements in the United States" and added, "The league contends publicly that it is not a Communist-front movement, yet at the very beginning Communists dominated it. Earl Browder was its vice president." (See Report of January 3, 1939, pp. 69–71 and March 29, 1944, p. 37; also cited in Reports, January 3, 1941, June 25, 1942, and January 2, 1943.) The Attorney General, in 1942, cited it as being established in 1937 "in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, pp. 7443–7444); and later, the Attorney General cited the ALPD as a subversive and Communist organization. (Letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948 and September 21, 1948; also redesignated in Attorney General memorandum, April 29, 1953.)

Identified as being from New York City, Channing H. Tobias was named as one of those who signed the January 1943 message of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties addressed to the United States House of Representatives (leaflet containing the message attached to an undated letterhead of the organization). He sponsored the Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America, June 7–9, 1940 in Washington, D. C., as shown by the call to the conference, in which source his address was shown as New York City. The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties has been cited as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" (special Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports of March 29, 1944, p. 50; June 25, 1942, p. 20; and January 2, 1943, pp. 9 and 12); as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, astensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communist attempts to create sympathizers and supporters of their program" (Attorney General Biddle, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446); and as subversive and Communist (Attorney General letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; also redesignated April 29, 1953). The organization "was established as a result of a conference on constitutional liberties held in Washington, D. C., June 7–9, 1940." (See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446, and the report of the special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944, p. 102.)

Dr. Channing H. Tobias, National Council, YMCA, was listed in the call for a New York State Conference on National Unity to be held in New York City, December 6, 1941, as a signed of the call. This conference was cited as a Communits front by the special Committee on Un-American Activities. (Report of March 29, 1944, p. 133.)

Dr. Tobias was shown as a sponsor of the United Nations in America dinner, April 17, 1943, in New York City, in the invitation to that dinner issued by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. This organization was cited as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States" by the special Committee on Un-American Activities (reports of March 29, 1944, p. 155, and June 25, 1942, p. 13), and as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948; also redesignated, April 29, 1953).

The call to a Win-the-Peace Conference, an official letterhead of the conference, dated February 28, 1946, and the Daily Worker of March 5, 1946, listed Dr. Tobias as a sponsor. The National Committee To Win the Peace, which was formed at that conference in Washington, D. C., April 5–7, 1946, has been cited as a subversive and Communist organization by the Attorney General. (Letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also redesignated by the Attorney General, April 29, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order 10450.)

On a letterhead dated August 6, 1945, the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief listed Dr. Channing H. Tobias as a member of its sponsors committee. The Attorney General has listed this organization as being subversive and Communist. (Letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948; also redesignated, April 29, 1953.)

The hearing before a subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate on nomination of Channing H. Tobias to be Alternate Representative of the United States at Sixth General Assembly of the United Nations, shows Dr. Tobias testified as follows relative to some of the information outlined above:

"Now, gentlemen, I come directly to the question at issue. In the first place, let

me say that my political affiliations have been as follows: I have never supported other than the two major parties, Republican and Democratic; I have always been a political independent.

"So far as communism is concerned, in its ideology and as a system of government, it has always been repugnant to me for the very obvious reason that it is godless, and I am a Christian. It is at variance with the Christian religion in which I so firmly believe, and to which I have devoted my life.

"Now as to the charges that I had presented to me this morning, I want to be as frank as I can. There is a statement that the Daily Worker of March 4, 1939, reported that I had endorsed the Fifth New York City Conference of the American League for Peace and Democracy, and there are other committees like that that appear on the list.

"The answer is that in that day of hectic anxiety to win the war and to improve relationships among our people there were few people who were thinking about what might be the possible standing of these groups in the minds of American people. As one by one they have been debunked and their true purposes have been made known, I, along with all decent Americans, have withdrawn signatures and withdrawn from participation, which was very meager at the best. I make no wholesale denial concerning any of these. I may have given my signature for membership or for sponsorship. Most of them I do not recall except as names, and you must admit that they all had very good names, high-sounding names.

"SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

"There are 1 or 2, however, that I recall, in which I had working relationships. First of all, reference is made to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. I was a member of that group, because as it was organized and as it first operated, it had the support of some of the finest people in America. I do not need to call names. The record is available. The purpose as outlined and the work done by the New York committee challenged support of people of both races in New York until the time came when it was quite evident that some of its leaders were using it to enhance the party line. Then, along with others, I withdrew from affiliation with it.

"COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

"The Council on African Affairs is mentioned, and I am very glad that that is mentioned, because it happens to be one of the few things on which I have a little documentation. I was a member of the Council on African Affairs from its beginning, because its director had been a faithful secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association. As a matter of fact, I had helped to bring him into association work and was instrumental in having him assigned during the First War to a field of service in Africa under a British command, and after that for 15 or 16 years, he served as a representative of the YMCA in South Africa. It was during his experience down there that he became embittered and came back home.

"He organized a group to try to bring the facts of African life before the public. We thought it worthwhile to do that. As the years passed by, it was quite evident that there was Communist infiltration and it got so strong that this young man, who had himself very largely followed the line against the advice of his best friends, was threatened with expulsion from the directorship of the council.

"There was a memorable meeting on February 3, 1948, a meeting at which I made a simple motion at the beginning, which resulted in a discussion that lasted 5 hours.

"Dr. Yergan, who had been the director of that organization and who is now so completely convinced of the treachery of the Communist leadership and its program, is being used by loyalty organizations that find him helpful in exposing those treacheries. He was up for expulsion. A group of us * * * tried to wrest the organization from the hands of that group.

"I made a motion at the very beginning that the simple statement that had been made after the Department of Justice declared the group subversive, that it was neither Communist, Fascist, nor subversive, a very simple statement, be made declaring the sentiment of the council. That motion was never put.

"After 5 hours of wrangling and delaying tactics, common to the group that was then in the ascendency of the council, I arose and offered my resignation, and said that I could no longer have any part with the group when it was quite plain what was happening there." (Pp. 9 and 10.)

At this point in the hearing (pp. 11–13), Dr. Tobias quoted from an article in the New York Times of February 4, 1948, headed, "Tobias Firm in Stand Opposing Leftists," and a similar article in the New York World-Telegram of the same date; and the articles were entered in the record together with one from the New York World-Telegram of October 13, 1948, headed, "Dr. Yergan Denounces Commies as Wreckers." Then testimony was continued:

"PROTESTANT MAGAZINE

"Dr. TOBIAS. Reference is made here to the Protestant magazine. I am glad that it is here. This is a magazine that was founded a few years ago by Mr. Kenneth Leslie, who I did not know at the time. He sent a sample copy of it which seemed to be legitimate, or furnished the material for a legitimate organ of Protestantism. He asked for my signature, and, if you will look at any copy of that magazine and view the names of those who agreed to serve on the advisory board, you will see a practical who's who of the Protestant ministry of this country. They believed at the beginning that it was legitimate. Pretty soon it showed that it was not, and when that came out, along with others * * * I wrote and asked that my name be left off of all communications and off the published list of advisers of the committee. A principal reason for my disgust with it was that I found after a short while that it was definitely meant for one purpose, and that was to sound an anti-Catholic note. I am a Protestant but I am interfaith believer. * * *

"So that connection with that was connection with something that, at the beginning we regarded as legitimate, and found out was not, and when we found out that it was not, discontinued relationships.

"PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE OF APPLIED RELIGION

"There is mention here of the People's Institute of Applied Religion. Many of us were taken in on that. It was largely on the ground of the fact that a man by the name of Claude Williams published a book of his struggles and hardships in the South, in the interest of race relationships.

"At the beginning it looked like a perfectly worthwhile movement. I gave it some support, made contributions to it, until I found out that it was plainly being dominated by leftists and I had no more to do with it and have had no more to do with that or any of the rest of these organizations that are referred to here.

"I mention those because I happen to know what the record is about them. As I have said, many of the others I have no recollection of except as names, and I am perfectly willing to answer questions, but I want to say this final word before I have finished, and I want to put this into the record also. It is a little difficult when one gets attacked from the right and left to know the answer. I never read the Daily Worker, never have read it, but a friend of mine put this copy of it into my hands, and I want to read from it. This was on Thursday, January 25, 1951:

"'Six prominent Negroes have taken it upon themselves to attempt to mobilize the Negro people behind the war program of Wall Street and Washington. They are * * * Channing H. Tobias, only United States Negro director of a Wall Street bank, and one of the two Negro directors of a Wall Street cartel set up to exploit Liberian resources and peoples; * * * With the exception of Dr. Mays, these individuals have long been go-betweens through whom the billionaires who own and run the United States try to lead and control the main organization of Negro struggle.'

"I want that, Mr. Chairman, included in the record.

"Senator SPARKMAN. Without objection, it will be done" (pp. 14 and 15).

Dr. Tobias concluded his statement with this paragraph:

"I want to say in all frankness and candor that whether or not I go on this delegation is not too important. What is important, however, is whether or not 15,000,000 loyal Negro Americans get the impression that its leadership is being crucified because of innuendoes, allegations, and associations. The answer to that question is more important than any word that I could possibly say at Paris.

"Thank you" (p. 16).

During the questioning which followed his statement, Dr. Tobias testified, "I have never been, am not now, a member of the Communist Party" (p. 23). In answer to a question on the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties he replied: "That is also a name organization. I happened to know the principal leader in that. That was Mr. George Marshall who was a brother of James Marshall, of the Board of Education of New York, and the son of the late Louis Marshall. Other than that, I know nothing about it. I had no activity in it whatever" (p. 25).

Regarding the American Committee for Protection of Foreign-Born, Dr. Tobias said, "That is also just a name," that he had no other activity in it other than joining in the invitation of sponsoring a dinner, that he did not know at the time it was subversive, and added: "The very fact that it was supposed to be interested in foreign-born citizens—I was interested in them, too, and assumed that it was a good cause" (p. 25).

When questioned about the Win-the-Peace Conference and the New York State Conference on National Unity, Dr. Tobias answered that he knew nothing about either and did not remember them. However, he replied to questions on the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief: "Yes; I remember that. They gave a dinner at which Mrs. Roosevelt, I think, was one of the principal speakers. Everybody was interested in trying to help that cause at that time. * * * I don't know whether it has been placed on the subversive list or not, but at that time it was regarded as a perfectly respectable organization. * * * I don't remember membership in it at all. Sponsorship, I think is all" (from pp. 26 and 27).

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Allan Knight Chalmers, national treasurer, member of the board of directors, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

In connection with his public testimony on August 17 and 18, 1937, before the special

Committee on Un-American Activities, Mr. Walter S. Steele furnished additional information which was printed in the hearings following his testimony and from which the reference below is taken:

"A good example of one of the united fronts in the United States is the Scottsboro Defense Committee * * *. The national chairman of this committee is the Reverend Allan Knight Chalmers, head of the Church League for Industrial Democracy; member of the advisory board of the National Religion and Labor Foundation; executive committee of the War Registers League; sponsor of the Emergency Peace Campaign, and a member of the sponsoring committee for the testimonial dinner given in honor of Norman Thomas in 1936." (Public hearings, vol. 1, p. 628.)

Except for the Scottsboro Defense Committee, none of these organizations has been cited in any manner either by the Committee on Un-American Activities or the Attorney General of the United States. The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Scottsboro Defense Committee as a Communist-front organization in reports of January 3, 1939 (p. 82), and March 29, 1944 (p. 177).

Rev. Allan Knight Chalmers was listed among the sponsors of the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights in the program of that conference held February 12, 1940. The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights as a Communist front which was succeeded by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (report of March 29, 1944, pp. 96, 129). The Committee on Un-American Activities cited it as being among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law" (report of September 2, 1947, p. 3).

A leaflet entitled "Protestantism Answers Hate" contains the name of Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, Broadway Tabernacle, New York, in a list of sponsors of the call to a dinner forum in New York City, February 25, 1941, under auspices of Protestant Digest Associates. The Protestant Digest was cited by the special committee as "a magazine which has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line * * *." (Report 1311 of March 29, 1944.)

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Grace B. Fenderson, national vice president, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The pamphlet, "For a New Africa" (p. 37), proceedings of the Conference on Africa held under auspices of the Council on African Affairs, April 14, 1944, named Mrs. Grace B. Fenderson as a conference participant.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the Council on African Affairs as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated.

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Willard S. Townsend, national vice president, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

One Willard Townsend was a signer of a plea for the release of Earl Browder from prison, according to an advertisement which appeared in the Washington Post, March 12, 1942. He was identified as international president of the United Transport Service Employees of America (CIO).

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: A. Philip Randolph, national vice president, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The Daily Worker of September 12, 1950 (p. 2), reported that A. Philip Randolph, president, AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, opposed the jailing of the Communist leaders.

The Attorney General of the United States reported that A. Philip Randolph, president of the National Negro Congress, refused to run in April 1940 "on the ground that it was 'deliberately packed with Communists and Congress of Industrial Organizations members who were either Communists or sympathizers with Communists'" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, September 24, 1942, pp. 7687 and 7688).

Walter S. Steele, in testimony in public hearings, Committee on Un-American Activities, July 21, 1947 (p. 92), referred to A. Philip Randolph as follows:

"A. Philip Randolph, one-time president of the National Negro Congress, resigned his position because of the Communist control thereof. At the time of his resignation, at a meeting held in Washington, D. C., he charged that the congress was controlled by the Communist Party, through which he found it was chiefly financed."

George K. Hunton testified in public hearings, Committee on Un-American Activities, July 13, 1949 (p. 451), concerning the Communist infiltration of the National Negro Congress with reference to A. Philip Randolph as follows:

"In the National Negro Congress they did make progress. That was a sound, constructive organization started about 10 years ago. It was a good organization, with a sound, constructive program, and the Commies moved in, and within a year and a half the white Communist members completely outnumbered the Negro members and took over. Be it said to his credit that the then president, A. Philip Randolph, roundly denounced them and then resigned, and said no longer would the National Negro Congress represent the feeling of the Negro people who organized it * * * ."

Manning Johnson testified in public hearings, Committee on Un-American Activities, July 14, 1949, as follows concerning the National Negro Congress and A. Philip Randolph:

"Mr. TAVENNER. What was the relationship of that commission (Negro Commission of the Communist Party) to the American Negro Labor Congress, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, and the National Negro Congress?

"Mr. JOHNSON. The Negro League was formed by the Communist Party, and its program was identical with the program of the Communist Party for the Negro.

"The majority of members of the American Negro Labor Congress were Communists or fellow-travelers. It was a very narrow, sectarian organization, and the party decided to change its name and broaden its activities, so the name was changed to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. * * *

"The League of Struggle for Negro Rights was never successful in penetrating any broad sections of the Negro people. It remained a very narrow and sectarian organization. So the party, after having received the open letter, which was really drawn in Moscow and called for breaking away from narrow organizations, in line with this open letter, at a meeting of the national committee which, as I recall, was in the latter part of 1934 or early part of 1935, we discussed the general situation among Negroes, and the conclusion was that there was considerable unrest among them and that the time was historically right for the formation of a broad and all-inclusive organization.

"As a result of that discussion and that conclusion, the national committee of the party, upon the recommendation of one of the members of the Negro commission present at that meeting, decided to set up the National Negro Congress. The national committee gave James W. Ford the responsibility, along with the Negro commission of the national committee, to form that congress.

"We were fishing around for someone to head the congress, and we found there was no finer person to get who was not a member of the party than A. Philip Randolph. He was approached and agreed.

* * * * *

"The third—and fatal—National Negro Congress was held in Washington, D. C. The Communists had become so drunk with power, and they felt they had such strong control over the congress, that they thought they could walk roughshod over the liberals, and they antagonized A. Philip Randolph and he began to fight James W. Ford and others.

"James W. Ford and others insisted I fight A. Philip Randolph, and I refused to do so, and at that time I predicted they were on the road to breaking up the congress.

"The fight widened to such an extent that Randolph began to speak openly against Communist domination. I used to wonder how Randolph could be so naive as to not know it was a Communist-front organization.

"Before the third congress met, we got wind that Randolph was going to resign. We had Communists go to that congress representing various paper organizations so as to give them control in voting.

"When Randolph saw the congress was packed with Communists, Randolph resigned and walked out * * *." (Pp. 510–512.)

A. Philip Randolph supported a statement to Congress issued by the American League Against War and Fascism against neutrality measures as reported by the Daily Worker of February 27, 1937 (p. 2). The Daily Worker of April 22, 1938 (p. 2), reported that A. Philip Randolph was one of the signers of a letter urging open hearings on the neutrality act which was sent to Congress under auspices of the American League for Peace and Democracy. A. Philip Randolph was nominated as a member of the National Labor Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy at the American Congress for Peace and Democracy held in Washington, D. C., January 6–8, 1939, as shown by the pamphlet, "7½ Million * * *" (p. 32). Lettersheads of the China Aid Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy dated May 18, 1938, and June 11, 1938, name him as a sponsor of the council. He was a sponsor of the Easter drive of the China Aid Council of the American League * * *, as shown by the Daily Worker of April 8, 1938 (p. 2). A photostatic copy of a letterhead of

the American League for Peace and Democracy dated April 6, 1939 listed A. Phillip Randolph as a national sponsor of that organization.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the American League Against War and Fascism as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included it on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as a Communist-front organization (in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report dated March 29, 1944 (p. 53), cited the American League Against War and Fascism as "organized at the First United States Congress Against War which was held in New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933. Four years later at Pittsburgh, November 26–28, 1937, the name of the organization was changed to the American League for Peace and Democracy. * * * It remained as completely under the control of Communists when the name was changed as it had been before."

The Attorney General cited the American League for Peace and Democracy as subversive and Communist in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Attorney General cited the group previously as established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Fascism "in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union. * * * The American League for Peace and Democracy * * * was designed to conceal Communist control, in accordance with the new tactics of the Communist International" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, pp. 7442–7473). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (pp. 69–71), cited the American League for Peace and Democracy as "the largest of the Communist-front movements in the United States."

A letter head of the organization, Commonwealth College, dated January 1, 1940, listed A. Philip Randolph as a member of the National Advisory Committee. He endorsed the reorganization plan of Commonwealth College, as shown by the August 15. 1937, issue of Fortnightly, a publication of the college (p. 3).

The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited Commonwealth College as a Communist enterprise in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 76 and 167). The Attorney General cited the Commonwealth College as Communist in a letter released April 27, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list.

An undated leaflet of the League for Mutual Aid listed A. Philip Randolph as a member of the executive committee of that organization. He was a guest of honor at the 17the annual dinner of the League for Mutual Aid held February 1, 1937, as shown by New Masses, January 26, 1937 (p. 37).

The League for Mutual Aid was cited as a Communist enterprise by the special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 76).

A. Philip Randolph was a sponsor of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy, as shown by letterheads of the organization dated July 6, 1938, and February 2, 1939. The Daily Worker of June 2, 1938 (p. 5), reported that A. Philip Randolph was a supporter of a meeting of the Medical Bureau * * *.

"In 1937–38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for in support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations." Among these was the Medical Bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, Mar. 29, 1944, p. 82.)

New Masses for October 26, 1937 (p. 11), reported that A. Philip Randolph was chairman of the National Negro Congress. A. Philip Randolph was president of the National Negro Congress, as shown by the Daily Worker of January 1, 1938 (p. 4), January 13, 1938 (p. 3), April 19, 1938 (p. 3), and the pamphlet, Second National Negro Congress, October 1937. He was president of the Third National Negro Congress, as reported by the June 1940 issue of the Communist (p. 548). The official proceedings of the 1936 National Negro Congress (p. 41), listed A. Philip Randolph as a member of the national executive council of the organization. He spoke at a gathering of the congress, as reported by the Daily Worker of March 8, 1938 (p. 3). The Daily Worker of February 15, 1938 (p. 7), reported that A. Philip Randolph contributed to the official proceedings of the Second National Negro Congress.

The Attorney General cited the National Negro Congress as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as a Communist-front group (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as "the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes * * *."

A. Philip Randolph was a consultant of the Panel on Citizenship and Civil Liberties of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, as shown by an official report of the organization, dated April 19–21, 1942. The call to the second conference, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, April 14–16, 1940, listed A. Philip Randolph as a sponsor of that conference.

The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p 147), cited the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist front which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of June 12, 1947, cited the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist-front organization "which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

The Daily Worker, issues of March 28, 1938 (p. 3) and April 4, 1938 (p. 3), listed A. Philip Randolph as a sponsor of the World Youth Congress. The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 183), cited the World Youth Congress as a Communist conference held in the summer of 1938 at Vassar College.

A. Philip Randolph signed a petition of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy to lift the arms embargo as shown by the Daily Worker of April 8, 1938 (p. 4). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 82), cited the American Friends of Spanish Democracy as follows: "In 1937–38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations * * * such as * * * American Friends of Spanish Democracy."

A. Philip Randolph is listed as a sponsor on a letterhead of the American Relief Ship for Spain dated September 3, 1938. The American Relief Ship for Spain was cited as "one of the several Communist Party front enterprises which raised funds for Loyalist Spain (or rather raised funds for the Communist end of that civil war)." (Special Committee on Un-American Activities Report, March 29, 1944, p. 102.)

The proceedings of the Congress of Youth of the American Youth Congress, July 1–5, 1939 (p. 3), listed A. Philip Randolph as a signer of the call to the congress.

A. Phillip Randolph was a sponsor of the Conference on Pan-American Democracy (letterhead, November 16, 1938). The booklet, These American Say, published by the Coordinating Committee To Lift the Embargo, named him as a representative individual. He was a sponsor of the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights (program of conference, February 12, 1940).

The Conference on Pan-American Democracy (known also as Council for Pan-American Democracy) was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 161 and 164), cited the organization as a Communist front which defended Carlos Luiz Prestes, a Brazilian Communist leader and former member of the executive committee of the Communist International.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 137 and 138), cited the Coordinating Committee To Lift the (Spanish) Embargo as one of a number of front organizations set up during the Spanish civil war by the Communist Party in the United States and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation.

The Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights was cited as a Communist front which was succeeded by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (special committee report, March 29, 1944, pp. 96 and 129). The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 3), cited the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general, but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law."

A. Philip Randolph was a sponsor of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, as shown by the back cover of a pamphlet, Children in Concentration Camps. He signed the call to a United May Day conference, according to the Daily Worker of March 17, 1937 (p. 4). An undated letterhead of the United May Day Committee listed him as chairman.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Spanish Refugee Campaign as a Communist-front organization (report, January 3, 1940, p. 9).

The United May Day conference was cited as "engineered by the Communist Party for its 1937 May Day demonstrations" and also organized by the party in 1938 (special committee report, March 29, 1944, pp. 124 and 139).

The Attorney General cited the United May Day Committee as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A., which seeks "to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means." (Letter released December 4, 1947; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list.)

The Daily Worker of January 23, 1937 (p. 3), announced that A. Philip Randolph was scheduled to speak at the Southern Negro Youth Congress, Richmond, Va., February 12–14. "The People Versus H. C. L." listed him as a sponsor of the Consumers National Federation. He was shown as a sponsor of the Public Use of Arts Committee on an undated letterhead of that organization.

The Southern Negro Youth Congress was cited as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A., which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means. (Attorney General, letter released December 4, 1947; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on April 1, 1954, consolidated list.) The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1940 (p. 9), cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of April 17, 1947 (p. 14), cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as "surreptitiously controlled" by the Young Communist League.

The Consumers National Federation was cited as a Communist-front group by the special committee in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 155).

Public Use of the Arts Committee was cited as a Communist front by the special committee in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 112).

Subject: T. G. Nutter, national vice president, member of national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The call to the National Negro Congress, Chicago, Ill., February 14, 1936, listed T. G. Nutter, Charleston, W. Va., as an endorser.

The National Negro Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General, April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The Attorney General cited the group previously as a Communist front as shown by the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 88, part 6, page 7447. The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in the report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as "the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes."

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: L. Pearl Mitchell, national vice president, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The Daily Worker of April 18, 1936 (p. 3), named L. Pearl Mitchell, identified as national director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as chairman of a committee for a benefit dance which was held by the Joint Scottsboro Defense Committee, Cleveland, Ohio, for the purpose of raising money to be sent to New York.

The Scottsboro Defense Committee was cited as a Communist front by the special Committee on Un-American Activities in its reports of January 3, 1939 (p. 82); and March 29, 1944 (p. 177).

Miss L. Pearl Mitchell, of Cleveland, Ohio, was one of the endorsers of the National Negro Congress, as shown by the call for National Negro Congress, Chicago, Ill., February 14, 1936.

The National Negro Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also included in the Attorney General's consolidated list of April 1, 1954.

The special Committee on Un-American Activities stated that "the officers of the National Negro Congress are outspoken Communist sympathizers, and a majority of those on the executive board are outright Communists" (special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, January 3, 1939, p. 81; also cited, reports, January 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 20; March 29, 1944, p. 180; and included in the Attorney General's consolidated list of April 1, 1954).

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Eric Johnston, national vice president, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

On March 27, 1947, Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Association of America, appeared before this committee as a witness in public hearings on H. R. 1884 and H. R. 2122, bills to curb or outlaw the Communist Party of the United States (Committee on Un-American Activities, hearings and reports, vol. 1, pp. 288–307).

On October 27, 1947, Eric Allen Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, again appeared as a witness before the committee in public hearings regarding Communist infiltration of the motion-picture industry (committee hearings and reports, vol. 1, pp. 305–328).

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Bishop W. J. Walls, national vice president, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

As shown in Soviet Russia Today for December 1942 (p. 42), W. J. Walls was a sponsor of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship. He was named as a sponsor of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship on a letterhead of the group dated March 13, 1946, and a memorandum issued by the organization March 18, 1946.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list of April 1, 1954); the special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Council * * * (in a report dated March 29, 1944) as having been "in recent months, the principal front" of the Communist Party.

Bishop W. J. Walls, Chicago, Ill. supported the National Negro Congress, as shown in the Daily Worker of February 3, 1936 (p. 2). The National Negro Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list of April 1, 1954); the Attorney General had previously cited the National Negro Congress as "sponsored and supported by the Communist Party" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447). The special committee cited the National Negro Congress as "the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes" (report of January 3, 1939; also cited in reports of January 3, 1940; January 3, 1941; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944).

A petition to the United Nations, drafted and circulated by the Council on African Affairs, contained the signature of Bishop W. J. Walls, according to the Daily Worker of June 5, 1950 (p. 4). The Attorney General cited the council as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also consolidated list of April 1, 1954).

Bishop Walls also signed a statement of the National Committee To Defeat the Mundt (anti-Communist) Bill, according to the Daily Worker of April 3, 1950 (p. 4). The national committee * * * was cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as "a registered lobbying organization which has carried out the objectives of the Communist Party in its fight against antisubversive legislation" (report of the Committee on Un-American Activities on the National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill, released December 7, 1950).

Identified as secretary of the board of bishops, A. M. E. Zion Church, Bishop W. J. Walls was named as having endorsed the World Peace Appeal (undated leaflet received by the committee September 11, 1950), and the Daily Worker of August 14, 1950 (p. 2). The World Peace Appeal was cited as a petition campaign launched by the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress at its meeting in Stockholm, March 16–19, 1950; as having "received the enthusiastic approval of every section of the international Communist hierarchy"; as having been lauded in the Communist press, putting "every individual Communist on notice that he 'has the duty to rise to this appeal'"; and as having "received the official endorsement of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. * * *" (report of the Committee on Un-American Activities on the Communist Peace Offensive, April 1, 1951).

Bishop Walls was one of the sponsors of the American Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the World Peace Congress, as shown on a mimeographed letter of December 1, 1950; he was a delegate to the World Peace Congress, as shown in the Daily Worker of November 7, 1950 (p. 2); he signed a protest made by the American Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the World Peace Congress (Daily People's World of November 20, 1950, p. 2). The protest was made against exclusion by the British Government of more than 50 Americans, five-sixths of the United States delegation to the World Peace Congress. In the latter two sources, he was identified as secretary of the board of bishops of A. M. E. Zion Church.

The World Peace Congress was cited as a Communist front among the "peace conferences" which "have been organized under Communist initiative in various countries throughout the world as part of a campaign against the North Atlantic Defense Pact" (report of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated April 1, 1951).

According to the Daily Worker of October 28, 1949 (p. 2), Bishop W. J. Walls, of Chicago, endorsed Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Communist, and urged his reelection to the New York City Council. Benjamin J. Davis was 1 of the 11 leaders of the Communist Party on trial.

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: John Haynes Holmes, national vice president, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Rev. John Haynes Holmes was shown to be a member of the advisory board of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born on a letterhead of the organization dated April 27, 1938, on a letterhead dated January 1940, and in the call to the third annual conference. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States (letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1 and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954). The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the organization as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States" (report, March 29, 1944, p. 155; also cited in report, June 25, 1942, p. 13).

In a bulletin, Spot News (p. 1), John Haynes Holmes was listed as a sponsor of the American Committee to Save Refugees, which was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944 (pps. 49, 112, 129, 133, 138, 167, 180).

A letterhead dated November 18, 1936, showed John Haynes Holmes to be a member of the general committee of the medical bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy. "New Masses" (January 5, 1937, p. 31) also listed John Haynes Holmes as a member of the general committee of that organization. "In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations * * * such as * * * American Friends of Spanish Democracy" (special committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, p. 82).

The Daily Worker (January 11, 1937, p. 2) reported that John Haynes Holmes was a sponsor of the New York City Conference Against War and Fascism. The Daily Worker (February 23, 1938, p. 2) reported that he signed a letter which was sponsored by the American League for Peace and Democracy. A contribution from him appeared in Fight (September 1935, p. 2), a magazine published by the American League Against War and Fascism; he was identified as minister, Community Church, New York. The following is quoted from an editorial comment on the article:

"In a recent sermon Dr. Holmes made an eloquent appeal for unity of Christians and Communists in opposition to the forces of reaction driving toward war and fascism, and in struggle for the achievement of a better world based on brotherhood and cooperation among men.

"If churchmen will unite with Communists, Socialists, trade unionists and everyone else opposed to war and fascism, our forces will be tremendously strengthened, and war and fascism will not be inevitable. Already the American League Against War and Fascism has brought together in its ranks people of diverse political and religious beliefs, liberals, radicals and revolutionists, of all races and creeds * * *.

"The American League Against War and Fascism was organized at the First United States Congress Against War which was held in New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933. Four years later at Pittsburgh, November 26-28, 1937, the name of the organization was changed to the American League for Peace and Democracy. There was, however, no fundamental change in the character of the organization. It remained as completely under the control of Communists when the name was changed as it had been before" (special committee report, March 29, 1944, p. 53; also cited in reports, January 3, 1939, pp. 69 and 121; January 3, 1940, p. 10; June 25, 1942, p. 14). The Attorney General of the United States cited the league as subversive and Communist (letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954). The Attorney General cited it as a "Communist-front organization" in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942 (p. 10) and said it was "established in the United States in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7442).

The Daily Worker (September 24, 1940, p. 5) reported that an open letter sponsored by the Communist Party and the American Civil Liberties Union, demanding discharge of Communist Party defendants in Fulton and Livingston counties, was signed by John Haynes Holmes.

The Daily Worker of February 13, 1937 (p. 2), reported that "aroused by the Fascist tactics displayed by the Brazilian Government in its treatment of hundreds of political prisoners held without trial since November 1935, outstanding among them Luiz Carlos Prestes, leader of the liberation movement of the Brazilian people, and Arthur Ewert, ex-deputy in the German Reichstag, outstanding Americans have signed their names to a cable of protest forwarded to President Vargas of Brazil." Among those named as signers was Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Community Church. A letterhead dated November 16, 1938, of the conference on Pan American Democracy, listed John Haynes Holmes as a sponsor. The Attorney General cited this organization as subversive and Communist (letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1 and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954). The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the organization as a Communist front which defended Carlos Luiz Prestes, a Brazilian Communist leader and former member of the executive committee of the Communist International (report, March 29, 1944, pp. 161 and 164; also cited in report, June 25, 1942, p. 18).

The Daily Worker of February 13, 1939 (p. 2), reported that Dr. John Haynes Holmes was a member of the Descendants of the American Revolution. The Daily Worker (January 21, 1938, p. 2), also referred to him as a sponsor and as a member of the advisory board of that organization. A pamphlet, Descendants of the American Revolution (back page), listed him as a member of the advisory board of the organization. The special committee (report, June 25, 1942, pp. 18 and 19) cited the Descendants of the American Revolution as "a Communist-front organization set up as a radical imitation of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The descendants have uniformly adhered to the line of the Communist Party. * * * The educational director * * * is one Howard Solzam, an instructor at the Communist Party's Workers School in New York."

A program of the conference (February 12, 1940), named John Haynes Holmes as a sponsor of the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights. This conference was cited by the special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front which was succeeded by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (report, March 29, 1944, pp. 96 and 129). It was also cited by the congressional Committee on Un-American Activities (report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 3).

An open letter to the United States Senate, initiated and distributed by the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, in protest of the Dempsey deportation bill and the McCormack rider attached to the Walter espionage bill, was signed by the Reverend John Haynes Holmes (photostat of open letter). "It will be remembered that during the days of the infamous Soviet-Nazi Pact, the Communists built protective organizations known as the National Emergency Conference, the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, which culminated in the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties" (Committee on Un-American Activities, report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 12). The special committee cited the National Emergency Conference * * * as a Communist front in the report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 48 and 102).

The Daily Worker of February 8, 1939 (p. 7), reported that John Haynes Holmes was contributor to a booklet published by the League of American Writers. The league was cited as a Communist-front organization in three reports of the special committee (report, January 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 19; March 29, 1944, p. 48). It was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954). Previously, the Attorney General (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7445) stated that the overt activities of the league "leave little doubt of its Communist control."

An undated letterhead listed John Haynes Holmes as a sponsor of the New York Tom Mooney Committee, which was cited as a Communist front by the special committee (report, March 29, 1944, p. 154).

An undated leaflet published by the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder named Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Community Church, New York City, among those who appealed to President Roosevelt for justice in the Browder case. The Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder was cited as Communist by the United States Attorney General (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447; letter to Loyalty Review Board, released April 27, 1949; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954). "When Earl Browder (then general secretary, Communist Party) was in Atlanta Penitentiary serving a sentence involving his fraudulent passports, the Communist Party's front which agitated for his release was known as the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder * * * (special committee report, March 29, 1944).

Soviet Russia Today for December 1933 (p. 17) listed John Haynes Holmes among the endorsers of the National Committee, Friends of the Soviet Union. A pamphlet issued by the Friends of the Soviet Union entitled "Welcome! 'Land of Soviets' Moscow-New York 1929" listed John Haynes Holmes as a member of the Reception Committee for the Soviet Flyers. The Attorney General cited Friends of the Soviet Union as Communist (letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, June 1 and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954). The special committee cited it as "one of the most open Communist fronts in the United States" whose purpose "is to propagandize for and defend Russia and its system of government" (report, January 3, 1939, p. 78).

Rev. John Haynes Holmes, New York, N. Y., was shown to be a sponsor of the Mid-Century Conference for Peace on the call to that conference. The conference was cited by this committee at a meeting held in Chicago, May 29 and 30, 1950, by the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact and as having been "aimed at assembling as many gullible persons as possible under Communist direction and turning them into

a vast sounding board for Communist propaganda" (report 378, April 25, 1951, p. 58).

A letterhead dated March 16, 1937, listed John Haynes Holmes as a member of the National People's Committee Against Hearst, cited by the special Committee on Un-American Activities as a subsidiary organization of the American League for Peace and Democracy, which was described on page 2 of this report (report, June 25, 1942, p. 16).

A letterhead dated March 20, 1926, listed Rev. John Haynes Holmes as a member of the advisory board of Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc., cited by the special committee as a Communist enterprise which was directed by Harold Ware, son of the well-known Communist Ella Reeve Bloor (report, March 29, 1944, p. 76).

New Masses for March 31, 1936 (p. 2) named John Haynes Holmes as a member of the League for Mutual Aid, cited as a Communist enterprise by the special committee (report, March 29, 1944, p. 76).

According to the Daily Worker of February 16, 1948 (p. 16) Rev. John Haynes Holmes signed a statement to the mayor and city council in behalf of Simon Gerson, a Communist. An advertisement in the New York Times (February 19, 1948, p. 13), listed him as a supporter of the Citizens Committee To Defend Representative Government, supporting the seating of Gerson.

The following was reported in the Daily Worker on September 22, 1948 (p. 5): "Professor Ralph Sarton Perry of Harvard University released yesterday the names of 93 prominent educators, churchmen, and inidviduals in other cultural fields, who have formed a committee of welcome for the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson, D. D., dean of Canterbury Cathedral. Dean Johnson had been invited to visit the United States by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship for a countrywide tour under its auspices. A visa was refused him on the ground that the sponsoring organization was on the Attorney General's list. The Committee of Welcome had extended to Dean Johnson an invitation to come to the United States under its independent auspice in November and December of this year and to speak at public gatherings." The article named Dr. John Haynes Holmes, minister, the Community Church, New York, among the members of the committee.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954). The special committee cited the National Council * * * as "the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian" (report, March 29, 1944, p. 156).

The Daily Worker of February 19, 1951 (p. 2) reported that Rev. John Haynes Holmes was a signer of a statement addressed to the Attorney General, urging withdrawal of contempt of Congress proceedings against a number of persons who had been indicted for refusing to answer questions before congressional committees.

The Daily People's World of August 1, 1951 (p. 2) reported that Rev. John Haynes Holmes endorsed a statement attacking the Smith Act, which was anti-Communist legislation. It was reported in the Daily Worker of January 15, 1953 (p. 8) that Rev. John Haynes Holmes, minister-emeritus, the Community Church of New York, signed a letter to President Truman asking for amnesty for 11 leaders of the Communist Party arrested under the Smith Act.

In testimony before this committee on July 7, 1953, Benjamin Gitlow, former member of the Communist Party, said: "Before the creation of the front organizations, the ministers who carried out the instructions of the Communist Party or collaborated with it were limited in numbers. The outstanding ones among them were * * * Rev. John Haynes Holmes * * *" (Communist Activities in the New York Area, p. 2077).

The Daily Worker of January 1, 1953 (p. 1), reported that Rev. John Haynes Holmes signed a petition for clemency for the Rosenbergs. The same newspaper on January 13, 1953 (p. 2) published a list of "the clergymen of various faiths and other religious leaders who have urged President Truman to use his power of clemency to save the lives of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg." The name of Dr. John Haynes Holmes, New York, appeared on the list. The Rosenbergs had been convicted of conspiracy to commit espionage and sentenced to death.

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Mary McLeod Bethune, national vice president, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The Washington Post and Times Herald, May 19, 1955 (p. 20), reported that Mary McLeod Bethune, founder of the National Council of Negro Women and president emeritus, Bethune-Cookman College, died on May 18, 1955, at her home in Daytona Beach, Fla., at the age of 79.

The name of Mary McLeod Bethune appeared on the honor roll of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, as published in the Sunday Worker of March 9, 1947 (p. 7); Elizabeth Gurley Flynn is one of the few outstanding women leaders of the Communist Party in this country.

A photostat of a letterhead of the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief dated August 6, 1945, listed Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune as a member of the Sponsors Committee of the organization.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, Inc., as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the American Slav Congress, June 26, 1949 (p. 78), cited the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, Inc., as a Communist front which "was actively supported by the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, United States of America."

A pamphlet entitled "7½ Million * * *" (p. 34), released by the American League for Peace and Democracy, lists the name of Mrs. Bethune as a member of the national committee of that organization; a letterhead of the organization, dated July 12, 1939, and a photostat of a letterhead of the Baltimore division of the group dated May 18, 1939 furnished the same information. "Fight" magazine for March 1939 (p. 3), and letterheads of the league dated March 24, 1939, and April 6, 1939 (photostat), name Mrs. Bethune as vice chairman of the league.

The Attorney General cited the American League for Peace and Democracy as subversive and Communist in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Fascism "in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union * * *." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7442). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (pp. 69–71), cited the American League for Peace and Democracy as "the largest of the Communist-front movements in the United States. * * * The league contends publicly that it is not a Communist-front movement, yet at the very beginning Communists dominated it. Earl Browder was its vice president."

Mrs. Bethune was a sponsor of the Win-the-Peace Conference, as shown on a letterhead of that group dated February 28, 1946, the Daily Worker of March 5, 1946, and "A Call to a Win-the-Peace Conference" in the National Press Building, Washington, D. C., April 5–7, 1946; she was vice chairman of the national committee, New York Committee to Win the Peace, according to a letterhead of that group dated June 1, 1946, and the New York Committee Call to Win-the-Peace Conference, June 28–29, 1946.

The National Committee to Win the Peace was organized at the Win-the-Peace Conference in Washington, D. C., April 5–7, 1946, and was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list.

Letterheads of the Civil Rights Congress, dated March 4, 1948, and May 7, 1948, list the name of Mrs. Bethune as vice chairman of the congress; she signed the call to the national conference which was held in Chicago, as shown in the Daily Worker of October 21, 1947 (p. 5); and was one of the sponsors of a meeting of the group, according to the Daily Worker of Janauary 19, 1949 (p. 10), in which source she was identified as president, National Council of Negro Women.

The Attorney General cited Civil Rights Congress as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (pp. 2 and 19), cited the Civil Rights Congress as an organization formed in April 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations (International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties); "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party," and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it."

In a report on the American Slav Congress, released by this committee April 26, 1950, the organization was cited as "a Moscow inspired and directed federation of Communist-dominated organizations seeking by methods of propaganda and pressure to subvert the 10 million people in this country of Slavic birth or descent." The Attorney General cited the American Slav Congress as subversive and Communist in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. Mrs. Bethune was one of the sponsors of a testimonial dinner which was held in New York City, October 12, 1947, under the auspices of the American Slav Congress (invitation issued by the congress; and the printed program, p. 2).

The Daily People's World of April 20, 1944 (p. 3), reported that Mrs. Bethune was one of the sponsors of the American Youth for Democracy club; on a program of the dinner celebrating the first anniversary of the American Youth for Democracy, October 16, 1944, Mrs. Bethune was named also as a sponsor of the group (see program, Salute to Young America Committee).

The Attorney General cited the American Youth for Democracy as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Special Committee

on Un-American Activities cited the American Youth for Democracy as the new name under which the Young Communist League operates and which also largely absorbed the American Youth Congress (Report, March 29, 1944, p. 102). The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of April 17, 1947, cited the American Youth for Democracy as a front formed in October 1943 to succeed the Young Communist League and for the purpose of exploiting to the advantage of a foreign power the idealism, inexperience, and craving to join which is characteristic of American college youth. Its "high-sounding slogans" cover "a determined effort to disaffect our youth and to turn them against religion, the American home, against the college authorities, and against the American Government itself."

Mrs. Bethune signed the call to the Congress of Youth which was the fifth national gathering of the American Youth Congress, held in New York City, July 1-5, 1939 (from the proceedings of the congress, p. 2).

The Attorney General cited the American Youth Congress as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 7, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as "controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7444; also cited in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10.) The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of June 25, 1942 (p. 16), cited the American Youth Congress as "one of the principal fronts of the Communist Party."

Mrs. Bethune was a member of the advisory board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress (letterheads of the organization dated June 12, 1947, and August 11, 1947; and a page from a leaflet published by the organization).

The Southern Negro Youth Congress has been cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of January 3, 1940 (p. 9); and as "surreptitiously controlled" by the Young Communist League (Committee on Un-American Activities, report 271, released April 17, 1947, p. 14). The Attorney General cited the group as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, United States of America, which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means (letterhead of December 4, 1947; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list).

A pamphlet of the Council on African Affairs entitled "Seeing Is Believing," which was published in 1947, named Mrs. Bethune as a member of the council; she participated in a conference of the council, according to the pamphlet, "For a New Africa" (p. 36), also published by the organization. She sent greetings to the National Negro Congress, October 1937, as shown in the proceedings of the congress; she also participated in the Conference on Africa, held in New York City, April 14, 1944 (pamphlet of the proceedings of the conference which was held under the joint auspices of the Council on African Affairs and the National Negro Congress).

The Attorney General of the United States cited the Council on African Affairs as subversive and Communist in letters released on December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list.

The National Negro Congress was cited by the Attorney General as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as a Communist front (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as "the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes * * *."

The Daily Worker of February 8, 1939 (p. 2), published an appeal of the Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy to lift the embargo on arms to Loyalist Spain; Mrs. Bethune was shown as one of those who signed the appeal. The special committee cited the Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy as a Communist-front organization in report 1311 of March 29, 1944. Mrs. Bethune issued an individual statement which was printed in the booklet, "These Americans say: 'Lift the Embargo Against Republican Spain,'" which was compiled and published by the Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo, urging that "in the name of true neutrality, in the cause of world peace and democracy, lift the embargo (on the sale of arms to Spain)"; she sponsored the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, as was shown in the pamphlet, "Children in Concentration Camps." The Coordinating Committee To Lift the (Spanish) Embargo was cited as one of a number of front organizations, set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party in the United States and through which the Party carried on a great deal of agitation (special committee in report 1311 of March 29, 1944). The Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign was cited as a Communist-front organization by the special committee in a report of January 3, 1940.

Mrs. Bethune was a sponsor of the National Emergency Conference (letterhead of the organization dated May 19, 1939); and a member of the board of sponsors of the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights (press release of the group dated February 23, 1940). She signed the 1943 message of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, addressed to the United States House of Representatives, as shown on a leaflet attached to an undated letterhead of that organization. Mrs. Bethune was a sponsor of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, as shown on the "Call to a Conference on Civil Rights, April 20–21, 1940" (p. 4), and on a letterhead of the group dated April 26, 1940.

"It will be remembered that during the days of the infamous Soviet-Nazi pact, the Communists built protective organizations known as the National Emergency Conference, the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, which culminated in the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties" (report 1115 of the Committee on Un-American Activities, released September 2, 1947); the three organizations were also cited by the special committee in report 1311 of March 29, 1944. The Attorney General cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program. (It) was established as a result of a conference on constitutional liberties held in Washington, D. C., June 7–9, 1940" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446). The Attorney General also cited the organization as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list.

The Washington Committee for Democratic Action was cited as an affiliate or local chapter of the National Federation "The program of the Washington Committee followed that of the National Federation. National Communist leaders have addressed its meetings, and conferences sponsored by it have been attended by representatives of prominent Communist-front organizations" (Attorney General, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447); the Attorney General also cited the group as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The special committee found that "when the American League for Peace and Democracy was dissolved in February 1940, its successor in Washington was the Washington Committee for Democratic Action. The latter was affiliated with the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties" (reports of June 25, 1942, and March 29, 1944).

Mrs. Bethune was one of the sponsors of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, as shown in Soviet Russia Today for December 1942 (p. 42); she spoke as a member of the women's panel of the congress, held in New York City, November 6, 7, 8, 1943, as shown by a photostat of the program. She participated in a meeting paying tribute to women of the United States of America and the U. S. S. R. held in Carnegie Hall, New York City, March 6, 1944, under the auspices of the committee of women, National Committee of American-Soviet Friendship ("Soviet Russia Today," March 1944, p. 35; and "New Masses" for February 29, 1944, p. 29); she was named as a sponsor and a member of the committee of women of the national council * * *, on the call to a conference of women of the United States of America and the U. S. S. R. in the postwar world on November 18, 1944, in the Commodore Hotel, New York City; a letterhead of the committee of women, national council * * * dated March 1, 1948, contains the name of Mrs. Bethune in the list of members; she was a member of the board of directors of the national council, as shown on letterheads of that organization dated February 8, 1946, and March 13, 1946, and a photostat of a letterhead dated January 10, 1945. An invitation to a luncheon, "Women of the United Nations," held under auspices of the committee of women of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, December 12, 1946, New York City, listed Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune as a member. She was shown as a member of the national council on a report to the membership of the board and officers of the national council at the annual membership meeting, April 23, 1952.

In its report of March 29, 1944, the special committee cited the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship as having been "in recent months, the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian." The Attorney General cited the national council as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, list.

A letter of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, opposing alien registration, carried the signature of Mary McLeod Bethune, as shown in the Daily Worker of November 23, 1939 (p. 3, columns 7–8); she was one of the sponsors of the fourth annual conference of the organization which was held in Washington, D. C., March 2–3, 1940 (as shown on a letterhead of the conference); a booklet entitled "The Registration of Aliens" which was prepared and published by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, lists Mrs. Bethune as one of the sponsors of that organization.

The Attorney General cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as subversive and Communist in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 155), cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States."

Mrs. Bethune was one of the sponsors of the League of Young Southerners which is the youth division of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, as shown on a letterhead dated August 13, 1940; she was named in The Southern Patriot, for December 1946, as a member of the board of representatives (1947–48) of the Southern Conference; she was a member of the executive board, as shown on a leaflet of the conference entitled "The South Is Closer Than You Think" (received about February 1947).

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was cited as a Communist-front organization which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South although its professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States (Committee on Un-American Activities in report 592 of June 12, 1947). The special committee also cited the group as a Communist-front which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of the funds by which many Communist fronts operate (report of March 29, 1944).

Mrs. Bethune received the New Masses award for greater interracial understanding at a dinner in her honor at the Hotel Commodore, New York City, January 14, 1946 (Daily Worker, January 7, 1946, p. 11, columns 1–2); she received a similar award for contributions made to promote democracy and interracial unity at the New Masses Second Annual Awards Dinner, as shown in New Masses for November 18, 1947 (p. 7).

New Masses was cited as a nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party * * * whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service (special committee report 1311 of March 29, 1944; also cited in committee reports of January 3, 1939, and June 25, 1942). It was cited also by the Attorney General as a Communist periodical (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447).

Mary McLeod Bethune was an initiating sponsor of the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions as shown by the Daily Worker of December 24, 1944 (p. 14), and a letterhead of the group dated November 26, 1946.

The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, April 19, 1949 (p. 2), cited the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions as a Communist-front organization.

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Oscar Hammerstein II, national vice president, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Oscar Hammerstein II signed a Call Upon the Film Industry To Revoke the Blacklist, released by the Theater Division of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, as shown in an advertisement that appeared in Variety for December 1, 1948 (p. 21).

The National Council of the Arts was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Committee on Un-American Activities in House Report 1954 dated April 26, 1950.

Mr. Hammerstein was one of the initiating sponsors of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, as shown in the Daily Worker of December 24, 1944 (p. 14); the name of one Oscar Hammerstein appeared on a list of the initiating sponsors of the same organization, as shown on their letterhead of November 26, 1946. The Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences, and Professions was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Committee on Un-American Activities in a Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, released April 19, 1949.

As shown in the Daily People's World of October 13, 1943 (p. 5), Oscar Hammerstein, II, was one of those who endorsed the Writers' Congress which was held October 1, 2, and 3, 1943, under the joint auspices of the University of California and the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization. As shown in the program of the Writers' Congress, he was a member of the Seminar on Song Writing in War. The Hollywood Writers' Mobilization was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also redesignated pursuant to Executive Order 10450, Attorney General Consolidated List, April 1, 1954).

A letterhead dated February 28, 1946, of the Win-the-Peace Conference which was held in Washington, D. C., April 5–7, 1946, named Oscar Hammerstein II, as one of the sponsors of that conference; the same information also appeared in the Call to a Win-the-Peace Conference. The National Committee To Win the Peace was formed at the Win-the-Peace Conference. The National Committee To Win the Peace was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also redesignated pursuant to Executive Order 10450, Attorney General consolidated list, April 1, 1954).

One Oscar Hammerstein (II not shown) was a sponsor of the United Nations in America dinner held under the auspices of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born at the Hotel Biltmore, New York City, April 17, 1943, as shown on the invitation to the dinner. The United States Attorney General cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as subversive and Communist (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; also redesignated pursuant to Executive Order 10450, Attorney General consolidated list, April 1, 1954). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in a report dated March 29, 1944, cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States."

In the Daily People's World of October 2, 1944 (p. 5), Oscar Hammerstein (II not shown) was named as an honorary member of the Association of Young Writers and Artists, an organization affiliated with the Southern Negro Youth Congress.

