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ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

FOR THE YEAR 1951

FEBRUARY 17, 1952
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JULY 2, 1952.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Prepared and released by the

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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JULY 2, 1952.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. WOOD of Georgia, from the Committee on Un-American Activities, submitted the following

REPORT

[Pursuant to Public Law 601, 79th Cong.]

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES FOR THE YEAR 1951

Foreword

The following report for the year 1951 is submitted to the House of Representatives in pursuance of Public Law 601 (sec. 121, subsec. q (2)) adopted August 2, 1946, which made the Committee on Un-American Activities a standing committee of the House of Representatives, and House Resolution 7, of the Eighty-second Congress.

The duties of the Committee on Un-American Activities as described in Public Law 601 enacted by the Seventy-ninth Congress are in part as follows:

> The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States; (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution; and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The committee is aware more than ever before of the importance and magnitude of the duty entrusted it by the Congress.

During 1951 the committee held more than 100 public hearings and nearly as many executive meetings. The members on several instances commenced hearings as early as 8 o'clock in the morning and frequently the hearings would extend into the late evening hours.

The committee has continued its established policy of permitting every witness to appear accompanied by legal counsel. The witness has had the opportunity to confer with counsel on every occasion he so desired. While it is true that a considerable amount of the committee's time has been taken by such conferences, the committee, in the interest of fairness, will continue to pursue this policy.

The committee on every available occasion has publicly invited individuals, especially former Communists, to cooperate with the committee by appearing before the committee and making such statements of facts as will assist the committee in its assigned duty to investigate the extent and character of subversive and un-American activities.

The committee has also frequently invited any person named in testimony before the committee as being a member of the Communist Party or Communist-front organization, to come before the committee to either affirm or deny the statements made concerning him.

The committee has been careful to maintain its established policy to avoid that noncooperative witnesses are not heard before a subcommittee of one member and has insured that in hearing such witnesses there be present at least one member from each of the majority and minority representation.

The committee during 1951 conducted hearings to ascertain the extent and success of Communist efforts to influence the American farmers' and veterans' groups. The committee was pleased to find that by and large these inherently loyal groups repulsed all efforts of the Communists to gain strength within their ranks.

It was necessary in 1951 for the committee to again conduct hearings concerning Communist infiltration into the motion-picture industry. Hearings conducted in 1947 resulted in the identification of 10 persons associated with the motion-picture industry as members of the Communist Party. Later, these 10 persons were given the opportunity of denying or affirming their membership in the Communist Party. As a result of their refusal to answer pertinent questions asked by the committee, these individuals were cited by Congress for contempt, and, subsequently, all 10 received and served jail sentences. There were many critics of the committee who claimed at that time that the refusal of these individuals to answer questions did not establish the proof of their membership in the Communist Party, and voiced doubt that these persons were Communists. During the hearings in 1951 all 10 of these persons were again identified as members of the Communist Party.

It was the hope of the committee, after having conducted the 1947 hearings, that the motion-picture industry would accept the initiative and take positive and determined steps to check communism within the industry. Unfortunately, however, the spokesmen for the industry persisted at that time in painting an unrealistic picture of communism in Hollywood and some, at least, would have had the American public believe that there was no such thing as organized communism in the motion-picture industry.

The committee pursued its established policy that whenever it is obvious that a responsible group, whether in industry, labor, or independent organization, does not perform its duty in guarding itself against Communist influence, then the committee must expose this defect. So it was with the motion-picture industry. The committee's hearings in 1951 resulted in the identification of more than 300 persons associated with the industry as members of the Communist Party. There were varying opinions given by witnesses as to the success of the Communists in influencing the content of motion pictures. The fact was evident that such efforts were made.

An opinion given the committee, by a former official of the Communist Party, concerning the success with which the motion pictures were influenced by the Communists, disclosed that Earl Browder, while he was head of the Communist Party, made the statement:

> We are less interested in a film that has Communist context, where a few hundred people will come and see it. We are more interested in an ordinary John-and-Mary picture where there is only a drop of progressive thought in it. So therefore the approach must be not that the party wanted to take Hollywood by the throat and change the content. The party understood that Hollywood is a cultural center and has very prominent people there, people who write, who go to Washington, who go to New York. They are creative people. And where you have creative people, if you influence their thinking, their product will be somewhat different. We are going to have a different product.

This individual in explaining the manner in which the Communist Party might exert influence over the content of a motion picture stated that he believed that there had been created in Hollywood an atmos-

phere for "progressive pictures" and no atmosphere for "reactionary pictures."

Looking at it in this light, this former official stated that he believed that the Communist Party had succeeded fairly well in the Hollywood community.

Of importance was the disclosure of Hollywood as a reservoir for financing Communist objectives, without which the Communist Party and its fronts in the United States would have had difficulty operating. The committee has scheduled certain additional hearings concerning the motion-picture industry as a result of the 1951 investigation.

During 1951 the committee conducted an investigaiton toward ascertaining the nature and scope of Communist infiltration into areas of vital defense industry in the United States.

Hearings were conducted concerning this type of Communist activity in Maryland and Massachusetts. Through the testimony given by Mrs. Mary Stalcup Markward and Mr. Herbert A. Philbrick, both of whom had operated as undercover agents in the Communist Party for the FBI, it was disclosed that as early as 1945 Communist Party members were given instructions to take employment in industries considered vital to the defense efforts of the United States. It was also disclosed that surveys were conducted by the Communist Party which would enable it to learn the exact extent of our national defense efforts. A representative number from the more than 100 persons in the labor field identified as Communists were called before the committee and, without exception, they refused to answer questions concerning Communist membership and association.

The committee also commenced hearings during 1951 to ascertain the American aspects of the Soviet espionage ring disclosed by the arrest of Richard Sorge in Japan. The original information concerning the Sorge ring was discovered by American occupation forces in Japan.

The committee was indeed fortunate in being able to hear Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, who had been in charge of the military intelligence branch of the United States occupation forces in Japan. General Willoughby introduced voluminous evidence relating to the Sorge matter. The committee also heard testimony from Mitsusada Yoshikawa, who was one of the Japanese procurators who investigated the members of the Sorge ring for the Japanese Government.

From this testimony and evidence, the committee learned that there were a number of Americans involved in the Sorge espionage apparatus, and it is the committee's intention that these individuals and the extent of their involvement be completely exposed.

In 1950 the committee conducted extensive investigation which resulted in hearings in the Territory of Hawaii. During those hearings, the committee called Jack Kawano, who had been a prominent labor leader. Kawano, while denying that he was a member of the Communist Party at the time of his appearance, refused to answer questions concerning former membership in or association with members of the Communist Party.