The Southern Negro Youth Congress was cited as a Communist-front organization by the special Committee on Un-American Activities in a report dated January 3, 1940; the organization was cited as being subversive and "among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, United States of America, which seek to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means" (U. S. Attorney General in press release of December 4, 1947; also redesignated pursuant to Executive Order 10450, Attorney General consolidated list, April 1, 1954). The group was cited as being "surreptitiously controlled" by the Young Communist League (Committee on Un-American Activities in report 271 of April 17, 1947).

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: William Lloyd Imes, national vice president, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

William Lloyd Imes was one of those who signed a statement on December 14, 1939 (the day before the 148th anniversary of the Bill of Rights), "warning against denying to the Communists, or to any other minority group, the full freedom guaranteed by the Bill of Rights" (letter signed by Dashiell Hammett dated January 1940, attached to the statement).

A pamphlet entitled "The People vs. H. C. L." which was dated December 11–12, 1937, named William Lloyd Imes as one of the sponsors of the Consumers National Federation, publishers of the pamphlet.

The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 155), cited the Consumers' National Federation as a Communist-front organization.

He supported the National Negro Congress (Daily Worker, February 3, 1936, p. 2); spoke at the Second National Negro Congress in October 1937 (program of the congress); and supported a conference of the congress to push passage of the antilynch bill (Daily Worker, March 17, 1938, p. 4).

The Attorney General of the United States cited the National Negro Congress as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as a Communist front (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as "the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes * * *."

William Lloyd Imes sponsored a dinner-formum called by the Protestant Digest Associates on the subject, Protestantism Answers Hate, which was held in New York City, February 25, 1941.

Protestant Digest was cited as "a magazine which has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line under the guise of being a religious journal" (special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, p. 48).

He signed a petition of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, as shown on a mimeographed sheet attached to a letterhead dated January 17, 1940; and sponsored a citizens rally of the same organization, on April 13, 1940, in New York City (according to a leaflet announcing the rally).

The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of June 25, 1942 (p. 13), cited the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom as a Communist front which defended Communist teachers.

William Lloyd Imes sponsored the Fourth Annual Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, as shown on a letterhead of the conference which was held in Washington, D. C., March 2 to 3, 1940.

The Attorney General cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 155), cited the American Committe for Protection of Foreign Born as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States."

Dr. Imes contributed to Fight magazine, official organ of the American League Against War and Fascism (Fight for August 1935, p. 4); he was chairman of a rally of the American League which was held in Harlem (Fight for September 1935, p. 14); he spoke at the National People's Committee Against Hearst of the American League (Daily Worker October 21, 1936, p. 4); he supported a statement of the League, addressed to the United States Congress (Daily Worker, February 27, 1937, p. 2); he was a member of the National People's Committee Against Hearst (letterhead of March 16, 1937); he spoke in New York City at a joint meeting of the American League and American Friends of the Chinese People (Daily Worker, September 23, 1937, p. 2); and was one of the sponsors of the China Aid Council of the American League, as shown on a letterhead of the council dated May 18, 1938. As shown by the Daily Worker of April 6, 1937 (p. 5), Rev. William Lloyd Imes, pastor, St. James Presbyterian Church, was guest of honor at a dinner of the American League Against War and Fascism, April 6, 1937, New York City.

The Attorney General cited the American League Against War and Fascism as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as a "Communist-front organization" (in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10); and "established in the United States in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7442). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 53), cited the American League Against War and Fascism as "completely under the control of Communists."

A letterhead dated November 3, 1937, lists William Lloyd Imes as a member of the national executive committee, People's Congress for Democracy and Peace; he sponsored the Boycott Japanese Goods Conference of the American League for Peace and Democracy, February 5, 1938 (Daily Worker, Jan. 11, 1938, p. 2); he signed a letter of the American League, as was shown in the Daily Worker of February 23, 1938 (p. 2); he signed a statement of the league concerning the international situation (New Masses, Mar. 15, 1938, p. 19); a letterhead of the New York City Division of the American League named him as a member of the advisory board as of that date (September 22, 1938); a letterhead of the City Executive Committee, New York City Division, American League for Peace and Democracy, dated September 26, 1938, contained the name of the Reverend William Lloyd Imes in the list of members of the advisory board; he endorsed the American Congress for Peace and Democracy, January 6–8, 1939, in New York City, as shown on a letterhead dated December 7, 1938. A letterhead of the New York City Division, American League for Peace and Democracy, dated March 21, 1939, listed him as a member of the advisory board of the league. A letterhead of the Baltimore Division, American League for Peace and Democracy, dated May 18, 1939, contained the name of Dr. Imes in the list of members of the national committee; a letterhead of the league, dated July 12, 1939, furnished the same information, and also a pamphlet entitled "7½ Million * * *," which was published by the league.

The Attorney General cited the American League for Peace and Democracy as subversive and Communist in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Attorney General cited the organization previously as established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Fascism "in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7442). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (pp. 69–71), cited the American League for Peace and Democracy as "the largest of the Communist-front movements in the United States."

The Daily Worker of August 13, 1940 (p. 5), named Dr. Imes as one who endorsed the Emergency Peace Mobilization; he was one of the sponsors of the Greater New York Committee of the Emergency Peace Mobilization, as shown on an undated letterhead.

The Attorney General cited the Emergency Peace Mobilization as follows: "The American Peace Mobilization was formally founded at a meeting in Chicago at the end of August 1940, known as the Emergency Peace Mobilization" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7443). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944, cited the Emergency Peace Mobilization as a Communist front which came forth, after Stalin signed his pact with Hitler, to oppose the national defense program, lend-lease, conscription, and other American warmongering efforts. It immediately preceded the American Peace Mobilization in 1940.

Dr. Imes sponsored the Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America, as shown on the call to the conference, June 7, 1940; he signed a letter of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, addressed to Attorney General Jackson, in defense of ballot rights of minority parties (Daily Worker, Sept. 24, 1940, p. 1); he signed a statement of the federation, opposing use of injunctions in labor disputes, according to an advertisement which appeared in the New York Times of April 1, 1946, in which source he was identified as president of Knoxville College.

The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America as "an important part of the solar system of the Communist Party's front organizations" (Report, Mar. 29, 1944, p. 102). The Attorney General cited the conference as one as a result of which was established the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446).

The Attorney General cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesigned April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Attorney General cited the organization previously as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program * * *" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 50), cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties at "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party."

Dr. Imes signed on open letter of the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights (Daily Worker, May 13, 1940, pp. 1 and 5); he was one of the sponsors of the Conference on Pan-American Democracy, as shown on a letterhead of that group dated November 16, 1938.

The National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights was cited as a Communist front organization by the special committee in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 48 and 102). The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 12), cited the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights as follows: "It will be remembered that during the days of the infamous Soviet-Nazi pact, the Communists built protective organizations known as the National Emergency Conference, the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, which culminated in the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties."

The Conference on Pan-American Democracy (known also as Council for Pan-American Democracy) was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 161 and 164), cited the Conference on Pan-American Democracy as a Communist front which defended Carlos Luiz Prestes, a Brazilian Communist leader and former member of the executive committee of the Communist International.

Dr. Imes was one of the sponsors of the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights, as shown on the program of the conference, February 12, 1940. He spoke before the American Youth Congress (Daily Worker, Jan. 29, 1938, p. 3); and endorsed the American Youth Act, as shown on a press release of the American Youth Congress.

The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its March 29, 1944, report (pp. 96 and 129), cited the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights as a Communist front which was succeeded by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. The organization was cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities (report, Sept. 2, 1947, p. 3), as among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law."

The American Youth Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The group was cited previously by the Attorney General as "originated in 1934 and * * * has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7444). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of June 25, 1942 (p. 16), cited the American Youth Congress as "one of the principal fronts of the Communist Party" and "prominently identified with the White House picket line * * *."

According to the proceedings and report, and to "Equal Justice" for July 1939, he sent greetings to the National Conference of the International Labor Defense. He signed a letter to President Roosevelt, defending the publication, New Masses (issue of April 2, 1940, p. 21) .

The Attorney General cited the International Labor Defense as subversive and Communist in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The group was cited previously by the Attorney General as the "legal arm of the Communist Party" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (pp. 75–78), cited the International Labor Defense as "the legal defense arm of the Communist Party of the United States."

New Masses was cited as a "Communist periodical" by the Attorney General (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7448). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 48 and 75), cited New Masses as a "nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party * * *."

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Ira W. Jayne, national vice president, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Ira Waite Jayne was a member of the National Lawyers Guild in 1939, as shown by a list of the membership for that year which was made available to the special Committee on Un-American Activities; Ira W. Jayne was national vice president of the guild, as shown by a letterhead of that organization, dated May 10, 1946; Judge Ira W. Jayne was a member of the arrangements committee for the 5th annual convention of the guild, which was held at the Book-Cadillac Hotel in Detroit, Mich., May 29–June 1, 1941 (Convention News for May 1941 (p. 3) published by the National Lawyers Guild for the 5th annual convention); Judge Ira W. Jayne was toastmaster at a banquet at the same convention (convention program printed in Convention News, May 1941 (p. 2) published by the National Lawyers Guild for the 5th annual convention).

Ira Waite Jayne was vice president of the National Lawyers Guid, as shown by a letterhead dated June 11, 1947; by the program of the National Lawyers Guild on Legislative Investigation or Thought Control Agency, dated October 20, 1947 (p. 4); the Daily Worker, February 24, 1948 (p. 3); and a letterhead of the guild dated March 8, 1948.

Ira W. Jayne is listed as a member of the executive board of the Detroit chapter of the National Lawyers Guild and its national vice president, on a letterhead dated March 19, 1948; Ira Waite Jayne was listed as vice president of the guild on the letterhead of the organization dated May 7, 1948—a letter sent to Members of Congress by Robert J. Silberstein, executive secretary of the guild, attacking the Mundt-Nixon anti-Communist bill.

The National Lawyers Guild was cited as a Communist front by the special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149); the Committee on Un-American Activities cited the guild as a Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions" and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents" (report on the National Lawyers Guild, H. Rept. No. 3123, September 17, 1950).

The Daily Worker, March 14, 1936 (p. 4) named Ira Jayne as treasurer of the Scottsboro Defense Committee in Detroit, Mich.

The Scottsboro Defense Committee was cited as a Communist front by the special Committee on Un-American Activities in reports dated January 3, 1939 (p. 82) and March 29, 1944 (p. 177).

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Dr. W. Montague Cobb, member of national board of directors, chairman of the national health committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

According to the Bookshopper for July 1948 (p. 2), Montague Cobb, professor, Howard University, lectured at a membership meeting in January 1948 of the Washington Cooperative Bookshop, 916 17th Street NW., Washington, D. C.

The Attorney General of the United States found that "evidence of Communist penetration or control [of the Washington Cooperative Bookshop] is reflected in the following: Among its stock the establishment has offered prominently for sale books and literature identified with the Communist Party and certain of its affiliates and front organizations * * * certain of the officers and employees of the bookshop, including its manager and executive secretary, have been in close contact with local officials of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447); subsequently, it was cited by the Attorney General as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list of April 1, 1954). The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the organization as a Communist front (report 1311 of March 29, 1944).

Dr. W. Montague Cobb, identified as professor of anatomy, Howard University, spoke at the 1947 convention of the Association of Internes and Medical Students, according to their official organ, the Interne (January 1948, p. 61); the same publication (February 1950, p. 27) reported that he had spoken at a convention of the organization; the printed program of the 16th Convention of the Association of Internes and Medical Students which was held in December 1950, revealed that he had spoken at the convention.

The Association of Internes and Medical Students was cited as an organization which "has long been a faithful follower of the Communist Party line," and which supported the International Union of Students' Second World Student Congress in Prague in August 1950 (report of the Committee on Un-American Activities on the Communist Peace Offensive, dated April 1, 1951).

An advertisement which appeared in the Washington Post of May 18, 1948 (p. 15), disclosed the name of Dr. W. Montague Cobb as having signed a statement against the Mundt (anti-Communist) bill.

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Westley W. Law, Savannah, Ga., national board of directors, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

An undated press release, General Youth Statement (p. 3), listed W. W. Law, Savannah, Ga., as an endorser of the Youth Statement of the Mid-Century Conference for Peace (May 29–30, 1950).

The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the Communist Peace Offensive, April 1, 1951 (p. 58), cited the Mid-Century Conference for Peace at a meeting held in Chicago, May 29 and 30, 1950, by the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact and as having been "aimed at assembling as many gullible persons as possible under Communist direction and turning them into a vast sounding board for Communist propaganda."

The Daily Worker of June 23, 1949 (p. 2), reported that W. W. Law, past national chairman, National Association for Advancement of Colored People, youth division, Savannah, Ga., signed a statement against the North Atlantic Pact.

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Dr. J. M. Tinsley, national board of directors, national health committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

As shown by the official proceedings of the National Negro Congress, 1936 (pp. 5, 41), Dr. J. M. Tinsley, Virginia, was a member of the presiding committee and a member of the national executive council of the organization. J. M. Tinsley, Richmond, was treasurer of the National Negro Congress (Daily Worker, Apr. 7, 1936, p. 3).

The Attorney General of the United States cited the National Negro Congress as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations designated previously pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as a Communist-front group (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as "the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes * * *."

J. M. Tinsley endorsed the Southern Negro Youth Congress (Daily Worker, Feb. 25, 1938, p. 3).

The Southern Negro Youth Congress was cited by the Attorney General as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A., which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means (letter released Dec. 4, 1947; redesignated Apr. 27, 1953, and included on Apr. 1, 1954, consolidated list). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1940 (p. 9), cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of April 17, 1947 (p. 14), cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as "surreptitiously controlled" by the Young Communist League.

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: William H. Hastie, national board of directors, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

In 1940, William H. Hastie represented the Abolish Peonage Committee of the International Labor Defense at a conference with the Department of Justice in Washington, D. C., as shown in Equal Justice for April 1940 (p. 3), and in the winter (1941) issue of the same publication (p. 28).

The International Labor Defense was cited by the Attorney General as "subversive" and "Communist" and as the "legal arm of the Communist Party" in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948 and included on a consolidated list on April 1, 1954, and in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 88, part 6, page 7687, respectively. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (pp. 1 and 2), cited the International Labor Defense as "part of an

international network of organizations for the defense of Communist lawbreakers."

William H. Hastie was one of the sponsors of the Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America, at which the national federation for Constitutional Liberties was launched (program leaflet, Call to a Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America, June 7, 1940, p. 4). He signed a statement sponsored by the national federation, hailing the War Department's order on commissions for Communists; he was identified in this connection as dean, Howard University Law School (the Worker for Mar. 18, 1945, p. 2); his photograph appeared in this issue of the Worker (Sunday edition of the Communist Daily Worker), along with the text of the statement and a list of those who signed it.

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was cited by the Attorney General as "subversive" and "Communist" and as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program" in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 88, part 6, page 7446, and included on the Attorney General's consolidated list of April 1, 1954. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 50), cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party."

A 1939 membership list of the National Lawyers Guild contains the name of William H. Hastie, identified as a judge whose address was St. Thomas, Virgin Islands; in 1930, he was a candidate for delegate to the national convention of the guild, administrative slate, Washington, D. C., chapter (election campaign letter, May 18, 1940); he was a member of the convention resolutions committee (Convention News, May 1941, p. 2), and identified in this source as being from Washington, D. C. A letterhead of the guild, dated June 11, 1947, listed the name of the Honorable William H. Hastie, Virgin Islands, as vice president of the guild. A printed program of the guild, entitled "Legislative Investigation? or Thought Control Agency," dated October 20, 1947, also listed the name of the Honorable William H. Hastie, Governor, Virgin Islands, as vice president of the guild; he was also vice president in 1948 (Daily Worker for February 24, 1948, p. 3; letterhead of the guild dated March 8, 1948; and a letterhead dated May 7, 1948). The Daily Worker of November 30, 1942 (p. 1), printed the text of a report adopted by the national executive board of the National Lawyers Guild; the report was submitted by Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and William H. Hastie, dean of Howard University Law School.

The National Lawyers Guild was cited as a Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions" and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents" (Committee on Un-American Activities, report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950).

One William Hastie, Washington, D. C., endorsed the call for National Negro Congress, February 14, 1936, in Chicago, Ill. According to the Official Proceedings of the National Negro Congress, 1936 (p. 5), he was a member of the presiding committee of this congress. Also in this same publication on page 40, he is listed as a member of the national executive council for the congress. In a report on the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, released by the Committee on Un-American Activities June 16, 1947, William H. Hastie was listed as one of the sponsors of the conference (report No. 592, p. 15). He presided at a dinner meeting of the southern conference, May 22, 1946, as reported in the Washington Evening Star of May 23, 1946 (p. A-4); a leaflet entitled "Look Southward Angel!" revealed the name of William H. Hastie as vice president, Washington committee, Southern Conference for Human Welfare. In the official report of a conference of the group, held in Nashville, Tenn., April 19–21, 1942, the name of William H. Hastie appeared as consultant, "Panel III Youth and Training: Civilian and Military"; he was identified as civilian aide to the Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

The Attorney General cited the National Negro Congress as "subversive" and "Communist" and as "sponsored and supported by the Communist Party" in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948 (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447), and included on the Attorney General's consolidated list of April 1, 1954. The special committee, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as "the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes * * *."

The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of June 12, 1947, cited the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist-front organization "which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

William H. Hastie was one of the sponsors of a conference on civil rights, April 20–21, 1940, held under the auspices of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action (call to the conference, p. 4). Attorney General Francis Biddle cited the Washington Committee for Democratic Action as an affiliate or local chapter of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7448). On April 1, 1954, he included it on his consolidated list.

The Communist Daily Worker of May 10, 1948 (p. 6), reported that William H. Hastie, governor of the Virgin Islands, "charged that the United States Government practically robs the island government of its own sorely needed internal revenue taxes, which are dumped into the United States Treasury."

In the Daily Worker of July 15, 1949 (p. 3), it was reported that "Gov. William H. Hastie of the Virgin Islands defends 'radicals of every persuasion' before the 40th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People currently meeting in Los Angeles; Hastie, first Negro governor of an island possession, lambasted local, State, and Federal authorities who pretend to be neutral in matters between aggrieved minorities and those who seek to maintain the inequalities of our society."

The Daily People's World of August 5, 1949 (p. 3), reported that Gov. William Hastie, of the Virgin Islands, had been recommended for appointment to the Supreme Court of the United States by Carey McWilliams, a well-known lawyer on the west coast who has defended Communists.

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Earl G. Harrison, national board of directors, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The Communist Daily Worker of October 29, 1943 (p. 4) reported that Earl G. Harrison had spoken before the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. An invitation issued by Donald Ogden Stewart to attend a "United Nations in America" dinner in New York City, April 17, 1943, arranged under the auspices of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, showed that the "Honorabe Earl G. Harrison, United States Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization will be presented with the Annual Award by the Honorable Vito Marcantonio on behalf of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born."

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born was cited as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States" (special Committee on Un-American Activities, report 1311, of March 29, 1944). It was also cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General in lists furnished the Loyalty Review Board (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948). The organization was included on the Attorney General's consolidated list released April 1, 1954.

Reference to Earl G. Harrison was made on the floor of the Senate, June 19, 1948 (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 94, pt. 7, p. 9023).

Earl G. Harrison signed a statement reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 93, part 11, pages A2450–A2460), at the request of the Honorable JAMES E. MURRAY of Montana. The statement was "made by 87 leading American liberals, setting forth what they consider to be a standard of political conduct for those who believe in liberalism or progressivism as a middle way between the extremes of reaction and communism—the true highway toward the fullest achievement of American democracy. This statement of liberalism accuses the American Communist Party and its sympathizers of an un-American lack of forthrightness, and announces the refusal to associate with American Communists as a proper and responsible requirement for anyone who is to be of practical help to the cause of liberalism in the United States. The statement of these 87 liberal leaders draws a proper distinction between association with American Communists and their sympathizers, on the one hand, and, on the other, an objective attitude toward the problems of Russia and a hope for peaceful relations with that country * * *."

The article was accompanied by a list of individuals who had signed the statement, in which source Mr. Harrison was identified as Dean of the Law School, University of Pennsylvania.

The Daily Worker of June 26, 1952 (p. 8) printed an article datelined Cape May, N. J., June 25, which stated that "Witchhunts threaten liberty in America, Earl G. Harrison, former dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, warned here, in an address to some 2,500 Quakers at the Friends General Confernece. Harrison said: 'Investigations, witchhunts, and guilt by association without the fairness of trial are all part of our feverish zeal to wipe out any suspected subversive threat to democracy—a zeal that is itself the greatest blow to liberty.'"

FEBRUARY 14, 1956.

Subject: Dr. Harry J. Greene, Philadelphia, Pa., national board of directors, national health committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily

a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

On the call to a Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America at Washington, D. C., June 7–9, 1940, the name of Dr. Harry J. Greene of Philadelphia, Pa., appears in a list of the sponsors; he was one of the sponsors of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, as shown on their letterheads dated September 10 and November 6, 1940, in which sources he is shown as being from Philadelphia.

The printed program of a National Action Conference for Civil Rights which was scheduled to be held in Washington, D. C., April 19–20, 1941, named Dr. Harry J. Greene, Philadelphia, as one of the sponsors of that conference, called by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (formed as a result of the Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America, June 7–9, 1940), as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations * * * by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their programs"; and as subversive and Communist. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446; and press releases of Dec. 4, 1947, and Sept. 21, 1948, respectively; also included on consolidated list released Apr. 1, 1954.) The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" (report of Mar. 29, 1944; also cited in reports of June 25, 1942, and Jan. 2, 1943). The Committee on Un-American Activities also cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties in a report released September 2, 1947.

Dr. Harry J. Greene was chairman of a discussion group on "Denial of Citizenship Rights" at the Second National Negro Congress, October 15–17, 1937, in Philadelphia, as shown on the printed program of that congress (p. 19), in which source he is identified as being from Philadelphia, Pa., and president of the Philadelphia branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. A booklet of the National Negro Congress entitled "We Are Rising" (April 1939, p. 2) named one Harry Green as vice president, Philadelphia council of the congress.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Negro Congress as "the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes" (report of Jan. 3, 1939; also cited in reports of Jan. 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and Mar. 29, 1944). The Attorney General cited the Congress as "an important sector of the democratic front, sponsored and supported by the Communist Party" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447); later, the Attorney General cited the congress as subversive and Communist (press releases of Dec. 4, 1947, and Sept. 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list released Apr. 1, 1954).

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Roscoe Dunjee, national board of directors, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The Daily Worker for April 16, 1947 (p. 2), reported that Roscoe Dunjee, attorney, Oklahoma City, Okla., was one of the signers of a statement defending the Communist Party. He was one of the signers of a statement condemning "punitive measures directed against the Communist Party" as shown by the April 20, 1947 issue of the Worker (p. 8). The Daily Worker for April 27, 1947 (p. 24), shows Roscoe Dunjee as one of the signers of a statement against the ban on the Communist Party. Roscoe C. Dunjee, publisher of the Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City, was a sponsor of a statement attacking the arrest of the Communist Party leaders, according to the Daily Worker, August 23, 1948 (p. 3). He sponsored the "Statement by Negro Americans" in behalf of the arrested Communist leaders as shown by the August 29, 1948, issue of the Worker (p. 11). The Daily Worker for March 7, 1950 (p. 4), reported that Roscoe Dunjee attacked Judge Medina in the case of the Communist leaders.

Roscoe Dunjee was a member of the initiating committee, of the Congress on Civil Rights held in Detroit, Mich., April 27 and 28, 1946, as shown by the summons to the congress. The Daily Worker of April 16, 1947 (p. 2), deported that Roscoe Dunjee, of Oklahoma City, Okla., was one of the signers of a statement released by the Civil Rights Congress defending the Communist Party. The Civil Rights Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States (letters to the Loyalty Review Board, 1947 and 1948; included in consolidated list released Apr. 1, 1954.) The Committee on Un-American Activities cited the organization as being "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it" (report No. 1115, Sept. 2, 1947, pp. 2 and 19).

The pamphlet Seeing Is Believing, 1947, and the testimony of Walter S. Steele, public hearings, Committee on Un-American Activities, July 21, 1947 (p. 135), show Roscoe Dunjee as a member of the Council on African Affairs, Inc. The Council on African Affairs was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General (letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. He redesignated the organization on April 27, 1953; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954.)

Roscoe Dunjee was a sponsor of the Win the Peace Conference of the National Committee to Win the Peace, as shown by the Daily Worker March 5, 1946, a letterhead of the organization dated February 28, 1946, and the call to a win-the-peace conference, National Press Building, Washington, D. C., April 5–7, 1946. The National Committee To Win the Peace was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General (letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released in 1947 and 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954).

The Daily Worker for October 19, 1948 (p. 7), reported that Roscoe Dunjee was one of those who signed a statement released by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. The council was cited as a Communist front by this committee in its review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace (April 26, 1950—original release date April 19, 1949, p. 2).

Roscoe Dunjee was a signer of the call to the Second Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Chattanooga, Tenn., April 14–16, 1940. A letterhead of the conference, dated June 4, 1947, shows Roscoe Dunjee as vice president and a member of the national committee of that organization. He was also shown as vice president of the organization in an undated leaflet, The South Is Closer Than You Think, and the testimony of Walter S. Steele, public hearings, Committee on Un-American Activities, July 21, 1947, page 139. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was cited as a Communist front which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate. (Specal Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, p. 147.) In its report of June 12, 1947, the Committee on Un-American Activities described the conference as a Communst-front organization "which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South," although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

The New York Times of October 9, 1944 (p. 12), reported that Roscoe Dunjee was one of the signers of an open letter to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey for the pardon of Morris U. Schappes, which was sponsored by the Schappes Defense Committee. The Schappes Defense Committee was cited as a Communist organization by the United States Attorney General (letter to the Loyalty Review Board, released April 27, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953). The special Committee on Un-American Activities described the Schappes Defense Committee as "a front organization with a strictly Communist objective, namely, the defense of a self-admitted Communist who was convicted of perjury in the courts of New York." Morris U. Schappes "was on the teaching staff of the College of the City of New York for a period of 13 years. In 1956 his superior on the college faculty refused to recommend him for reappointment. This action led to prolonged agitation by the Communist Party" (report, March 29, 1944, p. 71).

Roscoe Dunjee was a member of the advisory board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress according to a letterhead of that organization dated June 12, 1947, the testimony of Walter S. Steele, public hearings, Committeee on Un-American Activities, July 21, 1947 (p. 97), a letterhead dated August 11, 1947, and a page from a leaflet published by the organization. The Southern Negro Youth Congress was cited as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A., "which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means" (U. S. Attorney General, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947; redesignated April 27, 1953; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954). The Committee on Un-American Activities said it was "surreptitiously controlled" by the Young Communist League (report No. 271, April 17, 1947, p. 14). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities also cited the organization as a Communist front (report, January 3, 1940, p. 9).

According to the Daily Worker for April 1, 1945 (p. 6m), Roscoe Dunjee was asked what he thought of New York's new anti-discrimination law, and was quoted as replying: "It shows a trend in the direction which the United States as a nation must take if we rise to the level of Russian morality * * *"

Photographs of Roscoe Dunjee are found in the Daily Worker, issues of December 9, 1941 (p. 7), and April 1, 1945 (p. 6m).

Roscoe Dunjee, editor of the Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City, Okla., was quoted in the March 28, 1944, issue of New Masses (p. 15), as follows:

"I attended a Lincoln and Douglas meeting held under the auspices of the Communist Party, February 12 * * * Most assuredly Americans should stop and listen to what Communists have to say. The Russian experiment as expressed today in Soviet life is too effective for anyone to attempt to overlook this. As president of the state conference of branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, I have every year for the past 10 invited the Communist to address our meeting. Alan Shaw, secretary of the Communist Party in Oklahoma, addressed our State conference at Tulsa last November * * * personally I endorse the idea of an international State * * * as espoused by the Communist Party."

The following is quoted from the Daily Worker of April 8, 1952 (p. 2):

"Roscoe Dunjee, editor of the Oklahoma Black-Dispatch, leading Negro newspaper in the Southwest, has hailed in a long editorial the victory won by William L. Patterson, head of the Civil Rights Congress, in securing acquittal on a contempt of Congress charge."

(Note citation of Civil Rights Congress on p. 1 of this report.)

Roscoe C. Dunjee, Oklahoma City, was listed as 1 of 4 sponsors of a statement which appeared in the Sunday Worker, August 29, 1948 (p. 11), from which the following is quoted:

"THE FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE

"(Statement by Negro Americans to the President and Attorney General of the United States)

"We, the undersigned Negro Americans, strongly condemn your hysteria-breeding arrests of national leaders of the Communist Party, and call upon you to take positive action to protect civil rights instead of persecuting political minorities.

"We raise here no defense of the principles of the Communist Party. Our concern is to defend the right of political and other minorities, especially the Negro people, to fight for the kind of society which they consider necessary to give full expression to the principles of American democracy * * *

"The obvious purpose of these Gestapo-like arrests of Communist leaders is to frighten people away from the Wallace movement and progressive people's organizations generally, practically all of which have been slandered as Communist or subversive * * *

"We call upon our Government to halt its Fascist-like attacks upon opposition minorities, and to act for the protection of minority rights * * *"

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Dr. S. Ralph Harlow, national board of directors, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The program of the fifth national conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Atlantic City, N. J., March 29–30, 1941, listed S. Ralph Harlow as a sponsor.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released June 1 and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 155), cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States."

S. Ralph Harlow was an endorser of the Committee for Citizenship Rights as shown by a letterhead dated January 10, 1942. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 95), cited the Committee for Citizenship Rights as an organization which defended the "interests of the Communist Party." The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 3), cited the Committee for Citizenship Rights as among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law."

Prof. S. Ralph Harlow signed a statement calling for international agreement to ban use of atomic weapons attached to a press release of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, December 14, 1949 (p .9). He was identified in this instance as associated with Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the Communist Peace Offensive, April 1, 1951 (p. 54), cited the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact as an organization which was formed as a result of the Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, and which was located, according to a letterhead of September 16, 1950, at 30 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.; and to further the cause of Communists in the United States doing their part in the Moscow campaign.

As shown by Soviet Russia Today of November 1937 (p. 79), S. Ralph Harlow was a signer of the Golden Book of American Firendship with the Soviet Union, cited as a "Communist enterprise" signed hundreds of well-known Communists and fellow travelers.

"January 23–25, 1948, New York City," conference call of the National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East, listed Dr. S. Ralph Harlow, Smith College, as a sponsor of the conference. The Attorney General cited the National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East as Communist, and a conference called by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy in a letter released July 25, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list.

A news release of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties dated December 26, 1941, listed S. Ralph Harlow as a signer. He signed the organization's 1943 message to the House of Representatives (leaflet, attached to undated letterhead); and the group's statement supporting the War Department's order on granting commissions to members of the Armed Forces who have been members of or sympathetic to the views of the Communist Party (undated leaflet, "the only sound policy for a democracy * * *" and Daily Worker, March 19, 1945, p. 4).

The Attorney General cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 50), cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 3), cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as among a maze of organizations which were spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law.

As shown by the Daily Worker of September 17, 1940 (pp. 1, 5), S. Ralph Harlow signed a telegram of the New York Conference for Inalienable Rights to President Roosevelt and Attorney General Jackson in behalf of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union defendants. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the New York Conference for Inalienable Rights as a Communist-front group.

S. Ralph Harlow sponsored the call for the Protestantism Answers Hate dinner-forum held under auspices of the Protestant Digest, New York, February 25, 1941, as shown by a leaflet. He was identified in this instance as professor of sociology, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 48), cited the Protestant Digest as "a magazine which has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line under the guise of being a religious journal."

According to the New York Times, October 9, 1944 (p. 12), S. Ralph Harlow, chairman, department of religion, Smith College, Northampton, Mass., signed an open letter of the Schappes defense committee to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey asking a pardon for Morris Schappes.

The Schappes defense committee was cited as Communist by the Attorney General in a letter released April 27, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the organization as "a front organization with a strictly Communist objective, namely, the defense of a self-admitted Communist who was convicted of perjury in the courts of New York." (Report, Mar. 29, 1944, p. 71).

Prof. S. Ralph Harlow endorsed the World Peace Appeal as shown by an undated leaflet, Prominent Americans Call for * * * (received Sept. 11, 1950), and the Daily Worker, August 14, 1950 (p. 2).

The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the Communist Peace Offensive, April 1, 1951 (p. 34), cited the World Peace Appeal as a petition campaign launched by the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress at its meeting in Stockholm, March 16–19, 1950; as having "received the enthusiastic approval of every section of the international Communist hierarchy"; as having been lauded in the Communist press, putting "every individual Communist on notice that he 'has duty to rise to this appeal' "; and as having "received the official endorsement of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., which has been echoed by the governing bodies of every Communist satellite country, and by all Communist parties throughout the world."

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Robert C. Weaver, national board of directors, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Robert C. Weaver, identified from Washington, D. C., and as economic adviser to the Secretary of Interior, was discussion leader of a panel on "The Federal Housing Program and the Negro" at the Second National Negro Congress as shown by the program of that congress which was held in Philadelphia, October 15–17, 1937.

The National Negro Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The special committee in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as "the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes." The Attorney General had cited the group previously as follows: "From the record of its activities and the composition of its governing bodies, there can be little

doubt that it has served what James M. Ford, Communist vice presidential candidate elected to the executive committee in 1937, predicted: 'An important sector of the democratic front,' sponsored and supported by the Communist Party" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447).

The Daily Worker of February 8, 1939 (p. 2), listed Robert C. Weaver, identified as Assistant Housing Administrator of the Department of Interior, as one of the signers of the Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy letter to lift the Spanish embargo. The special committee in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 180), cited the Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy as a Communist-front organization.

Robert C. Weaver, Washington, D. C., contributed financially to Social Work Today as shown by the January 1941 issue of that publication (pp. 16–18). Social Work Today was cited as a Communist magazine by the special committee in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 129).

R. C. Weaver, 1206 Kenyon Street, Washington, D. C., was listed as a member of the Washington Book Shop on a 1941 membership list of the organization subpenaed by this committee. The Washington Book Shop Association was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The Attorney General cited the organization previously as showing "evidence of Communist penetration or control" according to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 88, part 6, page 7447. The Special Committee report of March 29, 1944 (p. 150), cited the organization as a Communist-front organization.

Robert C. Weaver was the author of The Negro Ghetto which was reviewed by Herbert Aptheker in the August 1948 issue of Masses and Mainstream (p. 85). The Congressional committee, in its report on the Congress of American Women, April 26, 1950 (p. 75), cited Masses and Mainstream as successor to New Masses, a Communist magazine.

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Lewis Gannett, national board of directors, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

On December 18, 1934, the Daily Worker (p. 5) reported the following: "A reception to mark the 10 anniversary of International Publishers took place * * * December 14, in * * * the new school for social research * * * Scores of prominent writers, artists, and editors were present to pay tribute to International Publishers' decade of achievement * * * Among those present were * * * Lewis Gannett, book-review columnist of the New York Herald Tribune * * *"

The Attorney General of the United States cited International Publishers as "The (Communist) Party's publishing house," headed by Alexander Trachtenberg (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7445); and as the "publishing agency of the Communist Party" (brief for the United States in the case of William Schneiderman, p. 145). The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited International Publishers as an "official publishing house of the Communist Party in the United States" (Reports of January 3, 1940, and June 25, 1942); the Committee on Un-American Activities cited the organization as the "Official American Communist Party publishing house" (Report No. 1920 dated May 11, 1948).

Lewis Gannett, Harvard, was a member of the sponsoring committee of dinner sponsored by the American Student Union for "alumni of the student movement and present members" as shown in Student Advocate for February 1937 (p. 2). The American Student Union was cited as a Communist front which was "the result of a united front gathering of young Socialists and Communists" in 1935. The Young Communist League took credit for creation of the organization (Report of the special Committee on Un-American Activities dated Jan. 3, 1939; also cited in reports of Jan. 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1949).

A letterhead of the American League for Peace and Democracy dated April 6, 1939 contains the name of Lewis Gannett in a list of members of the Writers' and Artists' Committee of that organization; the same information is shown in public hearings before this committee July 21, 1953 (p. 3639). The American League was cited by the Attorney General as "designed to conceal Communist control, in accordance with the new tactics of the Communist International" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7443); and subsequently, as subversive and Communist (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list released April 1, 1954). The special committee cited the American League for Peace and Democracy as "a bold advocate of treason" (reports of January 3, 1939; Jan. 3, 1940; Jan. 3, 1941; June 25, 1942; and Jan. 2, 1943).

The special committee cited the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom as a Communist front which defended Communist teachers (report of June 25, 1942; also cited in report of March 29, 1944); a letterhead of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, dated May 26, 1940, contains the name of Lewis Gannett in a list of members of the organization's national executive committee.

A letterhead of the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations With the Soviet Union, Inc., contains the name of Lewis Gannett in a list of members of its board of directors; the letterhead was dated July 14, 1938. The Attorney General cited the American Russian Institute as Communist (press release of April 27, 1949; also included on consolidated list dated April 1, 1954).

Lewis S. Gannett was a member of the board of directors of the American Fund for Public Service, as shown on a photostat of their letterhead dated September 8, 1930. The "American Fund for Public Service was established by Charles Garland, son of the wealthy James A. Garland. Young Garland, conditioned against wealth through radical acquaintances at Harvard, declined to accept his inheritance for his own personal use. Instead, he established, in 1922, the American Fund for Public Service with the sum of $900,000 which consisted largely of conservative securities. During the lush twenties, the fund grew to some $2 million.

"A self-perpetuating board of directors was set up for the purpose of handing out this easy money. Sidney Hillman was among them. Associated with Hillman as directors were Roger N. Baldwin, William Z. Foster, Lewis Gannett, * * *." (From report 1311 of the special committee dated March 29, 1944.)

An undated booklet of Friends of the Soviet Union contains the name of Lewis S. Gannett in a list of members of the Reception Committee for the Soviet Flyers, under auspices of that organization; he contributed a review of Maxim Gorki's "A Book of Short Stories to Soviet Russia Today (September 1939, p. 26). The Attorney General cited Friends of the Soviet Union as Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947, June 1 and September 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list released April 1, 1954); the special committee cited the organization as "one of the most open Communist fronts in the United States" (report of January 3, 1939; also cited in reports of January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944). Soviet Russia Today was published by Friends of the Soviet Union.

Soviet Russia Today for November 1937 (p. 79) published a list of individuals who signed the Golden Book of American Friendship With the Soviet Union under this statement: "I hereby inscribe my name in greeting to the people of the Soviet Union on the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet Republic." The Golden Book of American Friendship With the Soviet Union was cited as a "Communist enterprise" signed by hundreds of well-known Communists and fellow travelers (Report 1311 of the special committee dated March 29, 1944).

The Daily Worker of January 18, 1939 (p. 7) reported that Lewis Gannett was a committee sponsor of the League of American Writers, cited as a Communist-front organization by the special committee (reports of January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944). The Attorney General cited it as being under "Communist control" and as subversive and Communist (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7445; and press releases of June 1, and September 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list of April 1, 1954).

New Masses for March 16, 1937 (p. 26) named Lewis Gannett as one of the sponsors of a send-off dinner for the ambulance corps under the auspices of the American Artists and Writers Committee, Medical Bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy; an undated letterhead of the Writers' and Artists' Committee for Medical Aid to Spain also contains his name in a list of sponsors; the letterhead also carries the notation "Affiliated with the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy"; he signed a petition of American Friends of Spanish Democracy to lift the arms embargo, as shown in the Daily Worker of April 8, 1938 (p. 4).

During 1937 and 1938, the Communist Party campaigned for support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, "recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations * * * such as * * * American Friends of Spanish Democracy" (report 1311 of the special committee dated March 29, 1944).

Another such organization which was cited by the special committee (see last paragraph above) was the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; their letterhead of July 6, 1938, contained the name of Lewis Gannett in a list of members of the Writers' and Artists' committee.

The Liberator for September 1921 (p. 11) contained Lewis Gannett's interview with "Bill Haywood in Moscow"; he also contributed an article to the July 1922 issue of the same publication (p. 30). The special committee cited the Liberator as a "Communist magazine" (report of June 25, 1942).

Lewis Gannett contributed articles to New Masses for February 16, 1937 (p. 21) and August 10, 1943 (p. 20); he signed New Masses' Letter to the President of the United States, as shown in New Masses of April 2, 1940 (p. 21), which source identified him as literary editor, New York Herald Tribune. New Masses has been cited by the Attorney General as a "Communist periodical" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7448); the special committee cited it as the "nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party * * * whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service" (report of March 29, 1944; also cited in reports of January 3, 1939 and June 25, 1942).

A letterhead of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League, dated April 11, 1928, contains the name of Lewis S. Gannett in a list of members of that organization's national committee. The Attorney General cited the All-American Anti-Imperialist League as a "Communist-front organization" (in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10); the special committee cited the group as a Communist front (report of March 29, 1944).

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, national board of directors, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

According to the Communist publication, the Daily Worker of April 13, 1936 (p. 3), Buell G. Gallagher, identified as President of Talladega College, endorsed a peace strike of 500,000 students who planned a demonstration for April 22, 1936. The strike was sponsored by the American Student Union which was cited as a Communist-front organization by the special Committee on Un-American Activities in reports dated January 3, 1940, June 25, 1942, and March 29, 1944.

The Daily People's World, the Communist journal on the West Coast, listed Dr. Buel Gallagher as a member of the Draft Cross Committee, in connection with a move to draft Mayor Laurence L. Cross, of Berkeley, Calif., as candidate for Congress from the seventh district of California. (See Daily People's World of January 28, 1948, p. 3.) In the February 17, 1948, issue of the Daily People's World (p. 3), we find that "the committee originally formed to draft Mayor Laurence Cross for Congress has resolved to stay together in support of the candidacy of Dr. Buell G. Gallagher in the 7th District." According to Judge Louis J. Hardie, committee chairman, "In Dr. Gallagher, we feel that we have found a congressional candidate who possesses those qualities of intelligence, integrity, and idealism which we admire in Dr. Cross. His deep acquaintance with social and economic problems and his broad experience in community activities insure the voters of the 7th District a candidate who will honestly and ably serve them in the 81st Congress" (ibid).

In the March 10, 1948, issue of the Daily People's World, we note that the "Alameda County CIO Council voted endorsement last night for Dr. Buell Gallagher, pro-Wallace candidate for Congress in the 7th District. Dr. Gallagher, endorsed previously by the AFL Central Labor Council and Building Trades Council, will run in the Democratic primary in June against Dyke Brown, the Truman candidate. Congressman from the 7th district now is Republic John J. Allen, who voted for the Taft-Hartley Law" (p. 3).

Under date of February 10, 1951, Dr. Gallagher addressed a letter to the chairman of this committee detailing an analysis of the information reflected in the public files of the committee, and stating, "at no time have I ever been a member of, or sympathizer with, the Communist Party; nor a member of, or sympathizer with, any organization which I knew or believed to be a front for communism." The chairman, in a letter to Dr. Gallagher dated March 3, 1951, advised him that his analysis would be made a part of the committee records and quoted in any future releases.

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Judge Hubert T. Delany (also spelled Delaney), national board of directors, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Hubert T. Delaney was a member of the Council on African Affairs, as shown in the following sources: Pamphlets entitled "Africa in the War," "Seeing Is Believing" (1947), "For a New Africa" (p. 36), "8 Million Demand Freedom" (inside back cover); leaflets headed "The Job To Be Done" and "What of Africa's Place in Tomorrow's World" (June 26, 1944). New Africa for December 1943 (p. 4) and a letterhead of the council dated May 17, 1945, contained the same information. Mr. Walter S. Steele testified in public hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities July 21, 1947 (p. 135), that Judge Delany was a member of the Council on African Affairs. According to the Daily Worker of March 29, 1948 (p. 7), Judge Hubert T. Delaney was a member of the executive board of the council. The Daily Worker of April 26, 1947 (p. 12), named him as having signed a statement issued by the council.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the Council on African Affairs as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list released April 1, 1954).

A 1939 membership list of the National Lawyers Guild, which was made available to the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, contains the name of one Hubert T. Delany, 30 Broad Street, New York City. The name of Hubert T. Delany appeared on a letterhead of the Guild dated May 28, 1940, as director ex officio. The New York Guild Lawyer for September 1950 listed him as vice president of the New York chapter of the guild. A list of officers of the National Lawyers Guild (as of December 1949) contains the name of the Honorable Hubert T. Delaney in a list of members or the organization's executive board; he is so named in a list dated May 1950. Both of these lists were printed in a report on the National Lawyers Guild, prepared and published by the Committee on Un-American Activities September 17, 1950.

Convention News of May 1941 (pp. 2 and 4), issued by the fifth annual convention of the National Lawyers Guild which was held May 29-June 1, 1941, in Detroit, Mich., named Hubert T. Delany as a member of the convention resolutions committee; he was also named in the same source as a member of the national executive board, National Lawyers Guild. Judge Delaney presided at an annual convention of the guild in Chicago, Ill., in 1951 (Daily People's World, October 18, 1951, p. 2); he also spoke before the guild in 1951, as reported in the Daily Worker of April 10, 1951, page 5. In the latter three sources, he was identified with the domestic relations court of New York City.

The Daily Worker of October 7, 1952 (p. 3), reported that Judge Delany was to lead a workshop at the national conference on civil rights legislation and discrimination to be held in New York City, October 10–12, under the auspices of the National Lawyers Guild; a letterhead of the New York City chapter of the guild dated October 17, 1952, listed Hubert T. Delany as vice president. The Daily Worker of February 20, 1953 (p. 6), announced that he would speak at a panel session on civil rights and liberties, February 22, at the annual convention of the guild, February 20–23, in New York City. According to the Daily Worker of May 27, 1953 (p. 8), Hubert T. Delany was reelected vice president of the New York City chapter of the National Lawyers Guild at the annual membership meeting May 26. He was elected one of the vice presidents of the National Lawyers Guild, New York City chapter, for the years 1954–55, as reported in the Daily Worker of May 26, 1954 (p. 8).

The National Lawyers Guild was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in report No. 1311 dated March 29, 1944. In a report on the guild, prepared and released September 17, 1950, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, it was shown that the National Lawyers Guild "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions" and "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents."

Hubert T. Delany was a member of the Lawyers' Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy, as shown on their letterhead dated April 6, 1939. The American League for Peace and Democracy was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; consolidated list of April 1, 1954); he had previously cited the organization as "established in the United States * * * in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7443). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American League as "the largest of the Communist-front movements in the United States" (report of January 3, 1940).

The catalog of the George Washington Carver School (winter term, 1947) contains the name of Judge Hubert T. Delany as a member of the board of directors of that school, cited by the Attorney General as "an adjunct in New York City of the Communist Party" (press release of December 4, 1947; included on consolidated list of April 1, 1954).

Hubert T. Delany was named as a representative individual who advocated lifting the arms embargo against Spain in a booklet entitled "These Americans Say," which was prepared and published by the coordinating committee to lift the embargo, cited as one of the number of groups set up during the Spanish civil war by the Communist party in the United States and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation. (From a report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated March 29, 1944.)

A letterhead of the Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain dated March 5, 1938, and a prospectus and review of the organization both name him as a member of that group.

In a report dated March 29, 1944, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities had the following to say concerning the Lawyers' Committee on American Relations with Spain: "When it was the policy of the Communist Party to organize much of its main propaganda around the civil war in Spain, the lawyers' committee * * * supported this movement."

A letterhead of the medical bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy dated July 6, 1938, contains the name of Judge Delany in a list of members of that group.

During 1937 and 1938, the Communist Party wholeheartedly campaigned for support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and setting up so-called relief organizations such as the medical bureau and North

American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy. (From report No. 1311 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated March 29, 1944.)

Hubert T. Delaney was one of the sponsors of a testimonial dinner in honor of Ferdinand C. Smith, Communist Party member and national secretary of the National Maritime Union; identified as tax commissioner, New York City, Judge Delany was listed by Labor Defender (issue of October 1935) as one of the individuals who signed a petition for the freedom of Angelo Herndon, a Communist.

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Norman Cousins, national board of directors, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

In an article which appeared in the Daily Worker of January 13, 1948, it was reported that "Thirty-five well known authors, editors, clergymen, and other public figures today called on the new Federal Employees Loyalty Review Board to prevent injustices to individuals in the Government loyalty check." Norman Cousins was one of those who signed the letter, addressed to Seth W. Richardson, board chairman. This article also appeared in the New York Times on the preceding day, January 12, 1948 (p. 10).

In a report of the Committee on Un-American Activities entitled "Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace," dated April 19, 1949, we find the following statement concerning a speech of Norman Cousins before that conference:

"In answer to this totalitarian philosophy of dragooning culture, Norman Cousins, editor of the Saturday Review of Literature, declared amid a great deal of hissing and boing, that 'Democracy must mean intellectual freedom, that it must protect the individual against the right of the state to draw political and cultural blueprints for its painters and writers and composers or to castigate them, or to enter into those matters of mind in which the individual is sovereign.'" (See p. 13 of the Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference.)

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Dr. Algernon D. Black, national board of directors, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Dr. Algernon D. Black was one of the sponsors of the Cultural and Scientic Conference for World Peace, arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, March 25–27, 1949 (conference program, p. 12, and conference call). The Daily Worker of February 21, 1949 (p. 2), announced that he was a member of the program committee of that conference. Speaking of Peace, edited report of the conference, March 25, 26, 27, 1949, listed Algernon Black as a speaker on A Warning Against Sectarian Prejudice, and gave biographical data concerning him (pp. 121, 139).

In 1948 and 1949, Dr. Black signed statements of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (Daily Worker, Dec. 29, 1948, p. 2; letterhead received in January 1949; New York Star of January 4, 1949, p. 9, an advertisement). He spoke before the group in February 1949 (Daily Worker, Feb. 28, 1949, p. 2).

The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions and held in New York City on March 25, 26, and 27, 1949, April 26, 1950, cited the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions as a Communist-front organization. In this same report the Committee on Un-American Activities cited the scientific and cultural conference as actually a supermobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations.

The call to a national conference on American policy in China and the Far East, held in January 1948, included the name of Dr. Algernon Black in the list of sponsors (Call, January 23–25, 1948, New York City); the conference was called by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. In the December 1949–January 1950 issue of Far East Spotlight, which is the official organ of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, Dr. Black answered a questionnaire issued by that committee, favoring recognition of the Chinese Communist government.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy as a Communist organization in a letter furnished the Loyalty Review Board and release to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission April 27, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated.

The Daily Worker of June 21, 1948, reported that Algernon D. Black had signed a statement of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, calling for a conference with the Soviet Union; he signed an appeal of the same organization to the United States Government to end the cold war and arrange a conference with the Soviet Union (leaflet entitled "End the Cold War—Get Together for Peace" which was dated December 1948); he signed a statement in praise of Henry Wallace's open letter to Stalin (May 1948), as shown in the pamphlet How To End the Cold War and Build the Peace (p. 9), prepared and released by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

The Attorney General cited the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 156), cited the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship as "in recent months, the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian."

Dr. Black contributed an article to the pamphlet We Hold These Truths (p. 22), which was issued by the League of American Writers. He was named as a member of the executive committee of Film Audiences for Democracy in the June 1939 issue of Film Survey, official organ of Film Audiences, cited as a Communist-front organization by the special Committee on Un-American Activities (report No. 1311 of March 29, 1944, p. 150).

The Attorney General cited the League of American Writers as subversive and Communist in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as "founded under Communist auspices in 1935 * * * in 1939 * * * began openly to follow the Communist Party line as dictated by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7445). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its reports of January 3, 1940 (p. 9), June 25, 1942 (p. 19), and March 29, 1944 (p. 48), cited the League of American Writers as a Communist front organization.

A letterhead of the nonpartisan committee for the relection of Congressman Vito Marcantonio, dated October 3, 1936, listed the name of Algernon D. Black as a member of that committee. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report dated March 29, 1944 (p. 122), cited the nonpartisan committee for the reelection of Vito Marcantonio as a Communist-front organization.

Algernon Black was a member of the advisory board of the American Student Union, as shown in a pamphlet entitled "Presenting the American Student Union." The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report dated January 3, 1939 (p. 80), cited the American Student Union as a Communist-front organization.

A letterhead of the Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York, dated May 11, 1946, listed the name of Algernon Black as one of the public sponsors of that organization. The Attorney General cited the Veterans Against Disciminaton of Civil Rights Congress of New York as subversive in a letter released December 4, 1947; included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list.

Mr. Black signed an open letter of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, as shown in the booklet 600 Prominent Americans (p. 16). The Attorney General cited the National Federation as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Attorney General cited the organization previously as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program." The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report dated March 29, 1944 (p. 50), cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party." The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 3), cited the National Federation as among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law."

The printed program of the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights, February 12, 1940, reveals the name of Algernon D. Black as vice chairman of the group. A letterhead of the American Russian Institute, received July 26, 1949, contains the name of Dr. Black as a member of the interchurch committee of that instiurte. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its reported dated March 29, 1944 (pp. 96 and 129), cited the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights as a Communist front organization. The Attorney General cited the American Russian Institute as a Communist organization in a letter released April 27, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list.

Dr. Black was a member of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy (letterheads dated March 13, 1931, and February 21, 1938); and described as a representative individual in a booklet entitled "These Americans Say" which was published by the Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report dated March 29, 1944 (p. 82), cited the American Friends of Spanish Democracy as a Communist front organization. The Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report dated March 29, 1944 (pp. 137 and 138), as one of a number of front organizations set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party in the United States and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation.

In a pamphlet entitled "News You Don't Get" (dated November 15, 1938), Algernon Black was named as one of those who signed the call to a conference on pan-American democracy; a letterhead of the organization dated November 16, 1938, named him as one of the sponsors of the conference. The Attorney General cited the Conference on Pan-American Democracy as subversive and Communist in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report dated March 29, 1944 (pp. 161 and 164), cited the Conference on Pan-American Democratcy as a Communist front organization.

Algernon Black signed a declaration of the Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee honoring Dimitrov, as shown in the New York Times of December 22, 1943 (p. 40). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 112 and 156), cited the Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee as a Communist front organiztion.

Dr. Black signed an open letter in defense of Harry Bridges. (See Daily Worker of July 19, 1942, p. 4.) Letterheads of the Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges dated June 8, 1943, and January 10, 1944, listed Algernon Black as a committee member or sponsor of that group. The open letter in defense of Harry Bridges was cited as a Communist front organization by the special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 87, 112, 129, 166). The citizens' committee for Harry Bridges was cited as Communist by the Attorney General in a letter released April 27, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 90 and 94), cited the citizens' committee for Harry Bridges as a Communist front organization.

The Daily Worker of March 29, 1951, (p. 9), reported that Dr. Algernon D. Black signed a letter of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born attacking the McCarran Act. Algernon D. Black was shown as a sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in the Daily Worker, April 4, 1951 (p. 8), a leaflet: "Call—Mass Meeting and Conference," October 27, 1951, Dearborn, Mich., and a photostatic copy of an undated letterhead of the 20th anniversary national conference * * *, U. E. Hall, Chicago, Ill. (Dec. 8–9, 1951). The Daily Worker of August 10, 1950 (p. 5), reported that Dr. Algernon Black signed a statement of the American Committee against denaturalization.

The Attorney General cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as subversive and Communist in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 155), cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States."

On June 13, 1949, the Daily Worker reported that Dr. Black was one of the sponsors of an organization formed to oppose the Mundt-Nixon anti-Communist bill; a press release of the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill, dated June 15, 1949, revealed the same information. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt bill dated January 2, 1951, cited that organization as "a registered lobbying organization which has carried out the objectives of the Communist Party in its fight against antisubversive legislation."

A letterhead of the Voice of Freedom Committee dated June 16, 1947, listed Algernon D. Black as a sponsor of that organization. An invitation to a dinner held under auspices of the group, January 21, 1948, listed him as a member of the dinner committee. He signed a petition of the organization as shown by a leaflet published by the Voice of Freedom Committee. The Attorney General included the Voice of Freedom Committee on his April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated.

Algernon D. Black, New York Ethical Culture Society, signed an open letter of the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact to Senators and Congressmen urging defeat of President Truman's arms program, as shown by a letterhead dated August 21, 1949.

The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the Communist peace offensive, April 1, 1951 (p. 56), cited the Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact as a meeting called by the Daily Worker in July 1949, to be held in Washington, D. C., and as having been instigated by Communists in the United States (who) did their part in the Moscow campaign.

The Daily Worker of December 10, 1952 (p. 4), listed Dr. Algernon D. Black as a signer of an appeal to President Truman requesting amnesty for leaders of the Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act.

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Dr. Ralph Bunche, national board of directors, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Dr. Ralph Bunche was a member of the executive board of the Washington committee, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, as shown on their letterhead of June 4, 1947. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist-front organization in its report of March 29, 1944. In 1947 the Committee on Un-American Activities released a report on the conference, in which it was cited as a Communist-front organization which sought to "attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South," although its "professed interest in southern welfare" was "simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States" (Report No. 592 of June 12, 1947).

Ralph Bunche was a sponsor of the Conference on Civil Rights of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, April 20–21, 1940, as shown by the conference call, page 4. A letterhead of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action dated April 26, 1940, named Dr. Bunche as one of the sponsors of that group.

The Washington Committee for Democratic Action was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General, April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included in the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The Attorney General had previously cited the group as an affiliate or local chapter of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7448). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the organization as successor in Washington to the American League for Peace and Democracy and an affiliate of the national federation (reports of June 25, 1942, and Mar. 29, 1944).

Official proceedings of the National Negro Congress for 1936, pages 5 and 40, named Dr. Ralph Bunche, Washington, D. C., as a member of the presiding committee and a member of the national executive council of that organization.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Negro Congress as a Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes, and reported that "the officers of the National Negro Congress are outspoken Communist sympathizers, and a majority of those on the executive board are outright Communists" (report of January 3, 1939). The Attorney General cited the National Negro Congress as a Communist-front organization (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447; press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; consolidated list of cited organizations, dated April 1, 1954).

The Washington Post and Times Herald, May 29, 1954, p. 6, reported that "A Federal loyalty board announced today that it has unanimously cleared Dr. Ralph J. Bunche of any and all charges." the article quoted the official announcement as follows:

"The full board had its second meeting with Dr. Bunche yesterday following which it unanimously reached the conclusion that there is no doubt as to the loyalty of Dr. Bunche to the Government of the United States.

"This conclusion has been forwarded to the Secretary of State for transmittal to the Secretary General of the U. N. At the same time it has been informally transmitted to Dr. Bunche."

Reference to the loyalty board's clearance of Dr. Bunche is found also in the Washington Evening Star, May 28, 1954, p. A–1.

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Dr. H. Claude Hudson, national board of directors, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The Daily People's World of May 2, 1947 (p. 8), listed Dr. H. Claude Hudson as a sponsor of the Los Angeles chapter of the Civil Rights Congress.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the Civil Rights Congress as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (pp. 2 and 19), cited the Civil Rights Congress as an organization formed in April 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations (International Labor

Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties); "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it."

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Carl R. Johnson, national board of directors, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

An undated leaflet, The Only Sound Policy for a Democracy, and the Daily Worker of March 19, 1945 (p. 4), listed Carl R. Johnson, lawyer, Kansas City, Mo., as a signer of a statement sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties supporting the War Department's order on granting commissions to members of the Armed Forces who have been members of or sympathetic to the views of the Communist Party.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446.) The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 50), cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party." The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 3), cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties among a maze of organizations which were spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law.

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Alfred Baker Lewis, national board of directors, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or finding of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

On July 11, 1942, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties addressed an open letter to the President of the United States urging him to reconsider Attorney General Francis Biddle's order to deport Harry Bridges; the letter also stated that: "It is equally essential that the Attorney General's ill-advised, arbitrary, and unwarranted findings relative to the Communist Party be rescinded." Alfred Baker Lewis, executive board, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and executive board member, Union for Democratic Action, New York, N. Y., signed the open letter, as shown in the pamphlet entitled "600 Prominent Americans Ask President To Rescind Biddle Decision," published September 11, 1942, by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and incorporating the open letter in full. The open letter, together with a list of individuals who signed it, appeared in the Daily Worker on July 19, 1942 (p. 4).

The Attorney General of the United States cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as "Part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program;" and as subversive and Communist. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446); and press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948, respectively; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954.) The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the federation as one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party (report of March 29, 1944; also cited in reports of June 25, 1942, and January 2, 1943). It was also cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law (Report No. 1115 of September 2, 1947).

An undated letterhead of the League for Mutual Aid, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City, contained the name of Alfred Baker Lewis in a list of members of the organization's advisory committee. The league was cited as a Communist enterprise by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Report No. 1311 of March 29, 1944.

"Greetings and best wishes for success to the second national Negro congress" were contained in the printed annual program of that congress, sent by A. Philip Randolph, chairman, and Alfred Baker Lewis, secretary, Negro Work Committee of the Socialist Party. (Printed annual program, second national Negro congress, Philadelphia, Pa., October 15, 16, and 17, 1937, p. 61.) The National Negro Congress was cited as an important sector of the democratic front, sponsored and supported by the Communist Party; and later, as subversive and Communist. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447; and press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list of April 1, 1954.) The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the congress as the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes (report of January 3, 1939; also cited in reports of January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944).

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Dr. James J. McClendon, national board of directors, national health committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The Daily Worker of March 18, 1945 (p. 2), and an undated leaflet, The Only Sound Policy for a Democracy, named Dr. James J. McClendon as one of the signers of a statement, sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, which supported the War Department's order on granting commissions to members of the Armed Forces who have been members of or sympathetic to the views of the Communist Party. Dr. McClendon was identified as President of the Detroit National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. D. J. J. McClendon was one of the sponsors of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, as shown by the program, Action Conference for Civil Rights, held in Washington, D. C., April 19–20, 1941; and on letterheads dated September 11, 1940, and November 6, 1940.

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General in press releases dated December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also included in his consolidated list of April 1, 1954. The Attorney General described the organization as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities stated that "There can be no reasonable doubt about the fact that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties regardless of its high-sounding name—is one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" (special committee report, March 29, 1944, p. 50); also cited in reports, June 25, 1942 (p. 20), and January 2, 1943 (pp. 9 and 12).

Dr. James J. McClendon was named in the Daily Worker of March 16, 1942, (pp. 1 and 4), and on a letterhead dated April 2, 1942, as one of the sponsors of the National Free Browder Congress.

The National Free Browder Congress was cited as a Communist front which arranged to meet March 28-29, 1942. Earl Browder was general secretary of the Communist Party, United States of America, who had been convicted and sentenced to Atlanta Federal Penitentiary for passport fraud. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944 (pp. 69, 87, and 132.)

Dr. James McClendon was one of the sponsors of the sesquicentennial bill of rights celebration, held under the auspices of the Michigan Civil Rights Federation, Detroit, Mich., December 1–2, 1939, as shown by the call of conference. Dr. James J. McClendon was one of the sponsors of a statewide conference, held under the auspices of the Michigan federation in Detroit, Mich., September 12, 1943, as shown by call of the conference. He was identified as president of the Detroit chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Michigan Civil Rights Federation was cited by the Attorney General of the United States as "an affiliate of the Communist front, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; and as subversive and Communist organization which has been succeeded by and now operates as the Michigan chapter of the Civil Rights Congress." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446; and press releases of December 4, 1947, June 1 and September 21, 1948; also including in his consolidated list of organizations, dated April 1, 1954.) The Special Committee on Un-American Activities and the Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Michigan Civil Rights Federation as a Communist-front organization. (From Report No. 1311 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, dated March 29, 1944; and Report No. 1115 of the Committee on Un-American Activities, dated September 2, 1947, p. 3.)

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: A. Maceo Smith, national board of directors, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily

a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

A. Maceo Smith was a signer of a statement released by the Civil Rights Congress of Texas against a ban on the Communist Party as shown by the Worker, April 27, 1947 (p. 25).

The Attorney General of the United States cited the Civil Rights Congress as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (pp. 2 and 19), cited the Civil Rights Congress as an organization formed in April 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations (International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties); "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it."

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: James Hinton, national board of directors, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

James M. Hinton, identified as president of the State conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for South Carolina, was one of the sponsors of a Congress on Civil Rights, as shown on the call to the congress which was held in Detroit, Mich., April 27–28, 1946. (See pp. 21 and 22 of Rept. No. 1115 of the Committee on Un-American Activities on the Civil Rights Congress, September 2, 1947.)

The Civil Rights Congress was founded at a conference in Detroit April 27, and 28, 1946, effectuating the merger of the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. The Civil Rights Congress was "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it" (pp. 2 and 19 of Rept. No. 1115).

The Attorney General of the United States cited the Civil Rights Congress as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated.

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Theodore M. Berry, national board of directors, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

A 1939 membership list of the National Lawyers Guild which was made available to the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 1939, contains the name of Theodore M. Berry, 308 West Fifth Street, Cincinnati, Ohio, as a member.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers Guild as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the organization as a Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions" and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents."

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Earl B. Dickerson, national board of directors, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

According to the Daily Worker of February 28, 1949 (p. 9), Earl Dickerson, attorney, Illinois, was one of the signers of a statement defending the 12 Communist leaders. He signed a statement in behalf of the attorneys in the Communist cases as shown by the July 31, 1950, issue of the Daily Worker (p. 9). This same information was shown in the February 1, 1950, issue of the Daily Worker (p. 3). As shown by the Daily People's World of May 12, 1950 (p. 12), Earl B. Dickerson was a signer of a statement to the United Nations in behalf of the Communist cases.

Earl B. Dickerson protested approval of the Smith Act by the Supreme Court as "having a disastrous impact upon * * * struggle of Negro people" (Daily Worker, October 1, 1951, p. 1). He filed a petition with the clerk of the United States Supreme Court supporting the pending application for a hearing on the constitutionality of the Smith Act as shown by the Daily Worker, October 4, 1951 (p. 15). Mr. Dickerson was identified in this source as a Negro attorney in Illinois. He spoke against the Smith Act according to the February 12, 1952 issue of the Daily People's World (p. 3), and was co-author of a memorandum to the Supreme Court "on the menace of the Smith Act to the Negro people" (Daily People's World, July 15, 1952, p. 1). Earl B. Dickerson, president, National Lawyers Guild, Chicago, was a signer of an appeal to President Truman requesting amnesty for leaders of the Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act (Daily Worker, December 10, 1952, p. 4). As shown by the Daily Worker, December 29, 1953 (p. 8) and the Worker, January 3, 1954 (p. 6), Earl B. Dickerson was one of 39 prominent Midwest citizens signing a plea for Christmas amnesty for Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act, which was wired to President Eisenhower. He was one of the initiators of an appeal for reduced bail for Claude Lightfoot, Illinois Communist leader, indicted under a section of the Smith Act as shown by the September 12, 1954, issue of the Worker (p. 16.

According to the December 25, 1952 issue of the Daily Worker (p. 8), Earl D. Dickerson was a signer of an open letter to President Truman asking clemency for the Rosenbergs. The Daily People's World of March 13, 1953 (p. 3), reported that Earl B. Dickerson contributed a statement to the pamphlet, The Negro People Speak Out on the Rosenbergs, distributed by volunteers for the East Bay Committee To Save the Rosenbergs, Oakland, California.

Earl B. Dickerson was a signer of an appeal to the Greek Government protesting the court marital of Greek maritime unionists as shown by the Daily Worker, August 19, 1952 (p. 1).

Earl B. Dickerson was listed in the spring 1943 (p. 22) and fall session 1943 (p. 27) catalogs of the Abraham Lincoln School as a member of the board of directors. He was named in the same source as a guest lecturer at the school (p. 19).

The Attorney General of the United States cited the Abraham Lincoln School as an adjunct of the Communist Party in a letter to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947. The Attorney General redesignated the school April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included it on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 82), cited the Abraham Lincoln School as successor of the Workers School as a Communist educational medium in Chicago.

A pamphlet entitled "For a New Africa" (containing the proceedings of the conference on Africa, New York, April 14, 1944) names Earl B. Dickerson as a member of the National Negro Congress.

The National Negro Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as a Communist-front group (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as "the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes."

He was a member of the Council on African Affairs, as shown in a pamphlet entitled "8 Million Demand Freedom," and the pamphlet For a New Africa (p. 36). Earl B. Dickerson is listed as a member of the Council on African Affairs in a leaflet, issued by the organization, The Job To Be Done, a leaflet entitled "What of Africa's Place in Tomorrow's World?" a pamphlet entitled "Seeing Is Believing" (1947), and a letterhead of the group, dated May 17, 1945, and a pamphlet, Africa In the War.

The Attorney General cited the Council on African Affairs as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list.

The name of Earl Dickerson, of 35 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill., appears on a 1939 membership list of the National Lawyers' Guild on file with this committee. In 1949 he was president of the Chicago chapter of the guild and chairman at a meeting on anti-Communist legislation, as shown in the Daily Worker of March 15, 1949 (p. 6); in the same year he attacked the Marshall plan as shown in the Daily Worker of July 19, 1949 (p. 5), in which source he was identified as president of the Chicago chapter of the guild; he participated in a discussion entitled "Status of Civil Liberties," fifth annual convention, National Lawyers' Guild, Book-Cadillac Hotel, Detroit, Mich., May 29–June 1, 1941, as shown by the convention program printed in Convention News, May 1941 (p. 2), published by the guid. This same Convention News (pp. 3 and 4) listed him as a member of the convention nominations committee of the fifth national convention of the National Lawyers' Guild. He submitted a report of the giuld, denouncing lynching and discrimination, as shown in the Daily Worker, November 30, 1942 (p. 1). As shown by the October 15, 1951, issue of the Daily Worker (p. 1), Earl B. Dickerson was president of the Chicago chapter of the National

Lawyers' Guild; he spoke at the national convention of the organization in Chicago. The October 18, 1951, issue of the Daily People's World (p. 2), reported that Earl B. Dickerson was elected president of the National Lawyers' Guild. He was shown as president of the National Lawyers' Guild in the Daily Worker, January 25, 1952 (p. 1), and February 20, 1953 (p. 6), and the Daily People's World, January 25, 1952 (p. 8). The January 18, 1952, issue of the Daily People's World (p. 3) reported that Earl B. Dickerson was to speak on the Smith Act, the Constitution, and You, at a gathering of the San Francisco chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild on February 1, 1952. The Daily Worker of February 24, 1953 (p. 6), reported that Earl Dickerson, president of the National Lawyers' Guild, addressed the annual convention of the group held February 20–23, at the Park-Sheraton Hotel, New York City, and stated that "a new foreign policy is needed if the drive against liberties is to be halted." The Daily People's World of July 6, 1953 (p. 3), announced that he was to be honored by the Los Angeles-Hollywood chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild at a luncheon. The Daily Worker of August 28, 1953 (p. 2), reported that Earl B. Dickerson, president of the National Lawyers' Guild, issued a statement opposing the American Bar Association's call for disbarment of Communist lawyers. As shown by the September 6, 1953, issue of the Worker (p. 6), Earl Dickerson protested the placing of the National Lawyers' Guild on the list of subversive organizations by the Attorney General.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers' Guild as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the Nations Lawyers' Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the group as a Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions" and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents."

One Earl Dickerson (with no middle initial shown) spoke at the morning session of the Congress on Civil Rights which was held in Detroit, Mich., April 27–28, 1946, as shown in the program, Congress on Civil Rights (p. 1); Earl B. Dickerson signed a statement of the Civil Rights Congress which was in defense of Gerhart Eisler, according to the Daily Worker of February 28, 1947 (p. 2); he was one of the sponsors of the National Emergency Conference for Civil Rights which was held in New York City on July 19, 1948, according to the Daily Worker of July 12, 1948 (p. 4); a photostat of a letterhead of the Civil Rights Congress, Illinois, dated December 18, 1948, listed Earl Dickerson as a sponsor. As shown by the Daily Worker of November 1, 1950 (p. 4), Earl B. Dickerson was a sponsor of the Civil Rights Congress. A handbill, Dodge Local 3 Supports FEPC Rally, listed Earl B. Dickerson as one of those who would speak at a rally to be held under partial auspices of the Civil Rights Congress of Michigan on April 16, 1950.

The Attorney General cited the Civil Rights Congress as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (pp. 2 and 19), cited the Civil Rights Congress as an organization formed in April 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations (International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties); "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it."

According to the printed program of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace (p. 14), Earl B. Dickerson was one of the sponsors of this conference which was held in New York City, March 27–27, 1949, under the auspices of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions; he signed a statement of the council which was reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 95, part 7, page 9435. Earl B. Dickerson was a signer of a Resolution Against Atomic Weapons as shown by a mimeographed list of signers attached to a letterhead of the National Council of the Arts, Science, and Professions dated July 28, 1950. Mr. Dickerson signed a statement to the American people, "We uphold the right of all citizens to speak for peace," released by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, as shown by the handbill, "Halt the Defamers Who Call Peace Un-American." He spoke at a conference on equal rights for Negroes in the arts held by the New York Council of the National Council of the Arts, New York City, November 10, 1951, according to the November 7, 1951 (p. 3), and November 14, 1951 (p. 7), issues of the Daily Worker. The Daily Worker of June 2, 1952 (p. 3), listed Earl B. Dickerson as one of the endorsers of the national council resolution calling for a hearing of Tunisia's demands in the United Nations. He spoke at a conference for equal rights for Negroes in the Arts, Sciences, and Professions held by the Southern California Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, on June 14, 1952, in Los Angeles (Daily Worker, June 20, 1952, p. 7).

The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, April 19, 1949 (p. 2), cited the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions as a Communist-front organization. In this same report the committee cited the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace as a Communist front which "was actually a supermobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations."

Earl B. Dickerson was a national sponsor of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, as shown by letterheads of the group dated February 26, 1946, February 3, 1948, May 18, 1951, and January 5, 1953. He signed an open letter of the organization to President Truman on Franco Spain as shown by a letterhead and mimeographed letter of April 28, 1949. He signed a petition of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee to President Truman "to bar military aid to or alliance with fascist Spain" as shown by a mimeographed petition, attached to a letterhead of the group dated May 18, 1951.

The Attorney General cited the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953 and included on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 174), cited the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee as a Communist-front organization.

Mr. Dickerson was chairman of the Illinois Legislative and Defense Committee of the International Labor Defense, as shown in Equal Justice, September, 1939, (p. 3). He spoke before the International Labor Defense, together with Earl Browder, according to the Daily Worker of October 1, 1942, (p. 5); October 6, 1942, (p. 5); and October 11, 1942, (p. 3). The pamphlet Victory in Oklahoma, October 1943, back cover, listed Earl B. Dickerson as a member of the National Committee of the International Labor Defense.

The Attorney General cited the International Labor Defense as subversive and Communist in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953 and included on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as the "legal arm of the Communist Party." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446). The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (pp. 1 and 2), cited the International Labor Defense as "part of an international network of organizations for the defense of Communist lawbreakers."

Earl B. Dickerson was a speaker at the Conference on Constitutional Liberties, the founding conference of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, as shown in the printed program, Call to a Conference, page 2, June 7, 1940.

The Attorney General cited the Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America as a conference as a result of which was established the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 102), cited the conference as "an important part of the solar system of the Communist Party's front organizations."

The program and call to a national conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, held in Cleveland, Ohio, October 25 and 26, 1947, listed Earl B. Dickerson as one of the sponsors of the conference; he was one of the sponsors of the sixth national conference, which was held in Cleveland, May 9 and 10, 1942, as shown in a leaflet of the conference, page 4. In the latter source, Mr. Dickerson was identified as a member of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices. Earl Dickerson was a sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as shown by a 1950 letterhead, an undated letterhead (received for files, July 11, 1950), an undated letterhead (distributing a speech of Abner Green at the conference of the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born of December 2–3, 1950), and a letterhead of the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (April 30, 1951). Mr. Dickerson, identified as president of the Chicago Urban League, was a sponsor of a dinner given by the Midwest Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born for Pearl Hart (Daily Worker, Apr. 6, 1950, p. 4). A letterhead of the sixth annual conference of the Midwest Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born dated May 16, 1954, Chicago, listed Earl B. Dickerson as a sponsor.

The Attorney General cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as subversive and Communist in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 155), cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States."

In 1942 Earl B. Dickerson was a patron of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, as shown on a letterhead of the congress, dated October 27, 1942; he was named in Soviet Russia Today (December 1942 issue,

p. 42) as one of the sponsors of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship; the call to the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, November 6–8, 1943, listed Earl B. Dickerson among the sponsors. He signed a statement of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, praising Wallace's open letter to Stalin, May 1948, as shown in a pamphlet, How To End the Cold War and Build the Peace, page 9. He was identified in the last-named source as an attorney at law, Chicago. A photostatic copy of a letterhead of the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship dated September 17, 1951, listed Earl B. Dickerson as a sponsor of that group. A photostat of a letter of the national council dated March 19, 1952, listed Mr. Dickerson as a sponsor.

The Attorney General cited the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944, (p. 156), cited the National Council as "in recent months, the Communist Party's principal front for all things Rusian."

The Daily Worker of October 21, 1942 (p. 1), named Earl B. Dickerson among the list of members of the National Emergency Committee To Stop Lynching. He signed an appeal to lift the Spanish embargo, which appeal was made by the Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, according to the Daily Worker of February 8, 1939 (p. 2). He contributed to the Jue 22, 1943, issue of New Masses (p. 9). He signed a petition of the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder, as shown in an official leaflet of the organization.

The National Emergency Committee To Stop Lynching was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Negro Communist-front organization, whose secretary was Ferdinand C. Smith, high in the circles of the Communist Party (report, March 29, 1944, p. 180).

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 180), cited the Negro People's Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy as a Communist-front organization.

New Masses was cited as a Communist periodical by the Attorney General (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447), and the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (report, Mar. 29, 1955, pp. 48 and 75).

The Citizens' Committee To Free Earl Browder was cited as Communist by the Attorney General in a letter dated April 27, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as a Communist organization (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 6 and 55), cited the Citizens' Committee To Free Earl Browder as follows: When Earl Browder (then general secretary, Communist Party) was in Atlanta Penitentiary serving a sentence involving his fraudulent passports, the Communist Party's front which agitated for his release was known as the Citizens' Committee To Free Earl Browder.

An open letter demanding discharge of Communist Party defendants in Fulton and Livingston Counties contained the name of Earl B. Dickerson in the list of persons who signed according to the Daily Worker of September 24, 1940, page 5. He was attorney for Eugene Dennis, general secretary, Communist Party, as shown in the Daily Worker of November 19, 1947, page 7, being identified in this source as a former member of the city council, Chicago. Reference to Earl Dickerson as attorney for Eugene Dennis appears in the Worker, November 30, 1947, page 4; the Daily Worker of January 15, 1948, page 5; and the Daily Worker of October 27, 1948, page 10, in which source he is identified as a Negro leader, of Chicago.

Earl B. Dickerson was a sponsor of the American Peace Crusade, Illinois assembly, as shown by a letterhead dated April 12, 1951, the Illinois Peace Crusade, May 1951 (p. 4), and a photostat of a letterhead dated June 21, 1952. He was a sponsor of the American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace, held by the American Peace Crusade in Chicago, Ill., June 29, 30, and July 1, 1951, as shown by a leaflet, An Invitation to American Labor To Participate in a Peace Congress, the Call to the American People's Congress, and the leaflet, American People's Congress * * * Invites You To Participate in a National Peace Competition, June 29, 1951, Chicago, Ill. He was a sponsor of a contest held by the American Peace Crusade for songs, essays, and paintings advancing the theme of world peace as reported in the Daily Worker, May 1, 1951 (p. 11).

The Attorney General included the American Peace Crusade on his January 22, 1954, list of organizations designated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its statement issued on the March of Treason, February 19, 1951, and report on the Communist Peace Offensive April 1, 1951 (p. 51), cited the American Peace Crusade as an organization which the Communists established as a new instrument for their peace offensive in the United States and which was heralded by the Daily Worker with the usual bold headlines reserved for projects in line with the Communist objectives.

Masses and Mainstream for February 1952 (pp. 52–56) listed Earl B. Dickerson as co-author of an amici curiae brief to the Supreme Court supporting an appeal for a rehearing of its decision upholding the Smith Act, dated September 27, 1951.

According to the April 30, 1950, issue of the Worker (p. 15), Earl B. Dickerson was a sponsor of the Midcentury Conference for Peace, cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as a meeting held in Chicago, May 29 and 30, 1950, by the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact and as having been "aimed at assembling as many gullible persons as possible under Communist direction and turning them into a vast sounding board for Communist propaganda" (report on Communist peace offensive, April 1, 1951, p. 58).

Earl B. Dickerson was a sponsor of the National Committee To Defeat the Mundt bill as hown by the pamphlet, Hey, Brother, There's a Law Against You (p. 2); a release of June 15, 1949 (p. 2), and a photostat of a letterhead dated May 5, 1950. He signed a statement of the organization according to the Daily Worker of April 3, 1950 (p. 4).

The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill, December 7, 1950, cited the organization as "a registered lobbying organization which has carried out the objectives of the Communist Party in its fight against antisubversive legislation."

Earl B. Dickerson signed a letter defending the 12 Communist leaders, as shown on a letterhead, dated January 7, 1949; he later signed a statement asking for the release of the Communist leaders, as shown in the Daily Worker of November 8, 1949 (p. 6). He signed a brief on behalf of the attorneys who represented the Communist leaders, as shown in the Daily Worker of November 2, 1949 (p. 2); he signed a statement on behalf of the attorneys, as shown in the Daily Worker of December 7, 1949 (p. 5); he represented the attorneys who represented the 11 Communist leaders, according to the Daily Worker of January 24, 1950 (p. 3).

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Benjamin E. Mays, national board of directors, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The Daily Worker, March 4, 1948 (p. 2), named Benjamin E. Mays as one of the signers of a letter in behalf of Communist deportation cases, which was sponsored by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. A letterhead of the group contained his name as one of the sponsors (letterhead December 11 and 12, 1948).

The Attorney General of the United States cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as subversive and Communist in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission June 1 and September 21, 1948. The group was redesignated by the Attorney General April 29, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 155), cited the committee as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States."

Benjamin E. Mays, president, Morehouse College, was a member of the initiating committee for a Congress on Civil Rights which was held in Detroit, April 27 and 28, 1946. (See, Urgent Summons to a Congress on Civil Rights.) He was an honorary national chairman of the Civil Rights Congress, New York, as shown by an undated letterhead concerning a conference held October 11, 1947. He signed a call for a national conference of the Civil Rights Congress to be held in Chicago (Daily Worker, Oct. 21, 1947, p. 5).

The Civil Rights Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The group was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (pp. 2 and 19), cited the Civil Rights Congress as an organization formed in April 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations (International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberities); "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it."

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., signed a statement by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship in praise of Wallace's open letter to Stalin, May 1948 (pamphlet, How To End the Cold War and Build the Peace, p. 9). A leaflet, "End the Cold War—Get Together for Peace." (December 1948) named Benjamin E. Mays as one of the signers of the National Council's appeal to the United States Government to end the cold war and arrange a conference with the Soviet Union. He was a member of the Sponsoring Committee of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Committee on Education, as shown by a bulletin of the group, dated June 1945 (p. 22).

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The group was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its

report of March 29, 1944 (p. 156), cited the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship as "in recent months, the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian. * * *"

Dr. Mays signed an open letter sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties denouncing United States Attorney General Biddle's charges against Harry Bridges (Daily Worker, July 19, 1942, p. 4); booklet, "600 Prominent Americans," p. 25). He also signed a statement sponsored by this organization hailing the War Department's order on commissions for the Communists, as shown by the Daily Worker, March 18, 1945 (p. 2).

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The group was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The group was cited previously by the Attorney General as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446). The special committee, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 50), cited the federation as one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on September 2, 1947 (p. 3), cited the federation as among a maze of organizations which were spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subverison from any penalties under the law.

Letterheads, dated June 12, 1947, and August 11, 1947, of the Southern Negro Youth Congres, list Dr. Mays as a member of the advisory board. A leaflet of the organization (exhibit 46, public hearings, July 22, 1947, Steele) also contained the name of Dr. Benjamin Mays.

The Southern Negro Youth Congress was cited as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A., which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means by the Attorney General in a letter released December 4, 1947. The group was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The special committee, in its report of January 3, 1940 (p. 9), cited the organization as a Communist front. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of April 17, 1947 (p. 14), cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as surreptitiously controlled by the Young Communist League.

The Daily Worker, April 27, 1947 (p. 24), reported that Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Georgia, signed a statement against the ban on the Communist Party. He signed a statement against the North Atlantic Pact, according to the Daily Worker of June 28, 1949 (p. 2). He spoke at a conference on "Jim Crow in the Nation's Capital" (Daily Worker, December 21, 1950, p. 8).

OCTOBER 25, 1955.

Subject: A. T. Walden, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The Daily Worker of October 7, 1952 (p. 3), reported that A. T. Walden, Georgia, was to lead the National Lawyers Guild workshop discussions at a national conference on civil rights, legislation, and discrimination, New York City, October 10, 11, and 12.

The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers Guild as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the group as a Communist front which is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations and controlled unions and which since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.

A mimeographed letter addressed to the House of Representatives, May 12, 1948, included a list of signers opposing the Mundt anti-Communist bill. Austin T. Walden, Georgia, was one of those signers.

OCTOBER 25, 1955.

Subject: Arthur D. Shores, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications, of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

According to letterheads of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, dated June 12 and August 11, 1947, Arthur D. Shores was a member of the advisory board of this organization. A page from an undated leaflet of the organization also listed Mr. Shores as a member of the advisory board. Arthur Shores, Negro attorney, was associated with Nesbitt Elmore in the defense of Senator Glen H. Taylor, of Idaho, who was fined $50 and ordered a 180-day suspended jail sentence for defying Birmingham's segregation laws at a meeting of the Southern Negro Youth Congress in Alabama (Daily Worker, May 6, 1948, p. 4).

The Southern Negro Youth Congress was cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as "surreptitiously controlled" by the Young Communist League (report 271, Apr. 17, 1947, p. 14). The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report dated January 3, 1940, page 9, cited the Congress as a Communist front. The Attorney General of the United States cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, United States of America, which seeks to alter the form of Government of the United States by unconstitutional means (letter furnished the Loyalty Review Board, released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, Dec. 4, 1947); the Attorney General redesignated the Congress pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450 of April 27, 1953, and included it on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated.

Arthur D. Shores, prominent Negro attorney, told the Daily Worker that "outlawing the Communist Party would 'pave the way for a one-party dictatorship in this country'" (Daily Worker, March 19, 1947, p. 5).

The Worker for December 14, 1947 (p. 8, southern edition), reported that Arthur Shores, identified as a leading Negro civil-rights lawyer, was assisting in the case of Mrs. Ruby Jackson Gainor, "outstanding Negro teacher fired by the Jefferson County Board of Education. * * * Mrs. Jackson is the leading petitioner in contempt-of-court proceedings against the board for its refusal to equalize salaries of Negro teachers in accord with a Federal court decree * * *." The article, which identified Mrs. Gainor as president of the Birmingham teachers' local of the United Public Workers, also reported: "The outcome of Mrs. Gainor's case has become the keystone of the fight of all the Negro teachers in Jefferson County for equal pay. The United Public Workers nationally is supporting the fight * * *."

It is noted that the United Public Workers of America was formed in 1946 by a merger of the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America and the United Federal Workers of America. Both of these unions were cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 18 and 19), as among the CIO unions in which the committee found Communist leadership strongly entrenched. The Congress of Industrial Organizations, by vote of the executive board, February 15, 1950, expelled the United Public Workers of America, effective March 1, 1950, on charges of Communist domination (press release, 12th CIO convention, November 20–24, 1950).

OCTOBER 13, 1955.

Subject: Lloyd Garrison, chairman, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Lloyd K. Garrison was a member of the National Committee of the International Juridical Association according to a letterhead of the organization dated May 18, 1942, and the leaflet, "What is the I. J. A.?" Lloyd K. Garrison, dean, University of Wisconsin Law School, commended the International Juridical Association bulletin in that pamphlet.

The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report dated March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the International Juridical Association as a "Communist front and offshoot of the International Labor Defense." The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950 (p. 12), cited the International Juridical Association as an organization which "actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line."

The Daily Worker for March 18, 1945 (p. 2), and an undated leaflet, "The only sound policy for a Democracy," listed Lloyd K. Garrison, National War Labor Board, as one of the signers of a statement sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties hailing the War Department order on commissions for the Communists. A photograph of Mr. Garrison is found in the Daily Worker reference.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The Attorney General redesignated the organization April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included it on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program * * *" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on March 29, 1944 (p. 50), cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party." The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 3), cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose

of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law."

Lloyd K. Garrison, Madison, Wis., former Chairman of NLRB, was listed as a member of the Committee on Legal Research and Legal Education of the National Lawyers Guild and his book was reviewed in the newsletter of the National Lawyers Guide, July 1937 (pp. 2–3). Convention News, May 1941 (pp. 3 and 4), published by the National Lawyers Guild for the fifth annual convention, listed Lloyd K. Garrison as a member of the convention nominations committee of the fifth annual convention, Book-Cadillac Hotel, Detroit, Mich., May 29 to June 1, 1941.

The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers Guild as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the organization as a Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions" and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents."

The pamphlet of the Second National Negro Congress, October 1937, listed Lloyd Garrison as one of those who sent greetings to the congress.

"The Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress. * * * The officers of the National Negro Congress are outspoken Communist sympathizers, and a majority of those on the executive board are outright Communists" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, January 3, 1939, p. 81; also cited in reports, January 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 20; and March 29, 1944, p. 180). The Attorney General cited the National Negro Congress as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Attorney General cited the organization previously as a Communist-front organization as shown by the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 88, part 6, page 7447.

The Daily Worker for February 23, 1939 (p. 3) reported that Lloyd Garrison spoke at a conference of the Wisconsin Conference on Social Legislation, Madison, Wis., February 18, 1939. The Attorney General cited the Wisconsin Conference on Social Legislation as subversive and Communist in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list.

OCTOBER 25, 1955.

Subject: Sidney A. Jones, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Sidney A. Jones, attorney, was an endorser of the National Negro Congress as shown on the call for National Negro Congress, in Chicago, Ill., February 14, 1936.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the National Negro Congress as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, pp. 7746–7747). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as "The Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes. * * *"

It was reported in the Daily People's World of December 2, 1947 (p. 4), that Sidney A. Jones, Jr., was vice president of the Chicago chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, and was further identified as being associated with the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, Urban League, Chicago. Mr. Jones was shown as an executive board member of the National Lawyers Guild from Chicago as of December 1949 and May 1950 in the Committee on Un-American Activities' report on the National Lawyers Guild September 17, 1950 (pp. 18–19).

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers Guild as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the group as a Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions" and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents."

The Daily Worker of April 3, 1950 (p. 4), listed Sidney A. Jones, attorney, Chicago, Ill., as one who signed a statement of the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill. A photostat of a letterhead of the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill (Chicago chapter), dated May 5, 1950, listed Sidney A. Jones as a Chicago sponsor of the organization.

The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill, December 7, 1950, cited the organization as "a registered lobbying organization which has carried out the objectives of the Communist Party in its fight against antisubversive legislation."

Sidney Jones, vice president of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, sent greetings to Paul Robeson according to the Daily Worker of April 29, 1947 (p. 12). He signed Labor Day greetings to the Daily People's World, which appeared in the August 29, 1947 (p. 4), issue of that paper; signed Statement by Negro Americans, in behalf of arrested Communist leaders (the Worker of August 29, 1948, p. 11); and he signed a statement on release of Communist leaders, and was identified as a Negro attorney in Chicago as noted in the Daily Worker of November 8, 1949 (p. 6).

The Daily Worker of December 25, 1952 (p. 8), listed Sidney Jones, attorney, Chicago, as a signer of an open letter to President Truman asking clemency for the Rosenbergs.

OCTOBER 25, 1955.

Subject: W. Robert Ming, Jr., national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

An election campaign letter of the National Lawyers Guild, dated May 18, 1940, listed Robert W. Ming, Jr., as the candidate for delegate to the national convention, Washington, D. C., chapter. Robert Ming., Jr., Washington, D. C., was a member of the convention nominations committee, fifth annual convention of the National Lawyers Guild, Book-Cadillac Hotel, Detroit, Mich., May 29 to June 1, 1941.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers Guild as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the organization as a Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations and controlled unions" and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents."

A 1941 membership list of the Washington Book Shop listed Robert W. Ming, Jr., Howard University, Washington, D. C., as a member.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the Washington Book Shop Association as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously cited. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as a Communist-front (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 150), cited the Washington Book Shop Association as a Communist-front organization.

OCTOBER 25, 1955.

Subject: Arthur J. Mandell, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The News Letter of the National Lawyers Guild, July 1937 (p. 2), named Arthur Mandell, Houston, Tex., as a member of the Guild's committee on American citizenship, immigration, and naturalization; and a copy of the 1939 membership list of the National Lawyers Guild, made available to the special Committee on Un-American Activities by the organization, contained the name of Arthur Mandell, Shell Building, Houston, Tex.

The National Lawyers Guild was cited as a Communist front by the special Committee on Un-American Activities (report, Mar. 29, 1944, p. 149); and it was the subject of a separate report by the Committee on Un-American Activities (H. Rept. No. 3123, Sept. 21, 1950), wherein it was cited as a Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions" and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents."

Arthur J. Mandell, attorney, Houston, Tex., was shown in the Call to the First Congress of the Mexican and Spanish American Peoples of the United States, March 24–26, 1939, Albuquerque, N. Mex., as one of the signers of that Call. The Congress of the Mexican and Spanish American Peoples * * * was cited as a Communist front by the special Committee on Un-American Activities (report, Mar. 29, 1944, p. 120).

A leaflet, attached to an undated letterhead of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, named Arthur J. Mandell, attorney, Houston, Tex., as a signer of the organization's January 1943 message to the House of Representatives. The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties has been cited

as being subversive and Communist (Attorney General letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also redesignated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450, see consolidated list, April 1, 1954); as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program" (Attorney General, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446); as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" (special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, Mar. 29, 1944, p. 50; also cited in reports, June 25, 1942, and Jan. 2, 1943); and as being among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law" (Committee on Un-American Activities, report, Sept. 2, 1947, p. 3).

Arthur Mandell was a member of the resolutions committee at the Congress on Civil Rights in Detroit, Mich., April 27–28, 1946, as shown by a mimeographed release issued by the congress; and Arthur J. Mandell, Houston, was listed as a sponsor of the National Conference of the Civil Rights Congress in Chicago, November 21–23, 1947, in the printed program, Let Freedom Ring. The Civil Rights Congress has been cited as a subversive and Communist organization by the Attorney General (letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also redesignated, see consolidated list, April 1, 1954); and, as an organization formed in April 1946 by merger of two other Communist-front organizations (International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties), "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party," and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it" (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report No. 1115, Sept. 2, 1947, pp. 2 and 19).

OCTOBER 26, 1955.

Subject: Robert W. Kenny, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Reference to Robert W. Kenny is found in the appendix to this committee's public hearings regarding communism in the United States Government, part 2, September 1950 (pp. 2991–2992), as follows:

"Robert W. Kenny: Kenny, attorney general of State of California during the years 1943–47 and president of the National Lawyers Guild during the years 1940–48, has been associated with the defense of a number of Communist cases. He was also one of the attorneys for the Hollywood 10. He sent greetings to the Biennial National Conference of the International Labor Defense held April 4–6, 1941; this organization was cited by the former Attorney General Francis Biddle as the 'legal arm of the Communist Party.'

"The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has specialized in the legal defense of foreign-born Communists such as Gerhard Eisler. Kenny was a sponsor of its national conference held in Ohio on October 25–26, 1947, and again in 1950. He spoke in behalf of Communists held for deportation, according to the Daily People's World, Communist publication, dated March 8, 1948.

"On repeated occasions, Mr. Kenny has attacked the trial of the 11 Communist leaders convicted for teaching and advocating the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence, particularly as reported by the Daily People's World of July 22, 1948, and the Worker of October 30, 1949.

"He signed a statement in behalf of arrested leaders of the Communist Party of Los Angeles, according to the Daily Worker of October 19, 1949, and the Daily People's World of November 7, 1949. Statements opposing the outlawing or restricting of the Communist Party have been signed by Robert W. Kenny and have appeared frequently in the Communist press. Mr. Kenny has opposed Government loyalty procedures on various occasions.

"On the eve of the 1947 May Day celebration, Pravda, the official newspaper of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, hailed Robert W. Kenny as a 'friend of the Soviet Union in the United States.' Another Communist government, namely that of China, selected Mr. Kenny to defend its legal interests, according to the Daily People's World of April 26, 1950 (p. 4).

"Robert W. Kenny has a number of affiliations and associations with Communist-front organizations. These include the American Youth for Democracy (formerly known as the Young Communist League), the National Committee to Win the Peace, of which he was vice chairman, Civil Rights Congress, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, Hollywood League for Democratic Action, California Labor School, Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain, Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, and the American Slav Congress."

Subsequent to this committee's release which contained the above reference to Robert W. Kenny, he had served as counsel for 66 witnesses before this committee.

OCTOBER 25, 1955.

Subject: Milton R. Konvitz, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

A membership list of the National Lawyers Guild contains the name of Milton Konvitz, 744 Broad Street, Newark, N. J. (List in committee files.) The National Lawyers Guild was cited as a Communist-front organization by the special Committee on Un-American Activities (report, Mar. 29, 1944, p. 149). The organization was cited as a Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions" and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents" (Committee on Un-American Activities, report on the National Lawyers Guild, Sept. 21, 1950).

OCTOBER 25, 1955.

Subject: Loren Miller, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

One Loren Miller, 837 East 24th Street, Los Angeles, Calif., was a signer of Communist Party election petition No. 120 in California in 1932.

An article entitled "Why I Will Vote 'Red'" written by Loren Miller appeared in the Daily Worker of July 11, 1932 (p. 4). In a note which accompanies this article, the following information is given concerning the author: "Loren Miller, until recently city editor of the California Eagle, Los Angeles, Calif., largest and oldest of western Negro newspapers, is now en route to the Soviet Union." Excerpts from this article follow:

"I regret very much that I will not be present to take an active part in the struggle that Negroes must wage to pile up a huge vote for William Z. Foster and James W. Ford, Communist candidates for President and Vice President.

* * * * *

"It must be evident to anybody who thinks through the things about which I have been talking that the Communist Party is our party. It is fighting our fights, warring against our enemies, struggling for our welfare. Commonsense dictates that we should support our party with every means at hand."

Loren Miller wrote an article for the Daily Worker while he was traveling in the Soviet Union with a group of Negro writers, workers, etc., observing conditions. This article concerned the equality of races in the Soviet Union and appeared in the Daily Worker of September 24, 1932 (p. 4). Mr. Miller compared racial equality in the Soviet Union and the United States, stated that the Communist Party in the United States was the only political party which promised equality, and concluded as follows:

"Only the Communists with their straightforward platform on relief for the por (sic) farmers and workers, their demand for self-determination for Negroes in the Black Belt, and with a Negro, James W. Ford, as nominee for the Vice Presidency deserve the vote of the Negroes of the United States. It is for these reasons that I wish to renew my plea to Negroes everywhere in the United States to vote Communist."

The Daily Worker of January 26, 1948 (p. 10), reported that Loren Miller, attorney, Los Angeles, defended Claudia Jones, Communist. He signed a statement opposing the Mundt anti-Communist bill as shown by the Daily People's World of May 12, 1948 (p. 3). According to the Daily People's World of July 22, 1948 (p. 3), Loren Miller, attorney, Los Angeles, attacked the arrest of the Communist Party leaders.

In the Daily Worker of December 24, 1931 (p. 3), Loren Miller was named as a reporter for the Worker. Reference to Loren Miller as a reporter for the Worker appeared in the Daily Worker of December 21, 1935 (p. 3). Loren Miller has been a contributor to the Daily Worker as shown in the issue of May 4, 1938 (p. 7), as well as the two issues already cited.

The Worker is the Sunday edition of the Daily Worker, which was cited as "official Communist Party, U. S. A., organ" by the Committee on Un-American Activities in report 1920, dated May 11, 1948. The publication was cited as "chief journalistic mouthpiece of the Communist Party" by the special Committee on Un-American Activities in report 1311 of March 29, 1944; it had previously been cited as a Communist publication in reports of the special Committee on Un-American Activities, dated January 3, 1939, January 3, 1940, January 3, 1941, and June 25, 1942.

Loren Miller was named as editor of New Masses in the issue of August 20, 1935 (p. 5), and as associate editor in the issue of January 14, 1936 (p. 5). He was shown as contributing editor in the following issues of New Masses: June 2, 1936 (p. 5), January

5, 1937 (p. 22), May 11, 1937 (p. 9), September 7, 1937 (p. 9), January 11, 1938 (p. 9), and September 20, 1938 (p. 14). He was a contributor to New Masses, as shown in the issue of August 20, 1935 (p. 26), and was named as a contributor to New Masses in the Daily Worker of April 3, 1936 (p. 3).

New Masses was cited as a "Communist periodical" by the Attorney General of the United States (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447). It was cited as a "national circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party by the special Committee on Un-American Activities in report 1311 of March 29, 1944. New Masses had been cited previously as a Communist publication in reports of the special Committee on Un-Amerian Activities, dated January 3, 1939, and June 25, 1942.

As shown by an undated letterhead of Book Union, Inc., Loren Miller was a member of its advisory council. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in report 1311 of March 29, 1944, cited Book Union as "distributors of Communist literature."

According to a letterhead of August 24, 1939, Loren Miller was a member of the Harry Bridges defense committee, southern division.

In report 1311 of the special Committee on Un-American Activities, dated March 29, 1944, the Harry Bridges defense committee was cited as one of the Communist fronts formed to oppose deportation of Harry Bridges, Communist Party member and leader of the San Francisco general strike of 1934 which was planned by the Communist Party.

As shown in the Call for the National Negro Congress held in Chicago, Ill., February 14, 1936, Loren Miller, Los Angeles, Calif., was one of the endorsers of the National Negro Congress.

"From the record of its activities and the composition of its (National Negro Congress) governing bodies, there can be little doubt that it has served as what James W. Ford, Communist Vice Presidential candidate elected to the executive committee in 1937, predicted: 'An important sector of the democratic front,' sponsored and supported by the Communist Party" (Attorney General, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446). The National Negro Congress was cited as a Communist front in reports of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, dated January 3, 1939, January 3, 1940, June 25, 1942, and March 29, 1944. The Attorney General cited the group as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list.

Loren Miller, author, was a signer of the open letter to American liberals, as shown in Soviet Russia Today, issue of March 1937 (pp. 14–15).

"In March 1937 a group of well-known Communists and Communist collaborators published an open letter bearing the title given above. The letter was a defense of the Moscow purge trials" (report of the special Committee on Un-American Activities, June 25, 1942).

As shown in the Proceedings of the Second United States Congress Against War and Fascism, held in Chicago, Ill., September 28, 29, 30, 1934, under auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism, the report of the publications committee was presented by Loren Miller. (See public hearings, appendix, vol. 10, p. 22.)

"The American League Against War and Fascism was formally organized at the First United States Congress Against War and Fascism held in New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933. * * * The program of the first congress called for the end of the Roosevelt policies of imperialism and for the support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union, for opposition to all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union. * * * Subsequent congresses in 1934 and 1936 reflected the same program" (Attorney General, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6 p. 7442).

The American League Against War and Fascism was "established in the United States in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union" (Attorney General, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7442). The Attorney General cited the American League Against War and Fascism as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The organization was cited by the special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front in reports of the special Committee on Un-American Activities, dated January 3, 1939, January 3, 1940, June 25, 1942, and March 29, 1944.