During 1951 Kawano again appeared before the committee and on this occasion answered all questions propounded to him concerning his membership in and association with the Communist Party. Kawano's testimony definitely established that the strongest labor union in the Territory of Hawaii, the International Longshoremen's and Ware-

housemen's Union, was under complete Communist domination. The committee is naturally alarmed at these revelations because of the strategic importance of the Territory of Hawaii to the national security of this country.

Since Whittaker Chambers first appeared before this committee, with the eventual result that Alger Hiss went to jail, the committee has determined that Chambers' disclosures be carefully pursued.

Chambers, whose memory for individuals and events has been amazing, advised the committee of an incident which, according to his recollection, occurred in 1932. He recalled that while he was editor of the Communist publication New Masses, the offices of the publication were visited by a man who was employed by the United States Department of State in China, and who requested to see a former editor of New Masses. Chambers recalled that this State Department employee had a letter of introduction from Agnes Smedley, a left-wing writer, who was named by Richard Sorge as having been an espionage contact. Chambers recalled this person's name as "Chubb."

The committee called Oliver Edmund Clubb, a Foreign Service officer of the State Department, who, at first questioning, could recall none of the facts related by Chambers. Subsequently, through the use of old diaries, Clubb did recall the incident and verified in almost every aspect the circumstances as related by Whittaker Chambers. The committee has learned that Mr. Clubb's suitability for continued employment is presently under consideration by the State Department.

This committee, over the past years, has received an alarming volume of information reflecting the existence and operation of Soviet espionage in the United States. In order that the American people and their representatives might have an understanding of this treachery, an extensive survey was conducted by the committee to expose this operation. The result of the committee's work was compiled in a report entitled "The Shameful Years."

The committee learned that shortly after communism first became personified in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America became the objective of one of the most intense and concerted espionage operations. The committee report shows that over a period of more than 30 years the Soviet Union has abused every principle of ethics and international law in order to acquire all information concerning the industrial might and defense measures of this country.

Many of the committee's recommendations are based on the findings that are contained in the report, The Shameful Years. On the basis of this record, the committee feels that its recommendations are the minimum to afford protection to this country.

In the course of hearings during 1951 and particularly in those dealing with the motion-picture industry, the committee became alarmingly aware that many persons have a misunderstanding of the true purpose of subpenas issued for witnesses to appear before the committee. The committee regrets the tendency on the part of some individuals to consider a committee subpena as the equivalent of a statement of charges or a warrant of arrest for the person served.

The committee is gravely cognizant that such a misunderstanding may seriously hamper the proper procedure of the committee in its

functions. There are numerous instances, where, in the pursuit of logical investigative leads, individuals innocent of any stigma of subversion or wrongdoing are subpenaed to furnish valuable information to the committee. It has been brought to the attention of the committee that many of the persons so subpenaed, especially those of public prominence, have been subjected to ridicule and discrimination as a result of having received such subpenas.

The Congress will recognize, as does this committee, that such an attitude is imprudent and harmful to innocent individuals as well as to the work of the committee. For this reason, it is necessary to reiterate that the American people should be guided by the public record of the committee before judging individuals who appear before the committee, rather than to make any premature evaluation on the mere service of subpena on a given individual.

During the past year, this committee has been subject, as have many congressional committees in the past, to the efforts of various pressure groups. The committee recognizes that for the most part all of the American public is interested in the proper identification of Communists and Communist endeavors. The committee, however, cannot lend itself to any selfish aims to discredit or defame any persons or groups. To this end, the committee must affirm its directed aims to investigate subversive and un-American activities, and takes this opportunity to invite any person having definite information concerning the identities of any Communist or knowledge of subversive endeavors to furnish such information to the committee.

The committee feels that in the present troubled times there is a tendency to loosely identify persons as members of the Communist Party. This tendency in many ways works adversely to the efforts of this and other committees and agencies to properly identify members of the Communist Party for the American public. In order to avoid that, through public misunderstanding, the term "Communist" might become nothing more than a descriptive adjective or a low epithet, the committee will continue to pursue the practice of furnishing positive proof of the Communist membership of any person or group so described.

The committee, in its exploration of the extent and tactics of the Communist Party in the United States, has met with many obstacles and difficulties. Not the least of these has been the reluctance of former Communists to give testimony before the committee which might bring upon them public censure and economic retaliation.

The principal source of committee information during 1951 was the former Communist. The knowledge now possessed by the Congress and by the American people is the total of the sums of information disclosed by men and women who were formerly in the ranks of the Communist Party. To deny to these cooperative witnesses a full opportunity for social, economic, and political rehabilitation following their testimony before committees of the Congress will not only render more difficult the obtaining of authentic and necessary information about the Communist conspiracy and the operations of Communist branches and sections, but, what is equally important, may serve to drive the former Communist into other associations which prey upon the disillusioned and outcast. Without exception cooperative witnesses profess to have broken completely their philo-

sophical and physical ties with the Communist Party. All have been made the object of vilification and abuse by their former comrades. Finding a welcome neither among loyal Americans nor Communists, the friendly witness becomes in truth and in fact a social problem and an embittered piece of human flotsam. The former Communist who has left the ranks of the conspiracy and desires to place his knowledge of the party at the disposal of his Government should be given every opportunity to do so, and it is the belief of the committee that he should be permitted, insofar as his subsequent conduct and qualifications permit, to rehabilitate himself in the eyes of and in the ranks of loyal American citizens.

Today there are thousands of former Communists in the United States; men and women who look upon their life in the Communist conspiracy as a tragic mistake which they sincerely regret having made. They prefer to speak, and they will speak, given the sympathetic understanding of their fellowmen. The committee recommends that cooperative witnesses before the committee be accorded a fuller measure of understanding by employers and associates, to the end that they can take their places in the ranks of those who are engaged in the mortal struggle against world domination.

During 1951 the committee's hearings disclosed the positive identification of more individuals as members of the Communist Party than during any preceding year in the history of the committee.

In line with the established policy of the committee, no schedule for proposed hearings is being announced but the Congress may be assured that this committee will continue to pursue every aspect of subversive and un-American activities.

Communist Efforts to Infiltrate Farm Groups

The committee is aware that in the Communist formula for world conquest, one of the prime objectives in any country is control in the agricultural field. In Soviet Russia, the first endeavors were made to place the farming population under Communist subservience. The much publicized and often repeated "5-year plans" of the Soviets have dealt largely with the collective farms, which in reality are nothing more than slave-labor camps. The committee has learned that in the Soviet plan for the conquest of China the principal target was the capturing of the great mass of peasants. In this the Soviet efforts were so successful that it was sometime before the Western World realized that the turmoil in China was a Communist revolution rather than an "agrarian reformation" which some persons would have us believe.

Possessing this information, the committee determined to ascertain what inroads, if any, had been made by the Communists among the American farmer. In furtherance of this determination the committee called Lement U. Harris, who was secretary of the farmers national committee of the Communist Party in the United States. Mr. Harris, while refusing to answer any questions dealing with Communist membership or association, did admit an interest in various farm groups in the United States.