In connection with the testimony of Harper L. Knowles and Ray E. Nimmo before the special Committee on Un-American Activities on October 25, 1938, a brief relating to activities of the Communist Party among professional groups was presented and incorporated in the record. In this brief Loren Miller is described as "contributing editor to New Masses and a member of the Communst Party" (public hearings, p. 1997). According to this same source, he was a participant in the Western Writers Congress, cited as a Communist front by the special Committee on Un-American Activities in report 1311 of March 29, 1944.

A pamphlet, "Equality, Land and Freedom," published by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, Decemeber 1934 (p. 44), listed Loren Miller as a member of the national council of that organization.

The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the League of Struggle for Negro Rights as follows: "The Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress. Practically the same group of leaders directing this directed the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, which was, until 2 years ago, the name of the Communist front for Negroes. The name was later changed * * * in 1936 to the National Negro Congress."

It was reported in the Daily People's World of September 28, 1950 (p. 5) that Loren Miller was one of a group of Los Angeles lawyers who signed a brief against a Communist registration ordinance. The brief was presented in connection with the case of Henry Steinberg, county legislative director of the Communist Party, who was charged with failing to register with the sheriff's office in accordance with provisions of the ordinance. Reference to Loren Miller as one of the attorneys who signed a brief charging Los Angeles County's Communist registration ordinance with being "basically unconstitutional" also appeared in the Daily People's World of October 9, 1950 (p. 3). The brief was filed in connection with a hearing on a demurrer against the ordinance filed by attorneys for Gus Brown, Furniture Workers Local 576 business agent.

The Daily People's World of May 17, 1950 (p. 3), listed Loren Miller as one who signed a statement against the loyalty oath.

OCTOBER 26, 1955.

Subject: Bartley Crum, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The Daily Worker of March 15, 1947 (p. 5) printed statements made by several individuals, registering opposition to the proposal of Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach to outlaw the Communist Party. Bartley Crum's statement, which immediately follows that of Robert W. Kenny, reads:

"It is unconstitutional and utterly stupid for Government to attempt to prevent people from thinking or believing as they wish. Action of this sort is contrary to the Bill of Rights. This Government was founded on the theory that we are not afraid of what any person or group of persons might think. Freedom of belief and freedom of speech are guaranteed.

"The Supreme Court has ruled that these freedoms may be limited only when a clear and present danger to the country exists. In that event the burden of proof rests upon Government which must show that the clear and present danger arises from the beliefs that are put forward.

"As a non-Communist, I think the most effective answer to the Marxists is to make our democracy work by providing equality and job opportunities for all, strengthening the trade unions and raising the standard of living."

The official organ of the Communist Party on the west coast, the Daily People's World of November 8, 1947 (p. 6), published an editorial regarding Mr. Crum, in which the Honorable Jack B. Tenney, chairman, California State Committee on Un-American Activities, was quoted as having called Mr. Crum a "Communist for every practical purpose."

Mr. Crum was attorney for Harry Bridges on behalf of the Civil Liberties Union (U. S. Supreme Court reports, 89 Law. Ed. October 1944 Term, U. S. 323–325, U. S. 326, p. 2106); he was identified as being from San Francisco. He was attorney for John Howard Lawson (brief for John Howard Lawson, U. S. Court of Appeals, February 16, 1949, District of Columbia, No. 9872); he was attorney for Dalton Trumbo (brief of *Dalton Trumbo* v. *United States of America*, U. S. Court of Appeals, District of Columbia, No. 9873); he served as attorney for John Howard Lawson, Dalton Trumbo, Samuel Ornitz, Edward Dmytryk, Adrian Scott, Ring Lardner, Jr., Lester Cole, and Bert Brecht (hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, October 27, 28, 29, and 30, 1947).

In a report on the National Lawyers Guild which was released by this committee September 17, 1950, a list of National Lawyers Guild members who have represented witnesses before the Committee on Un-American Activities was shown. "In each case, the witnesses have refused to answer questions regarding Communist affiliations propounded by the committee. In a number of cases espionage activities were involved. It should be noted in this connection that it is standard Communist practice to accept as attorneys only those who agree to abide by the party's propaganda and conspirative directives. Cases are known where attorneys who have volunteered their services have been summarily rejected because they would not become partners to the party's ulterior purposes." (Report on the National Lawyers Guild, p. 3.) The same report also named Mr. Crum as one of the vice presidents of the guild as of December 1949 and May 1950 (pp. 18 and 19).

Mr. Crum was vice president of the guild in 1945, as shown in the Daily Worker of September 25, 1945 (pp. 1 and 2); in 1947, as shown on a letterhead of the guild dated June 11, 1947, and a printed program of their conference on "Legislative Investigation? or Thought Control Agency?" dated October 20, 1947 (p. 3); and in 1948 as shown on letterheads of March 8 and May 7, 1948, and the Daily Worker of February 24, 1948 (p. 3).

The National Lawyers Guild was cited as a Communist-front organization by the special Committee on Un-American Activities (report of March 29, 1944); it was the subject of a report released by the Committee on Un-American Activities September 17, 1950, in which the guild was cited as "the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions."

The statement of policy of the National Committee to Win the Peace (dated February 6, 1947), contains the name of Bartley Crum in a list of persons who organized that committee; a letterhead of the Win-the-Peace Conference, dated February 28, 1946, named him as one of the sponsors of that conference, as does the Daily Worker of March 5, 1946 (the conference was held in Washington, D. C., April 5–7, 1946); the call to that conference contained Mr. Crum's name in a list of sponsors. A letterhead of the New York Committee to Win the Peace, dated June 1, 1946, lists his name as vice chairman of the national committee; the New York committee call to Win-the-Peace Conference, June 28 and 29, 1946, also listed him as vice chairman of the national committee.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the National Committee to Win the Peace as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; included on consolidated list of April 1, 1954).

A letterhead of the Conference on China and the Far East, dated September 19, 1946, carries the name of Bartley C. Crum in a list of sponsors of that conference which was called by the national committee to Win the Peace and the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy; the call to that conference, which was held October 18–20, 1946, shows him as one of the sponsors; the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy was cited by the Attorney General as Communist (press release of April 27, 1949, and consolidated list of April 1, 1954).

Mr. Crum was one of the National Sponsors of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (letterheads of that group dated February 26, 1946; February 3, 1948; April 28, 1949; May 18, 1951; and January 5, 1953; he spoke before a rally of that organization in Madison Square Garden, as shown in the Daily Worker of September 25, 1945 (pp. 1 and 2); an invitation to dinner which was issued by the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee for March 31, 1948, named Mr. Crum as a member of the National Reception Committee for Madame Irene Joliot-Curie who was in this country for a speaking tour, sponsored by the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee was cited as subversive and Communist (press releases of the Attorney General dated September 21, 1948, and December 4, 1947; also included on consolidated list of April 1, 1954); the Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited it as a Communist-front organization in report 1311 of March 29, 1944.

New Masses for October 30, 1945 (back page), and a letterhead of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom, dated January 21, 1946, both name Mr. Crum as vice chairman of that committee, cited as Communist by the Attorney General (press release of April 27, 1949; consolidated list of April 27, 1949).

Mr. Crum was one of the initiating sponsors of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (Daily Worker of December 24, 1944, p. 14); and a member of the board of directors of the organization (letterhead of November 26, 1946). The independent Citizens Committee * * * was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Committee on Un-American Activities (report of April 1, 1951).

The spring catalog (1947) of the California Labor School lists Mr. Crum as one of the sponsors of that school; he is identified as president, San Francisco Chapter, National Lawyers Guild. The Yearbook of the school (1949, pp. 6 and 35) name him as a member of the board of directors and a sponsor of the school. Biographical notes are also given in the same source. The California Labor School was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press release of June 1, 1948; included on consolidated list of April 1, 1954).

An invitation to attend a testimonial dinner in New York City, October 12, 1947, issued by the American Slav Congress, as well as the program of that dinner, contain the name of Bartley C. Crum in a list of sponsors of the dinner. The American Slav Congress has been cited as subversive and Communist (press releases of the Attorney General dated June 1 and September 21, 1948; also consolidated list released April 1, 1954); the Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Congress as "a Moscow-inspired and directed federation of Communist-dominated organizations seeking by methods of propaganda and pressure to subvert the 10 million people in this country of Slavic birth or descent" (report dated June 26, 1949).

Mr. Crum signed a statement of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, hailing the War Department's order concerning commissions for Communists (Daily Worker, March 18, 1945, p. 2); Mr. Crum was identified as a lawyer from San Francisco, Calif. The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties has been cited by the Attorney General as an organization "by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program"; and as subversive and Communist. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 744C; and press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also included on consolidated list of April 1, 1954.) The special committee cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" (report of March 29, 1944; also cited in reports of June 25, 1942, and January 2, 1943); the Committee on Un-American Activities also cited the organization as having been "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law" (report 1115 of September 2, 1947).

The Daily People's World of May 10, 1946 (p. 5), announced that Mr. Crum (identified as a San Francisco attorney) would speak at the American Russian Institute's presentation of Russian author, Konstantin Simonov, in San Francisco, May 13; he also spoke at a meeting of the American Russian Institute as shown in the Daily Worker of June 3, 1948 (p. 2), in which source he was identified as publisher of PM, a New York daily newspaper. The American Russian Institute was cited as Communist by the Attorney General (press release of April 27, 1949; included on consolidated list of organizations released April 1, 1954).

The program of a dinner held on the first anniversary of the American Youth for Democracy, October 16, 1944, Bartley C. Crum is shown as a sponsor of the dinner committee. The American Youth for Democracy was cited as the new name under which the Young Communist League operates and which also largely absorbed the American Youth Congress (special committee in report 1311 of March 29, 1944); the Attorney General cited it as Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; consolidated list of April 1, 1954).

Behind the Silken Curtain, written by Mr. Crum, was recommended for reading by Youth magazine (July-August 1947 issue), a bimonthly publication of the American Youth for Democracy; the same book was favorably reviewed in the June 24, 1947, issue of New Masses (p. 12); it was a selection of the Book Find Club, according to the New York Times of September 14, 1947 (book review section, p. 19); it was also favorably reviewed by Albert Kahn in the Worker (Sunday edition of the Daily Worker), for June 15, 1947 (p. 11M).

New Masses has been cited by the Attorney General as a Communist periodical (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447); and by the special committee as "a nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party" (report of March 29, 1944). The Daily Worker is the chief journalistic mouthpiece of the Communist Party (report of March 29, 1944).

Joseph Starobin, in his column, Around the Globe, which appeared in the Daily Worker of May 4, 1948 (p. 8), had the following to say concerning Bartley Crum, at the time the new PM appeared on newsstands: "Take Bartley Crum, for example, whose unquestionably progressive career has a dialectic all its own: A Willkie Republican leader who championed the reelection of FDR 4 years ago; a successful lawyer, of Catholic faith, I believe, with a record of sincere work in organizations which the Attorney General insists are subversive; a leader of the Progressive Citizens of America, who declined to come out for Henry Wallace, and yet, is said to feel very warmly toward Wallace and the program for which he stands; a political figure * * * he rejected a job in the Civil Aeronautics Board, but accepted membership in the investigation commission for Palestine; and came back with some conclusions which still plague the State Department and Truman, too. * * *"

OCTOBER 26, 1955.

Subject: Morris L. Ernst, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

In testimony of Walter S. Steele before the special Committee on Un-American Activities, August 15, 1938, Morris Ernst was named as a member of the board of the American Fund for Public Service (public hearings, p. 388). The following issues of New Masses named Morris L. Ernst as treasurer of the American Fund for Public Service, November 1930 (p. 19), November 1931 (p. 31), and January 2, 1934 (p. 2). He was named as treasurer and a member of the board of directors of the American Fund for Public Service on a letterhead (photostat dated September 8, 1930).

The American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund) was "established in 1922 * * * it was a major source for the financing of Communist Party enterprises" such as the Daily Worker and New Masses, official Communist publications, Federated Press, Russian Reconstruction Farms, and International Labor Defense. William Z. Foster, present chairman, Communist Party, and Scott Nearing, a leading writer for the party, served on the board of directors of the fund (special Committee on Un-American Activities, report of March 29, 1944, pp. 75 and 76).

A letterhead of the American League for Peace and Democracy (a photostat dated April 6, 1939) carried the name of Morris L. Ernst as a member of the lawyer's committee of the league. The American League for Peace and Democracy was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General in letters furnished the Loyalty

Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. It was established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Fascism "in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union." (Attorney General of the United States, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7442.) The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the league as "the largest of the Communist-front movements in the United States" (report of January 3, 1939).

The Daily Worker of February 19, 1937 (p. 4), reported that Morris Ernst spoke at a meeting of the American Youth Congress in Washington, D. C. The American Youth Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953 and included on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list). The Attorney General cited the organization as "originated in 1934 and has been controlled by Communist and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7444). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American Youth Congress as "one of the principal fronts of the Communist Party" (report of June 25, 1942, p. 16).

Mr. Ernst spoke at a meeting of the League of American Writers in New York City, as was revealed by the Daily Worker of December 5, 1936 (p. 5). He spoke for the League for Mutual Aid on "Dethroning the Supreme Court," February 1, 1937, as shown in New Masses of January 26, 1937 (p. 37).

The League of American Writers was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948) and was redesignated pursuant to Executive Order 10450, April 27, 1953; and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The League of American Writers previously had been cited as a Communist front by the Attorney General and by the special committee. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7445; and reports of January 3, 1940, June 25, 1942, and March 29, 1944, respectively). The special committee cited the League for Mutual Aid as a Communist enterprise (report of March 29, 1944, p. 76).

Morris L. Ernst was named on a letterhead of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, dated July 6, 1938, as a member of the Lawyers' Committee of that organization. "In 1937–38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheatedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations" such as the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (report of the special committee dated March 29, 1944, p. 82).

Morris L. Ernst, identified as treasurer, American Fund for Public Service, was shown as a stockholder of New Masses on a photostatic copy of the statement of ownership of that publication, dated October 1, 1930. New Masses was cited as a "Communist periodical" by the Attorney General (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7448) and as the "nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party" by the special committee (report of March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 75).

The Nonpartisan Committee for the Reelection of Vito Marcantonio was cited as a Communist front by the special committee in the report of March 29, 1944 (p. 122). Mr. Ernst was chairman of the Nonpartisan Committee for the Reelection of Vito Marcantonio, as was shown on a letterhead of the organization dated October 3, 1936.

A newsletter of the National Lawyers Guild, dated July 1937 (p. 2), listed Mr. Ernst, of New York City, as chairman of the guild's committee on the relation of government to business. The Daily Worker of February 10, 1939 (p. 2), reported that he spoke at a meeting of the National Lawyers Guild; a letterhead of the guild, dated May 28, 1940, named Mr. Ernst as director ex-officio of that group; a membership list (1939) of the guild, on file with this committee, contains the name of Morris L. Ernst, 285 Madison Avenue, New York City.

On September 17, 1950, the Committee on Un-American Activities released a report on the National Lawyers Guild in which it was cited as a Communist front and the "foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions." An earlier report of the special committee (report of March 29, 1944, p. 149) cited the guild as a Communist front.

An editorial in the Daily Worker of December 10, 1947 (p. 9), criticized Morris Ernst for his proposed legislation to register front organizations. Morris L. Ernst, of New York City, testified voluntarily before the Committee on Un-American Activities, February 11, 1948, regarding legislation before the committee which would seek to curb or outlaw the Communist Party. He stated, in part, as follows:

"Mr. KERSTEN. Would you say we would have to have the freedom of expression on the parts of teachers in our schools, professors in our universities, the freedom of expression to the extent that the president of this particular institution could, if he wants to, permit his teachers to teach to the students, for example, the tenets of communism?

"Mr. ERNST. Well, may I state my position on that? I have got to cut down underneath it a bit.

* * * * *

"I think the Communists or the Klan have a right to elect the Government of the United States. Not having elected the Government of the United States, I take it to be the mandate of the people to the officials elected to make sure that neither Klan nor Communist policy is infiltrated or injected into the Government.

"Under those circumstances, it seems to me I would say that no klansman should be in the Bureau of Education of the United States Government even though on an open debate and an election with nightshirts off, they may elect the Government, that's what we are gambling on.

"Now, I have got faith that they are not going to elect the Government, if they take their shirts off.

"Mr. KERSTEN. The question is, however, do you think a university president has the right or teachers have the right in that university, if they wish to exercise it, to teach the student the tenets of communism?

* * * * *

"Mr. ERNST. I should say that if it is an avowed Communist or a teacher said this is what communism is, I would like to see that taught in the schools without nightshirts, yes. I would like to see it taught.

"Now that doesn't mean that I am at all in favor of a school being sneaked upon, as our schools were in New York by Communists sneaking their perfidious stuff underground. I am not afraid of the thesis of communism aboveboard, not at all. Americans will beat it down at every point. We are not afraid of them at all, haven't got the least fear of that crowd, and they are not all crackpots. They are fanatics, maybe, but not crackpots, but I have great fear of any secret group for this reason.

"Up to now the problem of America has been the protection of minorities against majorities, oppression by majority or minority. From now on in, I suggest our problem is reversed, because a tightly regimented controlled minority in a labor union, in any place in life with the complexities of modern life can oppress a majority, and that is what the Communists are doing to the decent part of the American labor movement today." (Public hearings, pp. 291, 292.)

Reference to Mr. Ernst was made by Maj. Gen. Charles Willoughby, a witness during public hearings before this committee, August 22, 1951, as follows:

"Without going into details which are in this file, the International Red Aid, Soviet-Comintern sponsored, becomes the the International Labor Defense, and the American Labor Defense becomes the Civil Rights Congress. And, incidentally, again Weiss, as an organizer, develops other agencies, such as the American Committee for the Defense of the Foreign Born, and several other organizations, all of which have been analyzed and commented on adversely by Mr. Morris Ernst, a reputable New York lawyer, who resented, apparently, ever having been mixed up with this group." (American Aspects of Richard Sorge Spy Case, p. 1188.)

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Z. Alexander Looby, national board of directors, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

A 1939 membership list of the National Lawyers Guild, on file with this committee, contains the name of Alexander Looby, 419 Fourth Avenue, Nashville, Tenn.

The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers' Guild as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the organization as a Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions," and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents."

The Daily People's World of April 25, 1948 (p. 11), reported that Alexander Looby, attorney, Nashville, Tenn., had spoken before the Southern Negro Youth Congress. The Worker of May 16, 1948 (p. 2), disclosed that Z. Alexander Looby, attorney, Nashville, Tenn., had spoken before the same organization.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A., which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means" (letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947). The Attorney General redesignated the group April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included it on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1940 (p. 9), cited the Southern Negro Youth Congress as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of April 17, 1947 (p. 14), cited the organization as "surreptitiously controlled" by the Young Communist League.

OCTOBER 25, 1955.

Subject: Paul J. Kern, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Paul J. Kern was attorney for Communist Party leaders such as Benjamin J. Davis, as reported in the Daily Worker of August 5, 1949 (p. 1), and October 26, 1949 (p. 3); he was a sponsor of the national nonpartisan committee to defend the rights of the 12 Communist leaders, as shown on a letterhead dated September 9, 1949, and the Daily Worker of July 18, 1949 (p. 2). He signed a statement of the Commtitee for Political Advocacy, defending the 12 Communist Party leaders (Narodna Volya for March 25, 1949, p. 4; and the Daily Worker of February 28, 1949, p. 9), in which sources he was identified as former president of the municipal civil service commission, and a letterhead of January 7, 1949. The Daily Worker of May 6, 1949 (p. 2), reported that Paul J. Kern, chairman of the Committee for Free Political Advocacy, condemned the trial of the Communist leaders.

Identified as being from New York City, Paul J. Kern was one of those who signed a statement addressed to the President of the United States defending the Communist Party (Daily Worker of March 5, 1941, p. 2); he was retained as special counsel in the Communist Party's fight to remain on the ballot in New York State (Daily Worker of September 23, 1946, p. 5); he also signed a statement in 1947 protesting the proposal to outlaw the Communist Party (Daily Worker of March 12, 1947, p. 3, in which source he was identified as a former New York City civil service commissioner); he was a member of the nonpartisan committee for the reelection of Congressman Vito Marcantonio, as shown on their letterhead of October 3, 1936; he condemned the purge of Communists from the film industry (The Worker of November 30, 1947, p. 10—southern edition—in which source he was identified as former New York City civil service commissioner).

Mr. Kern was named as one of more than 200 outstanding professors, clergymen, lawyers, writers, professional people, and others (who) have addressed a petition to United States Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, urging him to withdraw contempt proceedings. The contempt proceedings involved 17 men and women who invoked their constitutional right not to testify (before a congressional committee) on grounds of self-incrimination. From the Daily Worker, of February 19, 1951, p. 2.) The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 94, part 5, page 5841, named Paul J. Kern, New York City, as one of those who signed a statement opposing the Mundt anti-Communist bill. He signed a statement to the mayor of New York City and the city council, on behalf of Simon Gerson, a Communist (Daily Worker, of February 16, 1948, p. 16), and supported the Citizens Committee To Defend Representative Government which organization urged the seating of Simon Gerson (from an advertisement which appeared in the New York Times on February 19, 1948, p. 13, in which he was identified as former president of the municipal civil service commission).

In 1941 an investigation was made of the city council into the affairs and conduct of the municipal civil service commission of the city of New York and Hon. Paul J. Kern, its president, pursuant to section 43 of the charter of the city of New York.

Paul J. Kern was one of the sponsors of the Consumers National Federation, as shown in the pamphlet, The People Versus H. C. L., dated December 11–12, 1937 (p. 2). The Consumers National Federation has been cited as a Communist-front organization by the special Committee on Un-American Activities in a report dated March 29, 1944.

The Daily Worker, of March 18, 1937 (p. 5), named Paul J. Kern as vice president of the National Lawyers Guild; the article concerned Dr. Kern's attack on the United States Supreme Court; he was vice president of the guild in 1937, as shown by the organization's news letter of July 1937 (p. 2), in which source he was identified as being from New York; he was named in the same source as chairman of the guild's committee on publications and public relations; he spoke before the guild, as reported in the Daily Worker, of February 25, 1939 (p. 1), as having been president of the New York chapter of the guild for 2 years and as having denied that he had resigned from the guild. A membership list of the guild, dated 1939, contains the name of one Paul Kern whose address was shown as 1451 Municipal Building, New York City; a letterhead of the same organization, dated May 28, 1940, named him as director ex officio. Paul J. Kern participated in a discussion entitled "Status of Civil Liberties" at the fifth annual convention of the National Lawyers Guild, Detroit, Mich., May 29–June 1, 1941, as shown by the convention program printed in Convention News, May 1941 (p. 2). This same source showed him as a member of the convention resolutions committee.

In 1944 the special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Lawyers Guild as a Communist-front organization (report dated March 29, 1944); in 1950 the Committee on Un-American Activities released a report on the guild, in which it was called "the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions" (report rated September 17, 1950).

Paul Kern spoke before the International Labor Defense during its New York State conference (Labor Defender, November 1937, p. 3); he was a sponsor of the organization's summer milk drive in 1939 (Equal Justice for June 1939, p. 7). Mr. Kern was a member of the national committee of the International Juridicial Association, as shown in the leaflet, "What is the I. J. A.?" The Attorney General of the United States cited the International Labor Defense as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released June 1 and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as the legal arm of the Communist Party (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (pp. 75–78), cited the International Labor Defense as the legal defense arm of the Communist Party of the United States. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (pp. 1 and 2), cited the International Labor Defense as part of an international network or organizations for the defense of Communist lawbreakers. The International Juridicial Association was cited as a Communist front and an affshoot of the International Labor Defense (special committee's report of March 29, 1944); the Committee on Un-American Activitiess cited the International Juridicial Association as having actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line (report of September 17, 1950).

In March 1937 a group of well-known Communists and Communist collaborators published an open letter bearing the title given as "Open Letter to American Liberals in defense of the Moscow Purge Trials" (special Committee on Un-American Activities in report of June 25, 1942); Paul J. Kern signed the open letter as shown in the Daily Worker of February 9, 1937 (p. 2), and Soviet Russia Today for March 1937 (pp. 14–15).

An undated letterhead of the New York Tom Mooney committee listed Paul J. Kern as one of the sponsors of that organization; he was one of those who lectured at the School for Democracy, as shown in New Maasses for May 26, 1942 (p. 31); the catalog and program of the school, dated January 1942, listed him as a guest lecturer on legislation, lobbying, and the people's program, He was identified as president of the civil service commission, New York City.

The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the New York Tom Mooney committee as a Communist-front organization. "For many years, the Communist Party organized widespread agitation around the Mooney case, and drew its members and followers into the agitation (report No. 1311 of March 29, 1944, p. 154).

"In 1941, the Communists established a school in New York City which was known as the School for Democracy (now merged with the Workers School into the Jefferson School of Social Science)." The school was "established by Communist teachers ousted from the public school system of New York City." (Special Committee on Un-American Activities in report No. 1311.)

A handbill entitled "Protest Brutal Nazi Persecutions" announced a mass rally of the American Labor Party and named Paul J. Kern as one of the sponsors of the rally. The special committee found that "for years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City, they have been unable to win control" (report No. 1311 of March 29, 1944).

Mr. Kern signed the call of the American Youth Congress to their New York model legislature of youth, New York City, January 28–30, 1938, as shown on the leaflet, Calling Young People of New York, in which source he was identified as chairman of the New York Lawyers Guild. He spoke in New York City before the Workers Alliance, according to the Daily Worker of June 18, 1937 (p. 5).

The Attorney General cited the American Youth Congress as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The Attorney General cited the American Youth Congress previously as controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7444). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of June 25, 1942 (p. 16), cited the organization as "one of the principal fronts of the Communist Party" and "prominently identified with the White House picket line."

The Attorney General cited the Workers Alliance as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as a "Communist penetrated organization," (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7442). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (pp. 72–74), cited the organization as follows: "Among the successes in its 'front movements, the Communists point to the "Workers" Alliance of America.'" It was created in 1936 and organized "in practically every relief project in the country."

It was "apparently patterned after the 'Unemployed Councils of St. Petersburg,' Russia, set up in 1906 as a part of the Communist front there. As the councils in Russia staged sit-down strikes, so also did the Alliance stage sit-down strikes in various State legislatures and relief bureaus in our country."

Mr. Kern was attorney for the International Workers Order as reported in the Daily Worker of September 27, 1950 (p. 5), which source identified him as from New York.

The Attorney General cited the International Workers Order as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953 and April 1, 1954. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as "one of the strongest Communist organizations" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 79), cited the International Workers Order as "one of the most effective and closely knitted organizations among the Communist-'front' movements." The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the American Slav Congress, April 26, 1950 (pp. 82–84), cited the International Workers Order as "one of the strongest Communist organizations."

The Call to a Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America, June 7, 1940 (p. 4), named Paul J. Kern as one of the sponsors of that conference, cited by the special committee as "an important part of the solar system of the Communist Party's front organization," (Report, March 29, 1944, p. 102). The Attorney General cited the conference as the one which resulted in the formation of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program."

Mr. Kern was chairman of a meeting in New York City of the North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy (Daily Worker, June 5, 1937, p. 2); he spoke before the group in February 1938, as shown in the Daily Worker of February 28 of that year (p. 8); a letterhead of the medical bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy, dated July 6, 1938, named him as a member of the lawyers committee of the organization; a letterhead of the group, dated January 30, 1939, also named him as chairman of the lawyers committee of the organization. Mr. Kern was one of the sponsors of the Medical Bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy, as shown in the Daily Worker of March 5, 1937 (p. 2); he signed a petition of the organization to lift the arms embargo against Loyalist Spain (Daily Worker of Apr. 8, 1938, p. 4).

In a booklet prepared and published by the Coordinating Committee to Lift The (Spanish) Embargo, and entitled "These Americans Say" (p. 8), Mr. Kern was named as a representative individual who advocated lifting the arms embargo; he spoke in New York City before the Morningside branch, Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (Daily Worker of June 16, 1937, p. 3); he spoke before the brigade in September 1937, as shown in the Daily Worker of September 29, 1937 (p. 2); he endorsed the drive of the same organization to bring veterans back to America, as reported in the Daily Worker of June 7, 1938 (p. 2), and a circular entitled "And Tell the Folks That I'll Be Home If."

Mr. Kern sponsored the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, according to a letterhead of that organization dated September 16, 1940; and was chairman of the Lawyers Committee on American Relations With Spain, a participating organization, as shown in the pamphlet, Children in Concentration Camps. A prospectus and review of the lawyers committee also named him as chairman of that group.

The North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy, American Friends of Spanish Democracy, the Coordinating Committee To Lift the Embargo, the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and the Lawyers Committee on American Relations With Spain were all set up during 1937 and 1938, when it was the policy of the Communist Party to support the Spanish War. (Rept. No. 1311 of the special Committee on Un-American Activities dated Mar. 29, 1944). The North American Committee and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade were also cited as Communist organizations by the Attorney General (press release of April 27, 1949, redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list). The Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign was cited by the Special Committee as a Communist front organization (report dated January 3, 1940).

The call to a Bill of Rights Conference, New York City, July 16 and 17, 1949, named Paul J. Kern as an initiating sponsor and acting chairman of the conference; he was identified in this source as former president of the Civil Service Commission, New York City. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, member of the national committee of the Communist Party, in writing about the conference for her column in the Daily Worker (July 25, 1949, p. 8), stated that one of the highlights of the conference was the fight for the 12 defendants in the current Communist cases. She reported that seven of the defendants were present and participated actively. The New York Times (July 18, 1949, p. 13) reported that "the 20 resolutions adopted unanimously by the 2-day conference registered opposition to the conspiracy trial of the 11 Communist leaders, the presidential loyalty order, deportation for political belief, among others. The conference also called for an end to the investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation into political, rather than criminal, activities."

A short personal statement by Paul J. Kern against anti-Communist legislation appeared in New Masses for March 25, 1947 (p. 11); he was one of the sponsors of the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill, as revealed by a press release of the group dated June 15, 1949 (p. 2), in which source he was identified as being from New York City; the organization's pamphlet, "Hey, Brother, there's a law against you" (p. 2) and a photostatic copy of a letterhead dated May 5, 1950 also named Mr. Kern as one of the sponsors of that group which this committee cited as "a registered lobbying organization which has carried out the objectives of the Communist Party in its fight against antisubversive legislation" (Rept. No. 3248 of Jan. 2, 1951, originally released Dec. 7, 1950).

The Daily Worker of February 2, 1938 (p. 5), reported that Paul J. Kern had spoken before the League of American Writers. He signed a statement of the American League Against War and Fascism against Franco spies, as shown in the Daily Worker of May 11, 1937 (p. 1); he was one of the sponsors of a joint meeting of the American League Against War and Fascism and American Friends of the Chinese People (Daily Worker, Sept. 24, 1937, p. 6); he was chairman of the Lawyers' Committee, American League for Peace and Democracy, as shown on their letterhead dated April 6, 1939.

The League of American Writers was cited as a Communist-front organization by the special committee in reports of January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944; it was cited as a Communist front by the Attorney General, and subsequently as subversive and Communist (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7445; and press releases of June 1 and Sept. 21, 1948, redesignated Apr. 27, 1953, and included on Apr. 1, 1954, consolidated lists).

The American League Against War and Fascism, predecessor of the American League for Peace and Democracy, was cited as a Communist-front organization (special committee in reports of Jan. 3, 1939; Jan. 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and Mar. 29, 1944; and by the Attorney General; CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7442; and press releases of Dec. 4, 1947, and Sept. 21, 1948, redesignated Apr. 27, 1953, and included on Apr. 1, 1954, list).

Identified as president municipal civil service commission, New York City, Paul J. Kern was one of those who signed a petition of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, as shown on a mimeographed sheet attached to a letterhead of the group dated January 17, 1940. The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom was cited as a Communist-front organization which defended Communist teachers (special committee in reports of June 24, 1942; and Mar. 29, 1944).

Mr. Kern was a member of the advisory board of Film Audiences for Democracy, according to Film Survey of June 1939 (p. 4). The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited Film Audiences for Democracy as a Communist-front organization (report of Mar. 29, 1944). He was a sponsor of the Greater New York Emergency Conference for Inalienable Rights, as shown on the program of the conference which was held February 12, 1940. The special committee cited the New York organization as a Communist front (report of Mar. 29, 1944).

A program of the American Continental Congress for World Peace, held in Mexico City, September 5–10, 1949, named Paul J. Kern as one of the sponsors of that congress, cited by this committee as "another phase in the Communist peace campaign aimed at consolidating anti-American forces throughout the Western Hemisphere (report 378 of Apr. 25, 1951).

OCTOBER 25, 1955.

Subject: Karl N. Llewellyn, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Prof. K. N. Llewellyn, Columbia Law School, spoke at a conference of the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights as shown by the program, February 12, 1940.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 96 and 129), cited the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights as a Communist-front which was succeeded by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 3), cited the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights as among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law."

A letterhead of the Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Vito Marcantonio dated October 3, 1936 listed Karl N. Llewellyn as vice chairman of the organization.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 122), cited the Non-Partisan Committee for the re-election of Vita Marcantonio as a Communist-front organization.

An undated letterhead of the International Juridical Association listed Prof. Karl Lewellyn, New York, as a member of the National Committee.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the International Juridical Association as "a Communist front and an offshoot of the International Labor Defense." The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950 (p. 12), cited the International Juridical Association as an organization which "actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line."

OCTOBER 25, 1955.

Subject: Shad Polier (Isador Polier), national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Who's Who in America (vol. 25, 1948–49, p. 1971) shows that Justine Wise Polier married Shad Polier in 1937. Who's Who in American Jewry (vol. 3, 1938–39, p. 818) shows that Justine Wise Polier is the daughter of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and that she married Isadore Polier, March 26, 1937, New York City. It is noted further that Max Lowenthal, a witness during public hearings before this committee, September 15, 1950, when asked if he were acquainted with Shad Polier, stated: "Yes, he was Rabbi Wise's son-in-law." (Communism in the United States Government, pt. 2, p. 2984.) Therefore, this report includes references from the public records, files and publications of this committee which appear under the name, Shad Polier, and references which appear under the name, Isadore Polier.

Shad Polier was named in the election campaign letter of the Washington, D. C., chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, dated May 18, 1940, as a candidate for delegate to the national convention of the Guild. Convention News for May 1941 (p. 3) listed Shad Polier, New York City, as a member of the nominations committee of the National Lawyers Guild Fifth Annual Convention at the Book-Cadillac Hotel, Detroit, Mich., May 29–June 1, 1941. Shad Polier is shown as the writer of an article in the Lawyers Guild Review, vol. VI, pp. 490–491.

The National Lawyers Guild was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (Report 1311, March 29, 1944, p. 149), and was the subject of a separate report by the Committee on Un-American Activities, September 17, 1950, in which it was cited as a Communist front that "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions" and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents."

A letterhead of the International Juridical Association, dated May 18, 1942, carries the name of Shad Polier, New York, as a member of the organization's national committee. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the International Juridical Association as "a Communist front and an offshoot of the International Labor Defense" (report of March 29, 1944, p. 149); the Committee on Un-American Activities cited the International Juridical Association as an organization which "actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line" (report 3123, September 21, 1950, p. 12).

A 1941 membership list of the Washington Book Shop, on file with this committee, contains the name of Shad Polier, 3610 Idaho Avenue NW., Washington, D. C. "The Washington Cooperative Book Shop, under the name 'The Book Shop Association,' was incorporated in the District of Columbia in 1938. * * * It maintains a bookshop and art gallery at 916 Seventeenth Street NW., Washington, D. C., where literature is sold and meetings and lectures held. Evidence of Communist penetration or control is reflected in the following: Among its stock the establishment has offered prominently for sale books and literature identified with the Communist Party and certain of its affiliates and front organizations." (United States Attorney General, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447). The Attorney General also included the Book Shop on lists of subversive and Communist organizations furnished the Loyalty Review Board (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948) and redesignated it pursuant to Executive Order 10450 (memorandum of April 29, 1953, released by the Department of Justice); and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities also cited the Washington Bookshop as a Communist front (report of March 29, 1944, p. 150).

The news letter of the National Lawyers Guild for July 1937 (p. 2) named Isadore Polier, New York City, as chairman of the guild's committee on constitutional and judicial review. A leaflet, What is the IJA?, contains the name of Isadore Polier as a member of the National Committee of the International Juridical Association. An undated letterhead of the group listed him as executive director, and this committee's report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950 (p. 13), reported that Isadore Polier was executive director of the International Juridical Association at "the time of its inception." See citation on page 1.

The Daily Worker of April 8, 1938 (p. 4), reported that Isadore Polier signed a petition, sponsored by the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, to lift the arms embargo. "In 1937–38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations * * * such as * * * American Friends of Spanish Democracy" (report of the special committee dated March 29, 1944, p. 82).

The booklet, These Americans Say (p. 8), compiled and published by the Coordinating Committee To Lift the Embargo, named Isadore Polier among the representative individuals who advocated lifting the Spanish embargo. The Coordinating Committee To Lift the (Spanish) Embargo was cited by the Special Committee as one of a number of front organizations, set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party in the United States and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation (report of March 29, 1944, pp. 137 and 138).

OCTOBER 25, 1955.

Subject: Jawn Sandifer, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The Daily Worker of April 10, 1951 (p. 5), reported that Jawn A. Sandifer was a speaker for the National Lawyers Guild. The October 7, 1952, issue of the Daily Worker (p. 3), reported that Jawn L. Sandifer, New York, was to lead workshop discussions at the national conference of the National Lawyers Guild on civil rights, legislation, and discrimination to be held at the Park Sheraton Hotel, New York City on October 10, 11, and 12, 1952.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers Guild as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the organiaztion as a Communist front, which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions" and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents."

OCTOBER 25, 1955.

Subject: Sidney R. Redmond, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

S. R. Redmond signed the open letter of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties denouncing the Attorney General's attack on the Communist Party and decision in the Harry Bridges case as shown by the Daily Worker of July 19, 1942 (p. 4), and the booklet, 600 Prominent Americans (p. 27). Sidney R. Redmond, editor, National Bar Journal, St. Louis, Mo., signed a statement of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties supporting the War Department's order on granting commisions "to members of the Armed Forces who have been members of or sympathetic to the views of the Communist Party" according to an undated leaflet, "the only sound policy for a democracy" and the Daily Worker, March 19, 1945 (p. 4).

The Attorney General of the United States cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The Attorney General cited the organization previously as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 50), cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party." The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 3), cited the National Federation * * * among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law."

Subject: George M. Johnson, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by

or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

George M. Johnson, Washington, D. C., was a member of the executive board of the National Lawyers Guild as of 1949. (See the committee's report on the National Lawyers Guild, p. 18.)

The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers' Guild as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers' Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the organization as a Communist-front which "Is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions" and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents."

OCTOBER 25, 1955.

Subject: Edward P. Lovett, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this Committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

A 1939 membership list of the National Lawyers Guild listed Edward P. Lovett, 615 F Street NW., Washington, D. C., as a member of that organization.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers' Guild as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers' Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the organization as a Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions" and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents."

OCTOBER 25, 1955.

Subject: Louis L. Redding, national legal committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

A 1939 membership list of the National Lawyers' Guild listed Louis Redding, 1002 Franch St., Wilmington, Del., as a member of the organization. Louis L. Redding, a member of the Delaware bar, was among the speakers at a panel session on Civil Rights and Liberties as part of the National Lawyers' Guild annual convention, February 20–23, 1953, New York City, according to the Daily Worker, February 20, 1953 (p. 6).

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the National Lawyers' Guild as a Communist front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Lawyers' Guild, September 17, 1950, cited the organization as a Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions" and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents."

The official proceedings of the National Negro Congress, 1936 (pp. 5, 6, 41), listed Louis L. Redding, Delaware, as a member of the National Executive Council and a member of the presiding committee and general resolutions committee.

The Attorney General cited the National Negro Congress as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953 and included on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as a Communist front (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as "the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes."

OCTOBER 25, 1955.

Subject: Joseph B. Robinson, national health committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

One Joseph B. Robinson signed the call for the National Emergency Conference, Washington, D. C., May 13 and 14, 1939.

The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 49), cited the National Emergency Conference as a Communist-front organization. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (p. 12), cited the National Emergency Conference as follows: "It will be remembered that during the days of the infamous Soviet-Nazi pact, the Communists built protective organizations known as the National Emergency Conference, the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, which culminated in the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties."

OCTOBER 25, 1955.

Subject: Dr. Edward L. Young, national health committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Dr. Edward L. Young was an initial sponsor of the American Peace Crusade as shown by letterheads dated February 1951 and February 1953. He signed a petition of the American Peace Crusade calling on President Truman and Congress to seek a big-power act as reported by the Daily Worker of February 1, 1952 (p. 1), in which source he was identified with the Harvard University Medical School. The Daily Worker of February 1, 1951 (p. 2), listed Dr. Edward L. Young, Committee on Physicians for Improvement of Medical Care, Brookline, Mass., as a sponsor of the American Peace Crusade.

The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its statement issued on the March of Treason, February 19, 1951, and report on the Communist peace offensive, April 1, 1951 (p. 51), cited the American Peace Crusade as an organization which "the Communists established" as "a new instrument for their peace offensive in the United States" and which was heralded by the Daily Worker "with the usual bold headlines reserved for projects in line with the Communist objectives." The Attorney General of the United States designated the American Peace Crusade January 22, 1954 pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included it on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list of organizations previously designated.

Dr. Young was a United States sponsor of the American Continental Congress for Peace as shown by an official leaflet published by the Congress.

The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the Communist peace offensive, April 1, 1951 (p. 21), cited the American Continental Congress for Peace as "another phase in the Communist 'peace' campaign, aimed at consolidating anti-American forces throughout the Western Hemisphere."

According to a statement attached to a press release of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, dated December 14, 1949 (p. 10), Dr. Edward L. Young, Committee of Physicians for Improvement of Medical Care, Brookline, Mass., signed a statement calling for international agreement to ban use of atomic weapons.

The Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact was cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as an organization which was formed as a result of the Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact and which was located, according to a letterhead of September 16, 1950, at 30 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.; and to further the cause of "Communists in the United States" doing "their part in the Moscow campaign."

A mimeographed petition, attached to a letterhead of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee dated May 18, 1951, listed Dr. Edward L. Young, Brookline, Mass., as one who signed a petition to President Truman "to bar military aid to or alliance with Fascist Spain."

The Attorney General cited the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 174), cited the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee as a Communist-front organization.

Dr. Edward L. Young was shown as a member of the board of directors of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions on a leaflet, Policy and Program Adopted by the National Convention, 1950, a letterhead dated July 28, 1950, and a letterhead dated December 7, 1952 (photostat). He was a sponsor of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, New York City, March 25–27, 1949, as shown by the conference program (p. 13), the conference call, and the Daily Worker, February 21, 1949 (p. 9). As shown by the conference program (p. 10), he spoke at the conference, and according to Speaking of Peace, edited report of the conference (p. 49), Dr. Young introduced the discussion on psychiatric aspects of today's international crisis. He signed a statement supporting a rehearing of the case of the Communist leaders before the Supreme Court and protesting the Smith Act as shown by We Join Black's Dissent, a reprint of an article from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, June 20, 1951, by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. The Daily Worker of February 28, 1949 (p. 2) reported that Dr. Young was a speaker for the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. He signed a statement of the organization as shown by the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 95, part 7, page 9435. He signed a resolution against atomic weapons released by the National Council as shown by a mimeographed list of signers attached to a letterhead of July 28, 1950. He signed a peace appeal in a drive of the National and New

York Councils of the Arts, * * *, as reported in the Daily Worker of May 16, 1952 (p. 2).

The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of April 19, 1949 (p. 2), cited the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions as a Communist-front organization. In this report, Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, the committee cited the conference as a Communist front which "was actually a supermobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations."

As shown by an undated leaflet, "Prominent Americans Call For * * *" (received by this committee September 11, 1950), and the Daily Worker of Aug. 10, 1950 (p. 1), Dr. Edward L. Young signed the World Peace Appeal.

The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the Communist peace offensive, April 1, 1954 (p. 34), cited the World Peace Appeal as a petition campaign launched by the permanent committee of the World Peace Congress at its meeting in Stockholm, March 16–19, 1950; as having "received the enthusiastic approval of every section of the international Communist hierarchy"; as having been lauded in the Communist press, putting "every individual Communist on notice that he 'has the duty to rise to this appeal' "; and as having received the official endorsement of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., which has been echoed by the governing bodies of every Communist satellite country, and by all Communist Parties throughout the world."

The following is quoted from a "Statement of Principles for the Defense of Democracy Against McCarthyism," as reported by the Daily Worker of March 31, 1954 (p. 8):

"Minority opinion is being suppressed by such devices as blacklisting, dismissal from employment, and even jailing.

"Teachers, lawyers, doctors, writers, artists, actors, and other professionals should be free to practice their professions without discrimination because of their political beliefs or associations, whether they be Republican, Democrat, Socialist, or Communist."

The Daily Worker article reported that "the signers of the statement urge support for an eight-point program, including abolition of the Attorney General's list of 'subversive organizations,' reinstatement of teachers dismissed in recent inquiries, and amnesty for those in jail on charges of 'conspiracy to teach and advocate' their political views." Dr. Edward L. Young, Brookline, Mass., was named as a signer.

The call to a bill of rights conference New York City, July 16 and 17, 1949, named Dr. Edward L. Young, Massachusetts General Hospital, as a sponsor. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a member of the national committee of the Communist Party, in writing about the conference for her column in the Daily Worker (July 25, 1949, p. 8), stated that one of the highlights of the conference was the fight for the 12 defendants in the current Communist cases. She reported that seven of the defendants were present and participated actively. The New York Times (July 18, 1949, p. 13) reported that "the 20 resolutions adopted unanimously by the 2-day conference registered opposition to the conspiracy trial of the 11 Communist leaders, the Presidential loyalty order * * * deportation for political belief * * * among others. The conference also called for an end to the investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation into political, rather than criminal, activities."

OCTOBER 25, 1955.

Subject: Viola Bernard, national health committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The Daily Worker of April 8, 1938 (p. 4), listed Viola Bernard as one who signed a petition of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy to lift the arms embargo.

The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 82), cited the American Friends of Spanish Democracy as follows: "In 1937–38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations * * * such as * * * American Friends of Spanish Democracy."

OCTOBER 25, 1954.

Subject: Dr. John P. Peters, national health committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The Communist Daily Worker, on March 5, 1941 (p. 2), printed the text of a statement signed by "450 leading figures in America urging the President and Congress to uphold the constitutional rights of the Communist Party of the United States." Prof. John P. Peters, New Haven, Conn., was listed among the signers. The statement said, in part:

"The Communist Party has been submitting itself to the franchise of the American people for 20 years. For all that time its program and its activities are an open record. In the few cases in which one of its members has been tried for advocating force and violence, the evidence has not been about anything they have done, nor about the party program, but about the writings of earlier Communists, and in particular the implications drawn from these by the prosecution. * * * Consequently we, who are not Communists, whose concern goes beyond the preservation of their constitutional rights to the maintenance of the democratic way of life as the road into the future, urge you, the President, to exercise your authority and influence to prevent those under you from stimulating un-American actions against Communists by undemocratic utterances * * *."

The following is quoted from a Statement of Principles for the Defense of Democracy Against McCarthyism, as reported by the Daily Worker of March 31, 1954 (p. 2):

"Minority opinion is being suppressed by such devices as blacklisting, dismissal from employment, and even jailing * * *.

"Teachers, lawyers, doctors, writers, artists, actors and other professionals should be free to practice their professions without discrimination because of their political beliefs or associations, whether they be Republican, Democrat, Socialist, or Communist."

The Daily Worker article reported that "the signers of the statement urge support for an eight-point program including abolition of the Attorney General's list of 'subversive organizations,' reinstatement of teachers dismissed in recent inquiries, and amnesty for those in jail on charges of '"conspiracy to teach and advocate" their political views.'" Dr. John P. Peters, New Haven, was named as a signer.

The files of this committee contain an undated "Open Letter to the Members of the 83d Congress of the United States" mimeographed on the letterhead of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act (Internal Security Act of 1950). The letter (received by the committee in January 1953) urged support of "legislation seeking repeal of the McCarran Act (the Internal Security Act of 1950)." The letter said, in part:

"We ask this because we believe that it is the essence of our American democratic tradition that the right of dissent is basic to our democratic institutions; that the people and not the government shall judge the merit of ideas; that the people shall be free to organize into political, religious or economic associations without governmental restraint; that men may be punished for crimes they commit but never for opinions they hold * * *"

Dr. John P. Peters was named as a signer.

The Daily Worker of July 27, 1953 (p. 8), reported that "Initiators and sponsors of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act made public yesterday an open letter to President Eisenhower asking him to urge Congress 'to repeal or thoroughly revise' the McCarren-Walter Immigration Act." Dr. John P. Peters, New Haven, was listed among the signers.

According to the Daily Worker of February 25, 1942 (pp. 1 and 4), John P. Peters was a signer of a call issued by the National Free Browder Congress. The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited that congress as a Communist front which arranged to meet March 28–29, 1942. Earl Browder was general secretary of the Communist Party, United States of America, who had been convicted and sentenced to Atlanta Federal Penitentiary for passport fraud (report of March 29, 1944, pp. 69, 87, and 132).

An undated leaflet published by the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder named as one of those who appealed to President Roosevelt for justice in the Browder case John P. Peters, professor of internal medicine, Yale Medical School, and secretary of the Committee of Physicians for Improvement of Medical Care. The Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder was cited as Communist by the United States Attorney General (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447; letter to Loyalty Review Board, released April 27, 1949). It was included in a consolidated list of organizations previously designated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, compiled from memoranda of the Attorney General dated April 29, July 15, September 28, 1953, and January 22, 1954 (indicated in citations hereinafter by *).

The Daily Worker of July 19, 1942 (p. 4), reported that John P. Peters was a signer of an open letter in defense of Harry Bridges, cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (report of March 29, 1944, pp. 87, 112, 129, and 166).

On the back of letterheads dated June 8, 1943, and January 10, 1944, Prof. John P. Peters, Yale University, was a committee member or sponsor of the Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges (ibid., p. 97).

It was reported in the Daily Worker of December 10, 1952 (p. 4), that Professor Peters was a signer of an appeal to President Truman requesting amnesty for leaders of the Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act.

Dr. John P. Peters, of the Yale University School of Medicine, was a sponsor of the Bill of Rights Conference, New York City, July 16–17, 1949, according to the Daily Worker, July 1, 1949 (p. 5), and the call to the conference. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, in writing about the conference for her column in the Daily Worker (July 25, 1949, p. 8), stated that one of the highlights of the conference was the fight for the 12 defendants in the current Communist cases. She reported that seven of the defendants

were present and participated actively. The New York Times (July 18, 1949, p. 13) reported that "the 20 resolutions adopted unanimously by the 2-day conference registered opposition to the conspiracy trial of the 11 Communist leaders, the Presidential loyalty order * * * deportation for political belief * * * among others. The conference also called for an end to investigations by the Federal Bureau of Investigation into political, rather than criminal activities."

Soviet Russia Today, in its issue of September 1939, printed the text of an open letter calling for closer cooperation with the Soviet Union. The letter was quoted as saying: "The Soviet Union continues as always to be a consistent bulwark against war and aggression, and works unceasingly for the goal of a peaceful international order." Dr. John P. Peters, department of internal medicine, Yale University Medical School, was listed as a signer. Soviet Russia Today was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (report of March 29, 1944, p. 167; June 25, 1942, p. 21) and by the Committee on Un-American Activities (report No. 1953, April 26, 1950, p. 108).

Dr. Peters was a sponsor of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, as shown by the call to the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, November 6–8, 1943 (p. 4), and a memorandum isued by the council, March 18, 1946. Soviet Russia Today reported (June 1943, p. 21) that he was a signer of an open letter to the American people, sponsored by the council. The Attorney General cited the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship as subversive and Communist (letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948; September 11, 1950). In its report of March 29, 1944, p. 156, the special Committee on Un-American Activities said: "In recent months, the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian has been known as the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship."