The committee is pleased to report that with but few exceptions the farmers' groups within the United States have been impervious to the Communist efforts to infiltrate into their ranks.

Communist Tactics Among Veterans Groups

Communism, having gained power through national discord, has always preyed upon the misfortune of its enemies, the free countries of the world.

In the United States during the year 1932 there was a group of well-meaning men, who, having served their country loyally during World War I, and finding little or no employment, were ready to exhibit dissatisfaction with their Government. The Communists, miscalculating the caliber of these men, endeavored to gain advantages through using the veterans to accomplish their selfish aims.

The committee heard the testimony of John T. Pace, who, as a Communist during that period, was assigned to effect control of the veterans for the Communists. Mr. Pace testified that it was the desire of the Communists to accomplish an armed revolution which could be converted to a Communist victory.

The committee hopes that, if the Communists again choose to accomplish a revolution in the United States, it endeavors to influence a group of veterans because if they do so the country will have no worries from that quarter.

The testimony of Mr. Pace only reiterated what the committee already knew concerning veterans' groups; that with but few exceptions there is no more loyal group within the United States than those men and women who have sacrificed so much that this country may be free of such tyrannies as communism.

Hollywood Motion Picture Industry

During the year 1951, the committee devoted a great deal of attention and investigative effort to Communist infiltration in the Hollywood motion-picture industry. The motion-picture business represents an investment of billions of dollars. It is not the committee's purpose to destroy this investment. It must be remembered, however, that the American public also has an investment in Hollywood for, prior to the advent of television, the American public relied almost solely upon Hollywood motion pictures for visual, dramatic presentation. It must be realized that moving pictures have a tremendous emotional effect upon the audience which views them. The same is true of television shows. Because of the vast new potentialities of television it seems logical that Hollywood motion pictures will some time in the future be presented on a large scale to television audiences.

The committee hopes that its investigation of Hollywood will have a far-reaching effect and prevent a large-scale future Communist infiltration of the television industry. It is logical to assume that the Communists will endeavor to infiltrate television on a large scale because it is rapidly becoming an important entertainment medium in the United States. The committee realizes that the vast majority of entertainers and workers in the entertainment field are patriotic and loyal Americans, but the flow of money to Communist coffers which comes from those who are disloyal must be stopped.

The need for remedial action was amply demonstrated when it was found that four Communist-front organizations, which had operated in the State of California, had received approximately $1,000,000 from members of the Hollywood motion-picture industry. It had

long been known that Hollywood was one of the principal sources of funds for the Communist Party of the United States.

During the course of the hearings, certain persons who would not cooperate with the committee tried to minimize the value of the committee's investigation by stating that the Communists in Hollywood were not a bad lot; that they were all good Communists who had never attempted to overthrow the Government; that they had not carried on espionage; and that no Communist propaganda had been inserted in motion pictures. These persons purposely overlooked the principal reason for the committee's investigation. They did not want to bring out the fact that the money which flowed into the Communist Party from Hollywood helped to make it possible for those who have sought and those who still seek to overthrow the United States by force and violence and to betray its defense secrets to an enemy to lay the groundwork for future catastrophies which would result in death to American sons on world battlefields and severely damage the economic status of every citizen of the United States.

It has been noted in press reports that the same persons who said there were no Communists in Hollywood in 1945, which was the date of the committee's first investigation of the industry, are now saying that communism in Hollywood is mythical. If communism in Hollywood is now mythical, it is only because this committee conducted three investigations to bring it about. The industry itself certainly did not accomplish this. It should be recalled that during the 1947 hearings the motion-picture industry adopted a hostile attitude toward the committee's hearings. In deference to the industry, however, it might be said that there was substantial cooperation during the 1951 hearings as compared with those of 1947. The committee holds no brief for those still connected with the industry who try to minimize the extent of Communist infiltration in Hollywood and the prime danger it represents.

The committee was astounded when the true extent of Communist infiltration and manipulation in the Hollywood motion-picture industry was disclosed. The committee had assumed that its 1947 hearings had served to minimize the power of the Communist Party among the devotees of the silver screen. However, it was found during the course of the 1951 hearings that actually the 1947 hearings had not lessened the extent of Communist infiltration in Hollywood and had not prevented the flow of money from Communists and fellow travelers employed in the industry to the Communist Party. The influence of the party in the Screen Writers' Guild, however, was severely curtailed as a result of the hearings held by the committee during the year 1947.

It must be stated, however, that, if the same number of Communists existed in every segment of American life as in the case of Hollywood motion-picture writers during past years, the United States would be in a precarious position.

The committee's investigation of the motion-picture industry was concerned almost entirely with the problem of exposure of the actual members of the Communist Party and did not deal, except in a few instances, with the problem of those who held or had held the status of fellow travelers.

It must be realized that investigations of industries, such as the Hollywood motion-picture industry, are costly at least insofar as the funds allotted to a congressional committee are concerned. It would be an impossibility for the committee to call before it all of the fellow travelers in Hollywood, or in any other industry for that matter. On the question of fellow travelers, suffice it to say, for the present at least, that Edward Dmytryk best demonstrated the damage done by fellow travelers when he said, in a story which appeared in the Saturday Evening Post, on May 19, 1951, entitled "What Makes a Hollywood Communist?":

> The time has come now when even the fellow traveler must get out. They're like the waxy capsule that protects the tubercle—dissolve that waxy covering and you could kill tuberculosis in no time.

Further regarding the fellow traveler, Dymtryk, according to the Saturday Evening Post story, said:

> I know now that you can't aid a Communist front in any way without hurting your own country. The Hiss conviction, the Judith Coplon trial, they all show that no matter how small a fraction of the party is guilty of espionage, the responsibility is on the whole party, and anyone who supports it.

During the 1951 hearings of the committee dealing with the Hollywood motion-picture industry, there were more than 300 persons connected with the industry who were definitely identified as members of the Communist Party either past or present. The committee in these hearings alone heard more than 90 witnesses.

Communist Activities in Vital Defense Areas in the United States

BALTIMORE

The committee during the past year has been devoting a large share of its efforts to the investigation of the exposure of Communist activities in vital defense centers in the United States. It adopted the procedure of conducting its investigations by defense production areas, because previous investigations of Communist-dominated unions have left untouched Communist-front activities in the areas where the Communist unions were located—untouched, even though the fronts were designed to aid the Communist Party in its infiltration of our basic industries. The old procedure also left untouched members of the Communist Party who had infiltrated non-Communist unions, under instructions of the Communist Party, for the purpose of dividing the leadership of these unions, if not successful in obtaining absolute control.