According to a letterhead dated September 22, 1939, John P. Peters was a member of the National Committee of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom. A mimeographed sheet attached to a letterhead dated January 17, 1940, named him as a signer of a petition sponsored by the organization. The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom was cited as a Communist front which defended Communist teachers (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, reports of June 25, 1942, p. 13, and March 29, 1944, p. 87).

John P. Peters was listed as a signer of an appeal sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, urging the Governor of California to dismiss charges against Sam Adams Darcy, Communist leader, in a report which appeared in the Daily Worker, December 19, 1940. The article said (p. 5):

"Darcy was recently extradited by California authorities from Pennsylvania, where he was State chairman of the Communist Party. He faces up to 14 years imprisonment for a minor inaccuracy in his registration as a voter in California in 1934."

This committee's report on Civil Rights Congress as a Communist-front organization, September 2, 1947, contains a reprint of a statement (from PM, March 3, 1947, p. 20) by "outstanding Americans" who urged the President to "effect immediate release of Gerhart Eisler," a German Communist. Prof. John P. Peters, Yale Medical School, was named as one of those joining in the statement.

A letterhead dated April 6, 1939, showed Dr. John P. Peters as a national sponsor of the American League for Peace and Democracy. That organization was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (letters to the Loyalty Review Board released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948; CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, pp. 7442 and 7443). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities called it "the largest of the Communist 'front' movements in the United States * * * Earl Browder was its vice president * * *. An examination of the program of the American League will show that the organization was nothing more nor less than a bold advocate of treason" (reports of January 3, 1939, pp. 69–71, and March 29, 1944, p. 37.)

A pamphlet, Relighting the Lamps of China, named John P. Peters as a medical sponsor of the China Aid Council, cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a subsidiary of the American League for Peace and Democracy (report of June 25, 1942, p. 16).

Professor Peters was a signer of an open letter sponsored by the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, according to a report in the Daily Worker, May 13, 1940, pp. 1 and 5. In its report of September 2, 1947, p. 12, the Committee on Un-American Activities said: "It will be remembered that during the days of the infamous Soviet-Nazi pact, the Communist built protecting organizations known as the National Emergency Conference, the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, which culminated in the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties." The organization was also cited by the special committee, in its report of March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 102.

As reported in the foregoing, Professor Peters was named as a signer of an appeal sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties in Behalf of Sam Darcy. A booklet, "600 Prominent Americans" (p. 27), names him as a signer of an open letter sponsored by the federation, urging the President to rescind "the Attorney General's ill-advised, arbitrary, and unwarranted findings relative to the Communist Party" and Harry Bridges. An advertisement in the New York Times, April 1, 1946 (p. 16), listed him as a signer of a statement sponsored by the federation, opposing use of injunctions in labor disputes. The Attorney General stated that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446; also cited in letters to the Loyalty Review Board released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948). The Committee on Un-American Activities reported that it was among a maze of organizations which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general, but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law" (report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 3). The special Committee on Un-American Activities called it one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party (report of March 29, 1944, p. 50).

A letterhead dated November 18, 1936, named John P. Peters as a member of the doctors committee on the medical bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy. New Masses reported (January 5, 1937, p. 31) that he was a member of the professional committee of that organization. Letterheads dated July 6, 1938, and January 30, 1939, named him as a sponsor of the medical bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy (see also New Masses, May 18, 1937, p. 25). "In 1937–38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report of March 29, 1944, p. 82). The organizations named in this paragraph were among those referred to in the citation.

A booklet, "These Americans Say: 'Lift the Embaro Against Republican Spain,'" the material for which was compiled and published by the Coordinating Committee To Lift the Embargo, named John P. Peters as a representative individual who "in the name of true neutrality, in the cause of world peace and democracy," advocated lifting the embargo on the sale of arms to Spain. The Coordinating Committee was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as one of a number of front organizations set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party in the United States (report of March 29, 1944, pp. 137 and 138).

According to a letterhead dated November 16, 1939, John P. Peters was a sponsor of the Medical Aid Division of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, cited as a Communist front (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report of Jan. 3, 1940, p. 9).

The Daily Worker of December 24, 1944 (p. 14), named Dr. John P. Peters as an initiating sponsor of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. A letterhead of the Connecticut ICCSAP listed him as a council member. Letterheads of May 28, 1946, and November 26, 1946, named him as a member of the board of directors of the ICCSAP. The Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions as a Communist front (Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, H. Rept. No. 1954, Apr. 26, 1950, p. 2; H. Rept. 378, Apr. 25, 1951, pp. 11 and 12).

Dr. Peters was named as a sponsor of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, New York City, March 25–27, 1949, which was arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (conference call; conference program, p. 13). The Daily Worker of May 16, 1952 (p. 2), reported that he was a signer of the Peace Appeal in the spring peace drive of the National and New York Councils of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. The National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions was cited as a Communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities (H. Rept. 1954, Apr. 26, 1950, p. 2).

OCTOBER 25, 1955.

Subject: Dr. Russell L. Cecil, national health committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

A pamphlet, "Relighting the Lamps of China," listed Russell L. Cecil as a medical sponsor of the China Aid Council.

The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of June 25, 1942 (p. 16), cited the China Aid Council as a "subsidiary" of the American League for Peace and Democracy, cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Fascism "in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union * * *" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, pp. 7442

and 7443). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (pp. 69–71), cited the American League for Peace and Democracy as "the largest of the Communist 'front' movements in the United States * * *."

OCTOBER 25, 1955.

Subject: Dr. C. Herbert Marshall, national health committee, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

A membership list of the American League for Peace and Democracy which was compiled by the special Committee on Un-American Activities from original records of the organization, subpoenaed in 1939 by the committee, contains the name of one C. Herbert Marshall, of 2712 P Street NW., Washington, D. C.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the American League for Peace and Democracy as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released June 1 and September 21, 1948. The Attorney General redesignated the organization April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included it on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Fascism "in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, pp. 7442 and 7443). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (pp. 69–71), cited the American League for Peace and Democracy as "the largest of the Communist 'front' movements in the United States. * * *"

C. Herbert Marshall was shown as a sponsor of the Washington Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder in an advertisement of the organization which appeared in the Washington Post of May 1942 (p. 9). "When Earl Browder (then general secretary, Communist Party) was in Atlanta Penitentiary serving a sentence involving his fraudulent passports, the Communist Party's front which agitated for his release was known as the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder * * * Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, one of the few outstanding women leaders of the Communist Party in this country, headed it" (special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, pp. 6 and 55). The Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder was cited as Communist by the Attorney General in a letter released April 27, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list.

The call to a conference on civil rights, April 20–21, 1940 (p. 4), lists C. Herbert Marshall, M. D., as a sponsor of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, under whose auspices the conference was held. A letterhead of the organization, dated April 26, 1940, also shows C. Herbert Marshall as a sponsor. In 1941, Dr. C. Herbert Marshall was a member of the executive committee of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, according to a letterhead dated May 23, 1941.

The Attorney General cited the Washington Committee for Democratic Action as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as an "affiliate" or "local chapter" of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. "The program of the Washington committee followed that of the national federation. National Communist leaders have addressed its meetings, and conferences sponsored by it have been attended by representatives of prominent Communist-front organizations" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7448). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of June 25, 1942 (p. 22), cited the Washington Committee for Democratic Action as follows: "When the American League for Peace and Democracy was dissolved in February 1940 its successor in Washington was called the Washington Committee for Democratic Action."

As shown by an advertisement in the Washington Post, May 18, 1948 (p. 15), Dr. C. Herbert Marshall signed a statement against the Mundt anti-Communist bill.

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Gloster Current, director of branch department, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Gloster Current and his orchestra were scheduled to play at the Independence Day picnic to be held July 3–4, 1938, under the auspices of the Communist Party of Michigan, according to a leaflet entitled "Where's Everybody Going?" which announced the picnic.

The Civil Rights Federation (affiliated with the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties) issued a call to a statewide conference, September 12, 1943, in Detroit, Mich.; the name of Gloster Current appeared on the call in a list of sponsors and he was identified as secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Detroit chapter.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the Michigan Civil Rights Federation as an affiliate of the Communist front, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; and as a subversive and Communist organization which has been succeeded by and now operates as the Michigan chapter of the Civil Rights Congress. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7446; and press releases of December 4, 1947, June 1 and September 21, 1948; also included on his consolidated list of organizations.) The Special Committee on Un-American Activities and the Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Michigan Civil Rights Federation as a Communist-front organization. (From Report No. 1311 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, dated March 29, 1944; and Report No. 1115 of the Committee on Un-American Activities, dated September 2, 1947.)

In July 1947 Mr. Walter S. Steele testified in public hearings before this committee, at which time he named Gloster Current of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as a council member from the United States to the World Federation of Democratic Youth (from Steele testimony, p. 81).

The World Federation of Democratic Youth was founded in London in November 1945 by delegates from over 50 nations. From the outset, the World Federation of Democratic Youth demonstrated that it was far more interested in serving as a pressure group in behalf of Soviet foreign policy than it was in the specific problems of international youth. (From Report No. 271 of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated April 17, 1947.)

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Ruby Hurley, southeast regional secretary, Birmingham, Ala., NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Ruby Hurley was a sponsor of the World Youth Festival, Prague, July–August 1947, as shown by the World Youth Festival, page 7, and the booklet, the Bright Face of Peace, published by the United States Committee for the World Youth Festival. As shown by the call to World Youth Festival (p. 3), the festival, held in Prague from July 20 to August 17, 1947, was sponsored by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students.

The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of April 17, 1947 (pp. 12 and 13), cited the World Federation of Democratic Youth as follows: "The AYD (American Youth for Democracy) is affiliated with the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which was founded in London in November 1945 by delegates from over 50 nations. * * * From the outset the World Federation of Democratic Youth demonstrated that it was far more interested in serving as a pressure group in behalf of Soviet foreign policy than it was in the specific problems of international youth."

The International Union of Students was cited as follows by the Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of April 17, 1947 (p. 13): "The World Federation of Democratic Youth brought into being the International Union of Students, which held a meeting in Prague on August 17–31, 1946. The administration and direction of this project was entrusted to a 17-man executive committee, of whom 12 were known Communists."

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Franklin H. Williams, west-coast regional secretary, counsel, San Francisco Calif., NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Franklin H. Williams was a member of the executive board, New York committee, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, as shown on an undated leaflet entitled "The South Is Closer Than You Think," published by the New York office and received for committee files about February 1947.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 147), cited the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist front which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of June 12, 1947, cited the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist-front organization "which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

The Daily Worker, in its issues of December 16, 1947 (p. 10) and December 21, 1947 (p. 4), reported that Franklin Williams, New York

State chairman, American Veterans' Committee, was a speaker at a rally protesting the barring of Howard Fast from speaking at student campus rallies at Columbia University, Brooklyn, and City Colleges. Fast was barred from speaking because he was under a 3-month jail sentence for contempt of Congress.

OCTOBER 25, 1955.

Subject: U. S. Tate, regional special counsel for southwest, Dallas, Tex., NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

According to the program, Second National Negro Congress, October 1937, U. Simpson Tate was chairman of a discussion group at the congress. In the material prepared by Walter S. Steele and submitted in connection with his testimony before the special Committee on Un-American Activities on August 17, 1938, U. Simpson Tate was named as having been elected national treasurer of the National Negro Congress at the second congress (public hearings, p. 626).

The Attorney General of the United States cited the National Negro Congress as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The Attorney General cited the organization previously as a Communist front (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as "the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes."

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Thurgood Marshall, special counsel, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Thurgood Marshall was a member of the national committee of the International Juridical Association, as shown in the pamphlet, What Is the I. J. A.? The special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the International Juridical Association as "a Communist front and an offshoot of the International Labor Defense" (Rept. No. 1311, dated March 29, 1944). In a report on the National Lawyers Guild, prepared and published September 17, 1950, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, the International Juridical Association was cited as an organization which "actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line."

A list of officers of the National Lawyers Guild, as of December 1949 (printed in the committee's report on the National Lawyers Guild, p. 18) contains the name of Thurgood Marshall, New York City, among the members of the executive board. He was shown to be an associate editor of the Lawyers Guild Review in the issue of May-June 1948 (p. 422). It was reported in the Daily Worker of November 30, 1942 (p. 1), that Mr. Marshall, special counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was one of those who submitted a report denouncing lynching and discrimination which was adopted by the national executive board of the National Lawyers Guild. It was also reported in the Washington Evening Star (February 8, 1948, p. A–22 and February 12, 1948, p. A–8), that Mr. Marshall, identified as special counsel, NAACP, criticized the loyalty program in a public forum held under the auspices of the National Lawyers Guild in Washington, D. C.

The National Lawyers Guild was cited by the special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front in Report No. 1311 of March 29, 1944 (p. 149). In the committee's report on the organization, released in 1950, the guild was cited as a Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions" and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents."

The Daily Worker of November 24, 1947 (p. 4) reported that Thurgood Marshall was among a group of attorneys who sent a telegram to New York Congressmen asking them to oppose the contempt citations in the case of the so-called Hollywood 10.

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Clarence M. Mitchell, director, Washington Bureau, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Clarence Mitchell, a representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities, May 3, 1950, in opposition to H. R. 7595, at which time he stated that he was not then and had never been a member of the Communist Party. He stated that the question as to whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party "is an unfair question, because it immediately precludes from appearing before this committee many of the people who would be on trial under a bill of this kind (H. R. 7595). Presumably there are people who may, for sincere and personal reasons, wish to be members of the Communist Party, but they may want to come here and object to this bill, but I suppose if they had to answer that question they very likely would not come." (Public hearings, pp. 2296–2302.)

It is noted by the Daily People's World of February 12, 1952 (p. 2) that Clarence Mitchell, director of Washington bureau of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, "blasts civil rights record of presidential hopeful." The Daily Worker of February 15, 1952 (p. 1) reported that Clarence Mitchell, director of Washington bureau, NAACP, appeared before the Senate Armed Forces Committee in protest of universal military training.

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Henry Lee Moon, director, public relations department, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

A membership list of the Washington Book Shop which was subpenaed by the special Committee on Un-American Activities in 1941 contains the name of Henry Lee Moon with address shown as 1206 Kenyon Street NW., Washington, D. C.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the Washington Book Shop Association as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 150), cited the Washington Book Shop Association as a Communist-front organization.

Henry Lee Moon, New York, was a member of the national executive council of the National Negro Congress, as shown on the official proceedings of the congress for 1936 (p. 40).

The Attorney General cited the National Negro Congress as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. A. Phillip Randolph, president of the congress since its inception in 1936, refused to run again in April 1940 "on the ground that it was 'deliberately packed with Communists and Congress of Industrial Organization members who were either Communists or sympathizers with Communists.' Commencing with its formation in 1936, Communist Party functionaries and fellow travelers have figured prominently in the leadership and affairs of the Congress, * * * according to A. Phillip Randolph. John P. Davis, secretary of the congress, has admitted that the Communist Party contributed $100 a month to its support." (Attorney General, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as "the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes."

A review by Abner W. Berry of Henry Lee Moon's book, Balance of Power: The Negro Vote, was published in the Daily Worker of May 28, 1948 (p. 12). The review reads, in part:

"As a newspaperman who spent the war years in Washington and later was associated with the CIO Political Action Committee, Henry Lee Moon has written, in balance of power a helpful survey of Negro suffrage in America. He defends the Negro voter against the charge of venality and corruptibility with the materials of history, and traces the long fight for the franchise.

* * * * * *

"* * * It is the only volume brought to our attention which gives a detailed national picture of the Negro vote. It is too bad the author felt impelled to defend the two-party system and the Negro. And it is worse that he chose this otherwise useful contribution as the bearer of his offering of fuel for the cold war."

A photograph of Henry Lee Moon was published in the June 16, 1932, issue of the Daily Worker (p. 2).

The Daily Worker of June 17, 1946 (p. 2), reported that one Henry Moon (no other identification shown) was one of the signers of a statement of the Action Committee To Free Spain Now which protested the delay in breaking diplomatic relations with Franco Spain.

The Attorney General cited the Action Committee To Free Spain Now as Communist in a letter released April 27, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list.

The Daily Worker of February 16, 1949 (p. 13), reported that Henry Moon was nominated as commentator of the Voice of Freedom Committee.

The Attorney General included the Voice of Freedom Committee on the April 1, 1954,

consolidated list of organizations previously designated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450.

OCTOBER 25, 1955.

Subject: Clarence A. Laws, regional director, New Orleans, La., NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

An undated letterhead (1947) of the Committee for Louisiana, affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, listed Clarence A. Laws as a member of the executive committee of the organization.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 147), cited the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist front which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of June 12, 1947, cited the Southern Conference * * * as a Communist-front organization "which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Robert L. Carter, assistant special counsel, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

Robert L. Carter wrote an article which was published in the Lawyers Guild Review (vol. VI, pp. 553–54, and 599–601). The Lawyers Guild Review was cited as "an official organ of the National Lawyers Guild" by the Committee on Un-American Activities, report on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950 (p. 13).

The National Lawyers Guild was cited by the special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front organization in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149). It was cited as a Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions" and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents." (Committee's review on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950.)

It was reported in the Times Herald of April 28, 1948 (pp. 1 and 4) that Robert L. Carter, of the American Veterans' Committee, was a sponsor of a conference against anti-Communist legislation.

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Torea Hall Pittman, assistant field secretary, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files, and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow traveler unless otherwise indicated.

The official proceedings of the National Negro Congress for 1936 (p. 6) listed Mrs. Torea Pittman, of California, as a member of the general resolutions committee of the National Negro Congress.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the National Negro Congress as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list. A. Phillip Randolph, president of the congress since its inception in 1936, refused to run again in April 1940 "on the ground that it was 'deliberately packed with Communists and Congress of Industrial Organizations members who were either Communists or sympathizers with Communists.' Commencing with its formation in 1936, Communist Party functionaries and fellow travelers have figured prominently in the leadership and affairs of the congress * * * according to A. Phillip Randolph, John P. Davis, secretary of the congress, has admitted that the Communist Party contributed $100 a month to its support." (Attorney General, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 88, pt. 6, p. 7447.) The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of January 3, 1939 (p. 81), cited the National Negro Congress as "the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes."

FEBRUARY 13, 1956.

Subject: Madison S. Jones, Jr., assistant field secretary, NAACP, 1954.

The public records, files and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated.

No reference to Madison S. Jones, Jr., is found in the records of the committee; however, one Madison Jones, 557 West 144th Street, signed the Communist Party nominating petition for councilman of the city of New York, Borough of Manhattan, in 1945 (Davis). (See p. 21 of the petitions.)

One Madison Jones, of New York, youth director for the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People, spoke at a peace mass meeting at Mecca Temple (Daily Worker, February 2, 1941, p. 3 ,col. 4).

In 1954, the total list of officers, board members, executive staff members, and others listed are 193. Out of that number, 89 of them have been cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee, or 46.1 percent of the total. It should be noted, however, that 16 persons serve in more than one capacity and are listed in both capacities. When you consider that these 16 persons have double offices or designations, the total list would be 177 of which 78 are cited by the House Committee on Un-American activities, or 44.1 percent.

The facts speak for themselves; the record has been made. There can be no successful contradiction of these affiliations by these individual members of the association.

On yesterday, it was my privilege to have a lengthy talk with my good friend, Mr. W. B. Nicholson, superintendent of the public school system at Blytheville, Ark. Mr. Nicholson is a learned educator and a student of race relations. In the conversation I had with him, his remarks were adduced to writing, and I would like that the full text of his statement be incorporated as a part of my remarks:

I have striven to approach this issue in my thinking in a way that I cannot be accused honestly of being guilty of prejudice against any man because of the color of his skin or the texture of his hair. But, to me, the acts of the NAACP are in violation of the divine principles of creation—and I don't think that is prejudice.

In my thinking, any act on the part of man to annihilate those things which are so fundamental in their nature that they have survived time, and still exist, is just counter to the original intention of the Creator.

Now, when the NAACP embarks on a program to break down the laws against interracial marriages in our respective States—and I understand there are 28 States that have laws against it—then the NAACP is not after all working honestly and sincerely for the recognition of the rights of the Negro; they are really working for the abolition and ultimate annihilation of both races.

I am thoroughly convinced that the NAACP does not reflect the honest, sincere sentiments and wishes of the southern Negro. Now, the southern Negro is the only one I am acquainted with. I have lived in Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama; and now I live in Arkansas. I have visited in New Orleans, traveled through Louisiana, and the Carolinas. I spent a year in North Carolina and a great deal of time in South Carolina. The Negro, as I know him, is not honestly being represented and his views are not being reflected accurately or correctly by the NAACP's programs, goals, or campaigns.

I am convinced in my own mind—I might not be able to put my finger on the facts—but I am convinced that the NAACP has embarked on a program which will result in great harm to both races in this country if they can succeed with it.

The Negroes in our area openly say that they want to maintain their own social identity in their schools and their organizations as it now is.

I acquiesce and concur fully with the views which Mr. Nicholson expresses.

I call upon this Congress to probe fully and completely the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Now, what should that investigation include? How large a scope and sphere should the committee encompass and inquire into? Would it not be proper to ascertain the amount of the collections of the organization; the salary of its officers; the source of its contributions and what expenditures are anticipated by this organization in the various States of the Union in the furtherance of their objectives? According to the Commercial Appeal article by Paul Malloy which had been referred to earlier, NAACP Counsel Thurgood Marshall was quoted as saying:

What is so particular about Mississippi? It is just a State in the Union; and as long as it stays in the Union, it will have to play by the rules. We have set up a fund there of close to $300,000.

Now, I think it would be in order that the Congress and the people should know what funds have been earmarked for other States. I feel that such a thorough investigation is necessary to protect the southern Negro and others who have been duped, victimized, and exploited by and through the promotion schemes of the NAACP. It would be most desirable

that our southern Negroes should know the facts with respect to any organization with which they would become alined or affiliated. Having lived among these people all my life, I am convinced that they would not knowingly contribute to or take part in the activities of any organization upon which there is a question mark.

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GATHINGS. I yield.

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. I have listened with a great deal of interest to the exposition which the gentleman is making of the citation of officers and directors and others acting in an official capacity in this NAACP organization. I call to the gentleman's attention the fact that in today's Washington Post and Times Herald, there is a news item stating as follows:

RESOLUTION HITS AT NAACP

COLUMBIA, S. C., February 22.—The South Carolina General Assembly today adopted a resolution asking the United States Attorney General to place the National Association for Advancement of Colored People on his list of subversive organizations.

Fifty-three of the NAACP's top officers have been cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee for "affiliation with or participation in Communist, Communist front, fellow-traveling or subversive organizations or activities," the resolution declared.

Adoption was without comment in both house and senate.

The resolution said the NAACP "should be classified as a subversive organization so that it may be kept under surveillance and that all citizens of the United States may have ample warning of the danger which lurks in such an organization."

Employment of NAACP members by the State or its political subdivisions would be banned under a bill passed by the house to the senate today.

Mr. GATHINGS. I thank the gentleman from Georgia for his contribution, and to have in the RECORD at this point the information in the resolution that has been passed by the South Carolina General Assembly.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GATHINGS. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Has the gentleman completed his statement?

Mr. GATHINGS. I have.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. I would like to congratulate the gentleman for rendering a distinct service to his country, by exposing this organization which is stirring up racial hatreds throughout not only the South but also throughout the entire country.

I think it is the duty of this Congress, as the gentleman has stated, to investigate the background of the leaders of the NAACP and to investigate their activities fully.

I might state further that it might be well for this Congress also to take a look at this so-called Leadership Conference which is scheduled for Washington in the next few weeks.

Mr. GATHINGS. In the near future, I believe.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Permit me, if you will, to read from the remarks of Representative DIGGS of Michigan, under date of February 9, 1956, which appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of that date, in which he inserted a news release issued by the leaders of this group calling this conference to be held in Washington on March 4 through March 6.

The person who issued the call is one Roy Wilkins, chairman of the group, who is also, as I understand, the secretary of this NAACP outfit.

Mr. GATHINGS. That is right.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. I quote from the news release as it appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

"It is essential," the call declared, "that Congress enact legislation in this session to safeguard the civil rights of American citizens and the processes of orderly government."

The news release goes further to state this:

The conference seeks enactment of an eight-point legislative program including job equality through the establishment of an effective Federal FEPC, withholding of Federal funds from any institution which defies the constitutional prohibition against segregation in public facilities, making lynching and other race-inspired acts of violence Federal offenses, abolition of the poll tax and protection of the right to vote, establishment of a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice with authority to protect civil rights in all sections of the country, creation of a permanent Federal Commission on Civil Rights, elimination of remaining segregation and other forms of discrimination in interstate travel, and provision for majority rule in the Senate and the House of Representatives.

In this article they quote this Roy Wilkins as stating this:

The influence of this assembly on the Congress will depend less upon the number of individual delegates in attendance than upon the number of States and congressional districts represented.

When I heard that meeting was to be held in the Interior Department Auditorium, a Government building under the administration of the General Services Administration, I inquired to find out if political meetings could properly be held in that auditorium. I find that these are the regulations governing the use of the departmental auditorium and adjacent conference rooms.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may insert in the RECORD a copy of these regulations.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

(The matter referred to follows:)

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION
REGION 3,
Washington, D. C.

REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE USE OF THE DEPARTMENTAL AUDITORIUM AND ADJACENT CONFERENCE ROOMS, CONSTITUTION AVENUE BETWEEN 12TH AND 14TH STREETS NW.

1. The departmental auditorium and conference rooms A, B, and C adjacent thereto shall be available for assignment to:

a. Agencies of the Federal Government and the government of the District of Columbia, for official use.

b. Officially recognized agencies, clubs, or educational units of the Federal Government or the government of the District of Columbia.

The foregoing shall not be construed to include sponsored meetings, meetings of a political, sectarian, fraternal, or similar nature, or meetings held for the purpose of promotion of commercial enterprises or commodities.

2. Application for the use of the auditorium or conference rooms should be submitted at least 1 week in advance. It should be addressed as follows and include the information outlined below:

General Services Administration. Attention: Triangle area manager, region 3, room 1408, New Post Office Building, 12th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW., Washington 25, D. C.

a. Name of agency in whose behalf the application is submitted.

b. Date of requested assignment, and hours proposed for its commencement and termination.

c. Nature of the contemplated program.

d. Approximate number of persons expected to attend.

e. Whether motion pictures or lantern slides are to be exhibited, stating (1) size of film, 35 or 16 millimeter; (2) size of lantern slide.

3. No program shall continue beyond midnight.

4. If the projection of motion pictures or lantern slides is a part of the program, competent operators will be furnished under the supervision of the General Services Administration.

5. Music racks, ushers, and attendants for checking wraps, if needed, must be furnished by and at the expense of the permittee.

6. No admission fee shall be charged, no indirect assessment shall be made for admission, and no collection shall be taken. Commercial advertising or the sale of articles of any character will not be permitted.

7. The serving of refreshments is prohibited.

8. A sample of any literature or folders to be distributed or posted shall be forwarded for review when formal request is made for either the auditorium or conference rooms.

9. All persons attending meetings will be required to go directly to the auditorium or conference rooms and to leave by the most direct exit. They shall be provided with tickets or other identification, except when the general public is invited. No one will be admitted to other parts of the building unless in the possession of a properly signed pass.

10. All persons attending meetings will be subject to the "Rules and Regulations Governing Public Buildings and Grounds," promulgated by the Administrator of General Services.

11. Smoking is prohibited within the auditorium.

Approved December 1, 1953.

WILLIAM A. MILLER,
Regional Director.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. You will note that these regulations provide that the departmental auditorium and conference rooms A, B, and C adjacent thereto shall be available for assignment in 2 instances, and 2 instances only.

First. To agencies of the Federal Government or the government of the District of Columbia for official use.

Second. Shall be available to officials of recognized agencies, clubs, and educational units of the Federal Government or the government of the District of Columbia.

On February 20 I sent the following telegram to the Secretary of Labor, who I am informed, had requested the General Services Administration to permit

the use of this auditorium by this group under the sponsorship of the Labor Department:

I am informed that at the request of the Department of Labor General Services Administration is granting the use of the Departmental Auditorium, Constitution Avenue between 12th and 14th Streets NW., to a conference scheduled for March 4, 5, and 6. Inasmuch as this gathering is purely political in nature and has been called for purpose of lobbying and pressuring the United States Congress, I urge you to withdraw the Department's request for use of the auditorum, Roy Wilkins, chairman of the conference, is quoted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in issuing the call for the conference, as follows:

"The influence of the assembly on the Congress will depend less upon the number of individual delegates in attendance than upon the number of States and congressional districts represented."

General Services Administration regulations prohibit the use of this auditorium for political meetings but they seem to think your request for its use should be honored. I do not believe it was ever the purpose of Congress when creating the Department of Labor and enacting subsequent laws that the Department should engage in such a bold and blatant political move as you are doing in helping to sponsor this so-called leadership conference.

Mr. Speaker, 3 days have expired and I have not heard a word from the Secretary of Labor. I think the appropriate congressional committee might well go into this situation and find out if it is true that the NAACP and its allied leftwing organizations are actually being regarded as official agencies of the United States Government by virtue of this recognition accorded them by the Department of Labor. I may say that I am not sure any of the groups listed are Red, but I do know that the Communists have allied themselves with the aims of the NAACP. I think we should look into this proposition.

Mr. GATHINGS. I agree with the gentleman.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. I hope other Members of the Congress will join me in protesting the use of this Interdepartmental Auditorium by these radical organizations that have been attempting to high pressure, bulldoze, and intimidate the Congress into going along with their political aims and desires.

Mr. GATHINGS. Since the gentleman has not heard from the Department in answer to his request, it seems to me it would be most desirable and urgent that something be done soon because the meeting will be held in a very short time.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. I wonder what the Secretary of Labor might say if the citizens' councils of the States of Mississippi, Alabama, or Georgia, organizations designed to promote the interests of the white people, as well as to defend the Constitution, were to request permission to use this Interdepartmental Auditorium?

Mr. GATHINGS. That would be mighty interesting to me. I am appreciative of the gentleman's remarks and am in full accord with you that a Federal departmental auditorium should not be used for a mass political gathering. I trust that the Secretary of Labor will deny the use of that Department's facilities for this conference.

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GATHINGS. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. ASHMORE. First, I want to thank the gentleman for bringing some most enlightening information to the Members of this House. I have been amazed to hear these facts concerning various Members of the NAACP, most of them officers of the organization, being on the subversive list. Most of those the gentleman mentioned were officers or directors of that organization, is that correct?

Mr. GATHINGS. Yes. I would like to say to the gentleman that I have here an actual list of those that will be inserted in the RECORD. Some of the citations are of a most severe nature, others are not——

Mr. ASHMORE. And the total number was 80 something, did I understand the gentleman to say?

Mr. GATHINGS. No, I do not think there were that many—41 percent, I believe it was. I will have to get that figure.

Mr. ASHMORE. Officers and directors?

Mr. GATHINGS. But it was about 41 percent of the total that were listed as heads of the organization in various capacities; that is, the board of directors, its officers, its executive staff, its legal division, and its health division.

Mr. ASHMORE. I have heard many reports and many rumors and, you might say, talk or gossip, whatever it might be, about various members of the NAACP being subversive or communistic, but none of those statements or reports have pinpointed the thing to the degree that the gentleman has. The gentleman has brought out these statements and these records which show undoubtedly that many of their leaders are on the subversive list.

Mr. GATHINGS. Well, you can see the large list here. They are the ones that will be inserted in the RECORD.

Mr. ASHMORE. I want to commend the gentleman again for bringing those facts to us, and I also want to commend the legislature of my home State of South Carolina for requesting the Attorney General to place the NAACP, because of these facts and other facts which have been brought to us, on the subversive list. And, I want to say further that if the Attorney General does not do it, I want to know why he does not do it in the light of the facts we have heard here today. I do not see how he could do otherwise than say that the entire organization, infested with leadership of this type, should be placed on the subversive list. I believe, that in fairness to those who have been placed on the list, and the American poeple in general, that this organization should be declared subversive, and if the Attorney General fails to do so he should make a clear-cut statement as to why he does not.

Mr. GATHINGS. And I think that the Congress should probe this organization in all of its phases.

Mr. ASHMORE. Yes, and I hope the Members of the Press will give as much publicity to these facts as has been given to the other side of the case. I think it is only fair to the Southland, to the white people and to the colored people of this country, that both sides be brought out and let us know what is going on in this country.

Mr. GATHINGS. I feel that our southern Negroes ought to know these facts.

Mr. ASHMORE. Yes. And, if many of our southern Negroes did know the facts, they would not follow this NAACP leadership, because I know of some in my hometown of Greenville, S. C., who have been putting greenbacks into the bushel baskets, when they collected funds to fight these things that the NAACP wanted to fight, but when they found out what the true purpose of the NAACP was, they quit going to the meetings, stopped giving their money to the leaders of the NAACP in my city and are now on the other side of the fence, on the side where they used to be, with the white people of the South who have done so much for the Negro.

The South Carolina resolution is as follows:

Concurrent resolution requesting the Attorney General of the United States to place the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on the subversive list for reasons set forth herein

Whereas the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee reveal records of affiliation with or parties in communism, Communist-front, fellow traveling, or subversive oganizations or activities on the part of the following officials of the NAACP: the president, the chairman of the board, the honorary chairman, 11 of 28 vice presidents, the treasurer, 28 of 47 directors, the chairman of the national legal committee, the executive secretary, the special counsel, the assistant special counsel, the southeast national secretary, the west coast secretary, the director of the Washington bureau, and director of public relations and two field secretaries;

Whereas of the NAACP's 28 vice presidents, the following 11 have records of un-American activities: John Haynes Holmes, 23 citations; A. Phillip Randolph, 20 citations; the late Mary McLeod Bethune (who still is listed as a vice president) and William Lloyd Imes, 16 citations each; Oscar Hammerstein, II, the composer, and Bishop W. J. Walls, 7 citations each; Ira W. Jayne and L. Pearl Mitchell, 2 citations each; Williard S. Townsend, T. G. Nulter, Grace B. Fenderson, 1 citation each;

Whereas of the 47 members comprising the association's board of directors, the following 28 have records of Un-American activities: Earl B. Dickerson, 25 citations; Algernon D. Black, 18 citations; Lewis Gannett, 15 citations; Roscoe Dunjee, 13 citations; S. Ralph Harlow, Channing H. Tobias, 10 citations each; William H. Hastie, 9 citations; Hubert T. Delaney, 8 citations; Benjamin E. Mays, president of Atlanta's Morehouse College, 6 citations; Robert G. Weaver, 5 citations; Buell G. Gallagher, 4 citations; President Arthur B. Spingarn, Earl G. Harrison, James J. McClendon, Ralph Bunche, Allen Knight Chalmers, and W. Montague Cobb, 3 citations each; J. M. Tinsley, Wesley W. Law, of Savannah, Ga., Norman Cousins, Alexander Looby, Henry J. Greene, Alfred Baker Lewis, 2 citations each; H. Claude Hudson, Carl R. Johnson, A. Marceo Smith, James Hinton, Theodore M. Berry, 1 citation each;

Whereas other officers of the NAACP with un-American activities records are: Lloyd Garrison, chairman, national legal committee, 5 citations; Treasurer Allan Knight Chalmers and Branch Department Director

Glaster B. Current, 3 citations each; Southeastern Regional Secretary Ruby Hurley, West Coast National Secretary Franklin H. Williams, Field Secretary Madison S. Jones, and Assistant Special Council Robert L. Carter, 2 citations each; and Field Secretary Tarea Hall Pittman, 1 citation: Now therefore, be it

Resolved by the house of representatives (the senate concurring), That the General Assembly of South Carolina believes that for the reasons herein set forth that the NAACP should be classified as a subversive organization so that it may be kept under the proper surveillance so that all citizens of the United States may have ample warning of the danger to our way of life which works in such an organization; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the Attorney General, and to each Member of the Congress of the United States.

Mr. GRANT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GATHINGS. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. GRANT. I want to congratulate my colleague from Arkansas for bringing this to the attention of the House. It seems to me that this forum here, in the Halls of the Congress, is about the only place you can get any publicity or the only place you can discuss it in this section of the country. The gentleman will probably recall that several years ago there was pictured in Life magazine some scenes of school buildings over in his or near his congressional district in West Memphis, Ark.

Mr. GATHINGS. Yes, I recall that.

Mr. GRANT. They showed several colored children drinking from a hydrant with one dipper. Well, I imagine the gentleman, like myself, has carried water from the spring and drunk it out of a gourd. The superintendent of schools in one of the counties of my congressional district in Alabama, which has one of the finest systems of both white and colored schools that can be found in the entire United States, had some 12 or 15 pictures taken of colored schools in that county and sent them to the publishers of Life, showing them what fine colored school buildings we had in the State of Alabama.

Mr. GATHINGS. If the gentleman will suffer an interruption right there, I would like for a representative of the magazine to come to West Memphis now and see the facilities we have for our colored children.

Mr. GRANT. I want to say this to my colleague from Arkansas, they were returned, they were not published because such magazines take the attitude that nothing good can come out of the South. Therefore, they do not want to show the good part of anything.

Mr. GATHINGS. I could very easily show the gentleman some very fine buildings; as a matter of fact, some of the Negro schools in my congressional district are finer than the white schools.

Mr. GRANT. That is true.

GATT AND THE FARM PROGRAM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. BAILEY] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, the State Department has just signed an international agreement, the revised General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which threatens this country's domestic farm policy. Now it wants Congress to approve our joining an international agency, the Organization for Trade Cooperation, which was created to enforce this agreement.

The agreement, known as GATT, calls on the United States to drop import restrictions on foreign farm and dairy products at the earliest practical moment. It urges the United States to abandon all subsidies and other forms of Government aid which result in the sale of American farm products abroad at prices less than those prevailing here. In a report released July 12, 1955, the contracting parties to GATT advise the United States and other industrialized nations to concentrate on manufactures, leaving the production of food and raw materials to underdeveloped nations.

IMPORTS

Thanks to farm price supports, the American farmer gets a better price for his products than any other farmer in the world. Foreign farmers can sell in the American market for less, and still get more than they do at home. Inevitably, unless imports are controlled, farm products from abroad would flood in and wreck the support program.

The Government presently limits imports by setting specific quotas for price-supported products—wheat, cotton, butter. Imports of other products beyond a stated quantity pay an extra tariff charge. This applies, for example, to potatoes, wool, and tobacco.

Quotas can at any time be established for any product covered "by any loan, purchase or other program or operation undertaken by the Department of Agriculture or any agency operating under its direction." The same law provides that—

> No trade agreement or other international agreement heretofore or hereafter entered into by the United States shall be applied in a manner inconsistent with this section.

In spite of this law the State Department, in the spring of 1955, signed the revised GATT, which now has 35 members. Article XI of the revised GATT flatly provides that—

> No * * * quotas * * * shall be instituted or maintained by any contracting party on the importation of any product of * * * any other contracting party.

Another clause, it is true, permits quotas on agricultural products provided domestic production is also controlled and provided that such quotas will not reduce the share of the market normally held by imports—article XI, section 2. Domestic production of many of the products on which the United States maintains quotas is controlled—for example, wheat, tobacco. In these cases the only question is whether or not the quotas fairly represent the share of the market normally held by imports. The revised GATT provides that, in the event of dispute, the question will be referred to the proposed new Organization for Trade Cooperation, called OTC—GATT, article XXIII. Note: In OTC the United States has only 1 vote out of 35 or possibly, if party to a dispute, none—see article 8, OTC charter.

This exception, however, does not apply to quotas presently maintained by the United States on butter, cheese, dried milk, rye, oats, barley, and linseed oil. Domestic production of these is not controlled. After 5 years of wrangling, in the course of which the State Department apologized for the action of Congress in authorizing quotas on these products, a temporary waiver was obtained permitting us to continue such quotas for the time being.

As a condition of this waiver, however, the State Department agreed that the United States will consult with other nations before setting any new quotas and will remove existing quotas on all farm products, whether covered by the waiver or not, as soon as circumstances permit. It also agreed to report progress once a year and, if any such quotas remain in effect at the time of report, explain why and what steps are being taken to remove them.

No wonder that in its statement of legislative policies for 1954 the National Grange said:

> We recommend that congressional action be taken to examine the State Department's structure and to clearly define the authority of that Department to make commitments in the name of the United States Government without congressional aproval.

EXPORTS

It is often pointed out that the United States exports a large part of its production of certain important farm products. In the marketing year 1953–54 we shipped abroad 19 percent of our wheat crop, 24 percent of our cotton, 26 percent of our tobacco and 45 percent of our rice. Despite these figures for particular crops, however, about 90 percent of our total farm output is marketed at home. Exports are nevertheless important.

It is not as frequently pointed out that these exports are largely financed by the American taxpayer. Of $3.2 billion worth of farm products exported in the fiscal year 1954–55, $1.7 billion worth—more than half—were covered by some kind of Government aid, either grant, loan or other aid to foreign countries or direct subsidies to our own exporters.

GATT is antagonistic to any form of aid, direct or indirect, which results in a surplus for export. It calls on member countries to avoid the use of such aids for primary products, which includes most farm products. If a member country does resort to aids of this kind, it must first consult with other members and apply the program in such a manner that its farmers do not thereby acquire more than an equitable share of the export market. Apparently, in event of dispute, OTC will decide what is an "equitable share"—GATT, articles XVI, XXIII and OTC charter:

> So, as with import quotas, our farm policy is again in conflict with GATT. As a result, formal complaints have been filed by Greece against United States export subsidies for sultana raisins, and by Italy against our export subsidies for oranges

and almonds. The first case was settled by reducing the subsidy from $2.95 to $2 per 100 pounds, a reduction of 30 percent. In the second, the United Kingdom (in the interest of Cyprus) the Union of South Africa, and Canada are supporting Italy. This case is still pending.

Furthermore, thanks in part to GATT's general opposition to aids which even indirectly stimulate exports, we are stuck with $7 billion worth of agricultural surpluses. Secretary of Agriculture Benson spent weeks during the summer of 1955 traveling around among the GATT countries, and others, to find out where and at what prices they will agree to let us sell these surpluses in the world market. Even when we try to give them away other countries claim we are depriving them of historical markets for their own farm exports.

TARIFF RATES

Adequate tariff rates on farm products could have reduced the need for quotas. But the State Department chose to go in the opposite direction. Under the Trade Agreements Act and GATT it has cut rates on farm products in half.

The rate on wheat, for example, was cut from 42 to 21 cents per bushel, on cotton from 7 to 3½ cents per pound—1¾ cents for long staple—on butter from 14 to 7 cents per pound, on cheese from 35 percent ad valorem to around 15 percent ad valorem. Meanwhile prices have doubled, cutting in half the protective effect of rates fixed in cents against the former price. The few rates not cut include such items as mules, chickpeas, dandelion roots, and acorns.

The effect of these cuts, and the resulting need for quotas, can be illustrated by the present problem in butter. According to Otis M. Reed, testifying before the Senate Finance Committee on behalf of the American Butter Institute:

New Zealand can ship butter here, pay all the costs, pay the present tariff and still have an advantage of 7 cents on our market.

That 7 cents is exactly the amount by which the State Department cut the rate. Except for that cut no quota would have been required.

Moreover, in GATT, the State Department agreed to freeze these cuts and even negotiate further cuts when asked. If for any reason we raise a rate previously cut, we are obliged to work out some form of compensation—such as reducing some other rate—with any member nation whose producers are affected. One of the responsibilities of OTC will be to decide what is appropriate compensation—GATT, articles III, XXIII, XXVIII, and XXIX:

The United States has already felt the bite of these provisions. In 1952, because dried figs were coming into this country in such increased quantities as to threaten serious injury to domestic producers, the President raised the rate on dried figs from 2½ cents to 4½ cents per pound. Thereupon Turkey, with the approval of the other GATT countries, increased her duties on iron furniture, desks, cabinets, office machinery, and milling machinery. Greece, with no rates she wanted to raise, formally requested the United States either to restore the 2½ cents rate or, failing that, to reduce rates on other products Greece wanted to sell in the American market. Italy simply wanted the 2½ cents rate restored.

A general settlement has now been worked out. But it took 3 years and several new concessions by the United States.

OPINION ABROAD

There is no doubt about the reality of the conflict between our farm policy and GATT. It broke out into the open at a meeting of GATT countries in Geneva early in 1955. Here, from a story by Henry Gemmill and Mitchell Gordon in the Wall Street Journal for March 4, is an eye-witness account:

FOREIGN FUROR—UNITED STATES FARM PROPS ANGER ALLIED NATIONS AND IMPEDE UNITED STATES PLANS FOR FREER TRADE

It is becoming increasingly clear that a domestic policy of the United States Government—its propping of farm prices—is losing America friends abroad.

For example, the United States has been insisting that nations should end quantitative restrictions in imports—specifically the widespread discrimination against goods bought with dollars. Time and again the Americans have been hooted down because the United States itself has slapped import quotas on many a farm product to protect its high-priced domestic market. And it has demanded a waiver in the revised GATT pact to permit this to continue.

For another instance, the United States representatives have been pressing here for tighter rules concerning the disruptive effect of what is called State trading—government buying and selling of the raw materials and products of industry. But they have been laughed at by other delegates, who cite sales of butter and grain from the vast surplus stocks of the United States Commodity Credit Corporation.

The influential Manchester Guardian pictures America as asking GATT for legal permission to live in a state of sin. The London Economist, internationally read and usually pro-American, depicts the United States insistence on quotas for farm imports as sadly retrogressive. Other publications have played up the official protests registered by Denmark, the Netherlands, Australia, and New Zealand against United States efforts to sell surplus butter abroad and have featured the contention of Burma and Siam that the United States is cutting into those nations' export market for rice.

GAAT'S OWN POSITION

The conflict is further highlighted by a formal report issued in the name of the contracting parties to GATT this summer.

This report openly takes the position that industrial nations like the United States should concentrate on the production of manufactured goods, leaving the production of raw materials and foodstuffs to underdeveloped nations. By specializing in this way, the report says, each nation would become more efficient. Such a policy, according to the report, would help bring down the price of farm products, contribute to a more effective allocation of world resources and thereby to the promotion of economic wealth among all nations.

It will come as a surprise to the average American farmer to learn that he is making ineffective use of world resources. Although his costs are higher, because he pays his help more and enjoys a higher standard of living, he can still produce more per acre than any other farmer in the world. It is hard to believe that he will willingly help the State Department put him out of business by concurring in this kind of global planning.

It may also stun underdeveloped nations to learn that, in order to keep the price of raw materials and foodstuffs down, it is their duty to remain underdeveloped forever. It was just this sort of thinking—trying to keep the colonies as a perpetual source of cheap raw materials for England—which helped provoke the American Revolution.

THE NEXT MOVE

Congress has never approved GATT. In fact no present contracting party has yet accepted GATT otherwise than provisionally.

The State Department is now asking Congress in effect to approve GATT without looking at it. By a bill styled H. R. 5550 it seeks confirmation of United States membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation, GATT's policing arm. But none of the substantive provisions of GATT—the rules against quotas and subsidies, for instance—are submitted. Thus Congress is confronted by the problem of delegating vital authority to OTC without any previous or present opportunity of passing on the regulations OTC will enforce.

Once OTC is established, and GATT thereby indirectly approved, the conflict between our farm policy and GATT will intensify. With the State Department and 34 nations behind GATT and OTC, and Congress having signed away its authority, there is little doubt which would eventually win.

PROTEST

GATT and OTC have been advertised as the logical culmination of the State Department's trade agreements program.

But they are not what Congress had in mind when it passed the Trade Agreements Act. The first words of that act were and are "For the purpose of expanding foreign markets for the products of the United States," not for "the more effective allocation of world resources." On the contrary when an organization frankly created for this other purpose was proposed—the International Trade Organization in 1947—Congress sat on it.

Many farmers have been induced to go along with the State Department's tariff-cutting policy by the slogan "We have to buy in order to sell." Now, however, farmers are coming to realize that, for farm products, this slogan is deceiving. Because of low labor costs many countries can grow farm products more cheaply than we. They will certainly not buy such products from the American farmer unless, by some form of subsidy, or foreign aid, they can get them still cheaper. Even then countries with a surplus to sell accuse us of dumping and disrupting the market.

One of the main purposes of the State Department's tariff reduction program is to foster trade in place of aid. Dr. Claudius Murchison, economic adviser, the American Cotton Manufacturers Institute, Inc., analyzes the implications of this for farmers as follows:

Of our total imports only about 2½ billion represent imports in the so-called protected categories. Yet this limited segment includes the commodity range which

would have to provide the offset for reduced foreign aid if it is to be accomplished by an increase of imports from tariff reductions. Even a doubling of such imports would fall short by one-half of offsetting the discontinuance of foreign aid as a balance of payments factor. Obviously this area of trade is too narrow a basis for the intended objective.

Consequently, one is forced to the conclusion that the free-trade advocates also have in mind the withdrawal of quota and tariff protection from American agriculture. This could mean nothing less than the abandonment of the entire agricultural support program.

Worse still, the cold fact is that, no matter how much this country buys from other countries, the dollars they earn will seldom come back to the farmer. They will go instead for things like trucks and automobiles—and even farm machinery to increase the foreign farm output.

It is not to foreign markets that the farmer must turn but to an expanding home market, which is already taking 90 percent of his output. And like himself, his customers in the home market need the protection of fair tariffs against low labor cost competition from abroad.

As these facts come home to roost, more and more farmers are joining the protest against the State Department's present policies. As noted earlier, the National Grange has already called for a congressional investigation. Much to the surprise of the State Department, votes from the traditionally low-tariff farming regions of the South and West nearly defeated H. R. 1, the bill extending the Trade Agreements Act for 3 more years. Only when amendments were added improving the protection of domestic producers did the bill pass.

H. R. 5550

Defeating H. R. 5550—the OTC bill—may be difficult. Superficially, GATT and OTC seem innocent enough—simply a method of working out complicated trade problems by friendly discussion with other countries. Many farmers may be lulled into a false sense of security by their success with H. R. 1. Others may still be confused by State Department slogans.

It is imperative to dispel this apathy. If H. R. 5550 passes, OTC will become an accomplished fact, wedding the United States to GATT for good. Immediate, active protest is needed to prevent this.

Even if H. R. 5550 is defeated, GATT itself will linger, further entangling the farm program in international politics. Congress needs to go beyond H. R. 5550 and investigate GATT directly. Only by facing up to the problem squarely, and letting their Congressmen and Senators know where they stand, can farmers and farm groups arrest the present drift to a diplomatic instead of a domestic farm program.

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a brief statement?

Mr. BAILEY. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Speaker, our country is spending billions of dollars and untold energy and resources in order to defeat the threat of communism. We all recognize the Communist danger. But I am convinced there is a danger here at home which we scarcely recognize.

I am speaking of the threat of monopoly—the increasing danger that a few corporations will grow so large and so powerful they will bring an end to the effective functioning of our competitive free-enterprise system. Many a small-business man knows from intimate experience what I am talking about. For in the past 3 years there has been a tremendous wave of mergers—great corporations combining to become even larger. Over 3,000 corporations have disappeared in these 5 years, having been swallowed up by bigger firms.

The amazing thing is that as these great corporations carry out their merger acquisitions they do not stay in their own lines of business. The Wall Street Journal reports:

Rail-equipment builders enter the road-machinery and electronics field. A chemical concern proposes marriage to a washing-machine maker. A coal-mining organization acquires oil, shipping construction machinery and machine-tool firms. A construction contractor acquires a steel mill and a paint-maker.

And so the story goes. Huge corporations are gobbling up smaller, independent businesses, making it more and more difficult for the small-business man who is the backbone of this Nation to stay in business. It is harder for the small-business man, because a large corporation entering a new line of business can afford to lose money in order to drive out its small-business competitors. The big corporation simply makes up losses in its new field out of profits—often monopolistically fat profits—it makes in its long-established lines. Now, there are those who say there is something natural and inevitable about the continued growth of huge corporations. These apologists for monopoly seem to agree with Karl Marx that economic processes are somehow beyond man's control. Mr. Speaker, I am glad there are so many Members of this Congress who emphatically disagree with that point of view. We can stop the growth of monopoly in America; we can preserve our free competitive system, if we make up our minds to do the job, if we strengthen our antitrust laws and appropriate adequate funds for their enforcement.