The role the Communist Party has laid out for the labor movement in the United States is expressed in the report of the CIO Executive Board Committee, which was appointed "to investigate charges that the United Office and Professional Workers of America" were following policies consistently directed toward the achievement of the program for purposes of the Communist Party. In this respect, the CIO committee found:

> The Communist movement, from its inception, purported to be a movement of working people. Its basic thesis was that a new order of society must be created by revolution of the working classes and that the "dictatorship of the proletariat" must be established. Because of this basic thesis, Communist philosophy has always been predicated upon the use of trade-unions as an instrument of Communist policy and as a weapon by which the party could organize

the working classes and bring nearer the revolution from which the dictatorship of the party would emerge. As Lenin said:

"It is necessary to agree to any and every sacrifice * * * to resort to all sorts of devices, maneuvers, and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge, in order to penetrate the trade-unions, to remain in them and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs."

The Communist movement has thus always sought to operate through trade-unions, to speak in the language of labor and as a spokesman and leader of labor, and thus, by trickery and stratagem, to direct labor toward the goals of communism.

The use of the trade-unions as an instrument of the Communist policy has been demonstrated by both intent and action. Communist strategy to destroy this country's industrial might is the same today as it was during the days prior to World War II when Hitler and Stalin were allies.

Compare the actions of the Communist labor leaders of today in support of the Communist "Labor Committee for Peace" with the actions of these same Communist labor leaders in support of the "American Peace Mobilization" which flourished prior to World War II. Like the Labor Committee for Peace, the American Peace Mobilization was violently protesting the efforts of the United States to assist free countries of the world repulse aggression. This aggression of the 1939–41 period, which was led by Hitler, was fully supported by Stalin. Thus, these American Communists who decry fascism were wholeheartedly supporting it, while at the same time denouncing the United States as an imperialistic warmongering nation because of our aid to nations who were fighting fascism. Their cries of today are identical. The United States is again an imperialistic warmongering nation because it opposes Communist aggression in Korea.

The first of the defense-area investigations, which resulted in public hearings, was that of Baltimore. In this area, in addition to vital electronic, aircraft, maritime, and shipbuilding industries, there is located the vital steel-processing plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corp. known as Sparrows Point. This plant is the largest steel-processing plant in the United States and the second largest such plant in the world. The importance of this plant to the Communist Party can best be understood by reviewing the testimony of Mr. Mary Stalcup Markward.

Mrs. Markward, a Virginia housewife, acted as an undercover informant for the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 1943 until she was expelled by the Communist Party in February 1951 as an enemy of the Communist Party. Mrs. Markward, who rose within the Communist ranks to the position of treasurer of the Communist Party for the District of Columbia, and was a ranking functionary of District 4 of the Communist Party which included Maryland, testified at length on the Communist activities in this area. Interrogated with respect to the importance of local industries to the Communist Party, Mrs. Markward stated:

In District 4, and particularly in Baltimore, the decision of the district committee was that the steel industry should be the primary concentration point; and the maritime industry should be the secondary concentration point, the maritime industry including seamen, longshoremen, and other related things. Also, electrical workers were to be organized. In Washington, D. C., building trades were the primary concentration point.

As disclosed in Mrs. Markward's testimony, these decisions were not reached by the local Communist organization but were decisions which were handed down by the national committee of the Communist Party.

The importance which the Communists placed upon the steel industry in Baltimore can also be seen through the fact that George Meyers, the labor secretary of the Communist Party of Maryland (presently under indictment for violating provisions of the Smith Act), was assigned to devote his full efforts to Communist infiltration of the steel industry. The Communists were successful in establishing a cell at the Sparrows Point plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corp., even though the anti-Communist United Steel Workers of America is the employees' bargaining agent.

The committee subpenaed eight of the leading Communist employees at the Sparrows Point plant, all of whom refused to answer all questions relating to their Communist Party activities on the grounds of self-incrimination. One employee, Robert W. Lee, even refused to name his present and previous employers, or to supply the committee with the name of his wife. He took this latter stand because at the time of his testimony, his wife, Eugenie Greer Lee, was a school teacher in the public-school system of Baltimore. Howard Bernard Silverberg was an employee at Sparrows Point and, together with his wife, founded the Communist "Baltimore County Committee for Peace." Silverberg also refused to answer pertinent questions on the grounds of self-incrimination.

The hearings on Baltimore developed that the Communist Party of this district did not establish a Maryland or District of Columbia branch of the Labor Committee for Peace, but rather organized a new Communist peace organization, the Maryland Committee for Peace. To attract scores of unsuspecting members of the clergy, together with a large group of industrial and white-collar workers, the Maryland Committee for Peace drafted its own peace petition, which was designed to seek the same advantages to the Communists as the Stockholm Peace Pledge. Through circulating their own petition, the Communists in Baltimore were enabled to present a front not officially tied in with the Labor League for Peace or the Stockholm appeal. To give their organization a respectable appearance, Phil Frankfeld (presently under indictment for violating provisions of the Smith Act), then chairman of the Communist Party of Maryland and the District of Columbia, selected Ruth H. Bleier, a medical intern at the Sinai Hospital; Gunther Wertheimer, a graduate student at Johns Hopkins University; and Louis Shub, a concert pianist, to create the new organization. These individuals perfectly suited the Communist needs because they had never been publicly identified as members of the Communist Party, nor had they been overly identified with predecessor Communist-front groups. Yet the fact of their affiliation, as disclosed by the Baltimore hearings, was that these individuals had been disciplined members of the Communist Party for some time. The irony of this situation was that Wertheimer, the organizer and real leader of the Maryland Committee for Peace, was able to devote his full time to its activities because he was receiving a veteran's subsistence allowance as a student studying under the provisions of the GI bill. Dr. Bleier was at the same time supported

through the income of her husband, a captain in the Army Medical Corps on active duty at Walter Reed Hospital, Washington, D. C.

The investigation conducted by your committee in Baltimore produced evidence of the one-time Communist Party membership of over 500 Baltimore residents. Over 300 of these individuals were employed in defense industries in the Baltimore area during World War II. The difficulty presented by the small staff of your committee made it impossible to conduct full background investigations on all those identified as having been members of the Communist Party. Therefore, only a small percentage of those currently employed in vital industries were subpenaed. Continuing investigation indicates that many of the Communists who left vital industry employment after World War II are now returning to defense industries due to the defense build-up caused by Soviet aggression. This is, of course, a direct threat to the security of the United States.

The Government and industry must take cognizance of the danger faced through the employment of Communists. On the other hand, so must the workers, who have the right by ballot to rid themselves of Communists, their sworn enemy. Milton Seif, an employee in the Key Highway yard of Bethlehem Ship Building, was a candidate for the office of business agent of the Key Highway local of the anti-Communist International Union of Marine Shipbuilding Workers of America. He was rejected by the workers for this office, only to be elected by them to the powerful position of chairman of the local's negotiating committee, after he had refused on the grounds of self-incrimination to state whether he was a member of the Communist Party.

The employees of the American Smelting & Refining Co. continue to have as their bargaining agent the Communist-dominated Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers of America, even though Pete Forrest, a leader of the local, and Walter McMannamon, a former international representative and organizer of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, refused to deny their membership in the Communist Party on the grounds of self-incrimination. This, on top of the fact that the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers have been expelled from the CIO for their subservience to the Communist Party.

The employees of Westinghouse Electric and the employees of Loche Insulator continue to have as their bargaining agent the Communist-dominated United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America. Testimony before this committee has disclosed that nearly every top leader of the UE has been identified as an active member of the Communist Party. The CIO has expelled the UE because of that union's subservience to the Communist Party. The UE international representative in Baltimore at the time of the committee's hearings, Herb Nichols, admitted to signing a Communist Party nominating petition in 1940. Charged with being a leader of the Communist Party in Philadelphia and Delaware, as well as being a member of the Communist Party at the time he testified, Nichols refused to answer on the grounds of self-incrimination. Not only is Nichols a member of the Communist Party, but the UE international representatives who preceded him, such as Herbert Hirschberg, Jack Myers, and Jack Zucker were active members of the Communist Party during the time they were in Baltimore. William W. Hill, a one-time president of Westinghouse local, whose legal counsel is a mem-

ber of the Communist Party, also refused to answer questions relating to his Communist activities on the ground of self-incrimination.

The committee is continuing to follow the activities of the Communist Party in Baltimore because of the area's importance to national defense. As Communist Party members move into defense employment or establish new front organizations to solicit aid to Communist endeavors, the committee will hold additional hearings.

Since the committee hearings, the Communists have already established two new fronts whose activities are being watched. These organizations are known as the Committee To Defend American Freedoms, which was formed by the wives of the Communists subpenaed before the committee during its hearings, and the Committee To Uphold the Bill of Rights, which has been created to defend the Communist leaders who were indicted for violating the provisions of the Smith Act.

MASSACHUSETTS

In the testimony relative to the defense area of Baltimore, Mrs. Mary Stalcup Markward discussed the Communist strategy of infiltrating vital defense plants in that area. On July 23, 1951, the committee took testimony from Herbert A. Philbrick, a resident of Melrose Highlands, a suburb of Boston. Philbrick, like Mrs. Markward, served for over 7 years as an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. His activity differed from that of Mrs. Markward in that she was a publicly identified official of the Communist Party while he was an underground member and functionary. Philbrick, who was active in the affairs of Communist-front organizations such as the Massachusetts Youth Council, the Cambridge Youth Council, Sweethearts of Servicemen, and the American Youth for Democracy, became an executive of the Communist Party in 1946 and 1947. As an executive of the Communist Party, Philbrick was a member of the district executive committee and, as such, attended Communist Party district executive conferences which were held in Boston.

Testifying with respect to the district executive conferences and their purposes, Philbrick stated:

> I believe these were titled "party building conferences," and each of them, I found, was for the purpose of infiltrating heavy industries or key industries, in our area [Massachusetts] and in the United States.
>
> I remember specifically at one of the party building conferences the comrades were instructed to take positions as colonizers; that is, to take upon themselves the duty of being colonizers in the key industries.
>
> That meant if you had a job in a small business or nonessential industry, you should leave it and take a job in one of the key industries. These key industries were listed by the party leaders. We were told they were industries important to the war effort.
>
> We were instructed that the imperialist aims of the United States, the war-promoting purposes of the United States, were to carry on a war against the Soviet Union, and a war against the free peoples of the world, that is, peoples under the jurisdiction of the Soviet Union.
>
> We were told that the chief means at the disposal of the American imperialists was the production capacity of this country, which they said was owned directly by the capitalists of the United States.
>
> We were taught that since this was the key weapon, it was the weapon we had to attack and destroy as Communists.
>
> We were told in New England one of the key industries consisted of the General Electric plant in Lynn. We were told one reason why colonizers

were needed there was because it was involved in the development of defense materials, including jet airplane engines. I might point out that at that time no one outside of the party had any knowledge that jet airplane engines were being developed at the General Electric plant in Lynn, but they knew that.

Another key industry was the communications industry; another was the leather industry, boots and shoes; and another was the clothes industry, service clothes, and so forth.

We were told that the steel industry and lines of transportation were very important centers for Communist Party infiltration and colonization, so various comrades were ordered at this time to take up jobs at these spots.

Testifying as to the distinction drawn between the key industries in New England and nationally, Philbrick further stated:

We were told in certain sections of the country the steel industry would be the main point of concentration[1] whereas in New England the steel industry was not as important. We had seven or eight comrades assigned to the General Electric plant in Lynn, and only one assigned to the steel industry, to my knowledge, to set up the colonization program.

Philbrick's testimony with respect to colonizing key industries by the Communist Party details what we as Americans have to fear from the employment of Communists in industry. Philbrick testified that Daniel Boone Schirmer, a functionary of the Communist Party in Massachusetts, relating to trade-union and industrial activities, prepared a mimeographed industrial survey form which was distributed to Communist Party workers or functionaries connected with local industries. This form, when executed, supplied the Communist Party with information regarding the following: (*a*) What the plants were producing, (*b*) the quantity of items produced, (*c*) the identity of the union bargaining agents, (*d*) the number of employees, (*e*) number of Communist Party members employed in the particular plants, (*f*) training and qualifications of Communist employees, and (*g*) the exact influence the Communists had in the particular unions covering the particular industries. While this form did not call for blueprints of the plant, Philbrick testified that Schirmer was obtaining blueprints of the industries in the Massachusetts area.

With the Communists teaching that they must control or destroy America's key industries, the committee wonders whether a member of the Communist Party has to be caught in an act of sabotage or espionage before he forfeits his right to work on America's vital defense contracts. Philbrick further testified, as has been previously noted, that the Communist Party knew that the General Electric plant at Lynn, Mass., was producing jet engines long before it became public knowledge.

Departing from the Massachusetts area and the testimony of Philbrick for a moment, your committee desires at this point to call attention to evidence obtained during an investigation in another defense production area. In this area, a vital defense plant has a contract to produce restricted defense items for the Navy. The Navy made preliminary security investigations of the employees working on the restricted contracts and found that several employees were members of the Communist Party. The Navy notified the contractor, advising him that the employees were disqualified to work on restricted contract items, and asked the contractor to remove these employees from their

[1] Mrs. Markward testified that steel was the main point of concentration in the defense area of Baltimore.

employment on the restricted items. The contractor notified the employees that they had been denied access to classified employment. This took place in 1949 and you would assume that the employees were removed, but, no, the Communist-dominated union of which these employees are members is so strong that it threatened to strike the plant if the employees were removed, or, to use the union's exact language: "Any move to take —— —— off his present job will constitute a contract violation which will not be tolerated by this union," with the result that today these employees are still working on restricted contracts and, as Communists, allegedly advising their Communist superiors of the details of the defense items upon which they work. This is a situation which has to be corrected through remedial and enforceable legislation.