We cannot expect the Federal Trade Commission, for instance, successfully to defend the public interest against the country's top corporation lawyers if we give it only pennies with which to work.

In this connection I want to commend the House Anti-Monopoly Subcommittee and its able chairman, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Mr. EMANUEL CELLER. Our country owes a great deal to Mr. CELLER for his years of yeoman service in the battle against monopoly and for freedom of enterprise.

The Antimonopoly Subcommittee has unanimously recommended that Congress "make a substantial increase in its appropriations to the Federal Trade Commission, with the increase earmarked specifically for merger work." The subcommittee has recommended $951,000 for that purpose.

Mr. Speaker, I want to urge that we support the recommendation of the Antimonopoly Subcommittee. We are spending billions to protect ourselves from the Communist brand of aggressive centralized power. Surely we cannot afford to lose by default to the aggressive, centralized power of monopoly here at home because of our failure to appropriate less than a million dollars.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary have until midnight tonight to file a report on the bill, H. R. 7763.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that at that point in the RECORD where the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. GATHINGS] yielded to me for some comment, I may insert the full resolution passed by the Legislature of the State of South Carolina that was referred to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. [Mr. METCALF]. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. O'NEILL] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and to include two newspaper articles.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, it is good for all Americans to be reminded from time to time how fortunate we are to live in a land where the press is free. I was reminded of that truth vividly the other day. A friend of mine was expressing resentment over a news column, which he thought contained unfair criticism of a public official. He said, "Isn't it terrible that a man in public life has to take such criticism?" My answer was: Think how much more terrible it would be if you lived in a country where public officials could not be criticized.

We must never forget that freedom of expression is our strongest guaranty of other freedoms upon which our democracy is based because a tyrant's most dreaded enemy is a free press.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert two newspaper clippings at this point.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[From the Boston Post of February 21, 1956]

NO MAN'S COLLAR

Until now the Boston Post has remained silent concerning a conflict with the Shubert theatrical interests. This conflict involves the fundamental right of freedom of the press and the privilege of honest reporting.

This matter has already received mention in other publications. For the issues at stake concern the very foundation on which the free press in this country is based. Post readers, who are directly involved, now have a right to know the facts.

The facts are very simple.

The Shubert interests have blacklisted Elliot Norton, the Post's drama critic, from their theaters because he wrote a review and a subsequent Sunday column on "The Ponder Heart." The review and the column displeased J. J. Shubert, who owns or operates Boston's seven legitimate theaters.

NO SURRENDER OF FREEDOMS

When the Post refused to order Mr. Norton to revise his future writing so that it would be more satisfying to Mr. Shubert, the advertising placed in the Post by the Shubert theaters was slashed.

The Post does not question the right of the Shuberts to drop Mr. Norton from its press list; we are quite willing to pay for his tickets.

Nor does the Post challenge the privilege of the Shubert interests to reduce their advertising. They have a perfect right to do so.

If the price of the Shubert advertising is a surrender of the right of freedom of expression and honest reporting and a tacit understanding that every show presented in a Shubert theater will be praised, whether deservedly or not, then that is a price the Post will not pay.

OBLIGATION TO READERS

The Post does not wear the collar of Mr. Shubert, or anyone else. Our obligation is to our readers. Our responsibility is to tell them the truth, as we see the truth.

Elliot Norton, whose writing the Shuberts seek to control, is an experienced and well equipped drama critic. A graduate of the Boston Latin School and Harvard College, he is a well rounded newspaper man who has been with the Post for 30 years. He has been its drama editor for 22 years.

He is one of the country's foremost experts in his field. His opinions are respected by leading producers, directors, and actors in the theatrical profession. A mild-mannered person who is extremely popular with his fellow-newspaper workers, he is a constructive rather than a destructive writer. His suggestions frequently have been adopted by producers and directors to improve their shows.

Richard Rodgers, celebrated composer and partner of Oscar Hammerstein, declared recently in a national television interview that Rodgers and Hammerstein open their plays in Boston largely because of Mr. Norton's analysis and constructive criticism.

Raymond Massey has referred to Mr. Norton as one of the theater's finest jurors. Helen Hayes has called Mr. Norton one of the outstanding dramatic critics of the country, adding that what is more important, he loves the theater.

The late George M. Cohan described Mr. Norton as not only a very important, well-informed and widely read critic, but what is far more important, he doesn't permit his personal likes and dislikes to creep into his writing. He shoots straight.

Cornelia Otis Skinner declared that Mr. Norton commands the respect and friendship of everyone in the theater who appreciates sincerity and uncommon critical perception.

Tallulah Bankhead characterized him as a first rate and sincere observer of the drama with real integrity and affection for the theater.

Those are but a few of the testimonials to Norton's ability, integrity and sincerity as a drama critic that could be cited.

The Post, of course, does not challenge the right of anyone to disagree with Elliot Norton. But it does insist most forcefully on his right to express his honest opinions to Post readers.

COLUMNS NOT FOR SALE

The news columns of the Post are not for sale to Mr. Shubert or to anyone else. It would be nothing more than a complete abandonment of newspaper integrity and a shoddy sellout of Post readers, if Mr. Norton were to be instructed that in the future his reviews and columns are to be written to please J. J. Shubert and that he no longer can call plays as he sees them. That has not happened. It will not happen.

The implications in the banning of the Post drama critic are far-reaching. If the Shubert interests can control the play reviews and tell a critic what to write, someone else obviously can do the same thing in another section of the newspaper.

If the Shuberts can do what they are endeavoring to do, it would be the beginning of the end for the free press and the honest reporting and expression of opinion that are its bulwarks.

The charge made by the Boston representative of J. J. Shubert is that Mr. Norton "belabored" the theater.

Here is what precipitated that charge:

Mr. Norton wrote a critical review of The Ponder Heart, in which he referred to it as a "disappointing play." Subsequently, in his Sunday column, he elaborated on his first criticism.

TICKETS DENIED CRITIC

A representative of the Shubert interests visited the Post advertising director the day after this column was published to complain about it. He was referred to J. J. McManus, editor in chief of the Post. The Shubert spokesman insisted to Mr. McManus that Mr. Norton had no right to criticize the play a second time. He maintained that Norton's job should be "to help the theater."

Editor in Chief McManus replied that Mr. Norton's function was to act as drama critic, not to praise plays which do not deserve praise. He declared that Mr. Norton would not be ordered to change his attitude or alter his writing in any way.

The Shubert representative, thereupon, declared that Mr. Norton would be suspended from the theater's press list and that no ticket would be available for him for a play opening that night. He was told that the Post will be glad to pay for the critic's tickets.

Mr. Norton purchased a ticket that night for Someone Waiting, liked the show and said so in his review the next day.

On that occasion, the Post did not report this brazen attempt to muzzle the press. However, so many other publications, upon learning of the matter, have commented on it that we believe the time has come to discuss it fully.

The Shubert interests, unable to dictate the policy concerning Mr. Norton's columns and reviews, next notified the Post that they were cutting down all advertising in this newspaper, presumably in the assumption that such a step would whip the Post into line.

[From the Boston Post of February 22, 1956]

NO MAN'S COLLAR

(Continued from yesterday)

When the Shubert theatrical interests sought to stifle the expression of honest opinions in the reviews and columns written by Elliot Norton, The Post's drama critic, it was not the first time they boldly tried to stangle the freedom of the press.

Other newspapers and publications have been the targets for similar brazen and dictatorial tactics, when they told the truth, as they saw it, about presentations in theatres owned or controlled by the Shuberts.

Here in Boston, The Pilot, official publication of this Catholic Archdiocese, was suspended from the Shubert press ticket list because its editors dared to publish three reviews which displeased J. J. Shubert.

The Pilot was one of the newspapers which protested editorially, when it first became known that Mr. Norton's name had been stricken from the press list of the Shubert theatres because The Post had refused to order him to change his writing so that it would conform with the ideas of Mr. Shubert.

"LIKE A SPOILED CHILD"

The archdiocesan newspaper, whose comment is reprinted in full on page 20, observed that the principle involved in the Norton incident was either write the reviews to suit J. J. Shubert or, like any other spoiled child, J. J. doesn't want to play any more."

"This attempt at censorship by pressure should get some strong reaction from those who really care for the American stage—we hope they wil stand up and be counted," The Pilot declared.

When the national magazine, Newsweek, telephoned John Shubert, son of J. J. Shubert, in New York for a comment on the black listing of the Post's critic, the magazine's reporter quoted him as replying: "You write a bad review and we'll fix you, too."

Newsweek pointed out that as far back as 1915, Alexander Woollcott, then writing for the New York Times, was barred from the Shubert theatres in New York because he wrote that a Shubert production was "not very amusing."

OTHER CRITICS BLACKLISTED

Over the years, the Shuberts have similarly blacklisted or refused press tickets to other critics and columnists in New York, Chicago and elsewhere, Newsweek reported. The magazine referred to Mr. Norton as "perhaps the most respected critic in New England."

Variety, the "bible of the entertainment world," long has been blackballed by the Shuberts because of its refusal to surrender its rights of honest reporting and expression of opinion.

In an article on the removal of Norton from the Shubert press list, Variety reported that "there have been numerous Shubert bans against critics and columnists in New York."

"The fact that Norton's outspoken opinions have made him the outstanding Boston critic, virtually the only one taken seriously by the trade, has not spared him the resentment of those whose shows he has rapped," Variety asserted.

CAN SHUBERTS DICTATE?

The issue involved in the conflict between the Shubert interests and the Post, which has seen the Shuberts not only blacklist drama editor Norton but also reduce their advertising in the Post in reprisal for Mr. Norton's criticism, is very simple.

That question is: Should the Post stand firm and insist upon the right of honest writing for its readers; or should it allow the Shuberts to dictate what will be said about the plays staged in the theaters under their control?

Fundamentally, what the Shuberts are seeking to do in their efforts to strangle freedom of newspaper expression is no different from the tactics of dictators which resulted in the destruction of the free press in some countries.

It is incredible that this should happen in Boston, the Cradle of Liberty, where freedom itself was born. Yet the first step would

be taken, if J. J. Shubert were to prevail in this instance.

By itself this dispute is not of vital consequence. It is not of great importance whether the Shubert interests bar Mr. Norton from their press list or if they reduce their advertising in the Post.

GREAT PRINCIPLE INVOLVED

But the implications involved are of tremendous significance, and the principle at stake concerns one of the rights that is guaranteed in the United States Constitution—that of freedom of the press, that of a newspaper to tell its readers the truth.

It would be a bitter day for the people of this city and Nation, if the time ever comes when one man, whatever material power he may wield, can deny that right. In essence, that is what J. J. Shubert is trying to do.

If the owner of a chain of legitimate theaters can dictate what is said in the drama section of a newspaper about the plays that are presented, it logically follows that a man who controlled enough advertising could elect Governors and Presidents by telling the newspapers whom they must support for high public office.

That is a shocking, sobering thought. But the shocking, sobering fact is that the breakdown of the free press in the dictator countries began with orders as to what could and could not be printed in one section of a newspaper.

The Post reiterates. It wears no man's collar. It never will. The Post's responsibility is to its readers. That duty demands the presentation of the truth and honest opinions without fear or obligation. To allow J. J. Shubert or anyone else to dictate what should be printed in any section of this newspaper would be to break faith with those readers.

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, I have asked for time to speak about a shocking and disgraceful incident that has occurred in the district I represent and in the capital city of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

It concerns a flagrant attempt to violate one of the basic and fundamental freedoms that is guaranteed in our Federal Constitution—the right of freedom of the press.

Involved in this conflict are the Boston Post, the leading Democratic newspaper in New England, and the Shubert theatrical interests.

The Shubert group attempted to dictate what could and could not be published in the Post's dramatic reviews concerning the plays and shows presented in the legitimate theaters under its control.

When the Boston Post refused to be intimidated and insisted on exercising its right to tell the readers the truth in its drama section, the Shubert interests blacklisted Mr. Elliot Norton, the Post's drama editor, in its theaters and reduced its advertising in the Post.

This is not the first time that Mr. J. J. Shubert has tried to enforce his views upon an entire community Mr. Speaker, and unless we take some action I suspect it will not be the last.

This has happened in the past, Mr. Speaker, in Boston, in New York, and Chicago. Now a great Democratic newspaper has seen fit to take a stand and make a fiight on this issue, and I am going to ask the House Judiciary Committee to investigate this matter and to call Mr. J. J. Shubert before it and ask him some very pertinent questions.

In my city, Mr. Speaker, we also have a publication called the Pilot. Most of you undoubtedly have heard about it. It is the official publication of the Catholic Archdiocese of Boston.

When it dared to publish three reviews which displeased Mr. J. J. Shubert, it was immediately blacklisted in the Shubert theaters.

When a reporter on the national magazine Newsweek called a representative of the Shubert interests, he was told that if he published anything on the matter, he also would be "fixed."

Variety, the so-called bible of the entertainment world, is blacklisted by the Shuberts.

I am proud, Mr. Speaker, that in my district a great newspaper has chosen to make a public fight against bold and flagrant attempts to muzzle and stifle the free press which is so important in our democratic form of government.

There is a great deal about this matter which I believe the Judiciary Committee of the House should investigate. I believe Mr. Shubert should be called before the committee and made to explain what gives him the right to boldly and brazenly attempt to trespass upon the freedom of the press, and why he has the effrontery to attempt to muzzle honest reporting and truthful expression of opinion.

I also feel that the committee should make a thorough investigation to determine whether our antitrust laws are not also being violated. In the great city of Boston, Mr. Speaker, all seven legitimate theaters are under the control of the Shuberts. That situation will be partly corrected in 2 years as a result of a recent court order, but at the present time a producer must obey the dictates of the Shuberts or he cannot bring his show to Boston. He can be blackballed just the same as the newspapers which refused to write their drama reviews in a manner which will be pleasing to Mr. Shubert.

The Shuberts exercise a very tight and very complete monopoly over the legitimate theater in the city of Boston. And there are other questions to which the Judiciary Committee should get the answer. Is there an advertising racket employed by the Shuberts so that a producer who takes a show into Boston cannot even advertise his own production in the newspapers, except in the manner prescribed by the Shuberts. I would like to know whether these arrogant and insufferable people exercise such control over civil liberties that in this day and age they can tell a producer where he must place his advertising and where he cannot place it.

I ask that the committee ascertain whether the contracts which the Shuberts execute are framed in such a way that the producer is coerced and intimidated under the threat of not getting another theater unless he does what the Shuberts tell him he must do. I want the committee to determine just what harsh conditions are imposed on producers who want to present their shows in theaters under the Shubert control. Is it true that they must come in on the Shubert terms or that otherwise they cannot come in at all? This is a matter which I believe warrants the attention of our Committee on the Judiciary.

While the committee is making the investigation it would also be interesting if we investigated some of the filthy productions in their theaters. Furthermore, it would be interesting if we investigated the Communist line that many of their plays have been following through the past and all of these various actors that they had before the Committee on Un-American Activities.

There is no question but that a monopoly of the worst sort is involved here, and I believe there are very serious violations of the antitrust law. It may not be an important episode in our history, Mr. Speaker, when a drama critic is blacklisted in all the legitimate theaters in a great metropolitan city because he insists on his right to publish his honest opinions. But it is of great consequence when a man who has a monopoly in his field tries to muzzle and throttle the press and to violate the freedom of the press. To me it is a shocking thing that such an attempt could be made in the historic city of Boston, the cradle of American liberty, the place in which the fight for American freedom was started. I wonder, Mr. Speaker, if it was in vain that the early patriots dumped the tea in Boston Harbor. I can tell you there are many people in the city of Boston who believe there should be another tea party and that Mr. Shubert should be dumped into the harbor. If this man is to be allowed to whittle away at the freedom of the press in one area and if he can get away with his outrageous effort to gag the Boston Post, then other men with evil intentions are certain to try the same thing in other fields. That is exactly what the Communists do. That is how the breakdown of the free press started in those countries which now are under the oppression of Soviet tyranny. Any attempts to infringe upon the rights guaranteed under our Constitution concern this Congress. I certainly hope that the House Committee on the Judiciary will thoroughly probe this insult to the people of the great city of Boston, and that Mr. Shubert will be called before the committee and asked to answer a great many questions concerning his monopoly in the capital city of Boston.

HON. CHARLES W. VURSELL'S ELOQUENT TRIBUTE TO LINCOLN

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include a Lincoln Day speech by Mr. VURSELL.

Mr. SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, an address seldom, if ever, equaled, paying tribute to Lincoln and showing that adherence to the principles enunciated by Lincoln will insure our national prosperity and security, was made by our colleague, the Honorable

CHARLES W. VURSELL, at Belleville, Ill., on February 9, 1956.

That address reads as follows:

SPEECH DELIVERED BY CONGRESSMAN VURSELL AT LINCOLN DAY DINNER, FEBRUARY 9, BELLEVILLE, ILL.

Mr. Chairman, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen, we meet tonight to pay homage to the memory of Abraham Lincoln, which will, I know, renew our faith in the greatness of America. Lincoln's life and his impregnable faith are enduring monuments that must continue to serve as beacons of hope for us all.

Lincoln, the great leader and father of the Republican Party, met the challenge of his life in a way that has made us forever proud to say, "he walked among us."

Abraham Lincoln met the need of his time just as President Eisenhower today responds to the challenge to our safety and security. Lincoln and his party held a great Nation together by wisdom, faith and courage.

Tonight, for a moment, let us bring to mind some of our great statesmen, whose acts and lives have been an inspiration to millions of American citizens and early guideposts to the building of this great America:

Thomas Jefferson, the author of the immortal Declaration of Independence.

Gen. George Washington, and his troops fighting for the independence of this country at Valley Forge, and throughout the Revoluntary War. Then, to his inauguration as the first President of the United States, in which office he served the people for two terms, and went down in history as the Father of His Country.

Then, let us move on to the next greatest American of his time, Abraham Lincoln. The first President to serve under the new Republican Party, and whose memory we commemorate this evening. Of the many great deeds that immortalized Lincoln's name, was his saving the Union, as "One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

Since the era of Lincoln, our country in the past 40 years has gone through three tragic wars, and has been faced with the threat of world communism.

During this era there arose from humble birth, the greatest military leader in world history, Dwight D. Eisenhower, in whom later the people showed their confidence by electing him President of the United States, in 1952.

All public polls show that Eisenhower has united the thinking of the American people—and gained their affection—as no one has done since the days of Washington and Lincoln. He has attracted the people because of his ability, his sincerity, his integrity, his courage, and his spiritual leadership. He is now regarded as the world's leading statesman, in his continued effort for world peace.

There are some who believe that divine providence always has ready the right man to meet major crises which threaten the future of our country—founded on Christian principles.

He came to power as President at a time when there had been years of dissension—at a time when the people had lost much of their confidence in Government policies which were threatening the financial stability of our Nation.

History will doubtless associate his name, and contributions to America, along with those of Washington and Lincoln. Washington, the Father of His Country; Lincoln, who saved the Union; Eisenhower, who saved the United States from a dangerous economic crisis on the homefront, and stopped the advancement of world communism.

Now, my friends, on this occasion, it is always appropriate to discuss the policies of the Republican Party and make comparisons of its record with that of the opposing party. On these occasions being held throughout the Nation, commemorating the memory of Abraham Lincoln, who might be regarded as the "Father of the Republican Party," the people are given an opportunity to compare the two parties on their records. I shall attempt such a comparison tonight.

First, I want to point out some of the accomplishments of the past 3 years of the Eisenhower Republican administration—and compare them with 20 years of the constant control of this country by the Democratic Party.

What did we find when Eisenhower and the Republican Party came to power in January 1953?

We found a public debt of about $270 billion. A budget request prepared by President Truman for $76,800 million to defray the expenses of the first year of the Eisenhower administration. He said it was a tight budget, and could not be cut.

We also found $80 billion in debts had been contracted, which were coming due weekly, and monthly, and had to be paid. In addition, President Truman had spent $9,700 million more in his last year in office than he had collected in revenue—leaving a deficit which we had to pay.

We found $140 billion in Government bonds which had been sold to people over the past years were coming due in the first year of the Eisenhower administration, which had to be refinanced.

We found the people had lost confidence in their Government, to the extent that they cashed in $550 million more of their Government bonds in 1952 than the Government could sell back to the people—a dangerous situation.

Of greater importance, the Korean war, which had taken a terrible toll of American lives, and billions of dollars, was dragging along in a stalemate.

HOW WE MET THE CRISIS

Let me show you how the Eisenhower Republican administration met and solved every crisis.

EISENHOWER TO KOREA

Shortly after the election in November, Eisenhower went to Korea, as he said he would if elected, and made a careful study of the Korean situation, and conditions in the Far East. When he was later inaugurated as President, he served notice on Russia, China, and the world that his Government would not permit the Korean stalemate to continue—that something had to be done.

They recognized the great military ability of President Eisenhower. They knew he meant business, and that their day of bluff and appeasement was over.

Within a few weeks, Mr. Malik, then representing Communist Russia in the U. N., spoke up, urging an immediate move toward peace.

STOPPED THE WAR IN KOREA

We stopped the war in Korea, as the first great accomplishment of the Eisenhower Republican administration. Not one American soldier in the past 2½ years has lost his life on the battlefield.

We stopped the war that cost us over 157,000 American casualties. We stopped the war that the Truman-Atcheson administration got us into, and whose policies prevented our soldiers from winning.

Every American father and mother, and millions of our people throughout our land tonight are grateful for this great humanitarian service to the people of our Nation. Tonight we have peace and prosperity throughout the land. We no longer are dependent upon war. Our people now have a feeling of serenity, hope, and confidence in the future.

HOW WE MET THE CRISES ON THE HOMEFRONT

President Eisenhower persuaded some of the ablest businessmen in the Nation to come into Government service—to head some of the most important departments of Government. He knew that it would take the best brains in the Nation, some of the most successful businessmen in the country to reorganize and unscramble the overstaffed, inefficient departments of Government the New Deal political bureaucrats had been 20 years building up.

He knew it would take men of wide business experience, such as: Charlie Wilson, who now heads the Department of Defense, and George Humphrey, of Ohio, as Secretary of the Treasury, who has done the biggest and best job in that governmental department that has ever been rendered to the Nation. All of the other departments of Government have been staffed with the highest caliber of businessmen, who have dedicated their efforts to the service of our country.

EISENHOWER URGES ECONOMY

The first act of the President was to write the heads of each department, urging they economize to the limit. This they have done as no other group of administrators has done during my 14 years in the Congress.

Heretofore, the heads of the departments have often come to the Appropriations Committee with their requests padded—asking millions more than were needed. These new department heads now come before our Appropriations Committee, and state they want to cooperate fully with the committee. They ask for the least they feel is necessary in their departments, and make it known that it will be their purpose to spend the funds as economically as possible, in the hope they may have some balance left at the end of the year. I can say here and now, very truthfully, wasteful spending has come to an end in all departments of Government. This one act of the President, in securing men who will cooperate, is saving hundreds of millions of dollars each year for the taxpayers.

REPUBLICAN CONGRESS COOPERATES

We in the Congress realized drastic action must be taken to preserve the financial solvency of the Nation. In the first session of Congress we cut the proposed budget for the first year of the Eisenhower administration (which Truman said could not be cut), by about $14 billion.

Then, to keep our pledge to reduce taxes as early as possible, we continued the excess-profits tax for 6 months. We also continued the corporation tax at 52 percent for another year. We built up the Treasury to the point where for 1954 we were able to reduce taxes by $7,400,000,000—the greatest tax reduction ever voted by the Congress.

In addition to this, we revised the entire tax code, which had not been done in over half a century. We cut out inequalities. We provided tax relief in this revision for millions of smaller taxpayers, and for business.

In fact, we gave small business the green light of confidence throughout the Nation, and held out hope that big business would also find, in the revision, some benefits.

The business people of the Nation, little and big, recognized that the Republican Party opposes socialistic policies of Government, and that business, as well as all the people, had a friendly Government that intended to keep the avenues of opportunity open for all our citizens—from the most humble to the highest.

Two-thirds of this tax reduction of $7.4 billion went to the taxpayers in the lower brackets, and the larger part of the other one-third reduction went to the taxpayers in the medium brackets, and only a small part went to big business.

I point this out because the Democrat leaders, who had increased taxes for 20 years, and who had never reduced taxes, immediately falsely claimed that the Republicans' tax bill favored big business. They knew

then, and they know now, when they make such statements they are only attempting to deceive the people.

WE PREVENTED A DEPRESSION

We gave this tax reduction the 1st day of the 2d year of the Eisenhower administration, because we realized that in the transition of our Government from war to peace there was great danger of a recession, or depression, following.

We knew that the leaders of the Russian Government felt when the war was over that the United States would go into a depression that would enhance their opportunity to spread communism in America. Many leaders of European governments were also fearful this would happen.

And in the beginning of 1954, men began to lose their jobs, business began to slacken, and there were those in the Democrat Party, Senator DOUGLAS, of Illinois, particularly, who began to preach to the press, and to the Nation, that a depression was inevitable—that a recession was here. Others, for political purposes, took up the gloom and doom theme song at that time.

The Republican administration took the position that if we would allow the people to keep $7.4 billion, and not take it away from them in taxes, they would spend this $7.4 billion—much of it for things that people had to buy—but which first had to be made in the factories and foundries of the Nation. In other words, we increased the purchasing power of the American people by $7.4 billion in the belief that it would help us beat off the threat of depression until the transition from war to peace had been accomplished.

We were so right that while the first year, 1953, of the Eisenhower administration had proven to be the most prosperous administration in the history of our Nation, that recovery set in in 1954, which brought that year out as the second best peacetime year of prosperity the Nation had ever enjoyed.

BUSINESS EXPANSION

Our reduction of wasteful spending, of establishing sound business policies, building up the financial strength of the Treasury, following with a tax reduction, brought about an expansion of business in the beginning of 1955 which has given this Nation the greatest era of prosperity it has ever enjoyed.

We stopped inflation that had risen 13 percent under the last 3 years of the Truman administration, penalizing all wage earners, consumers, annuitants, and bondholders, by driving down the purchase power of the dollar to 50 cents.

During the past 3 years of the Eisenhower Republican administration, the general cost of living has not increased by even 1 percent. Food prices of all kinds, which make up a large part of the consumers' budget are lowest since 1950. The average cost of food is now 13 percent lower than it was in May 1955.

ITS EFFECT ON LABOR

Over 65 million laboring men have jobs at the highest wages ever known, and their take-home pay, by reason of our reduction of taxes, alone has been increased by over 10 percent. In addition, their take-home pay now buys 13 percent more food than they were able to get under the Truman administration, and their wages are the highest ever in the history of this Nation.

BUSINESS IS BOOMING

Throughout 1955 steel production, oil production, industrial production in every category have broken all past records. More houses have been built by veterans, and others, under the Eisenhower administration than ever before. Department stores sales have reached one peak after another. More people own automobiles than ever before. More radios, more television sets, and more electrical appliances have been made, and purchased, than in any years of our history. The people have bought, and are holding, more Government bonds than ever before. More food of every kind has been purchased by the people, and the leading economists predict that there will be a general level of prosperity prevailing throughout the entire year of 1956.

Our gross national product has risen from $345 billions in 1952 (under the Truman administration) to an annual rate running close to $400 billions; in other words, an increase in our annual output of almost $55 billions in the last 3 years under the Eisenhower administration.

If further proof is needed, our citizens have bought, and are now holding $1,929,000,000 more E and H savings bonds than they held in the last year of the Truman administration. They have bought many billions more of all other series of Government bonds—a tribute to the confidence of the Eisenhower Republican administration. All of this has been accomplished in an era of peace.

Fewer young men have been drafted into the service. Everything is booming but the guns; in fact, the people have never had it so good.

Regardless of the sharp criticism and false claims of the Democrat leaders, who were thrown out of power in 1952 because they failed the people, the average American knows that the Republican Party has given them what the great majority want—peace and prosperity.

Knowing this, they will vote to continue 4 more years of the sound policies of the Eisenhower Republican administration.

A BALANCED BUDGET

Adlai Stevenson and his party leaders, in 1952, told the people our promises to reduce taxes could not be kept. Of course, if his party had been successful, taxes would not have been reduced. We stopped wasteful spending, adopted business principles, and gave the people a tax reduction of $7.4 billion—the largest in history.

Adlai Stevenson, their candidate, told the people our promises to balance the budget were false, and this could not be done. Of course, if he had been elected, inflation would have continued, and the budget would not have been balanced.

He was wrong again. We will balance the budget this coming June, and have a surplus left over, of several hundred million dollars, that can be applied to reducing the national debt—or to give the people another tax reduction.

The Democrats told you that another Hoover depression would follow—if Eisenhower and a Republican Congress were elected—and there would be a return to the soup and bread lines. They were wrong again.

The boundless prosperity, with over 65 million people employed, refutes that statement. The Secretary of the Treasury, George Humphrey, and President Eisenhower, in a recent statement said that we would not only balance the budget in June 1956, but we would balance the budget again in June 1957.

THE FARM PROBLEM

Most well-informed farmers know that the present low farm prices in some categories are the direct result of the laws passed under the past Democrat administrations which had been effective up to the 1955 crop season. They know that the mountain of surplus farm products sold to the Government, of over $8 billion, overhanging and depressing the farmers' market has driven his prices down.

For example, the Government-owned or controlled 2 billion bushels of wheat before we began to harvest last year's wheat crop of 860 million bushels. The same applies to cotton and to a lesser extent to corn, which overhangs the market and has naturally depressed farm prices.

Most farmers know that in 1952, under the last year of the Truman administration, all hog prices for the year averaged $17.80 a hundredweight, and that throughout 1953, under the Republican administration, they averaged $21.59 a hundredweight, and that in 1954 they averaged $21.60 a hundredweight—both years much higher than in the last two years of the Truman administration.

Farmers know that the big drop in hog prices last October, to a low of $12 per hundredweight, was due to the great increase of the last three pig crops by 12 percent over normal; that the market was broken when 34 percent more hogs came on the market in the third week of October 1955 than had come to the market on the same week in October 1954. The facts are that hogs had been so profitable during all of 1953 and 1954 that the farmers increased the hog crop to where the surplus was so great that it glutted the market, and wrecked prices.

I am happy to note that due to the pork purchase program of Secretary Benson, and due to the reduction of the last pig crop, that the price of hogs has recovered rapidly to over $15 a hundredweight.

REMOVING SURPLUSES

The Eisenhower administration knows that farm surpluses must be disposed of before the farmers can fully share in our prosperity. During the 3 years of the Eisenhower administration, we have disposed of over $4 billion of farm surpluses owned by the Government. We have made such an effort to regain our export markets that in the same time our exports have totaled over $4½ billion. Exports during each of the 3 years of the Eisenhower administration have been increased, and we will continue to increase our exports this year.

With the nine-point farm program the President has recommended, including the soil bank program, added to what we have already done to remove the cause of low farm prices, we feel certain that the farmers will soon share fully in the boundless prosperity of our country. We will continue to exert every effort to that end.

OUR FOREIGN POLICY

Recently, some Democrat Party leaders sought to gain political advantage by criticizing the statement of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles over a news article in a popular magazine quoting him as saying in substance: three times we have been at the brink of war under the Eisenhower administration, and maintained peace by our strong policy which served notice on China and Russia not to miscalculate our position. He wanted the Communists to know if they started to grab more territory they would have war with Uncle Sam. He afterward answered such criticism that one had to take such a calculated risk to prevent war.

The great majority of our citizens applaud President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles for taking this strong position. Basically, it is the same policy that Teddy Roosevelt took, and prevented war. His policy was "speak softly but carry a big stick," and the bigger the bully, the firmer we should be—and the bigger the stick we should carry. This is a proud American policy, too long neglected, that will help prevent war, and maintain peace.

NO MORE APPEASEMENT

Contrast this statement, and its results, with the past blunder of the Truman-Atcheson administration, when a few months before the Korean war, Secretary of State Dean Atcheson declared to the world that Korea was outside of our perimeter of defense in the Far East—meaning we did not intend to defend South Korea if she were attacked.

In addition, they pulled our troops out of South Korea, and most of them from Japan. In fact, this the Communists regarded as an invitation to China and North Korea to gobble up South Korea. They promptly moved in, and when the North Korean Communists crossed the line, with strong military forces, Truman and Atcheson switched their policy, and put this country into war overnight.

A few American soldiers, including General Dean, left in South Korea without sufficient arms, joined the South Korean forces in an attempt to hold back the invaders. It was then that American soldiers tried to stop the Communists' tanks from the north with only machineguns and a few bazookas. Many of them were slaughtered before General MacArthur could move in reinforcements from Japan. Through the terrible months following, thousands of our soldiers lost their lives and were about to be driven into the sea when, through their valor, with the help of the South Koreans, this terrible tragedy was prevented.

THE BRINK OF WAR

Talk about Dulles' statement of being at the brink of war, and preventing it. The Democrat administrations, during the last 40 years, not only led us to the brink of war three times, but over the precipice into World War I, which took the lives of 50,000 American men, and more wounded; then, into World War II, which cost the lives of 300,000 soldiers, and a million Americans wounded; then, after the blunder of Truman and Atcheson, in which Secretary of State Atcheson said, "we will let the dust settle. Korea is outside our perimeter of defense," they plunged us into the Korean war overnight that took the lives of over 54,000 soldiers, with 103,000 wounded.

President Eisenhower, Secretary Dulles, and the American people know that Russia respects nothing but force. They know that in World War I, World War II, and the Korean war that we were drawn into all of them because of our weak appeasement policies, which led other nations to believe they could start these wars, and the United States would remain out of them.

This appeasement policy led the Kaiser to believe, in 1914, that we would not enter the war. This appeasement also led Hitler and Mussolini to believe, in 1939, they could take over Western Europe, and we would not enter the conflict.

Had Truman and Atcheson issued such a policy as Eisenhower and Dulles have issued, clearly warning the Communists in advance that we would fight to repel aggression in Korea, the chances are great that the Korean war, that took the lives of 54,000 Americans, would have been avoided.

Russia, China, and the Communist world now know not to make that mistake again, and they will doubtless not make it, because they know they could not win.

OUR MILITARY STRENGTH

Since President Eisenhower was elected, we have built up the strongest military force in the world—not for war, but to prevent war—and continue our efforts for world peace. Our military machine has been modernized to make the greatest use of newly developed atomic weapons, and of long and short range missiles.

RUSSIA SURROUNDED

We have Russia surrounded today by a hundred airbases on the west, reaching from Norway down through England, France, Spain, across North Africa into Turkey, Greece, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan. In addition, we have our great Mediterranean fleet all ready, poised on her south, which contains many great flattop aircraft carriers from which our planes can take off—100 from each deck every hour—and rain atomic bombs on the war industries of Russia within from 1 to 3½ hours flying time.

We have our Pacific fleet ready for action north of Japan with flattop carriers, and planes ready to strike eastern Russia and China with bombs. We have airbases in Japan, Formosa, Okinawa, and the Philippines that can rain bombs on the Communist enemy in eastern Asia within 1 to 4 hours flying time.

Our military buildup under President Eisenhower, and our foreign policy have worked so well that we have stopped Russia and China. We have so far deterred them from starting another war, to the point where the best military authorities predict continued peace. Continued peace because Russia knows that if she and China start another war, we have the power to destroy their industries, and their power to successfully wage war.

In conclusion may I say that time has permitted me to only touch upon a few of the many great accomplishments of the Eisenhower administration, which has brought to all of our people 3 years of expanding business, full employment, a bountiful prosperity, and peace.

Corruption and Communists have been eradicated from government. Honesty and efficiency has again been installed. Confidence in the future has been firmly established under the leadership of our great President, who has again brought dignity to the White House, and has gained the respect and the confidence of our people and the leaders of the free nations of the world.

This is what the American people voted for in 1952. They will not allow these greatly improved conditions to be taken away from them by the Trumans, the Harrimans, the Kefauvers, the Stevensons—who offer the people nothing but a return to the wasteful spending, scandals, mismanagement, inflation, and governmental chaos they stopped in 1952 by the election of Eisenhower and a Republican Congress.

While we hope and pray that the President's health will continue to improve to the point where the people can have his great leadership another term, if perchance he decides he must retire, the people know that for their own good they must have 4 more years of the Eisenhower Republican policies, and will elect a Republican nominee for President who has his support, and a Republican Congress. They will vote to help continue his program—he so nobly began.

INVESTIGATION OF THE FEDERAL AIRPORT AID PROGRAM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MEADER] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, today I have requested an investigation of the Federal airport aid program. This request is contained in a letter addressed to the Honorable ROBERT H. MOLLOHAN, chairman of the Legal and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee of the Government Operations Committee of the House of Representatives, which I will insert in full in my remarks.

I might point out that the Government Operations Committee of the House has the duty under the rules of the House of Representatives of studying the operation of Government activities at all levels with a view to determining its economy and its efficiency.

In its rules the Government Operations Committee of the House created various standing subcommittees, one of which is the Subcommittee on Legal and Monetary Affairs. That subcommittee has investigative jurisdiction over several departments and agencies in the executive branch of the Government, among them the Department of Commerce. In the Department of Commerce is the Civil Aeronautics Administration which is the agency through which the program for Federal aid to airports is carried out.

My interest in this subject has developed largely because of a rather violent controversy between two airports in the Detroit metropolitan area. One of those airports, Willow Run, is the terminal for scheduled commercial airlines serving the Detroit area. The airfield itself does not happen to be in my congressional district, but the terminal for the airport is in my district, the county line running between the terminal and the airfield.

Willow Run Airport was built in conjunction with the Willow Run bomber plant constructed during the early years of the war by the Ford Motor Co. for the purpose of building B–24 bombers. That plant—and that field from which thousands of large bombers were flown—served admirably during World War II and provided weapons which enabled the United States and it allies to be victorious.

I was told by the Ford Motor Co. representative in charge of the airport that when Willow Run was built it was the finest airport in the United States.

The commercial airlines before and during World War II used the Detroit City Airport at Gratiot and Six Mile Road in the city of Detroit as their terminal. But when the airlines began their tremendous postwar expansion immediately after World War II and commenced to use four-engine craft, the Detroit City Airport became inadequate, partly because of a huge gas tank located on the airport, and partly because of the limited length of the runways. The airlines had nowhere to go.

But here was this beautiful Willow Run airport, a war casualty, which became surplus after World War II, having served its military purpose. An arrangement was worked out whereby that surplus airport was deeded to a public body, the regents of the University of Michigan, a body corporate of the State of Michigan, with the provision that it be maintained as a public airport.

The university was interested in the airport because it had important research contracts, mostly for the Defense Department, and used some of the buildings on the airport and some of the space of the airport for its research activities. The university, however, was not in a position to go into the airport business as such, and, in turn, made an arrangement with a corporation formed by the airlines to maintain and operate the airport.

For 10 years now Willow Run Airport has served satisfactorily as the terminal

for the Detroit area. It has done so at practically no public expense and although it is the sixth busiest airport in the country in terms of volume of traffic handled, it has never had an accident.

Now, about six air miles away from the Willow Run Airport there is another airport called the Detroit-Wayne Major Airport. After the war the Wayne County Road Commission, which owns that airport, and its engineer, Leroy C. Smith, began a gigantic expansion program at Wayne Major. They have poured into that airport some $13 million of Wayne County-State of Michigan funds and they have poured into it in excess of $4 million of Federal Airport aid funds which is 52 percent of all the Federal airport aid money that went to the State of Michigan in the 10-year period from 1946 to 1956. I have no doubt but what Leroy Smith is a competent highway engineer, but I am equally as convinced that he knows little about airport engineering.

Willow Run was a large existing airport in 1946 and it was the Detroit terminal. Does it make sense, then, to commence a new major airport only 5 or 6 air miles away from another airport and in the same traffic pattern? I say it does not take an expert to realize that the erection of two major airports in the same air traffic pattern is just a waste of money and does not make sense for future airport planning.

Mr. Smith, who is quite an able politician and has been active in Detroit and Wayne County for many years, was able to persuade the Detroit City Council, the Wayne County Board of Supervisors, and the Wayne County Road Commission to designate Detroit-Wayne Major Airport as the official terminal for the city of Detroit.

The lobbyist for the Wayne County Road Commission, John P. McElroy, is a member of the Michigan Aeronautics Commission. Smith and McElroy were able to persuade the Michigan Aeronautics Commission to designate Wayne Major airport as the so-called official terminal for the city of Detroit.

Armed with those resolutions and those commitments from Michigan bodies, they came to Washington and persuaded the Civil Aeronautics Administration also to recognize this airport which was being built up right next to an existing airport, as the official terminal for the city of Detroit. That is the reason why this $4 million of airport money has been poured into that airport within the last 10 years.

Now, just about 2 weeks ago, in the allocation under the 1956 appropriation for airport aid money, Wayne Major was granted an additional $975,000 from funds for this fiscal year. And, I might say that I was told by the Civil Aeronautics Administration officials that they arbitrarily set a ceiling of $1 million for any one airport, so Wayne Major got almost the ceiling.

This means what? It means that the Civil Aeronautics Administration has committed itself to a further huge expansion program which is estimated to run in the neighborhood of $30 million to $32 million, and when they get through they still will have just one airport.

That seems to me a foolish and unconscionable waste of public funds, and I believe it ought to be investigated. And, if the decision made by the Civil Aeronautics Administration with respect to this airport program is typical of its decisions nationwide, I say it is high time that the Congress knew about it.

It is particularly important, in my judgment, that the airport aid program be investigated by a congressional committee, because only last year we practically took Congress out of the airport picture.

I might say parenthetically that I am getting awfully tired of having Congress abdicate its policymaking authority and turning everything over to the executive branch of the Government.

We passed Public Law 211 last summer which for a period of 4 years commits the sum of about a quarter of a billion dollars for airport aid throughout the country. But the law went beyond that. It departed from our usual practice of authorizing year by year and authorized the program for a 4-year period. But, even beyond that, it practically committed the Congress to appropriate the funds to that extent and leaves very little discretion in the Committee on Appropriations or in the Congress itself. So, we are faced with this proposition—no matter how we may like whatever pattern of airports the Civil Aeronautics Administration decides it wants in the United States, we here in the Congress are powerless to object to it or to have any influence or control over what happens.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I should like to insert in my remarks a letter I have written to the chairman of the Legal and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee, of which I am a member, and I also should like to insert following that a brief summary of the press release I issued in requesting an investigation of the airport aid program.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., February 22, 1956.

The Honorable ROBERT H. MOLLOHAN,
Chairman, Legal and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee, Government Operations Committee, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR COLLEAGUE: As you know, Public Law 211 of the 84th Congress, 1st session, vested vast authority in the Secretary of Commerce, to be exercised through the Civil Aeronautics Administrator, over the future pattern of airport construction in the United States.

That measure was an unusual departure from traditional procedure because it provided authorization for a period of 4 years rather than 1, and committed a total of a quarter of a billion dollars of Federal funds for airport aid, to be matched, of course, by an equal amount of State and local funds.

Another unusual feature of that act is that for all practical purposes the Congress, for that 4-year period, divested itself of any power over the airport-aid program. The law, in effect, bound the Appropriations Committees, and the Congress itself, to appropriate such funds as may be necessary to discharge the obligations of the Federal Government arising from grant agreements made by the Civil Aeronautics Administrator.

The rules of the House of Representatives impose on the Government Operations Committee "the duty of—studying the operation of Government activities at all levels with a view to determining its economy and efficiency." The House Government Operations Committee in its rules delegated that authority with respect to the Commerce Department to the Legal and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee of which you are the chairman.

I urge the subcommittee to undertake immediately a broad and comprehensive investigation of the Federal airport-aid program.

In support of this request I cite what appears to be an unconscionable waste of public funds in the grants heretofore made and those projected for the future to the Detroit-Wayne Major Airport located near Romulus, Mich.

Until the end of World War II the scheduled commercial airlines used the Detroit City Airport at Gratiot and Six Mile Roads in the city of Detroit as their terminal. When commercial aviation in its big postwar growth began to use four-engine aircraft, Detroit City Airport became inadequate and an alternate terminal for the scheduled airlines was needed immediately.

They turned to Willow Run Airport, located near Ypsilanti, Mich., built during World War II in connection with the Ford Motor Co. bomber plant and used to fly off thousands of B–24 bombers. After the war the airport was declared surplus and an arrangement was worked out whereby Willow Run Airport was deeded to the University of Michigan with the proviso that it be maintained as a public airport. The university utilized a portion of the property for important research work, mostly for the Department of Defense, and leased to a corporation formed by the airlines the space needed for scheduled commercial flight operations.

For 10 years Willow Run has satisfactorily served as the air terminal for the Detroit metropolitan area at almost no public expense. It is the sixth busiest airport in the country and has never had an accident.

Meanwhile, the Wayne County Road Commission and its engineer, Leroy C. Smith, undertook a gigantic expansion program at Detroit-Wayne Major Airport. Additional land was purchased or condemned. Roads were closed. Runways and other necessary aviation facilities were constructed. A total of $13 million of Wayne County and State of Michigan funds was poured into the project, and $4,035,858 of Federal airport aid money, 52 percent of the total received by the State of Michigan, was spent on this expansion program between 1946 and 1956.

The Wayne County Road Commission, its engineer, Leroy C. Smith, and its lobbyist, John P. McElroy, have conducted a relentless campaign to coerce the scheduled commercial airlines to transfer their operations from Willow Run Airport to the Detroit-Wayne Major Airport. They obtained resolutions from the Detroit City Council, Wayne County Board of Supervisors, Wayne County Road Commission, and the Michigan Aeronautics Commission, of which lobbyist McElroy is a member, approving Detroit-Wayne Major Airport as the commercial air terminal for the Detroit area. Thus armed, they secured the approval of the Civil Aeronautics Administration as represented by the allocation of Federal airport aid funds. In 1955, they urged the Department of Defense to locate military jet-training operations of the Navy, the Air Force, and the Michigan Air National Guard at Willow Run Airport after refusing a request by the Navy Department to locate Navy Reserve jet-training operations at Detroit-Wayne Major Airport.

They did this with the purpose and intent of making the airlines so uncomfortable at Willow Run that they would be forced to move to Detroit-Wayne Major. As a result of those efforts the Air Coordinating Committee ordered its airport use panel to hold public hearings and make recommendations concerning the best interests of the public, the most feasible civil-military utilization of the airports, existing and proposed, in the Detroit area.

June 22–23, 1955, the airport-use panel held public hearings in the city of Detroit and November 4, 1955, issued a report recommending in substance that Willow Run be used for military purposes and that Detroit-Wayne Major be used as the commercial air terminal for the Detroit area. Curiously, the report of the airport-use panel completely disregarded questions of cost and expressly ignored the problem of air space congestion, the two most important factors in determining the proper use of airports in the area.

Subsequently, the airlines in discussion with officials of Wayne Major Airport learned that it would cost from $28 million to $32 million more to complete the Detroit-Wayne Major Airport so as to accommodate present air traffic.

Detroit-Wayne Major and Willow Run Airports are only 6 air miles apart from border to border and 8 air miles apart from center to center. They have a common air traffic pattern. In instrument flying weather, takeoffs and landings at Detroit-Wayne Major Airport are controlled from the Willow Run tower. Jean Pearson, the Detroit Free Press aviation writer, who has written a very illuminating series of articles on Detroit's airport problems, very aptly stated: "On the ground you have two large airports—Willow Run and Detroit-Wayne Major. In the air you have only one."

It does not require technical or expert knowledge to conclude that someone blundered badly in attempting to develop a major airport right next to an already existing major airport, both of which would necessarily use the same traffic pattern.

December 28, 1955, six of the seven major airlines now using the Willow Run Airport as their terminal for the Detroit metropolitan area announced "once and for all" that they had no intention of removing operations from Willow Run and transferring them to Detroit-Wayne Major. They indicated that they believed another airport would be needed for the Detroit metropolitan area but that it should be located in a different traffic pattern from Willow Run, and they condemned the Detroit-Wayne Major expansion program as a waste of money, a substantial part of which the airlines themselves would be expected to provide.

February 9, 1956, the Civil Aeronautics Administration announced the allocation of Federal airport-aid funds for fiscal year 1956, and $975,000 was allocated to Detroit-Wayne Major Airport. The request of Willow Run Airport for $86,500 was denied in its entirety.

It is my suggestion that the Legal and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee explore the administration of the airport-aid program by the Civil Aeronautics Administration in its entirety, taking as an example the present and prospective expenditure of Federal funds at Detroit-Wayne Major Airport, with a view to determining whether or not those moneys are being expended efficiently and economically in the interest of civil aviation and its future development in the United States.

Because of my intense interest in this subject over the past year, I have accumulated an immense amount of material, all of which is placed at the disposal of the subcommittee to facilitate its inquiry.

Because of the importance of civil aviation to our national economy, I hope the subcommittee will give top priority to this inquiry.

Sincerely,

GEORGE MEADER.

PRESS RELEASE OF FEBRUARY 23, 1956

Representative GEORGE MEADER, Republican, Michigan, today called for a full-scale inquiry into the Federal Airport Aid program and termed "an unconscionable waste of public funds" Federal grants to Detroit-Wayne Major Airport at Romulus, Mich.

The Detroit-Wayne County port is located 6 air miles from Willow Run Airport, Detroit's commercial air terminal, and has been developed since the end of World War II. It currently serves one scheduled air carrier, elements of the Michigan Air National Guard, air cargo carriers, and scores of light and executive-type aircraft.

MEADER requested the inquiry into Federal airport aid in a letter to Representative ROBERT MOLLOHAN, Democrat, West Virginia, chairman of the Legal and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee.

MEADER, himself, is a member of that subpanel which is charged with keeping tabs on expenditures in the Department of Commerce, which through its Civil Aeronautics Administration, administers the Federal Airport Aid Act.

The Michigan lawmaker noted that the current airport aid act "was an unusual departure from traditional procedure because it provided authorization for a period of 4 years rather than 1 and committed a total of a quarter of a billion dollars of Federal funds for airport aid over the next 4 fiscal years. It also commits Congress to appropriate funds for that period."

In a speech to the House of Representatives MEADER declared: "That unusual authority granted the Civil Aeronautics Administrator makes it even more imperative that Congress maintain its check on how that money is spent."

MEADER called attention to the post-war growth of civil and military aviation and its future role in the American economy.

He also called attention to the early post-war need of commercial airlines for a larger airport in the Detroit area and how Willow Run Airport, owned by the University of Michigan, has served safely for 10 years as the motor city's air terminal at almost no expense to taxpayers.

MEADER declared: "Despite repeated assurances by the airlines that they would not move to Detroit-Wayne Major Airport, Detroit and Wayne County officials went ahead in frenzied fashion to build another huge airport at public expense on top of one which already exists.

"The Civil Aeronautics Administration gave tacit approval to that waste of public money by continually allocating taxpayer money to a white elephant which rather than ease the congested air traffic situation in the Detroit area actually has complicated it."

MEADER quoted a recent Detroit newspaper story which noted: "On the ground you have two large airports—Willow Run and Detroit-Wayne Major. In the air you have only one."

Some aviation authorities, including airlines, have called for still another Detroit airport to be located somewhere north of the city.

MEADER said he agreed adding: "Both Detroit-Wayne Major Airport and Willow Run for all practical purposes are but one airport now. Another airport for Detroit must be located somewhere outside the overly congested traffic pattern which already exists."

He asserted: "It does not require technical or expert knowledge to conclude that someone blundered badly in attempting to develop a major airport right next to an already existing major airport, both of which would necessarily use the same traffic pattern."

Some sources estimate that from $28 million to $32 million still is required of Federal, State, local, and airline money to make Detroit-Wayne Major Airport suitable for full-scale commercial operation.

MEADER also described as "military dominated" a Federal airport use panel which last June held "public hearings" in Detroit, ostensibly to settle the issue.

The panel last November recommended an airlines' switch to Detroit-Wayne Major with concentration of Reserve military flight activity at Willow Run Airport.