Philbrick identified Nat Mills, Don Bollen, Don Tormey, and Robert Goodwin as individuals assigned to colonize the General Electric plant at Lynn, Mass., a plant which we have previously noted is manufacturing, among other items, jet-propulsion motors. Mills, Bollen, and Goodwin were subpenaed to appear before the committee, and refused to answer all questions relative to their Communist Party membership on the grounds of self-incrimination. Don Tormey, while denying present membership in the Communist Party, refused to answer any questions on the grounds of self-incrimination with respect to the years that Philbrick identified him as being a Communist Party member. Tormey, attempting to use his appearance before your committee as a soap box, claimed that Philbrick's testimony was false when he was not answering questions relating to Philbrick's testimony. When questioned specifically as to any particular point related by Philbrick, however, he refused to deny the testimony on the grounds of self-incrimination. Bollen also refused, on the grounds of self-incrimination, to answer questions as to whether he gave directions to any person to furnish him with information regarding defense-plant lay-outs.

In addition to his testimony relating to key industries in the Massachusetts area, Philbrick testified at length with reference to the underground apparatus of the Communist Party to which he was assigned. Philbrick was assigned to the professional section of the Communist Party, which section included many of the intellectual leaders of the community such as doctors, lawyers, and teachers. Philbrick further testified that there were between 70 and 80 members of the professional section, divided, for security reasons, into 13 groups or cells. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University had a group composed of professors, while doctors, lawyers, and Government employees were assigned to their own professional groups. Even a group influential in the field of religious activities was a part of the professional section of the Communist Party. Individuals from these groups are to be found as the leaders of the front organizations created by the Communist Party.

It is these individuals, especially the college professors, who lead unsuspecting citizens, including our youth, first down the road of socialism and then onto the road of communism, from which many are unable to return.

Among those Philbrick identified as being members of the professional section of the Communist Party was Dr. Dirk J. Struik, a pro-

fessor of mathematics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. According to Philbrick's testimony, both before your committee and during his appearance as a Government witness in the trial of the 11 Communist leaders, Dr. Struik taught courses at the Communist Samuel Adams School in Boston, in addition to teaching violent overthrow of the capitalist state to members of the professional section of the Communist Party. During this same time, Dr. Struik was teaching his students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Arguments are often advanced that the employment of Communist Party personnel to teach in our schools and universities does not subject the student to the teacher's ideology, especially when the teacher teaches a nonpolitical subject such as mathematics. Dr. Struik is a mathematics professor, and, as an example of the fallacy of the foregoing argument, it is interesting to examine a statement by the Rev. Alexander St.-Ivanyi, pastor of the First Unitarian Church of Jamaica Plain, Mass. In reading this statement, it should be borne in mind that the Rev. Alexander St.-Ivanyi is the former head of the Unitarian Church of Hungary and a former member of the Hungarian Parliament who was forced into exile by the present Communist government in Hungary:

> It so happens that I taught "The Growth of Democratic Thought" for 5 years (1947–51) at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology where Dr. Struik was professor of mathematics at that time. In the curriculum of this course I had to teach Marxism, and its present-day varieties, namely Leninism and Stalinism, also. According to the plan of instruction, my group of students was changed every term, so that in the 5 years I met 10 different groups of sophomores. In practically every group one or two students usually questioned and contradicted both my own eye-witness account, and the accounts found in current relevant literature, of the purges, "corrective labor-camps," stakhanovism, and other practices of the Communist regimes in the iron-curtain countries.
>
> This was to be expected, it was part of the plan that discussion should develop in class. It was more surprising, however, that as often as not these contradictors quoted Professor Struik as their source and authority. As far as I knew, Professor Struik was employed to teach mathematics, not political sicence or any interpretation of current events. Nevertheless, in the much abused name of "academic freedom," I accepted the challenge and did my best to elucidate the problems in the minds of my students, which often were influenced in a contrary direction. * * *

History alone will show how many of Professor Struik's students were led by him down the road to communism, from which they were unable to return until they had performed acts against their country and fellow citizens. The administrators of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology share equally, if not more so, the responsibility for leading these young people away from American ideals and democratic principles.

Dr. Struik was identified as a Communist teacher of violent overthrow of government in the testimony of Philbrick in 1949 during the Foley Square trial of the 11 top Communist leaders. Nevertheless, he was permitted to teach at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology until this year when he was indicted by a Massachusetts grand jury for advocating the violent overthrow of the Government of Massachusetts.

Following the indictment of Professor Struik by a Massachusetts grand jury, we find Prof. Kirtley F. Mather, who exerts an influence over thousands of students at Harvard University, addressing the following letter to 30 ministers of the gospel in eastern Massachusetts:

155 HOMER STREET, NEWTON CENTER, MASS.,
November 9, 1951.

DEAR FRIEND: I know that you, like all other lovers of freedom and true democracy, must be very much interested in the forthcoming trial of our fellow citizens here in Middlesex County who have been indicted under the Massachusetts Anti-Anarchy Act. It has come to my attention that Professor Struik is willing to give some time to the very desirable effort of getting better acquainted with the people of our State and having people discover just what sort of person he really is.

I therefore, am wondering whether there might not be some opportunity in your church or personal activities for him to meet you and your friends in an entirely informal way. Perhaps he could be invited to attend some gathering at which you will be present and where he could meet some of the people of your community and chat with them. Please communicate with Mrs. Janet Faxon, 480 Center Street, Jamaica Plain, Telephone JAmaica 2-3416.

This is not a suggestion that he be invited to speak at a meeting of any organization, although I am sure he would be glad to do that, were he so requested. It is rather my thought that there might be an opportunity for your community to make his acquaintance in an informal, shall we say, social manner.

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) KIRTLEY F. MATHER.
MML

With individuals like Professors Struik and Mather teaching in our leading universities, your committee wonders who the Professor Struiks were at Harvard who led Alger Hiss along the road of communism until he committed espionage against his country. Who were the Professor Struiks at Columbia who led Elizabeth Bentley into her eventual role as a courier in the Soviet espionage apparatus? Who were the Professor Struiks responsibe for leading the Rosenbergs, Hiskey, Gold, and others into their espionage roles?

The committee has read newspaper accounts of the concern voiced by leading universities over football and their plans to deemphasize the sport. When will our colleges display the same concern over the activities of Professor Struik and his kind and deemphasize Marxism?

AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO SURVEY TRADE UNION CONDITIONS IN EUROPE

Your committee, during the past session of Congress, in connection with its defense area investigations, came upon the activities of the American Committee to Survey Trade Union Conditions in Europe. This organization was created by the Communist Party for the purpose of supplying Communists or Communist-disciplined trade-unionists transportation into the Soviet Union and its satellite countries to propagandize against the United States and in behalf of the Soviet Union. During the investigation, the identity of over 30 American trade-unionists from our leading industrial areas was learned. In all of these cases, according to your committee's investigation, the individuals failed, in applying for their passports, to state the true nature of their travel or to identify the countries to which they were destined.

The Passport Division of the State Department, under its able director, Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley, and its assistant director, Ashley J. Nicholas, offered the committee its full and complete cooperation. However, in supplying the committee with all information in its possession, the Passport Division requested that no action be taken in this matter for the reason that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had information that the American Committee to Sur-

vey Trade Union Conditions in Europe was preparing to send another delegation behind the iron curtain. It was the feeling of the Government agencies that public exposure of the organization would eliminate any chance for Government prosecution. Your committee, even though it had devoted considerable time to this matter, strongly felt that it would be contrary to public interest to hold hearings and thereby interfere with a possible prosecution. As pointed out by the State Department, no prosecution of the original passport applicants was possible because the Government could not prove that the applicants intended to travel behind the iron curtain prior to the time they applied for passports.

Your committee has determined in this matter, as in the case of the American youth who attended the Communist-sponsored World Youth Festival which was held in the Soviet zone of Berlin in August 1951, that Congress should give immediate attention to amending our passport laws to eliminate the loopholes through which the Communists jump to obtain passports for their purposes and, by so doing, violate the intentions of Congress without fear of prosecution. The Congress attempted to plug the loopholes by providing in the Wood-McCarran Act, Public Law 831, of the Eighty-first Congress, a prohibition against the issuance of passports to members of a Communist-action organization. The Board, however, created by the law, has yet to find any organization, even the Communist Party itself, to be a Communist-action organization and, therefore, the passport provision is not in operation at this time. With the Passport Division issuing over 300,000 new passports or passport renewals yearly, it is impossible to obtain security clearance on the applicants prior to the issuance of the passports.

Jack Kawano

During the year 1951 the committee was fortunate in being able to hear the testimony of Jack Kawano of Honolulu, Hawaii. Mr. Kawano had been one of the first members of the Communist Party in the Territory of Hawaii. He was also one of the foremost labor organizers in the Territory of Hawaii. Jack Kawano commanded quite a following among workers in the Territory of Hawaii as a result of his long fight for the recognition of their rights. He testified that he had joined the Communist Party in 1938 in the Territory of Hawaii. He remained in the Communist Party until early in 1950. During his membership in the Communist Party, Kawano testified that he was also a high-ranking official in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in Hawaii. Kawano testified that the majority of the ILWU down through the years has been Communist-dominated.

Kawano was a witness before a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities during its hearings in Honolulu in April of 1950. He stated he was not a Communist at that time, but declined to answer any other questions with respect to Communist Party membership or activities. Mr. Kawano was subsequently indicted for contempt of Congress, along with 38 other defendants. These defendants were subsequently found not guilty by the Federal court in Honolulu.

Kawano's testimony in 1951 was predicated, according to Mr. Kawano, on a sincere desire after long deliberation to tell his story about communism in Hawaii and in the ILWU as he had lived and known it.

Mr. Kawano's testimony corroborated information already disclosed by the committee in its hearings of 1950 and added much weight to this information because of the prominent position Mr. Kawano had occupied in Honolulu with respect to the ILWU for so many years.

In addition to the corroborative aspect of Mr. Kawano's testimony, he provided the committee and the Congress with additional information regarding communism in Hawaii heretofore undisclosed. Mr. Kawano has performed a great service, not only to his community, but to the Nation as well, in so authoritatively revealing manipulations of the Communist Party in Honolulu, particularly with reference to their control of the largest labor union in that Territory.

Oliver Edmund Clubb

Oliver Edmund Clubb, State Department Foreign Service officer, was summoned to testify before your committee on three occasions in 1951. His appearances before the committee were an outgrowth of a continuing investigation conducted by the committee staff on the basis of information supplied by Whittaker Chambers, confessed former Soviet espionage agent.

Mr. Chambers had advised the committee that a member of the State Department's consular service in China had called at the office of the Communist magazine, New Masses, in the summer of 1932. Mr. Chambers said the individual had asked to see Walt Carmon, whom Mr. Chambers had just succeeded as editor of the publication. In Mr. Carmon's absence, the individual saw Mr. Chambers. Mr. Chambers recalled the name of the State Department officer as being "Chubb."

The committee first subpenaed Oliver Edmund Clubb to appear before an executive session of the committee on March 14, 1951. Mr. Clubb had been a Foreign Service officer for the State Department for 23 years, approximately 18 of which involved assignments in China. He was recalled from China in 1950 and appointed director of the Office of Chinese Affairs, State Department, Washington—a post which he held at the time of his executive testimony.

In the course of this testimony, Mr. Clubb stated that he had been vice consul at Hankow, China, in 1932 and in the same year had returned to the United States on vacation leave. He could not recall Whittaker Chambers, however, or having any association whatever with the magazine, New Masses.

On July 12, 1951, the State Department announced that Oliver Edmund Clubb had been suspended pending a loyalty investigation and hearing.

Five days later, Mr. Clubb addressed a letter to the committee advising that he had obtained from Peiping, China, his personal diaries for the year 1932 and that an entry of July 9, 1932, recorded a meeting between himself and Whittaker Chambers in the New Masses office in New York. The committee subpenaed Mr. Clubb and his diaries for a public hearing on August 20, 1951.

The following extract from Mr. Clubb's diaries was read into the record of the hearing:

> The most interesting meeting thus far was that with the New Masses. Their so-called revolutionary organ is a horrible rag, but Agnes had given me a letter of introduction to Walt Carmon and so I went to see. It was a ramshackle place to which one went by a rambling, rickety staircase. There were many Masses cartoons on the walls. A charming Jewess, typing, who acted as secretary. She introduced me to Michael Gold as "Comrade Clubb," and I talked to him a while while waiting. He spoke of revolution but had no "hopes" of it for the United States at the present, bemoaning the lack of organizers when the field is prepared and the crops so ripe for the harvest. He asked of China, and then the successor to Walt Carmon, one Whittaker Chambers, a shifty-eyed, unkempt creature, who nevertheless showed considerable force and direction, asked me about the Red movement in China. In turn I asked him of conditions in the United States, but we didn't talk smoothly. I was, after all, out of my bailiwick, masquerading almost under false pretenses, so that I felt too much like a stranger to show the proper "revolutionary enthusiasm."