MEADER condemned as a "sham" the hearings charging the panel "knew what it was going to recommend before it ever went to Detroit."

He called its report a "fraud and declared: "Curiously, the report of the panel completely disregarded questions of cost and expressly ignored the problem of air space congestion, the two most important factors in determining the proper use of airports in the area."

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, I have been concerned with this problem over a period of time. It is about a year since this matter first was brought to my attention, and I have made a number of speeches in connection with it on the floor of the House.

I have appeared before committees of the House and testified. I have introduced bills. I prepared a list of the references in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD concerning the airport matter and the bills to which I have referred. I ask unanimous consent to insert that list at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

LIST OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD REFERENCES AND BILLS RELATING TO WILLOW RUN AIRPORT PROBLEM

March 31, 1955, volume 101, part 3, pages 4132–4137: Military jets at Willow Run Airport, the Nation's sixth busiest.

April 13, 1955, volume 101, part 4, pages 4388–4392: Military jets at Willow Run Airport, the Nation's sixth busiest.

April 21, 1955, daily Appendix, page A2635: Extension of remarks; Willow Run no proper place for jets. (Ann Arbor News editorial.)

April 27, 1955, volume 101, part 4, pages 5158–5167: Amending the National Defense Facilities Act of 1950.

May 4, 1955, H. R. 6026: Minimizing interferences—amending National Defense Facilities Act of 1950.

June 1, 1955, daily Appendix, page A3793: Attempt to move airline appears blocked for present. (Ann Arbor News editorial.)

June 6, 1955, H. R. 6650: Minimizing interferences—Secretary of Defense.

July 18, 1955, volume 101, part 8, page 10804: Airport aid formula (Public Law 211), interference—MEADER and BENNETT.

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, just this month, commencing on February 3, 1956, a Detroit Free Press aviation writer, Jean Pearson, commenced a series of 13 articles in that paper discussing all aspects of the Detroit aviation problem. I have read those articles and I am impressed with the thorough and dispassionate approach of the author of those articles. I think they are very readable and set forth clearly the problem which faces the Detroit metropolitan area with respect to airports.

At this point in my remarks Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to incorporate that series of articles.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

[From the Detroit Free Press of February 3, 1956]

WILL AIR AGE LEAVE CITY BEHIND?—TRAFFIC ALREADY CONGESTED IN WAYNE-WILLOW HUB

(By Jean Pearson)

Metropolitan Detroit will have a population close to 4 million by July 1960.

Today it's estimated at 3,515,000.

Among the 22 large hubs of air traffic, Detroit now rates sixth in the continental United States.

At present there are 386 scheduled airline flight operations daily at Willow Run Airport.

An estimated 3,100,000 air passengers will arrive or depart on planes in the Detroit area in 1960.

This is well over 1 million more passengers than arrived or departed on planes here in 1955.

By 1965, the number will be close to 4 million passengers.

This is only the air passenger picture.

As one of the largest industrial centers in the world, Detroit has a heavy air cargo business.

Many industries have found it's cheaper to hire a cargoliner to fly parts to an assembly plant in another part of the country than to close down the plant until parts arrive by surface transportation.

It is routine to airship parts manufactured at night in Detroit for use in the morning shift of assembly plants in the South and East.

What does this all add up to?

Trouble—trouble if Detroiters do not take a personal interest in what is being done to meet aviation's future needs and how their money is being spent.

For all intents and purposes—and the millions of public funds spent—Detroit is still just a one-airport town for airline service.

Whether the airlines operate at Willow Run or Detroit-Wayne Major is beside the point.

The reason is obvious. Wayne Major and Willow Run are only 8 air-miles apart and the air traffic above them must be considered as one major air traffic hub.

Yet the traffic generated by them already exceeds the amount the Civil Aeronautics Administration (CAA) considers congested for navigation aids now in operation.

By standards set up by the CAA (published in "The Federal-Aid Airport Program, Policies and Procedures" in October 1955), Detroit should be headed straight for the construction of a second airport far removed from the Wayne Major-Willow Run air traffic hub.

"With present technical know-how," the report says, "an airport with 100,000 or more air carrier operations annually has reached or is approaching the limit of efficient IFR (instrument flight rules) operational capacity.

"A community, therefore, has a potential need for two airports for air commerce when it has 100,000 or more air carrier operations."

Willow Run had over 141,000 operations annually. An "operation" is either a landing or take-off.

Add the more than 70,000 operations now recorded annually at Wayne Major and you have the answer.

You also have the answer to two questions that frequently puzzle Detroiters:

1. Why do the airlines insist the 28 million-plus it would cost to make Wayne Major a commercial airport would be better spent developing an airport north of the city?

2. Why is it claimed development of a Northeast airport should be given No. 1 priority over spending 28 millions to save the 12 to 15 minutes driving time between Wayne Major and Willow Run?

Airport development time is a prime factor.

Optimistically, if construction could begin immediately on the Northeast site, it would be 3 to 5 years before the airport would be ready to receive the airlines.

Pessimistically, if the legal suits blocking expansion of the 74-acre site already owned by the city are dragged out, it would take a good deal longer.

Recently, a spokesman for the airlines said they would begin dual operation at Willow Run and a Northeast port as soon as it was ready.

He urged development of a new airport as soon as possible to handle the rapidly developing air traffic.

But even if the land condemnation suits for the Northeast airport were settled today, construction with Federal, State, or county aid couldn't begin until 1960.

It couldn't simply because backers of Wayne Major development are planning to use all available aid exclusively at Wayne Major until 1960.

For 25 years LeRoy Smith, county highway engineer, has been determined to develop Wayne Major as Detroit's air terminal.

When he began, the development was needed.

But though millions were poured into it, development, for reasons beyond Smith's control, did not keep up with the need.

In 1946, when the airlines were looking for an airport capable of handling their new four-engine planes, they seriously considered Wayne Major.

But it would have been 2 years before it could take on full airline operation.

Nearby Willow Run, however, not only had four runways over a mile long, but the airlines could begin operations there almost immediately.

When the airlines moved to Willow Run, they made it clear that they would not move again until some airport nearer to the population center of Detroit than either Willow Run or Wayne Major became available.

Robert Averill, spokesman for the airlines at that time, said Willow Run was considered only on an interim basis.

At that time the city was considering a northwest site.

Despite the airline's move and clear stand on the matter, nearly $10 million has been poured into Wayne Major since 1946.

The airlines attempted to discourage what they considered unwise use of Federal funds at Wayne Major in 1949.

At that time the city was trying for an international airport at Windsor.

Milton W. Arnold, vice president of the Air Transport Association, told the CAA the airlines believed the international airport merited consideration.

Was the public ever consulted?

Yes, once.

In 1946 the public was asked to approve a $5 million bond issue for Wayne Major. It was turned down.

Still, half a million dollars in county taxes are funneled annually to Wayne Major. The funds don't have to be voted.

Some people believe there has been mutual back scratching by the city and county.

Twenty-five percent of the cost of expressways within the city is paid by the county. The city wants expressways.

The city has backed development of Wayne Major, operated by the county road commission, and common council has designated it Detroit's principal air terminal.

[From the Detroit Free Press of February 4, 1956]

WHAT HAPPENED TO WINDSOR SITE FOR AIRPORT?

(By Jean Pearson)

"Whatever happened," someone always asks when you are talking about Detroit's aviation situation, "to that big airport they were going to build in Windsor?"

Equally good questions would be:

Whatever happened to the northwest sites? To the one at Eight Mile and Dequindre? To the one off St. Clair shores?

Detroit, apparently, has done more dickering than doing in getting a centrally located airport.

Experts have been hired. And experts have given their services free. Study groups, committees, commissions, and authorities have been formed.

Outsiders have been invited in to study the situation and make recommendations. Insiders, with more knowledge of the local situation, have made studies and recommendations.

Unfortunately, too few of the plans and suggestions offered are, or have been, free of political interests of pressures.

More unfortunately, the ultimate users of the airport, the public and the airlines, too seldom have been consulted.

For a while, it looked as though the ideal answer had been found—the international site in Windsor.

Obstacles which would have taken some time to overcome (but which might have been cleared away long before now) and some opposition, both overt and subtle, defeated it.

Approximately 10 years ago, an international site was suggested, but received little consideration. Common council, eyeing several possibilities, turned it down.

When the airlines moved to Willow Run as an interim airport until one more centrally located and nearer to the population center than either Willow Run or Wayne Major was available, they went on record as still preferring a northwest site.

Several northwest sites had been considered. They were blocked by self-interested citizens in the area.

So, about 1948, interest shifted back to the possibility of an international site.

A Detroit metropolitan aviation authority was formed and charged with developing a master airport plan for the metropolitan area.

After a thorough study, the authority's master plan finally came out in 1949.

Twice the Wayne County Road Commission attempted to block publication of the report which recommended immediate action on obtaining the international site and relegated Wayne Major primarily to an air cargo terminal.

LeRoy Smith, county highway engineer, who has never deviated from his desire to make Wayne Major the principal air passenger terminal in Detroit, contended the report would only lead to public confusion.

The authority's staff, however, said:

1. Development of Wayne Major would cost more than twice the estimated $7 million to make it into a major port. (Latest estimate is more than $28 million.)

2. Wayne Major was too far from Detroit and there was no indication that the airlines would move to Wayne Major if it was developed.

Except for Smith and Glenn C. Richards, chairman of the authority and DPW commissioner, who has spearheaded the drive for development of Wayne Major, the authority's report received wide acceptance.

(Richards and Smith are now spearheading a drive for the establishment of a new metropolitan aviation authority.)

Detroit's Mayor Eugene I. Van Antwerp had backed the border port. Windsor pledged full cooperation. Common council supported it. Governor Williams endorsed it. The airlines were unanimous in their approval.

Even the public seemed to like the idea.

It was less than 5 miles from downtown. It was centrally located, so it could serve both sides of metropolitan Detroit equally well.

Finally, it was expected to be less than 15 minutes' driving time from Detroit.

Attorney General Stephen J. Roth ruled that establishment of an international airport would not require a Michigan constitutional amendment.

Roth added, however, that the project would require approval of the United States and Canadian Governments.

Then it was discovered that a Federal ruling would prevent financial aid.

But after investigation it was determined that legislation could be put through Congress that would make financial aid possible. It would be, however, a matter of 2 or 3 years.

In Washington, Paul Stafford, Assistant Administrator of the Office of Airports, Civil Aeronautics Administration, said the CAA favored the site and would support necessary legislation.

Stafford warned, however:

"If there is no major opposition to the project, the legislation for Federal aid and the agreement with Canada might be completed in 2 or 3 years. It would then require another 2 or 3 years for construction.

"If some opposition develops locally it could cause delays before Congress and the project might take much longer."

Two politically powerful men were known to be opposed to the Windsor site. They wanted development of Wayne Major.

Some efforts were made to sound out the Canadian Government. There seemed to be a lot of technical difficulties.

Who, for example, would have the ultimate authority in policing the international airport area?

Would Americans who were flying from one place in the United States to another place in the United States be involuntarily placed under Canadian law if their plane landed in Windsor?

Another complicating factor was that Trans-Canada Airlines, a Government-controlled airline, was happy to welcome the United States airlines—providing they would use and expand the Walkerville Airport.

That was not what the Americans had in mind. Slowly the bright dream faded.

On January 26, 1951, it disappeared.

Common Council, expressing "complete disappointment" at lack of progress, ordered that plans for a major airport in Warren Township be prepared immediately.

The plans were prepared.

A 74-acre center for expansion was acquired.

A $3 million bond issue for purchase of land has been authorized.

The airlines have said they will not move to Wayne Major but will have flights out of both Willow Run and the Northeast site as soon as the latter is ready.

Thursday, a jury turned down Warren Township's move to reclaim the Northeast site as a recreation area. But more legal steps remain.

Presumably, its full steam ahead now for the Northeast site.

But there are many past experiences to remember—and there's also the fact that if Wayne Major remains a No. 1 priority airport there may not be the funds needed to develop the Northeast site.

[From the Detroit Free Press of February 5, 1956]

YOUR STAKE IN THE AIRPORT FIGHT—CHANCES 4 TO 1 NORTH SITE WILL BE TO YOUR ADVANTAGE

(By Jean Pearson)

Mayor Cobo never fails to stress the need for an airport to the north of the city when discussing future aviation needs of metropolitan Detroit.

Anyone with a population density chart of the area and simple compass can tell why.

Flint, which is the third largest city in the State, and one of the fastest growing, could be serviced by the northeast airport.

So could Bay City and Saginaw.

More important, so could the burgeoning industrial and residential areas of Macomb and Oakland Counties, which are expected to double in population by 1961.

But for the most obvious reason, take your population density chart, and compass, and start drawing circles.

With Detroit Wayne-Major Airport as a center, draw circles with a 5 mile, 7½, 10, and 12½ radii.

Do the same with the proposed Northeast Airport boundaries (Ryan, DeQuindre, 12- and 14-Mile Roads), as a center.

What do you have? Graphically, the answer is printed in the chart next to this column. The source is the Detroit Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission.

First of all, you find that no matter what radius you compare—the 5, 7½, 10, or 12½—Northeast Airport would serve more than twice the population that Wayne-Major could.

It is because of this population pull that the airlines would consider scheduling flights at both airports, as they do now in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles.

Though they dislike split operations, because of the added cost and inconvenience to them, they know there is a big untapped customer potential on Detroit's northside.

By operating at both airports, they say, they would be giving more people service.

Secondly, that by the time you get to the 12½-mile radius, the ratio is almost 4 to 1. At the 12½-mile radius, Northeast would serve a population of 2,204,920, compared to only 615,350 by Wayne Major.

Thirdly, downtown Detroit is within 12½ miles of the Northeast site. Wayne Major is well beyond that limit.

Well, you can say, all true. But there isn't any expressway running to the Northeast site. Couldn't one be built?

Not only has Mayor Cobo reiterated the importance of the Northeast development, but the city already has cleared one legal barricade to expansion of the 74-acre airport Detroit already owns there.

If the city gets a legal green light, can it go ahead?

Not for a number of years, if more than $28 million is spent first at Wayne Major.

Not if all Federal and State aid funds available to the metropolitan Detroit area until 1960 go into Wayne Major, as its backers plan.

Delays already have proved costly.

When the city decided to go ahead with the Northeast site, authorization for the issuance of $3 million in bonds for land purchase was made. The bonds were to be issued when the condemnation proceedings were completed.

With the proceedings dragged out, cost of the land needed has risen an estimated one to two millions more.

Last fall, city officials admitted they deliberately had delayed legal proceedings for acquisition of more land at the Northeast site during the spring and summer.

They explained that attention drawn to the Northeast site during the period the Willow Run-Wayne Major airline shift was being considered might confuse the issue.

So now, unless within 6 months all condemnation suits being heard are completed (and Supreme Court appeals heard) the period in which the bonds can be issued will run out. Cutoff date is June 30.

Planned delays, political bickering and behind-the-scene struggles for power have been extremely costly to Detroit's aviation development.

One thing is certain. The rapid growth of air traffic will not stop.

With only 8 air miles between Willow Run and Wayne Major, the air space above those airports in foul weather is one traffic-control center.

By Civil Aeronautics standards, that air traffic hub already is congested.

Another airport, well removed from that hub, should be under construction now.

By even conservative estimates, it will be needed before it is ready.

[From the Detroit Free Press of February 6, 1956]

AIRLINES FINALLY PAY OFF AT WILLOW RUN

(By Jean Pearson)

Are the airlines getting a free ride at Willow Run?

Mayor Cobo says they are and that that's the reason they won't move to Detroit-Wayne Major.

All seven of the major airlines operating at Willow Run have denied the charge.

The truth? It's probably that after losing money for 5 years at Willow Run in giving airline service to the public, the airlines are on a good, sound financial basis.

Seven airlines—American, Capital, Delta, Eastern, Northwest, Trans World, and United—formed into the Airlines National Terminal Service Co., Inc. (ANTSCO), operate Willow Run under a lease from the University of Michigan, owners of the airport.

The lease calls for an annual payment of $15,000 to the university plus 10 percent of all gross income above $250,000 on nonairline revenue.

Last year the university received $44,000, of which $29,000 represented the 10 percent on nonairline revenue.

"There are some who would have you believe that the airlines have been riding some kind of a gravy train, at the expense of the taxpayer, in their operation of Willow Run," Robert J. Wilson, vice president of Capital Airlines, said at the Airport Use Panel hearings last June in Detroit.

"Such a belief," said Wilson, who is official spokesman for 6 of the 7 major airlines, "is completely false."

ANTSCO, he said, has set up a rate of rentals and other fees comparable to other airports and charges each airline fees based upon such rates.

"In addition to such fees," Wilson said, "each airline agreed to share proportionately any deficiencies resulting from the cost of meeting the university lease requirements of maintaining the airport in as good condition as it was received.

"For several years, with rentals comparable to others in the United States, each airline has made deficiency payments until, through good management and promotion of airport activity, the airport is now on a paying basis. Some, but not all, deficiency payments have been returned to the carriers.

"The cost of maintenance and operation of the airport—at no cost to the taxpayers—amounts to about $977,661 a year.

"In addition, the airlines have spent substantially over a million dollars on facilities and intend to spend considerable more to redo the terminal building."

This year, the airlines expect maintenance costs at Willow Run to exceed a million.

There is little doubt, however, that operation at Willow Run is financially attractive to the airlines.

"We don't intend for one minute, though, to apologize for being good businessmen," Wilson said.

"If we couldn't operate economically we'd soon be forced out of the business of providing public air transportation."

"Actually, when it comes to airport-operation costs, it is the taxpayers who are the ones fortunate enough to be getting a 'free ride.'"

Willow Run is one of the biggest airport bargains a community ever had.

As an airline terminal, it hasn't cost Detroit or Wayne County citizens 1 cent in local taxes.

Built as a B–24 bomber plant in World War II, with adjoining field for testing and flyaway operations, Willow served its purpose.

It owed nothing to the public. But it was too good to let it go to weeds and cracked-up concrete—as many wartime airfields have.

Offered as surplus property by the War Assets Administration, however, the $21 million property found few takers.

Any person or group taking over the property not only had to agree to maintain both the landing field and airport in as good condition as it was received, but also to keep it open as a public airport.

None of the local or county governments, who could have had it on the same terms as U–M took possession, showed any interest.

Though it would have cost them only $1, Wayne County officials turned down the offer of Willow Run, an excellent field ready for operation, to pour millions into developing Wayne Manor—only 8 air miles away.

Since 1946, close to $10 million has been sunk into Wayne Major.

It was spent despite the fact the airlines repeatedly have claimed they have no intention of moving except to an airport considerably nearer to the air traffic center of Detroit than either Willow Run or Wayne Major.

What Detroit needs much more than duplication of facilities 8 air miles apart, they claim, is a new airport north of the city to serve the eastern half of metropolitan Detroit.

The airlines assert that they would move into the Northeast site just as soon as it is ready and have flights out of both Willow Run and Northeast.

[From the Free Press of February 7, 1956]

AIRLINES HAD NO ALTERNATIVE TO MOVING OPERATIONS TO WILLOW RUN—WHY THE AIRLINES SHIFTED OPERATIONS TO WILLOW RUN—WAS ONLY SPOT THAT COULD HANDLE FOUR-ENGINE PLANES

(By Jean Pearson)

Why did the airlines settle permanently at Willow Run?

They had little alternative.

Detroit City Airport, with short runways and a gas tank in the middle, was too small for the four-engine planes put in operation after World War II.

Detroit was being bypassed. Air service to the city was not expanding as rapidly as it was in other metropolitan areas.

Wayne County Airport (since renamed Detroit-Wayne Major) was seriously considered.

Even with all the breaks on time and agreement among principals, it would have taken 2 to 5 years to make Wayne Airport suitable for use by commercial airlines serving Detroit.

Willow Run, on the other hand, had 2 runways over 7,000 feet long, 4 over 6,000 feet, huge hanger space, and an excellent business proposition.

Willow Run obviously was the best choice.

There were three factors which resulted in Willow Run becoming Detroit's major airline terminal in 1947.

1. The airlines needed an airport which could accommodate four-engine airliners. Only Willow Run was immediately available.

2. The United States Government had no further use for its wartime, $21 million bomber plant and airport.

It was important that someone keep the airport intact so it could be reactivated at a moment's notice in the event of another national emergency.

3. The University of Michigan, faced with an increasing demand from the Government and industry for an expansion of aeronautical and other types research at a time when it was utilizing every building on its Ann Arbor campus to meet the rising student enrollment, saw Willow Run as a possible answer.

All three problems were solved when the University of Michigan agreed to terms set by the War Assets Administration.

Although the University of Michigan was low on the purchaser priority list, below city and county bodies and war veterans, it was ahead of the airlines.

If the university had not taken over Willow Run, however, the airlines said they would have bid for the airport, paying much more than the nominal fee arranged for a governmental agency such as the university.

The university took over Willow Run on a quitclaim deed for $1, January 15, 1947.

The university had to promise to maintain Willow Run as an airport open to the public in the same good condition in which it was received.

Terms set by the board of regents, governing body of the University of Michigan, also had to be met.

The regents agreed to the acquisition only on condition that it would not be supported by State funds appropriated for the university itself.

The university leased the airport to the Airlines National Terminal Service Co., Inc., reserving certain buildings for use by the university for research purposes. In turn, the airlines were to maintain and operate the field.

The lease calls for an annual payment of $15,000 to the university plus 10 percent of all nonairline revenue in excess of $250,000. Nonairline revenue includes all airport concessions.

The cost of converting Willow Run from a bomber plant to an air terminal has been paid by the airlines since they moved there in 1947.

Seven airlines maintain and operate Willow Run as the company, the Airlines National Terminal Service Co., Inc.

Members of ANSTCO are American, Capital, Delta, Eastern, Northwest, Trans World, and United.

None of these airlines receives any Federal subsidies for service within the United States.

North Central Airlines also operates out of Willow Run. It receives a Federal mail-carrying subsidy.

Two air-cargo lines, Riddle and Slick, also operate at Willow Run.

ANTSCO already has spent approximately $1¼ million on improvements at Willow Run.

Under the Federal Aid Airport program, the university received $154,740 for improvement of the ramps, runways, and instrument landing system, compared with $4 million spent by the Government at Wayne Major since 1946.

What ANTSCO leased from the university was the 1,986-acre airport proper, with 6 runways more than a mile long and 160 feet wide, plus the 18-bay hangar.

In the main hangar is the terminal building with all its facilities, control tower and bays used by the airlines, the university and Great Lakes Airmotive.

A distributor of Cessna Aircraft, aviation products and aircraft services, Great Lakes Airmotive subleases one bay.

Landing fees are charged fare-paying aircraft only. Military, private and executive aircraft land free.

Originally, the fuel storage and pumping facilities cost approximately $200,000. In 1954, the airlines invested another $50,000 in the system, which now has a 290,000-gallon capacity.

In 1954, the airlines turned in from Willow Run to the State of Michigan $225,596 net in aviation gas taxes. In 1955, there was a 29 percent increase, due to bigger planes in service and an increase in the number of flights scheduled.

There now are 386 scheduled airline operations daily at Willow Run.

Within 5 or 10 years, the airlines believe an airport well removed from the present site (to avoid air traffic congestion) will be needed.

If it weren't for the combination of military, private and commercial air traffic in the Willow Run-Wayne Major area, they contend that extension of runways and construction of additional hangars at Willow Run could see them through the next 20 or 25 years.

All traffic in that area already is very heavy, however, so they favor a move to another airport removed from either Willow Run or Wayne Major.

They favor the immediate development of an airport north of the city to serve Detroiters east of Woodward, citizens of Macomb and Oakland counties, and the many people requiring air travel in the tri-city area of Flint, Saginaw and Bay City.

[From the Detroit Free Press of February 8, 1956]

WILLOW RUN IS DUE TO GET FACELIFTING—AIRLINES TO FOOT COST OF $1½ MILLION JOB

(By Jean Pearson)

When columnist Inez Robb was in Detroit recently, she blasted Willow Run Airport by comparing the terminal to a "county carnival."

Robert E. Miller, president of Airline National Terminal Service Co. (ANTSCO), admitted the terminal "left much to be desired."

But he also defended the colorful display and concessions.

They are contributing to the maintenance and operation of one of the Nation's largest commercial airports, he said, thus saving tax money.

Since not a cent of local tax money has gone into the operation of Willow Run, Miller said, perhaps taxpayers can appreciate the concessions' financial value as well as finding them entertaining and useful while waiting for plane connections.

But Miller and the airlines realize much can be done to make the terminal more attractive and functional. And they intend to do something about it.

When 6 of the 7 major airlines decided once and for all to remain at Willow Run, as they recently expressed it, the way was clear to go ahead with an improvement and expansion program.

Approximately $1½ million will be spent in the face-lifting program. The airlines expect to pay for all of it.

On February 16 the board of ANTSCO will meet at Willow Run.

The airlines plan to take up two matters of major concern—extension of their airport lease with the University of Michigan, owner of Willow Run, and authorization of the improvement program.

The current lease expires in 1962.

Both the airlines and the University have said they are interested in extending it.

As for the expansion and improvement program, Robert J. Wilson, vice president of Capital Airlines and spokesman for six of the airlines, says they are all behind it.

Therefore, those voting in favor of improving Willow Run terminal probably will be Capital, Delta, Eastern, Northwest, Trans-World, and United. Doubtful vote will be American, which may move to Wayne Major alone.

Where will the million and a half be spent?

Miller says it will be spent in three stages of development. Completion of the project will take about 2 years. But 2 of the 3 major phases can be finished in the next year, Miller said.

Priority goes to passenger comfort.

Renovation and improvement of the men's and women's public restrooms have already started. An estimated $40,000 will be spent.

Improvement of the terminal will include more comfortable seats, new flooring, an attractive new ceiling, renovation of the baggage area and installation of a self-service baggage system.

Outside of the terminal at the entrance, a canopy will be installed so passengers can step out of cars and airline buses under the canopy.

On the airline loading side of the terminal, the concourses will be improved and probably heated.

All of these improvements are in the first stage of the 2-year program.

Scheduled for the second stage of development is improvement of the coffee shop. This, however, may be speeded up to the first phase.

The catering and food facilities also may be moved. This decision rests upon American Airlines' final decision. If they make a lone switch to Wayne Major, they will relieve a bottleneck in this department. If they do not, the facility will be expanded.

The third stage of the project is on the airfield proper. It will include ramp, runway and taxiway development.

When the bulk of the improvement project is completed, Landrum and Brown, nationally famous airport consultants, of Cincinnati, Ohio, estimate Willow Run Airport should prove adequate to meet the anticipated air needs for the next 10 years or at least until the proposed Northeast Airport is in operation.

Would the airlines be planning such extensive improvements if they had any intentions of moving to Wayne Major?

Since they are businessmen, the airlines representives say, the answer is obvious.

They intend, they claim, to remain at Willow Run. Then, when the Northeast Airport is ready, they plan to schedule flights there also.

As Wilson has pointed out, the airlines expect to have a financial commitment at Northeast. But they believe the business generated by serving a new area in metropolitan Detroit will be worth the additional capital investment there.

To pour millions into Wayne Major, only 8 air miles away, solves neither the problem of growing air traffic congestion in the Willow Run-Wayne Major area nor adds any passenger potential.

Therefore, to the airlines, it doesn't make good aviation or business sense, Wilson says. And he can't see how it could to the taxpayer either.

[From the Detroit Free Press of February 9, 1956]

WAYNE MAJOR STILL NEEDS 19 MILLION—PILOT SAYS "IT STINKS" DESPITE FUNDS NOW SPENT

(By Jean Pearson)

It takes more than flat land and concrete to make a good airport.

Detroit-Wayne Major Airport is proof.

It has 4 square miles of fenced flat land—some of it submerged in spring or during heavy rains—and miles of concrete.

Yet it would take 2 to 5 years and a final investment of more than $28 million to make it ready for full commercial airline use.

Why?

To quote one Air National Guard pilot who flies there:

"The concrete is a roadmaker's masterpiece. But as an airport, it stinks.

"When I'm in No. 1 position at takeoff and a plane is coming in, I not only have to wait for him to land but I have to wait until he stops, turns around, and taxis back up the runway.

"Just burning up gallons of that JP-4 jet fuel because the lousy airport doesn't even have taxi strips off its best runway."

Since 1946 more than $4 million of Wayne County taxpayers' money has been poured into the airport. The majority of all county taxes are paid by Detroiters.

More than $4 million more has come from Federal funds and more than 1 million from State funds.

This still leaves 19 million as a minimum estimate to complete the $28 million post-war expansion.

What is there to show for it?

A jumble of buildings, the longest and widest runway of all civil airports in the Detroit area (but without proper taxiway and an approach to the terminal and executive hangars that rates as high adventure.

To use a favorable phrase of Airport Manager Henry Baker, the airport looks as though it were planned on a we'll-cross-that-bridge-when-we-come-to-it basis.

Actually, there is not 1 airport but 2.

One is the old Wayne County Airport in the northeast section.

On it is the big hangar for small aircraft, flight schools, aircraft dealerships, repair shops and small aviation businesses plus some sheds and miscellaneous buildings.

In that corner, with an entrance from Middle Belt, are the old control tower and terminal building, a well-constructed brick and concrete building that's virtually abandoned.

Next to it are the seemingly permanent "temporaries" of the days when Wayne Major was Romulus Army Air Force Base. These are used by the Civil Aeronautics Administration.

Farther down the line, on Middle Belt, is the old, abandoned officers' club. Large, but not a permanent type building.

Next comes the new Air National Guard administration building, paid for completely by Government funds.

Around the bend, on Goddard going west off Middle Belt, there are on the north side the Air National Guard hangars, including the $700,000 one just completed. It was designed for military operations. There are also miscellaneous sheds, loading docks and supply depots built of temporary material.

This, basically, comprises the northern, eastern and southern sides of the old, mile-square airport. In its center is a complete runway and taxiway system of little, if any, use to the bigger one now being constructed in the middle of the field.

In the new section, the terminal tower juts up in the middle, with an assortment of hangars and buildings scattered around it.

Also on the airport are a salt mine, gas-oil drilling and an Army Nike antiaircraft missile installation.

To reach the terminal, you have to drive out on a runway. But cars only get half the runway. Down the middle is a snow fence. On the other side of the fence airplanes are taxiing.

To get to the executive hangars, you have to cross the runway. Companies such as Ford Motor, Holley Carburetor, Wyandotte Chemical and Great Lakes Steel keep their planes in these hangars.

At this crucial point, there is a stop-and-go light.

This of course, as Leroy Smith, in charge of the airport development and operation, and Baker point out, will be changed if the airport is developed for full airline use.

What they plan as a solution is an access road from the Willow Run Expressway.

To reach the terminal, the access road will have to be tunneled under the expressway, the Wabash Railroad track and, in time, under a runway and taxi strip.

At other airports, these runway underpasses have cost $1 million each. They are not included in the estimated 28 million plus development program for Wayne Major.

In February 1947, Smith said that close to 5 million would be spent on improving Wayne Major and that it would be available for use by the airlines in October if they wished.

Further improvements would continue, he said, for the next 3 years. By 1950, he said, the expansion program would be complete and Wayne Major would be one of the finest airports in the country.

In August 1947, Smith said, "It is anticipated that by next July the Detroit-Wayne Major Airport will be equipped to handle all of the major airlines serving Detroit."

Nine years later, it would still take at least 2 years to develop Wayne Major for full commercial airline use.

Yet more than 9 millions of County, State and Federal funds have been sunk into the airport since 1946.

[From the Detroit Free Press of February 10, 1956]

BLANK-CHECK DEAL SHUNNED BY AIRLINES—WOULD HAVE TO MAKE UP WAYNE MAJOR DEFICIT

(By Jean Pearson)

"Would you sign your name to a blank check?"

That's the answer you get when you ask the airlines why they object to the contract offered them for operation at Detroit-Wayne Major.

Before discussing the contract, however, the airlines insist on making it clear that it was not the type of contract offered that caused six of the seven to decide "once and for all" to remain at Willow Run.

Their prime reason for refusing to move, they reiterate, is their sincere belief that the millions it would cost the airlines and taxpayers to develop Wayne Major would be spent best at the Northeast Airport.

Nevertheless, they add, the type of contract offered them was unacceptable.

Reason is a simple one.

To issue revenue bonds to finance Wayne Major's development, the Wayne County Road Commission must have signed contracts from the airlines.

Retirement of the bonds, plus the interest rate, must come from operating revenue at the airport.

If the road commission goes into the hole financially operating at the airport (and past record makes this probable), they have told the airlines they would expect them to make up the deficit.

As a result, the road commission so far has refused to offer the airlines any contracts with fixed fees not subject to change.

If they do give them such a contract, then the taxpayers would have to make up the difference.

So the airlines not only couldn't be certain about what it would cost them to operate at Wayne Major, but they would be expected to make up all of the deficits.

Further, they point out, the deficits could easily come from poor management over which they would have no control.

There is nothing in the history of the operation of Wayne Major Airport during

the last 5 years that would give them any encouragement.

During the last 5 years Wayne Major has operated at a loss of $222,194.

In 1951, the loss was $91,614. In 1952, it made $689. In 1953, the loss was $68,536. In 1954, the loss was $62,733. In 1955, there was a profit—$6,240. Total loss: $222,194.

Two years bear special mention.

In 1952, the Government paid $46,979 for damages done during World War II.

Airport officials say this gives them a profit of $689 for 1952. However, it hardly can be considered operating revenue from good management in 1952.

If it were not classed as operating revenue for that year, the total loss for 5 years would be over a quarter million dollars.

The other year bearing special mention is 1955. It was a good year. The only truly profitable one.

But how much of an annual return on an investment of over $9 million, the amount poured into Wayne Major since it was opened in 1930, is $6,240?

It is pointed out by the road commission that "during the year 1955, an amount of $250,000 was received for salt and mineral rights, which would offset net deficits for the past 5 years."

That's good, everyone agrees. But it is good luck, like finding a diamond.

It's true the road commission hopes to strike oil.

But what assurance do the airlines have that they will continue to be lucky? Or that nonaviation activities will continue to make up possible operating deficits?

In contrast to the Wayne Major picture, at Detroit City Airport there has been an operating profit for every year during the same period.

Total net operating profit at Detroit City Airport for the last 5 years has been close to one-half million dollars.

The net operating profits by year were: 1951, $78,347; 1952, $74,544; 1953, $89,180; 1954, $122,057, and 1955, $113,487—for a net total operating profit of $477,615.

Further less than $5 million has been put into city airport as a capital investment since it opened in 1928, compared to $9 million at Wayne Major.

All profits from the city airport must go back to the city, although anyone who has been out there recently can see easily where they could be spent for airport improvement.

Requests for capital improvement, however, must be made to the city in the annual operating budget for the year.

And when the tax situation is tight, as it is now, airport improvement requests are most likely to be lopped off.

Only one airline, North Central, services city airport, compared to Pan American World Airways and several nonscheduled airlines servicing Wayne Major.

It was not until 1954, when Pan American started operation at Wayne Major, that the airport's annual operating revenue exceeded Detroit City Airport's. It exceeded it again in 1955.

How well was the operating revenue handled? A comparison of figures for both airports is revealing.

In 1954, Wayne Major had an operating revenue of $603,039 with a net operating loss of $62,733. Detroit City Airport had an operating revenue of $588,135 with a net operating profit of $122,057.

In 1955, Wayne Major had an operating revenue of $852,757 with a net operating profit of $6,240.

Detroit City Airport had an operating revenue of $570,912 with an operating profit of $113,487.

Which may explain why the airlines claim signing an "open-end" contract, subject to the operating efficiency or inefficiency of Wayne Major would be "like signing a blank check."

[From the Detroit Free Press of February 11, 1956]

MANY NOW USE WAYNE MAJOR—NAVY WANTS TO MOVE THERE SO ITS PILOTS CAN FLY JETS

(By Jean Pearson)

Detroit-Wayne Major Airport isn't quite so unpopular as the airlines make it seem.

Even though 6 of the 7 major airlines have decided to remain at Willow Run and put future investments in a northeast airport, the county field has its admirers.

It's serving well as an air cargo terminal.

Businesses and industries on the west side, such as Ford Motor Co. and Wyandotte Chemical, base their executive planes there.

Pan-American has one international flight daily and several nonscheduled airlines make it a stop.

The Air National Guard, which has called Wayne Major home for more than 25 years and has leases there until 1980, wants to stay.

Approximately $2 million in Federal funds has been spent on buildings and other permanent improvements to serve the Guard's needs.

Finally, the Navy, urgently in need of a field from which it can fly jets, much prefers Wayne Major to Willow Run.

Rear Adm. Benjamin A. Moore, director of aviation plans for the Chief of Naval Operations, said last June that Willow Run Airport was "unsuitable" as a place to move the inadequate Grosse Ile Naval Air Station facilities.

"The only existing site acceptable is Detroit-Wayne Major Airport," he told the Detroit Navy League board of directors.

In a letter to Representative LESINSKI (Democrat, of Michigan) regarding the Navy's needs, Rear Adm. James S. Russell, chief of the Bureau of Aeronautics, said last spring:

"The Detroit-Wayne Major Airport with its fine runways and approaches and its accessible location is the preferred site."

Then why doesn't the Navy move in? It asked to move there over a year ago.

But Leroy Smith, Wayne County highway engineer, in charge of Wayne Major, refused to let it.

It has been established that it would cost $3 million to set the Navy up at Wayne Major, compared to an investment of 6 to 10 times that amount to develop Wayne Major for commercial use.

Further, as Robert J. Wilson, vice president of Capital Airlines and spokesman for the six airlines, says, if the Navy's need is urgent, Wayne Major would be its best bet.

The Navy could start operations at Wayne Major within a few months.

But at Willow Run it would be at least 2 years and perhaps more before the airlines could move out and the Navy move in. And the six airlines say they have no intention of moving out.

The reason they couldn't share Willow Run is that all hangar and building space already is taken and air traffic would be further congested.

The airlines had more than 141,000 air operations (either a landing or takeoff) last year and the Air Force, which has established a new Reserve squadron on the opposite side of Willow Run, expects to have 22,000 operations annually.

Total annual operations would then top 160,000. According to the Civil Aeronautics Administration, air traffic is considered "congested" when there are 100,000 or more operations annually.

Why does the Navy prefer Wayne Major?

Capt. M. T. Martin, commander of the Grosse Ile Naval Air Station, has mentioned several reasons.

Included among them are:

1. Wayne Major is closer to Lake Erie, over which the Navy conducts most of its combat training.

2. It has cleared approaches for landings and takeoffs and one longer runway.

3. Jet training could begin at Wayne Major within a few months as the airport would be used as a satellite field for Grosse Ile while buildings are being erected.

4. Wayne Major is closer to Detroit and the downriver communities, where the majority of the Navy reservists live.

Further, the Navy believes that additional training benefits could come from working with the Air National Guard on joint tactical problems.

The Navy and Marines have some excellent radar and other electronic equipment not owned by the guard. It could be utilized for training by all three branches of air service.

In addition, the Navy points out, operational savings might be made through combined use of crash, salvage, and fire equipment.

If the Air National Guard stayed, if the Navy moved in, and air cargo and business flying increased, every cent spent at Wayne Major so far would be justified.

With the addition of some taxiways, perhaps the lengthening of one runway, and a new access road, it would be a good airport for such an operation, experts say.

William A. Mara, chairman of the aviation committee of the Detroit Board of Commerce, said last June at the airport-use panel hearings:

"It's a credit to Leroy Smith that he dreamed up Wayne Airport many years ago, because it makes a nice base for the military."

But Wayne Major authorities, who want no part of the military, say all services should be at Willow Run since the Government could recapture it for exclusive use in a national emergency.

Others counter:

"Would county and city official deny the Federal Government use of Wayne Major in a national emergency?"

[From the Detroit Free Press of February 12, 1956]

WILL WAYNE MAJOR BE WORTH THE COST?

(By Jean Pearson)

There isn't any question about the attractiveness and functional quality of the proposed air terminal of Detroit-Wayne Airport.

From all descriptions by Wayne Major planners, it certainly will be handsome.

There isn't any doubt that the runway system planned would be more than adequate to meet the demands of any commercial planes in production or on the drawing boards today.

They would be long enough, heavily constructed, well-lighted and drained and coordinated with modern navigational aids.

But the real question businessmen and many aviation experts ask are:

1. Is this trip to the public money trough necessary?—or wise?

2. Is the financing plan realistic?

3. Does Wayne Major solve Detroit's present and future air traffic problem?

A look at the first question brings up the matter of how much taxpayer money—from county, State, and Federal funds—is involved.

Overall answer is that of the minimum $28 million estimate for the master plan development of Wayne Major, all but $23 million is from public funds. The $5 million difference will be in revenue bonds for a terminal building.

Will this include everything to make the airport complete?

Not by any means.

Not included in the $28 million estimate are:

Hangars (probably about 9 at $1 million each).

Fuel tank farms and storage pits.

An access road (probably about a mile long).

Underpasses under Willow Run Expressway, under the Wabash Railroad, and possibly under a future runway and taxiway.

At other airports, these have run up to $1 million each.

This is the financial background.

Now let's look at question No. 1—Is the trip to the public money trough necessary?

Yes, plus many millions more, probably, if the taxpayers want to develop an airport the majority of the airlines say they have no intention of using.

Is it necessary to solve the military flying needs? Realistically, no.

The Air Force is settled at Willow Run, its prime choice.

The Air National Guard is happy at Wayne Major, where it has been for 25 years.

The Navy wants to move into Wayne Major and could be accommodated there at the expense of only $3 million, compared to the cost of 6 to 10 times that amount to develop Wayne Major for full commercial airline use.

Is it wise?

Yes, if a handsome terminal building and saving 12 minutes driving time is worth $23 million to the taxpayer.

The only catch here is what would you be saving 12 minutes for?

Only one airline, American, has expressed any intention of moving.

Capital, Delta, Eastern, Northwest, United, Trans World, and North Central plan to remain at an expanded Willow Run. Then, just as soon as the Northeast Airport is developed, they say they plan to schedule flights out of there to serve the larger population of metropolitan Detroit.

Question 2: Is the financing plan realistic?

Even LeRoy Smith, Wayne County highway engineer, admitted at a meeting of airline, county and city officials last November, "there are some optimistic figures."

It looks good on paper.

But a great deal of it is based on hopes, expectations and appropriations that are only made year by year in advance.

For example. In the last 10 years, Michigan's Legislature has appropriated only $2,811,727.21 for the entire State as matching funds to Federal and county money.

The largest single State grant during this period was to Wayne Major for $304,647.50.

Yet within the 1955–59 period, Wayne County expects to receive $3,456,178.70 in State appropriations for Wayne Major Airport alone.

Since the metropolitan Detroit area can only receive 50 percent of all State appropriations, it will be necessary for legislature to double that amount for the State—or appropriate approximately $7 million.

It is true that Wayne Major, operated by the Wayne County Road Commission, has perhaps basis for its great expectations.

John P. McElroy, personnel and public relations officer of the Wayne County Road Commission, not only is a registered lobbyist for the road commission in Lansing but is vice chairman of the Michigan Aeronautics Commission.

The areonautics commission appoints the director of the Michigan Department of Aeronautics, who makes recommendations for appropriations to the legislature.

Backers of Wayne Major are planning on getting every bit of the Federal and State airport funds available to Detroit through June 30, 1959.

This means not 1 cent of these funds would go to the development of the Northeast Airport until 1960.

Mayor Cobo has said that the $3 million in bonds authorized for Northeast and the $5 million expected from the sale of Detroit City Airport "will give $8 million that could be matched with Federal funds."

What funds? When?

Of the estimated minimum $23 million in tax funds for the Wayne Major master development plan, $10,940,157.20 would be Federal funds, $4,550,077.54 State funds, and $7,766,848.48 from county taxpayers. Over 70 percent of all Wayne County taxpayers live in Detroit.

Question 3: Does Wayne Major solve Detroit's present and future air traffic problem?

With less than 8 air miles between Willow Run and Wayne Major, the two ports simply make one big air-traffic hub in the sky. It is an air-traffic hub that is already congested by Civil Aeronautics Administration standards.

As one pilot pointed out, moving airline operations from one airport to another makes no difference in the total amount of air traffic in that hub. It's no different than moving from one room to another room in a house. You're still inside the same house.

Perhaps the most revealing answer to this question, however, is in the last paragraph of the letter of transmittal for the November 4, 1955, airport use panel report which recommended the airline move to Wayne Major.

It says: "Nothing in this report should be construed to mean that any airspace problems involved in this matter have necessarily been resolved or that the recommendations contained herein have been endorsed by the members of the Airport Use Panel Advisory Committee."

[From the Detroit Press Press of February 13, 1956]

AIR CROWDED NEAR WILLOW, WAYNE MAJOR—2 AIRPORTS ON GROUND, BUT ONLY 1 ABOVE

(By Jean Pearson)

On the ground you have two large airports—Willow Run and Detroit-Wayne Major.

In the air you have only one.

The reason is that the airports are less than 8 air-miles apart. Together they make one air-traffic hub.

The more you expand air traffic at either airport, the greater the congestion grows.

Even now, when the weather socks in and pilots are flying on instruments, Willow Run, with its superior navigational aids, takes over and controls traffic for both airports.

Wayne Major becomes a slave to Willow Run.

Both have instrument landing systems (ILS).

But at Willow Run there is, in addition, the finest radar and communication equipment.

In fact, Willow Run was recently designated by the Civil Aeronautics Administration as 1 of 38 busy terminals in the United States to be given a second radarscope to speed aircraft safely in and out of the area.

The electronic eyes of the radar at Willow Run show aircraft from 6 to 50 miles around the airport.

Though extremely valuable, the equipment and its installation is expensive.

But so far, no mention has been made of the extra cost of moving or installing this equipment at Wayne Major if that airport is developed for full-scale commercial airline use.

Seeing traffic 50 miles out might seem like a comfortable margin.

It is for a DC–3. But a jet could cover that distance in 5 minutes, and the 8 miles between Wayne Major and Willow Run in 48 seconds.

During instrument weather, holding patterns for aircraft waiting their turn to land are oval shapes in the sky.

It takes an oval 19 miles long and 8 miles wide to provide a buffer of airspace around each plane.

The planes are then "stacked" above each other as 1,000-foot intervals.

Above 19,000 feet the oval must be 38 miles long and 16 miles wide. Above 29,000 feet, the oval is 57 miles long and 24 miles wide.

By present-day airline standards, a holding pattern above 19,000 feet seems high. But jet airliners are coming and they are different.

Charles J. Lowen, new Administrator of Civil Aeronautics, noted this February 4 when he talked on jet age requirements at the Jet Age Conference of the Air Force Association in Washington.

Lowen said:

"The one feature, other than speed, that most sharply distinguishes the jet transport from current civil aircraft is that this new beast is an inhabitant of the higher altitudes.

"It operates most efficiently at about 30,000 to 40,000 feet.

"When a B–47 makes a missed approach, for example, I understand it consumes some 2,700 pounds of fuel just in descending from and returning to the 1,000-foot level."

Considering these holding patterns, it can easily be seen why, even with the smallest oval, 2 airports less than 8 air-miles apart constitute 1 traffic hub in the sky.

What aviation experts can't understand is how two large airports were allowed to develop so near each other. They ask:

"Will regional CAA officials ever be asked to explain why they approved expansion of Wayne Major (at the cost of many millions to the Federal Government) when it was practically on top of Willow Run?"

Millions were spent on Wayne Major development after Willow Run already was in operation as a major air terminal for all the airlines. The airlines' group never encouraged development of Wayne Major.

Another question asked by those who keep tabs on the local aviation picture is:

"Why hasn't the metropolitan Detroit area air traffic study, requested by the Airport Use Panel last June, been made public?"

They are not as interested in the report sent from Kansas City (CAA regional headquarters) to Washington as the one sent from Detroit to Kansas City and the opinion or conclusion of the local people.

Granted that Wayne Major and Willow Run are but one airport from the sky, what's the answer?"

As mentioned in earlier stories, the CAA has said that when air traffic reaches 100,000 operations (landings or takeoffs) annually at an airport, a potential need for a second airport exists.

There are already more than 100,000 operations annually at Willow Run alone.

Good sense dictates that the second airport be far enough removed to avoid further air traffic congestion.

The proposed northeast site is not only far enough removed but it is also north of the east-west air traffic flow that passes directly over Willow Run and Wayne Major.

Planes headed for Northeast Airport could be "peeled off" the airway some distance away to relieve, rather than add, to the traffic coming into Wayne Major and Willow Run.

[From the Detroit Free Press of February 14, 1956]

MACOMB COULD BRAG ABOUT NORTHEAST AIRPORT

(By Jean Pearson)

Someday, Macomb County may boast about having one of the finest airports in Michigan.

It could also boast that it was the most modern, designed and built from scratch.

Not a "make do" airport. Not a rehash of an airport begun in 1928, but an airport keyed to a new era in aviation transportation.

It would be a modern airport in every respect—two 10,000-foot runways, a helicopter landing area, a handsome, functional terminal building, newest and speediest of baggage handling systems and ample parking space.

It would be an airport serving more than 2 million people of 3 counties in a 12½-mile radius (almost 4 times as many people as served by Detroit-Wayne Major Airport in a 12½-mile radius).

It would be within 13 miles of Cadillac Square in the heart of Detroit. Expressways, such as the proposed eight-lane Hastings superhighway, would speed ground transportation.

All of this would not cost Macomb County 1 cent.

Yet some emotionally aroused people in Warren Township, where the airport is planned, are fighting it with every legal maneuver in the books.

From the time a northeast airport was suggested in the early 1950's, legal skirmishes have been carried on.

Finally, in 1954, the 74-acre Warren Airport was purchased by the city of Detroit for $93,000 as a nucleus for the proposed northeast airport.

Immediately, some Warren Township officials, who opposed what they considered "a big city pushing them around," protested.

The township entered a suit to condemn Warren Airport for a park, despite its drainage disadvantages for a recreational area.

They lost the suit, heard before a Macomb County jury in Circuit Judge James E. Spier's courtroom this month.

Now, the one hurdle remaining before the tricounty airport can become a reality is a condemnation suit filed by Detroit to acquire the land for expansion of Warren Airport.

When completed, the airport boundaries would be Ryan, Dequindre, Twelve, and Fourteen Mile Roads.

The court case is expected to come up this spring. It will be one with sparks flying. And no matter which side wins, it is likely to be appealed to the Michigan Supreme Court.

One of the first steps to blockade the condemnation was taken last Friday when Warren Township paid $234,300 to Poultry Farmer Frank B. Krause for his 71-acre farm.

The $234,300 was taken from a $300,000 fund voted for recreation purposes in the township. A school district, which joined the purchase, wants a portion for a school site.

Township Superviser Arthur J. Miller said bluntly, after the deal had been made secretly, "We're not kidding anyone. We bought the land for two reasons—the park and to stop Detroit."

Detroit Corporation Counsel Paul T. Dwyer said, however, that he did not believe the township's move will make any difference to the airport case.

More emotions than facts seem to have been stirred up in Warren Township over the proposed airport.

Some of the problems concern land values in condemnation, taxes obtainable from the area, school bonds, water, real estate values, schools, and safety.

Taking them 1 by 1, these are the facts:

Condemnation: It has been pointed out that more than a fair price is assured every property owner because the condemnation jury, composed entirely of Macomb residents, will decide the values.

Taxes: At the present time, approximately $12,000 in taxes is levied in this area. A park and school will not increase them.

By comparison, business establishments at Detroit City Airport are now paying twice that amount. All of these establishments and many more would move to the northeast airport.

School bonds: School bonds are now assessed against the 2 square miles that will be condemned.

It has been pointed out that in previous condemnation cases, the city of Detroit has paid off such bonds so there would be no extra burden on taxpayers outside the area.

Water: Warren Township is dependent upon Detroit for its water and some sewers. The township is short of water and cannot develop without it.

It is costing Detroit more than $50 million for the improved facilities that will assure Warren Township and other suburbs enough water for fire protection and normal growth.

Real estate: Impartial surveys show that municipal airports do not adversely affect the value of nearby real estate.

Actually, an airport brings businesses, increases employment, and creates new demands for homes.

Schools: Concern for the safety and scholastic retardation of approximately 15,000 pupils enrolled in schools in a 30-square-mile area surrounding the proposed Northeast Airport has been expressed by opponents.

By comparison, approximately 40,000 public and parochial school students are studying within a 2-mile radius of Detroit City Airport.

And, as has been pointed out, "not once in the 25 years since that extremely busy airport has been operating has a schoolchild so much as lost his hat to a descending airplane."

Safety: A lot could be said to point up the fallacy of hysteria on this point.

Suffice to say that records show a person is safer near an airport than on a railroad or highway.

Safer, even than on a sidewalk. Bicycles kill more innocent bystandars annually than airplanes.

[From the Detroit Free Press of February 15, 1956]

WILL MILLIONS BE WASTED ON WAYNE MAJOR?—NORTHEAST AIRPORT SEEN MORE SENSIBLE MOVE

(By Jean Pearson)

For nearly 2 weeks the Free Press has been printing a series of articles on Detroit's airport situation.

What, in summary, are some of the important points that affect the taxpayer and the way his money is spent?

In this concluding article, some of the highlights are reviewed.

First, by way of background, Metropolitan Detroit is expected to have a population close to 4 million by July 1960.

An estimated 3,100,000 air passengers will arrive or depart in the Detroit area that year.

This is well over a million more than arrived or departed on planes here in 1955.

By 1965, the number will be close to 4 million passengers.

Detroit should be building another airport now.

This does not mean Detroit-Wayne Major Airport.

Whether the airlines operate at Willow Run Airport or Wayne Major is beside the point.

They may be two airports on the ground but they are only one in the sky. Being only 8 air-miles apart, they form one air traffic hub.

The two airports are so close together that in instrument flying weather the Willow Run tower, with superior navigational aids, takes over air traffic control for both fields.

Already this air traffic hub is congested.

The Civil Aeronautics Administration has stated:

"With present technical know-how, an airport with 100,000 or more air carrier operations has reached or is approaching the limit of efficient IFR (instrument flight rules) operational capacity.

"A community, therefore, has a potential need for two airports for air commerce when it has 100,000 or more air carrier operations."

Willow Run now has more than 144,600 operations (either a landing or takeoff) annually. Of these, more than 120,000 are air carrier operations.

Add the more than 135,000 operations annually at Wayne Major to the single air traffic hub and you have the reason why another airport, far removed from either, is needed.

You also have the reason why the airlines insist the minimum of $19 million more needed to develop Wayne Major for full airline use would be better spent developing the Northeast site.

Further, this 19 million estimate (added to the 9 million poured into Wayne Major since 1946) would not complete the airport.

It does not include hangars (about 9 at $1 million each will be needed), fuel storage, an access road about a mile long and underpasses (which have cost about 1 million each at other airports), under Willow Run Expressway, Wabash railroad and possibly under a future runway and taxiway.

To finance this tremendous expenditure for an airport 6 of 7 major airlines say they have no intention of using, an exceedingly optimistic program has been set up.

It was set up by the Wayne County Road Commission, sponsor of the airport under the direction of Leroy Smith, county highway engineer, for more than 27 years.

Total estimated cost for development of Wayne Major (without hangars, fuel storage, access road and underpasses) is a minimum of $28 million, of which $23 million is tax money.

More than 9 million of the total has already been spent since 1946 and still the airport is such a jumble it would take 2 years before it could be ready for full airline use.

Many have wondered how the regional CAA happened to approve development of one large airport practically on top of another large airport.

Millions in Federal funds were poured into Wayne Major after all the airlines were already at Willow Run. Further, all but one had indicated they had no intention or moving to Wayne Major.

Now, with the Federal millions already spent, aviation observers wonder if millions more will be poured in "to chase it up."

They also wonder if eventually the CAA in a face-saving gesture might try, through direct or indirect pressure, to force the airlines to move.

Of the $23 million in tax money for the Wayne Major master development plan, $10,940,157.20 would be Federal funds, $4,555,077.54 State funds and $7,766,843.48 from county taxpayers.

More than 70 percent of the county taxpayers live in Detroit.

Though the legislature has appropriated only $2,811,727.31 for the entire State to match Federal funds for airport development in the last 10 years, Wayne County officials expect legislators to appropriate $3,456,177.70 for it alone during a 4-year period.

Since Metropolitan Detroit may receive only 50 percent of all State funds appropriated, this means the State legislators would have to appropriate nearly seven million for airports during that period.

The road commission expects to get what it asks for. It usually does.

Its personnel and public relations officer, John P. McElroy, is a registered lobbyist in Lansing and vice chairman of the Michigan Aeronautics Commission.

The Aeronautics Commission appoints the director (Brig. Gen. Lester J. Maitland) and he makes the recommendations to the Legislature.

Further, though Willow Run, Wayne Major, Detroit City Airport and the proposed Northeast Airport are expected to share the State funds available to metropolitan Detroit, the road commission expects to get every penny for Wayne Major through June 30, 1959.

Not one cent would be available for the Northeast Airport until 1960.

From Wayne County taxpayers, the county expects to get $3,456,177.70 during the four-year period.

It already receives half a million dollars yearly to sink into Wayne Major.

Ultimate responsibility for making up any airport operating deficiencies might eventually also fall upon the taxpayer.

This would be the case if the county signed contracts with the airlines providing fixed charges not subject to revision or review or tied to some sliding scale.

Since the war, the public has been consulted only once about Wayne Major.

In 1946, a $5 million airport development bond issue was presented to the people.

The county hasn't risked a vote on its airport activities since.

Because this great expenditure is being used to duplicate a large, fully operative commercial airport only 8 air-miles away, the airlines say it doesn't make good sense—for them or the public.

The military Air Reserve program is an important part of Detroit's airport situation.

The Air National Guard, with a $2-million investment in facilities, has been at Wayne Major more than 25 years and holds leases until 1980. It wants to stay there.

The Navy, desperately in need of a field from which it can fly jets (Grosse Ile Naval Air Station is too small for jet operations), always has expressed a preference for Wayne Major.

Not only could it start preliminary jet operations there within a few months, but its installations would cost only an estimated $3 million. This would be from the Federal and residential area of south Macomb County.

For this reason, the airlines have said that investing in the northeast site makes good business sense for them and, they believe, the public.

* * * * *

Finally, the Air Force Reserve is already set up at Willow Run—where it prefers to be.

The airlines say the number of jet operations planned by the Air Force will not interfere with their operations.

The airlines moved to Willow Run when they began using four-engine airplanes in 1946.

City airport was too small.

They considered Wayne Major, but were told it would be 2 years before it would be ready for full airline use.

Ten years and about $10 million later, it still isn't.

At the time the airlines moved, they said they had no intention of moving again until an airport more centrally located than either Willow Run or Wayne Major became available.

Willow Run, built as a testing and fly-away field for the B–24 bomber plant, had served its wartime purpose and owed nothing to anyone.

The fact that it has been put to use and maintained in good condition is a credit to both the University of Michigan, its owner, and the airlines, which lease it.

Willow Run hasn't cost the citizens of metropolitan Detroit 1 cent in city or county taxes.

The airlines pay rent to the university plus percentage of income from nonairlines revenue.

They operate the airport and maintain the field and buildings.

For 5 years they operated at a loss.

The airlines paid for the conversion of the bomber plant to an air terminal.

They also expect to foot the bill for the $1½-million facelifting and expansion already begun at Willow Run.

Nevertheless, they see the future need for an airport north of the city.

More than four times as many persons would be served within a 12½-mile radius of Northeast Airport than would be served in a 12½-mile radius of Wayne Major.

The figures are 2,204,920 within a 12½-mile circle around Northeast compared to 615,350 with 12½ miles of Wayne Major.

Northeast Airport's area of service would extend in every direction:

North, to the area of Flint, Saginaw, and Bay City.

West, to Pontiac, Birmingham and Royal Oak.

East, to Mount Clemens, Roseville, and St. Clair Shores.

South from Detroit and the rapidly expanding industrial area they will schedule flights there.

Then, as they do in Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles, they would operate at two or more fields to provide better air transportation to a greater number of people.

One question remains.

Will millions be spent needlessly (utterly wasteful," as the chairman of the Aviation Committee of the Detroit Board of Commerce has said) at Wayne Major or will the Northeast site be given No. 1 priority?

Politicians may decide the answer—unless the public and legislators have a more powerful voice.

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, last year, Leroy Smith, the Wayne County road commission engineer, wrote a letter to Secretary Wilson of the Department of Defense and urged as follows: That Willow Run Airport, now used by the commercial airlines, be converted into a military airport; that the Air Force Reserve jet operations, and the Navy jet Reserve training operations and the Air National Guard, which is now located on Wayne Major Airport, and probably cannot be moved from it, all be transferred to Willow Run; and that the airlines be made to go to Detroit-Wayne Major.

Mr. Speaker, I learned something about the executive branch of the Government as a result of that experience. They have an outfit called the Air Coordinating Committee, which was not set up by the Congress, has no statutory standing or authority of any kind. That Air Coordinating Committee has a variety of panels. It has an airport use panel. It has an air space panel. I think it has a panel dealing with navigational aids and other aspects of aviation.

What is the Air Coordinating Committee? I hold in my hand the Code of Federal Regulations, and on page 162 is Executive Order 9781 establishing the Air Coordinating Committee, signed by Harry S. Truman, September 19, 1946. The members of this Air Coordinating Committee at that time were: the Department of State, War, Post Office, Navy, Commerce, and the Civil Aeronautics Board. That has been added to. There are some more. But for all practical purposes—and it was the case in the airport use panel which held hearings in the city of Detroit—the Air Coordinating Committee is dominated by the military.

At this point in my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert the entire text of Executive Order 9781.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 9781, ESTABLISHING THE AIR COORDINATING COMMITTEE

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, and in order to provide for the fullest development and coordination of the aviation policies and activities of the Federal agencies, and in the interest of the internal management of the Government, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. (a) There is hereby established the Air Coordinating Committee (hereinafter referred to as the committee) which shall have as members one representative from each of the following-named agencies (hereinafter referred to as the participating agencies): the State, War, Post Office, Navy, and Commerce Departments and the Civil Aeronautics Board. The members shall be designated by the respective heads of the participating agencies. The President shall name one of the members as the chairman of the committee. The Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall designate a representative of the Bureau as a nonvoting member of the committee.

(b) Each officer or body authorized under subparagraph 9 (a) hereof to designate a member of the committee shall also designate one or more alternate members, as may be necessary.

(c) The committee shall establish procedures to provide for participation, including participation in voting, by a representative of any agency not named in subparagraph 9 (a) hereof in connection with such aviation matters as are of substantial interest to that agency.

2. The committee shall examine aviation problems and developments affecting more than one participating agency; develop and recommend integrated policies to be carried out and actions to be taken by the participating agencies or by any other Government agency charged with responsibility in the aviation field; and, to the extent permitted by law, coordinate the aviation activities of such agencies except activities relating to the exercise of quasi-judicial functions.

3. The committee shall consult with Federal interagency boards and committees concerned in any manner with aviation activities; and consult with the representatives of the United States to the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization or to the permanent successor thereof and recommend to the Department of State general policy directives and instructions for the guidance of the said representatives.

4. The committee, after obtaining the views of the head of each agency concerned, shall submit to the President, together with the said views, (a) such of the committee's recommendations on aviation policies as require the attention of the President by reason of their character or importance, (b) those important aviation questions the disposition of which is prevented by the inability of the agencies concerned to agree, (c) an annual report of the committee's activities during each calendar year, to be submitted not later than January 31 of the next succeeding year, and (d) such interim reports as may be necessary or desirable.

5. The heads of the participating agencies shall cause their respective agencies to use the facilities of the committee in all appropriate circumstances and, consonant with law, to provide the committee with such personnel assistance as may be necessary.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 19, 1946.*

Mr. MEADER. The Air Coordinating Committee, when this controversy between these two airports developed, ordered its airport use panel to hold public hearings in Detroit, which they did on the 22d and 23d of June of 1955.

I say that the airport use panel is a stacked deck. It had 2 civilians out of the 6 members of that panel, a representative of the Civil Aeronautics Administration and a representative of the

Civil Aeronautics Board. But it had 4 military representatives, a representative of the Department of Defense and 1 each from the Army, the Air Force, and the Navy. In other words, there were 4 military representatives and 2 civilians. That was a 2 to 1 vote in favor of the military on any problem in the Detroit area concerning the use of airports.

I told you this Air Coordinating Committee has no statutory standing, being created by executive order, but it is presumed to bind the executive branch of the Government. Let me tell you that I have come to learn that the executive branch of the Government has come to have a lot more to say about the future of aviation in this country than the Congress does. The Air Coordinating Committee itself signed the report which resulted from the hearings of this airport use panel and that, like the panel, was represented 4 to 2 military over civilian.

What did that panel report? It reported exactly what it knew it was going to report before it went out there. It was going to give the military anything they wanted, and it was going to back up the CAA and its mistaken program of underwriting this huge expansion program to build one airport right on top of another one.

Who was going to fight it? They knew what they were going to do, but they went through the sham of a public hearing and let people come in and talk themselves out, knowing all the time that it would not make a bit of difference. They could have stayed right here in Washington.

There are some curious things about that report. I am not going to ask that the entire report go into the RECORD, because it is too long. But what would you think would be some of the factors you ought to consider in deciding how airports should be used in a particular community? Would you not think that the item of cost would be one that you would consider? Would you not think that the location of airports and the use and development of airports would have some bearing upon the congestion of air space? But this amazing report of the airport use panel, which was decided before they ever heard a word of testimony, says this in their letter of transmittal of November 4, 1955:

> Nothing in this report should be construed to mean that any air space problems in this matter have necessarily been resolved or that the recommendations contained herein have been endorsed by the members of the airport use panel advisory committee.

Just a moment on the significance of that last phrase. The airport use panel advisory committee is not a Government agency. It is composed of representatives of trade associations interested in flying, the Air Line Pilots Association, the Air Transport Association, and so on. There are a number of such associations. They formed an advisory committee. This question was referred to that advisory committee, but they did not go along with the airport use panel. That is why they had to say that the recommendations contained in their report have not been endorsed by the airport use panel advisory committee. But the important thing is their saying themselves that they did not consider the airspace problem.

Here you have two airports that right now, with their present traffic, without the Air Force and the Navy jet training operations, are both operating at near capacity. Would you not think it would be intelligent to consider the air-space problem before you decide about the present and future airport use in the city of Detroit? But this panel did not dare look at that question because it would have directed them not to put more congestion where there is already too much.

Furthermore, there is the item of cost. Let me just read you what they said about the item of cost. They belittle it. The airlines say, "We know what it costs to build airports, we know what it costs to build terminals and hangars and runways and storage facilities, and all those things. We think it is going to cost between $20 million and $30 million."

But what does the airport use panel say? It says:

> While the panel questions the $20 million to $30 million suggested during the hearings as the estimated cost of transferring carriers to the Detroit Wayne Major Airport, it knows, of course, that such a move might very well be costly.

But when the airlines who have been negotiating with the representatives of the Detroit Wayne Major Airport over the years finally got the figures from them; what were they? From $28 million to $32 million.

The panel brushed that off. Congress, or some other public body, has to put up a good share of that money. But the airport use panel does not care about the cost. That again might be because the panel is dominated by the military where cost is not generally considered too important.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent at this point to put in the RECORD the recommendations of the airport use panel.

The SPEAKER pro tempore [Mr. SIEMINSKI]. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

AIR COORDINATING COMMITTEE,
Washington, D. C., November 4, 1955.

ACC AIRPORT USE PANEL MAKES RECOMMENDATIONS ON AIRPORTS IN THE DETROIT, MICH., AREA

The Airport Use Panel of the Air Coordinating Committee today released the following recommendations as a result of a hearing held in Detroit, Mich., June 22 and 23, 1955, to "determine, in the best interests of the public, the most feasible civil/military utilization of the airports, existing and proposed, in the Detroit, Mich., area."

1. That the Detroit-Wayne Major Airport be developed and utilized as the major civil air terminal serving the Detroit area.

2. That the scheduled air carriers now using the Willow Run Airport transfer their operations to the Detroit-Wayne Major Airport as soon as adequate facilities can be made available to serve their needs.

3. That the Willow Run Airport continue to be operated under civil ownership as a joint civil/military airport.

4. That one Air Force Reserve fighter squadron be immediately relocated from Selfridge Air Force base and established on the Willow Run Airport, utilizing present Government-owned facilities and pursuant to existing rights of the Government to use the airport.

5. That the Naval Air Station be relocated from Grosse Ile and established on the Willow Run Airport.

6. That the Air National Guard squadrons now stationed at the Detroit-Wayne Major Airport be transferred to the Willow Run Airport as soon as agreement can be reached between the State of Michigan and the officials of Wayne County for the replacement of Air National Guard facilities now existing or under construction at the Detroit-Wayne Major Airport with equally adequate facilities at the Willow Run Airport.

7. That the proper authorities proceed with plans to develop additional public airports adequate to serve present and future civil aviation requirements in the Detroit area.

8. That, in the event Naval Air Station Grosse Ile is declared surplus to the needs of the military, consideration be given to civil use of this airport for general aviation.

9. That the appropriate local, State, and Federal officials develop, coordinate, and integrate the master plans of all airports in the Detroit metropolitan area to the extent necessary that each airport may be utilized effectively and fully consistent with the recommendations contained herein.

10. That consideration be given to the establishment of a single metropolitan airport authority to administer the civil airports in the Detroit area.

The Airport Use Panel is a component of the Air Coordinating Committee and its membership is composed of representatives of the Departments of the Air Force, Army, Navy, and Commerce, Office of the Secretary of Defense, and the Civil Aeronautics Board. It is responsible for recommending to the Air Coordinating Committee major policies involving airport matters affecting both military and civil agencies and is authorized to take final action for the ACC when in unanimous agreement.

The panel's recommendations pertaining to the Detroit hearing were unanimously endorsed by:

> Fred B. Lee (Chairman), Administrator, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Department of Commerce; Roger W. Fulling, Director of Construction (P. & I), Office of the Secretary, Department of Defense; Maj. Gen. Kenneth P. Bergquist, Director of Operations, Department of the Air Force; Maj. Gen. Hamilton H. Howze, Chief, Army Aviation Division, Department of the Army; Rear Adm. W. L. Rees, Assistant Chief of Naval Operations (Air), Department of the Navy; Joseph P. Adams, Vice Chairman, Civil Aeronautics Board.

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, on the 29th of December, the airlines met again and said once and for all they were not going to move to Detroit-Wayne Major Airport and they were perfectly happy at Willow Run. They condemned the expenditure of about $30 million at Wayne Major Airport as a waste of public funds.

In addition the airlines said that probably there should be another airport in the Detroit area but that it ought to be away from the Willow Run traffic pattern and that it would be foolish to build one airport right on top of another. As a matter of fact, today, in instrument flying weather, those airports are so close together that landings and take-offs at Wayne Major Airport are controlled by the Willow Run tower.

As Jean Pearson, the Free Press Aviation writer, very aptly said, "You have two big airports on the ground—Willow

Run and Detroit Wayne Major—but in the air you only have one."

But with the increased speed of flying and the increased volume of traffic, it just does not make sense to congest these airports further. That $30 million would be more intelligently spent on the other side of Detroit away from the present traffic pattern of those two existing airports. Certainly, they have thrown in $17 million already, but is that any reason because we have been foolish in the past that we should throw away another $30 million? I would like also, Mr. Speaker, to incorporate in my remarks at this point the letter of December 29 of the airlines addressed to the Honorable Albert E. Cobo and Leroy C. Smith, and the news release accompanying it.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

DECEMBER 29, 1955.

Hon. ALBERT E. COBO.
Mr. LEROY C. SMITH.

GENTLEMEN: We the undersigned airlines have given most careful consideration to the proposal that we move our Detroit terminal from Willow Run Airport to Wayne Major Airport. During the past several weeks we have made a thorough analysis and study of the detailed Wayne Major operation as presented by you to us at our meeting of November 17 last, including your proposed rates and fees, required improvement program, time scheduling of such improvements, necessary expenditure of public funds, etc.

It was agreed at that meeting between city, county, and airline officials that it would cost at least $28,265,000 additional to equip Wayne Major for full airline use. Even this sum did not include such other necessary costs as fuel facilities, access roadways, and the movement of navigational aids. As outlined by you this cost would be borne in part by the county, State, and Federal Governments and in part by the airlines, payable in rents and charges.

We fully recognize that Wayne Major is more conveniently located to the center of Detroit and would represent a 10- to 12-minute saving in traveling time downtown. We also recognize that the comfort and convenience of our passenger customers is of primary concern.

Thus the basic question was a balancing of increased passenger convenience against the expenditure of private and taxpayer funds to duplicate at Wayne Major those facilities already existing and being used at Willow Run. In our considered judgment, the benefits to the traveling public are not sufficient to warrant this expenditure.

We have not been unmindful of the requirement that the various military aviation units find a permanent home. Of the three service units concerned the Air National Guard is satisfactorily located at Wayne Major and the Air Force has moved into Government-owned facilities at Willow Run. This leaves only the Navy to be located and it expressed a preference to operate at Wayne Major Airport.

At the airport use panel hearing it was estimated that it would cost only $3 million to establish the Navy at Wayne Major to make it suitable for a military operation. Thus the difference between the cost of $3 million to install a military operation and the $28,265,000 to set up a commercial operation at Wayne Major would be $25,265,000. It was expressed at the panel hearing that an urgency exists for a relocation of the Navy and this urgency could more readily be met by a move to Wayne Major.

We also have before us the need for another airport in the northeast section. We feel that any money spent on further airport facilities in the Detroit area should be invested in the development of the Northeast Airport, as a solution to Detroit's airport needs.

In conclusion we wish to express our thanks to both the city and county officials for their interest in the matter.

ROBERT J. WILSON,
Capital Airlines, Inc.
TODD G. COLE,
Delta Air Lines, Inc.
MAURICE LETHBRIDGE,
Eastern Airlines, Inc.
DALE MERRICK,
Northwest Airlines, Inc.
GEORGE H. CLAY,
Trans World Airlines, Inc.
RALPH S. TWIST,
United Air Lines, Inc.

AIRLINES NATIONAL TERMINAL SERVICE CO., INC.,
Ypsilanti, Mich., January 1956.

Seven of eight major airlines operating at Willow Run Airport today informed Detroit and Wayne County officials that they have finally decided, "once and for all," against moving operations to the Detroit-Wayne Major Airport.

The decision was reached in a special meeting December 28, of member airlines comprising the Airlines National Terminal Service Co., Inc. (ANTSCO). An announcement of the action has been withheld until each airline signed a letter which was received today by Leroy C. Smith, Wayne County highway engineer and manager of Wayne Major.

"In our considered judgment," the carriers told Smith, "the benefits to the traveling public are not sufficient to warrant" the expenditure of some $32 million, the amount in public and private funds estimated necessary to convert Wayne Major.

In their letter, the airlines said their final decision followed a thorough analysis and study of the detailed Wayne Major operation as proposed by the airport's backers.

"We fully recognize that Wayne Major is more conveniently located to the center of Detroit and would represent a 10- to 12-minute saving in traveling time," the airlines said. "We also recognize that the comfort and convenience of our passenger customers is of primary concern.

"Thus the basic question was a balancing of increased passenger convenience against the expenditure of private and taxpayer funds to duplicate at Wayne Major those facilities already existing and being used at Willow Run."

The airline's decision was also governed by the requirements of the Michigan Air National Guard, currently based at Wayne Major, and the Naval Air Station at Grosse Ile. A new Air Force reserve squadron is expected to begin its weekend flying operations at Willow Run later this month.

National Guard spokesmen have said they are "happily located," while Navy officials have expressed a clear preference for relocating all naval flying activities at Wayne Major rather than Willow Run. It has been estimated that it will cost only $3 million to transfer the Grosse Ile base to Wayne Major, a clear-cut savings of nearly $30 million over the cost to convert the Wayne County port for commercial operations.

The letter to Smith was sent by all ANTSCO member airlines except American, which has indicated it is considering a lone switch to Wayne Major. American was represented at the special ANTSCO meeting, but declined to make any comment on the outcome.

The airlines' unified stand apparently spells an end to Wayne County hopes for a multimillion dollar revamping of Wayne Major, but the aircarriers pledged their complete support and cooperation in working toward another Detroit airport in the northeast section to supplement Willow Run.

"We feel," the airlines said today, "that any money spent on further airport facilities in the Detroit area should be invested in the development of the Northeast Airport, as a solution to Detroit's airport needs." Pointing to current air traffic increases of from 10 to 15 percent yearly, they say two airports in the metropolitan Detroit area will be "justified and warranted" by the time a new facility can be constructed.

The "once and for all" decision to remain at Willow Run thus paves the way for the start of a $1,500,000 remodeling and expansion program there, financed by the airlines.

Based on an extensive study by Landrum & Brown, nationally famous airport consultants of Cincinnati, Ohio, the project in its entirety will take about 2 years to complete. Two of three major phases of the improvement program, however, can be finished by next year, ANTSCO president, Robert E. Miller, said today. He added that a detailed explanation of the project will be announced publicly when a date for the start of actual work has been set.

When the bulk of the improvement project is completed, the Landrum & Brown report estimates, Willow Run Airport should prove adequate to serve all anticipated air-travel needs of the metropolitan Detroit area for the next 10 years, and at least until the proposed northeast airport is in operation.

Cost of the revamping would be reduced considerably should American Airlines decide to move, Miller explained, as the remaining seven carriers would absorb space currently utilized by American, which accounts for some 28 percent of operations at Willow Run. This would then cut down planned and needed expansion of the terminal building and hangar facilities.

To back up with action their intention of remaining at Willow Run, ANTSCO officials have been authorized to negotiate with the University of Michigan, owner of the vast airport, for an extension and/or renewal of the current lease, which expires in 1962.

Airlines who concurred in the final decision to remain at Willow Run include Capital, Delta, Eastern, Northwest, Trans World, and United. The seventh, North Central Airlines, is not a member of ANTSCO, but intends to stay. An eighth operator, Slick Air Freight, moved early last year from Wayne Major.

Mr. MEADER. After the airlines said that they were not going to move—this has happened. There have been three attacks in an attempt to force the airlines to move. I have here a letter dated February 14, 1956, from the Department of the Navy addressed to Mr. Floyd Wakefield, the University of Michigan Airport supervisor at Willow Run, in which the Navy says: "We need so much space—please give it to us."

The university has not yet replied to that letter, but I do not know how they could make any other reply than to say, "Well, we are sorry, but there just is nowhere to go. The space is occupied," which it is.

Mr. Speaker, I would like at this point in my remarks to incorporate the letter from the Navy Department to the University of Michigan.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY,
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF
NAVAL OPERATIONS,
Washington 25, D. C., February 9, 1956.

Mr. FLOYD G. WAKEFIELD,
University of Michigan Airport
Supervisor, Willow Run Airport,
Ypsilanti, Mich.

DEAR MR. WAKEFIELD: I am writing in regards to the recent Airport Use Panel public hearing held in the city of Detroit and that panel's recommendation of November 4, 1955, that the Naval Air Station, Grosse Ile, Mich., be relocated and established on the Willow Run Airport.

It is the desire of the Navy Department to comply with the above recommendation as soon as possible in that the Naval Air Station, Grosse Ile, is no longer adequate to support the newer type aircraft planned for that station. Feasibility studies have proven that the cost of expanding the Grosse Ile runway system would be prohibitive as well as requiring excessive fill in the Detroit River. For these and other reasons, no further consideration is being given to the expansion of this facility.

The purpose of this letter is to set forth the anticipated Navy requirements for the relocation of the Naval Air Station on the Willow Run Airport and to request an estimated date and extent of available facilities upon which this Department can plan, and program for, this recommended move. The anticipated Navy requirements for the Willow Run Airport are as follows:

1. Land area—approximately 80 acres.
2. Aircraft parking apron—90,000 square yards.
3. Aircraft hangar: Hangar area, 50,000 square feet; Leanto area, 60,000 square feet.
4. Ground training building, 30,000 square feet.
5. Aviation fuel storage, 10,000 barrels.
6. Supply offices and warehouse storage facilities, 50,000 square feet.
7. Public Works and automotive maintenance facilities, 20,000 square feet.
8. Ordnance storage facilities, three magazines.
9. Personnel and welfare facilities to be constructed.

It is anticipated that Navy aircraft, approximately 60 in number, of which 37 will be jet type, will average 32,000 operations per year.

Your early attention and cooperation in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,
E. A. HANNEGAN,
Captain, United States Navy
(By direction).

Mr. MEADER. Meanwhile, almost on the same day, February 13, 1956, the secretary of the Airport Use Panel, this kangaroo court that I have been talking about, wrote a letter to the University of Michigan which is really a masterpiece of Federal bureaucratic arrogance and impertinence.

They wanted to know why the University of Michigan had not answered a letter which, I understand, the university never received. They wanted to know when the University of Michigan was going to start obeying the orders of the Airport Use Panel. If it binds anybody, it binds the executive branch of the Government, but it does not have any authority over the State of Michigan or any agency of the State of Michigan.

They had the impertinence and audacity to tell the University of Michigan, and the regents of that university, that they should not renew any lease with the airlines. I would say they are way out of bounds. It is an ultra vires act and should be ignored.

I think the university is drafting a reply to that letter.

I would like to incorporate the Airport Use Panel letter of February 13, 1956, at this point.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

(The letter is as follows:)

AIR COORDINATING COMMITTEE,
Washington, D. C., February 13, 1956.

Dr. HARLAN HATCHER,
President, University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor, Mich.

MY DEAR DR. HATCHER: Early in November 1955, you were furnished a copy of the airport use panel's report dated November 4, 1955, concerning the most feasible civil military utilization of the airports, existing and proposed in the Detroit, Mich., area. That report recommends, among other things, (1) that the scheduled air carriers now using the Willow Run Airport transfer their operations to the Detroit-Wayne Major Airport as soon as adequate facilities can be made available to serve their needs, and (2) that one Air Force Reserve fighter squadron, the Air National Guard squadrons now stationed at the Detroit-Wayne Major Airport, and the Naval and Marine activities presently located at Naval Air Station Grosse Ile be transferred to the Willow Run Airport. While these recommendations obviously are of vital concern to the University of Michigan as owner of the Willow Run Airport, the panel, thus far, has received no official indication of the university's position with respect to the proposed changes in the use to be made of that airport.

In approving this report, the Departments of the Federal Government comprising the airport use plan, individually and collectively, committed themselves to implement the recommendations contained therein. Since the issuance of this report, each of the member agencies primarily concerned has further indicated its full intention to proceed with implementation of these recommendations as expeditiously as possible. In this connection, it is understood that both the Air Force and Navy Departments have already been in touch with the university with a view to negotiating agreements for transfer to the Willow Run Airport of the military operations noted above.

It is also pointed out that since the issuance of the panel's report, the panel has been officially advised by the mayor of the city of Detroit, the chairman of the Board of Wayne County Supervisors, and the director of aeronautics for the State of Michigan, acting on behalf of the Governor, that the agencies of government they represent also intend to cooperate with the Federal Government to the fullest extent consistent with their statutory authority, in the implementation of the panel's recommendations.

As the owner of the Willow Run Airport it is recognized that the regents of the University of Michigan are in a position to considerably facilitate the changes in civil and military use of the airport contemplated by the airport use panel. Accordingly the panel has directed me to request, on behalf of all its member agencies, the cooperation of the regents of the university toward that end.

In this connection it has come to our attention that some of the airlines now operating at the Willow Run Airport are reluctant to transfer their operations to the Detroit-Wayne Major Airport, as recommended by the panel, and that the Airlines National Terminal Service Co., Inc., acting on their behalf, has proposed to the university a long-term extension of the agreement under which it operates and maintains the Willow Run Airport. Inasmuch as any extension of the ANTSCO agreement might make it more difficult to implement the recommendations of the panel than would otherwise be the case, it is the panel's hope that the university will not concur in any such amendment.

In view of the fact that the action to be taken by the Federal Government and the several other interested agencies will depend, in large measure, on the position to be taken by the regents of the university, the panel has directed me to request an official statement of the intent of the university in this regard.

Your cooperation in this matter will be greatly appreciated by all of the agencies of the Federal Government concerned.

Very truly yours,
JOSEPH W. JOHNSON,
Secretary, Airport Use Panel.

(Copies to mayor of Detroit, Mich.; Governor of the State of Michigan; chairman, Wayne County Board of Supervisors.)

Mr. MEADER. In addition to that, one of the recommendations of the Airport Use Panel was that there be a Detroit Aviation Authority, so Mr. Smith set up a Detroit Aviation Authority which they wanted to make a 9-member board. They are willing to have the University of Michigan be represented by 1 member. That member could be outvoted 8 to 1. They would like to have the University of Michigan turn over the airport to this Detroit Aviation Authority. That is very much like, "Will you please come into my parlor, said the spider to the fly."

The University of Michigan indicated that they had obligations under their lease with the Airlines Terminal Service Co., and although they sent a representative to one of the organization meetings, that did not mean that they were committing themselves to the Detroit Aviation Authority.

Mr. Speaker, what does all this mean in terms of the future of aviation in the United States? We all know how important aviation has become, but I would like to read two paragraphs from the report on aviation facilities of a study group appointed by the Bureau of the Budget. It is popularly known as the Harding report and is entitled "Aviation Facilities." It is dated December 31, 1955.

On page 22 I read as follows:

Since 1948, total United States flying hours have more than doubled, and the air carriers have boosted their passenger-miles from about six to almost twenty billion. Military operations have increased and so have those in the category of general aviation. Controlled traffic is now about equally divided between civil and military.

At the beginning of this period, both industry and Government were predicting airline traffic of only between nine and eleven and one-half billion passenger-miles by 1955. In 1951, the CAA revised its figures and predicted that airline passenger-miles would reach 20 billion in 1960. That traffic volume will be attained this year—5 years ahead of schedule. This, then, is the first major factor having an impact on the problem: Aviation's rate of growth and the load it will put on our facilities are constantly being underestimated in future planning.

But to handle this fantastic growth of air traffic; to build a sound policy for its

continued healthy development the report has this to say on page 30:

In summary, then, the present responsibility for aviation facilities development, within the Government, is distributed somewhat as follows:

The Civil Aeronautics Administration has the responsibility for operating the airways.

The military services fly under Civil Aeronautics Administration's control but must, of necessity, provide certain traffic-control and air-navigation services to meet their own requirements, if the Civil Aeronautics Administration is unable to meet them.

The Air Coordinating Committee has the responsibility for coordinating broad aviation policies.

The Air Navigation Development Board is responsible for coordinating aviation facilities development programs.

The Radio Technical Commission for Aeronautics is a Government industry advisory organization with no continuing official Government status which serves upon request.

There are now over 75 committees, subcommittees, and special working groups addressing themselves to aviation-facilities matters. The existence of so many groups is not, in itself, an evil, but it is increasingly apparent that the process of coordination is becoming more and more time consuming, and that preoccupation with current issues tends to obscure forward vision.

Mr. Speaker, however well prepared that report is, I want to call the attention of the House to one surprising statement contained on page 2. The statement answers the following question:

Should a study of long-range needs for aviation facilities and aids be undertaken? * * * it is our considered opinion that there is still no top-level systems study and master plan which would provide the executive branch and affected agencies of the Government with a firm basis upon which to build a comprehensive legislative and fiscal program for aviation-facilities development.

Mr. Speaker, I ask a question in return: What about the Congress? I have long sought better and more adequately paid professional staffs for committees, to enable them intelligently to discharge congressional responsibility as the policymaking branch of Government, the proper branch to formulate aviation policy for this country.

It is not the role of the executive to make policy; it is not the role of some high-powered so-called experts to advise the executive how to make aviation policy; it is not for the executive to write legislation, as the Harding report implies.

It is for us in Congress to do that job. It is my hope that the inquiry of the Legal and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee will provide a fund of factual information which will enable the appropriate legislative committees and the Congress to discharge its constitutional function in determining policy in the field of aviation. It is my hope that the committee's inquiry will also disclose the extent to which military thinking is influencing national aviation development.

As a result of the Harding report the President has appointed Edward P. Curtis as special assistant for aviation facilities. An interesting sketch on Mr. Curtis and his responsibilities appeared in a recent issue of a newsletter published by the magazine American Aviation, which I incorporate at this point in my remarks:

CURTIS TAPPED TO RUN AVIATION FACILITIES STUDY

Edward P. Curtis, newly appointed special Presidential assistant for aviation facilities, told American Aviation this week he will take over the job with "no preconceived ideas." The 59-year old vice president of Eastman Kodak Co., and a longtime personal friend of the President, views the appointment as a full-time assignment. He said he expects to work with an informally-run advisory board and a "very small staff."

Curtis, executive assistant to Gen. "Tooey" Spaatz, the Chief of Staff of the Strategic Air Force in World War II, will start to work on a long-range plan for easing the congestion in the Nation's airways on March 1.

His appointment is a followup to the Harding report to the Budget Bureau which recommended the study of a 20-year master plan for airways and traffic control.

THREEFOLD RESPONSIBILITY

In a letter to Curtis, President Eisenhower said responsibilities of the new post included:

1. Direction and coordination of a long-range study of aviation facilities requirements.

2. Development of a comprehensive plan for meeting in the most effective and economical manner the needs revealed by the study.

3. Formation of legislative, organization, administrative and budgetary recommendations to implement the plan.

Eisenhower's concern with increasing civilian and military air traffic and the complications likely to be created when commercial jets take to the air lanes was revealed in his letter to the new aviation aide.

"I am taking this action," he wrote, "because the rapid technical advances in aviation and the remarkable growth in the use of air transportation have confronted the Nation with serious aviation facilities problems.

"Modern aircraft can be operated in the numbers required by the National defense and the civilian economy only if airports, navigation aids, air traffic control devices and communications systems are suitable for their needs."

"To delay the formulation of the plan is to invite further congestion of air space," the letter continued, "needless hazard, economic loss, inconvenience to users, and possible impairment of the National security."

The Departments of Defense and Commerce have been instructed to cooperate fully with Curtis. They will probably turn over facts and information they have collected in connection with air traffic facilities and name a top official to work with him.

Curtis joined Eastman Kodak in 1921 and became vice president in 1945. He was an Army pilot in World War I. In the Second World War, he attained the rank of major general, serving as executive assistant to General "Tooey" Spaatz. He owned a private pilot's license some yeargs ago, but CAA records show it expired in 1933.

He is a director of the Air Force Association and a member of the Wings Club.

Mr. Speaker, it is my hope that the committee will meet promptly and act favorably on my request for a penetrating investigation of the Federal airport aid program.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

FEDERAL CRIMINAL PROCEDURE

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, just a year ago I introduced a bill, sponsored jointly by our colleague the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. LANE] in this House and by Senators KEFAUVER and WATKINS in the other body, which proposes an important modification in Federal criminal appeal procedures. It would permit any person who has been sentenced in a Federal district court to appeal to the proper court of appeals solely on the question of the propriety of the sentence. This review is not now available in the Federal courts, although comparable provisions have long been observed in the laws of my State of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Ohio, and several others.

It is a highly desirable curb on the arbitrary discretion of the sentencing judge, not likely to be used except in most unusual cases, but insuring against any miscarriage of justice by its mere existence. The proposal has been sponsored in the past by several attorneys general. Current interest in it extends from addresses on the subject by our present distinguished Solicitor General, Judge Simon Sobeloff.

I am pleased to report that in the course of its midwinter meeting in Chicago this week the American Bar Association, acting through its board of governors and house of delegates, has endorsed this proposal, pending in this House as H. R. 4930, and has recommended its enactment by the Congress. I hope this endorsement will be instrumental in hastening favorable action on the bill. It would represent an important improvement in the administration of justice at the Federal level.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. TUMULTY, for 15 minutes on February 27.

Mr. O'NEILL, for 30 minutes today.

Mr. HOLIFIELD, for 1 hour on Tuesday, February 28.

Mr. SIKES, for 20 minutes on Thursday next.

Mr. MEADER, for 30 minutes today.

Mr. CANFIELD, for 10 minutes on Monday, February 27.

Mr. MEADER, for 30 minutes on Monday, February 27.

Mr. DORN of South Carolina, for 1 hour on Thursday, March 1.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks, was granted to:

Mr. O'NEILL and to include newspaper articles.

Mr. ENGLE and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. SELDEN and include an address by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. ROBERTS].

Mr. ROOSEVELT (at the request of Mr. TUMULTY) and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. HILLINGS (at the request of Mr. ARENDS) and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. MCGREGOR (at the request of Mr. ARENDS) in two instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. ANFUSO (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) in two instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. HINSHAW and to include a humorous glossary of terms used to keep the wheels turning in Government and industry and to have them printed in separate form as it appears in the dictionary.

Mr. TOLLEFSON and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. LIPSCOMB and to include an article.

Mr. UTT in two instances and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. BASS of New Hampshire (at the request of Mr. MEADER) and include a speech by Hon. CLIFFORD G. MCINTIRE.

Mr. WIDNALL (at the request of Mr. MEADER.)

Mr. MCCORMACK (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) and include two letters.

Mr. COOLEY (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) and include a speech delivered by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] before the national meeting of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Associations.

Mr. KEATING.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 1887. An act for the relief of Dr. Tsi Au Li (Tsi Gziou Li), Ru Ping Li, Teh Yu Li (a minor), and Teh Chu Li (a minor);

H. R. 2430. An act to release certain restrictions on certain real property heretofore granted to the city of Charleston, S. C., by the United States of America; and

H. R. 8101. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Army to give 25 World War II paintings to the Government of New Zealand.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 34 minutes p. m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, February 27, 1956, at 12 o'clock noon.

OATH OF OFFICE, MEMBERS AND DELEGATES

The oath of office required by the sixth article of the Constitution of the United States, and as provided by section 2 of the act of May 13, 1884 (23 Stat. 22), to be administered to Members and Delegates of the House of Representatives, the text of which is carried in section 1757 of title XIX of the Revised Statutes of the United States and being as follows:

I, A B, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter, So help me God.

has been subscribed to in person and filed in duplicate with the Clerk of the House of Representatives by the following Members of the 84th Congress, pursuant to Public Law 412 of the 80th Congress, entitled "An act to amend section 30 of the Revised Statutes of the United States" (U. S. C., title 2, sec. 25), approved February 18, 1948.

JOHN D. DINGELL,
15th District, Michigan.
JAMES C. HEALEY,
22d District, New York.
ELMER J. HOLLAND,
30th District, Pennsylvania.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1568. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, dated May 20, 1955, submitting an interim report, together with accompanying papers and an illustration on Beaver Slough at Clinton, Iowa. This interim report is submitted under the authority for a review of reports on the Mississippi River between the mouth of the Missouri River and Minneapolis, Minn., requested by a resolution of the Committee on Public Works, House of Representatives, adopted on April 22, 1947 (H. Doc. No. 345); to the Committee on Public Works and ordered to be printed with one illustration.

1569. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, dated April 11, 1955, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustrations, on a review of reports on Saginaw River, Mich., with a view to determining the feasibility of improving Saginaw River or its tributaries for flood control and other purposes at this time, requested by a resolution of the Committee on Flood Control, House of Representatives, adopted April 19, 1946 (H. Doc. No. 346); to the Committee on Public Works and ordered to be printed with 25 illustrations.

1570. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated September 23, 1954, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustrations, on preliminary examinations and surveys of Bayou Chevreuil, La., made pursuant to several congressional authorizations listed in the report (H. Doc. No. 347); to the Committee on Public Works and ordered to be printed with 2 illustrations.

1571. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, dated November 22, 1955, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and illustrations, on a beach erosion control study of the Lake Michigan shore of Manitowoc County from Two Rivers to Manitowoc, Wis., prepared under the provisions of section 2 of the River and Harbor Act approved on July 3, 1930, as amended and supplemented (H. Doc. No. 348); to the Committee on Public Works and ordered to be printed with four illustrations.

1572. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, dated October 5, 1955, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers and an illustration on a review of reports on Boston Harbor, Mass., with a view to deepening the reserved channel to 35 feet and also with a view to increasing the width of channel for which the Federal Government is responsible. This investigation was requested by a resolution of the Committee on Public Works, House of Representatives, adopted April 21, 1953 (H. Doc. No. 349); to the Committee on Public Works and ordered to be printed with one illustration.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. COOLEY: Committee on Agriculture. S. 2884. An act to amend the wheat marketing quota provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended; without amendment (Rept. No. 1807). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. HAYS of Ohio: Committee on Foreign Affairs. House Joint Resolution 501. Joint resolution to authorize participation by the United States in parliamentary conferences of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; with amendment (Rept. No. 1808). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. LANE: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 7763. A bill to amend the Japanese-American Evacuation Claims Act of 1948, as amended, to expedite the final determination of the claims, and for other purposes; with amendments (Rept. No. 1809). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. COOLEY: Committee on Agriculture. H. R. 8750. A bill to amend the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act; with amendments (Rept. No. 1810). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. KNOX:

H. R. 9498. A bill to amend the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1944 to provide for an addition to the National System of Interstate Highways; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. BENNETT of Michigan:

H. R. 9499. A bill to amend the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1944 to provide for an addition to the National System of Interstate Highways; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana:

H. R. 9500. A bill to amend further and make permanent the Missing Persons Act, as amended; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. BENNETT of Michigan:

H. R. 9501. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to provide increases in benefits, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BLATNIK:

H. R. 9502. A bill to amend and strengthen the Water Pollution Control Act; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. CRAMER:

H. R. 9503. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code to provide that annuities

received under the Civil Service Retirement Act shall be exempt from income tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DAWSON of Illinois:

H. R. 9504. A bill to authorize the transfer to the fund for the payment of Government losses in shipment of certain amounts representing unclaimed payments on United States savings bonds; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. DAWSON of Utah:

H. R. 9505. A bill to recognize and confirm the authority of arid and semiarid States relating to the control, appropriation, use, or distribution of water within their geographic boundaries, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. FERNÓS-ISERN:

H. R. 9506. A bill to provide for the conveyance of La Puntilla Military Reservation, San Juan, P. R., to the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. HAYWORTH:

H. R. 9507. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to provide increases in benefits, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HESELTON:

H. R. 9508. A bill to reduce the percentage depletion for oil and gas wells; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HYDE:

H. R. 9509. A bill to amend the Agriculture Act of 1949 and the act of June 28, 1937, in order to authorize disposal of surplus farm commodities, and products thereof, to Federal, State, and local penal and correctional institutions; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. MURRAY of Tennessee (by request):

H. R. 9510. A bill to authorize the training of Federal employees at public or private facilities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mrs. PFOST (by request):

H. R. 9511. A bill to authorize the county of Custer, State of Montana, to convey certain lands to the United States; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. SIKES:

H. R. 9512. A bill to amend the Cooperative Forest Management Act; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. TEAGUE of Texas (by request):

H. R. 9513. A bill to amend Public Law 484, 73d Congress, to provide that in determining eligibility for pension thereunder of widows and children of veterans of World War I, World War II, or of the Korean conflict, commercial insurance on the life of the deceased veteran shall be excluded from income to the extent that such insurance is used to pay the expenses of burial of the veteran; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey:

H. R. 9514. A bill to establish corporate income-tax rates of 22 percent normal tax and 31 percent surtax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 9515. A bill to amend the laws providing for life insurance for veterans, to permit insured veterans to divest themselves of all incidents of ownership over their policies so that such insurance will not be included in their gross estate for Federal estate-tax purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H. R. 9516. A bill to provide for the establishment of a Commission on National Housing Policy; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H. R. 9517. A bill to amend certain laws relating to the provision of housing and the elimination of slums, to establish a National Mortgage Corporation to assist in the provision of housing for families of moderate income, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. WRIGHT:

H. R. 9518. A bill to amend section 8 of the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, to provide increases in annuity for persons who have attained age 75 or above; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H. R. 9519. A bill to provide for adjustments in the lands or interests therein acquired for certain reservoir projects located in the State of Texas, by the reconveyance of certain lands or interests therein to the former owners thereof; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. YOUNG:

H. R. 9520. A bill to provide that public lands of the United States shall not be withdrawn or reserved for defense purposes except by act of Congress; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. ZELENKO:

H. R. 9521. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a partial tax credit for certain payments made to a public or private educational institution of higher education; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. JENSEN:

H. R. 9522. A bill to raise revenue, assist the American farmer by providing for the use of motor fuels of alcohol manufactured from agricultural products grown upon the farm in the United States, to utilize grains in surplus, to balance consumption with production of certain agricultural products; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania:

H. R. 9523. A bill granting the consent and approval of Congress to the Middle Atlantic interstate forest fire protection compact; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. McDOWELL:

H. R. 9524. A bill granting the consent and approval of Congress to the Middle Atlantic Interstate Forest Fire Protection Compact; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. SCHWENGEL:

H. R. 9525. A bill to readjust size and weight limits on fourth-class (parcel post) mail matter at the post office at Muscatine, Iowa; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. RHODES of Arizona:

H. J. Res. 556. Joint resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to a sound national minerals policy, and directing the Secretary of the Interior to take certain action in furtherance of such policy; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. McDOWELL:

H. J. Res. 557. Joint resolution to establish a joint congressional committee to be known as the Joint Committee on United States International Exchange of Persons Programs; to the Committee on Rules.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Kentucky, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to restore tobacco acreage allotments to their 1955 level; to the Committee on Agriculture.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADDONIZIO:

H. R. 9526. A bill for the relief of Gerardo Maria Ciccone; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ANFUSO:

H. R. 9527. A bill for the relief of Miss Pnina Shlapak; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BUCKLEY:

H. R. 9528. A bill for the relief of Spyridon Tzouris; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAGEN:

H. R. 9529. A bill for the relief of Arcadio Navarro-Savala; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HOLIFIELD:

H. R. 9530. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Rosa Ayala de Ortiz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROBERTS:

H. R. 9531. A bill for the relief of Nashat Saadi Zabalaoui; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WILSON of Indiana:

H. R. 9532. A bill for the relief of Pak Un Ha; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. YOUNG:

H. R. 9533. A bill for the relief of Monica Zatica; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURDICK:

H. Res. 406. Resolution providing that the bill, H. R. 7176, and all accompanying papers shall be referred to the United States Court of Claims; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

564. By Mr. O'HARA of Minnesota: Petition of Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Hertel, of Blue Earth, Minn., and 121 other signers, protesting the advertising of alcoholic beverages over radio, television, newspapers, and magazines; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

565. By Mr. SHORT: Petition of the Townsend plan for National Insurance State Office, signed by many citizens of Jasper County, Mo., urging me to lend my best efforts to having the Townsend plan as defined in H. R. 4471 adopted as an amendment to the Social Security Act in place of the present programs of old-age and survivors insurance and old-age assistance; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

566. By Mr. TAYLOR: Petition, as follows: We, the undersigned, respectfully petition you to exercise the proper discretion vested in you by passing legislation to prohibit the transportation of alcoholic beverage advertising in interstate commerce, and its broadcasting over the air, a practice which nullifies the rights of the States under the 21st amendment to control the sale of such beverages. At a time when 1 out of 10 drinkers is becoming an alcoholic there should be no encouragement to increase the use of such beverages. Children and youth are being misled to consider them harmless, especially by the powerful audio and visual suggestions of radio and television, signed by Mrs. Isabelle F. Wilson and other citizens of Mooers, N. Y.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

567. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the grand knight, Knights of Columbus, Corpus Christi Council, No. 2502, Mineola, N. Y., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to expressing their support of the principles of the proposed Bricker amendment to our Federal Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

568. Also, petition of the grand knight, Knights of Columbus, Joan of Arc Council, No. 1992, Port Jefferson, Long Island, N. Y., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to expressing their support of the principles of the proposed Bricker amendment to our Federal Constitution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

569. By Mr. McGREGOR: Petition of Mr. Albert J. Troyer, of Millersburg, and sundry other signers, requesting repeal of a portion of Public Law 761 and any other social-security laws which contain compulsion for farmers, and so forth; to the Committee on Ways and Means.