Despite the aid of the diaries, Mr. Clubb maintained at this second hearing that he still had no independent recollection of the New Masses visit. He denied that he deserved the appellation "Comrade Club." He surmised he had visited New Masses out of a desire to learn about conditions in the United States during his infrequent "home leaves." Yet, he admitted he had known New Masses to be a Communist magazine since his college days.

The Foreign Service officer named the late Agnes Smedley as the author of his letter of introduction to Walt Carmon of New Masses. Agnes Smedley has been identified before the committee as an international Communist agent who, at the very time she furnished Mr. Clubb with letters of introduction, was actively working with the notorious Sorge espionage ring in China.

Mr. Clubb's diaries noted that he had twice sought out Miss Smedley in Shanghai in May 1932, prior to leaving for the United States, and "got from her [Smedley] letters of introduction to many interesting people in New York." Mr. Clubb, under questioning, explained he had received five such letters from Miss Smedley. He admitted also that he had had a number of other contacts with Miss Smedley, which he said were either social in nature or for the purpose of obtaining information on the Chinese Communist revolutionary movement. He also admitted that he knew at the time that Miss Smedley was "very sympathetic" to the Chinese Communists.

At the time of his New Masses visit, Mr. Clubb delivered other letters of introduction in New York. His diaries, however, labeled his New York trip "singularly unsuccessful" because "the chief of those I wanted to see have been out of town—Villard, Lovett, Chappell, Sanger." Letters to Oswald Garrison Villard and Robert Morss Lovett were among those supplied to Mr. Clubb by Agnes Smedley. A letter to Winifred Chappell had been furnished by a missionary friend of Mr. Clubb's in China, one Joseph Bailey. Committee files reflect that Mr. Villard and Miss Chappell each have a record of approximately 20 Communist-front affiliations, while Robert Morss Lovett's Communist-front associations total more than 70.

The diaries further disclosed that Mr. Clubb sought out Lawrence Todd of Tass News Agency in the city of Washington during his 1932 vacation. Mr. Todd was brother to Oliver J. Todd, hydraulic engineer in China and close friend of Mr. Clubb. Lawrence Todd dined with Mr. Clubb on July 5, 1932, and on the following day took

Mr. Clubb to see one Skvirsky, head of the Soviet Information Bureau in Washington, who questioned him about sovietized sections of China, and discussed recognition of the U. S. S. R. by the United States. Mr. Todd also conducted the State Department officer to the press room of the State Department, where Mr. Clubb met columnist Drew Pearson. Mr. Clubb subsequently dined at the latter's home, in the company of Lawrence Duggan and Frank P. Lockhart, both since deceased. Mr. Clubb again professed to have no recollection of these associations.

In this connection, it should be noted that Whittaker Chambers identified Mr. Duggan as having been a member of the pro-Soviet bloc in the State Department. Drew Pearson, avowedly an intimate friend of Mr. Duggan, has stated publicly that he knew Mr. Duggan to have attended Communist meetings in Alexandria, Va., in the year 1932, while employed by the State Department. In the late 1930's, however, Mr. Duggan rejected efforts of Soviet agents Hede Massing and Boris Bykov to draw him into an espionage apparatus within the United States Government, according to a report he made 10 years afterward to the FBI.

The committee hearing on August 20, 1951, brought to light contacts in China between Mr. Clubb and Frank Glass and Harold Isaacs. Committee hearings on the operations of the Sorge espionage ring in China in the early 1930's had disclosed that Frank Glass and Harold Isaacs were associates of the Comintern agent Agnes Smedley during that period. Mr. Glass was identified as a British Communist, and Harold Isaacs as editor of the China Forum, an English-language Communist periodical.

Mr. Clubb admitted under questioning that he had shared his apartment in Hankow, China, with Mr. Glass and Mr. Isaacs when the two men arrived in that town in 1931 during a period of flood. Mr. Clubb also said that, following their departure, he had continued to correspond with both men until approximately 1934.

One of Mr. Clubb's colleagues in Chungking, China, according to his testimony, was Solomon Adler, a Treasury Department attaché. Mr. Adler was a member of the "Silvermaster" espionage group which operated within United States Government agencies during World War II, according to the testimony of Elizabeth T. Bentley, confessed former courier for the spy group. Mr. Clubb also knew Philip Jaffe in China. Mr. Jaffe, as an editor of the pro-Communist magazine Amerasia in 1945, was fined $2,500 in a case involving the channeling of classified Government information to the magazine.

Mr. Clubb admitted associations with millionaire Communist Frederick Vanderbilt Field, but insisted he could not remember the circumstances. At a third hearing before the committee on August 23, 1951, Mr. Clubb was shown photostatic copies of what appeared to be a letter introducing him to Frederick Field, and another letter addressed to Field by Clubb himself. The letter of introduction, dated January 22, 1937, was signed by Karl August Wittfogel, who has admitted membership in the Communist Party of Germany from 1920 to 1933. Mr. Clubb's letter to Mr. Field, dated March 24, 1937, promised that the Foreign Service officer would visit Mr. Field shortly and "should very much enjoy seeing and talking with you again." The letters failed to stir any recollection on the part of Mr. Clubb.

Mr. Clubb's diaries, previously referred to in this section, have not as yet been fully reviewed by the committee although they were subpenaed at the time of Clubb's appearance before the committee in open session. They have not been so reveiwed for the reason that, at the time of Clubb's appearance, the diaries were in the possession of the Loyalty Board of the Department of State which was considering charges relating to acts of indiscretion and questions of loyalty on the part of Mr. Clubb. With the full consent of Mr. Clubb, the State Department has agreed to produce these diaries as soon as the Department's Loyalty Board has completed its deliberation in the Clubb matter.

The committee, irrespective of the decision which the Department of State's Loyalty Board reaches in this matter, will recall Mr. Clubb before it in open session after it has had an opportunity to study and analyze the diary entries.

Complicity of American Communists in the Destruction of Freedom in the Far East

At various times during the years of 1949 and 1950, the Committee on Un-American Activities was engaged in the investigation of certain facts in its possession which indicated that several American citizens were involved in the Richard Sorge spy case. During the past year, the Committee on Un-American Activities was able to reveal through public testimony some of the results of its lengthy investigation dealing primarily with the Richard Sorge case, but which led to a far-reaching and quite revealing story of international communism, with particular reference to China.

These revelations were made possible through the testimony of Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby and Mitsusada Yoshikawa, in conjunction with the investigations that had been conducted by the Committee on Un-American Activities. Prior to this testimony, the committee had had in its possession for many months numerous files dealing with the Richard Sorge case and communism in the Far East. The files had been written in Japanese but had been translated into English. These files revealed the entire picture of the arrest, interrogation, statements, and trial of Richard Sorge, and other members of his ring whom the Japanese police had arrested during the months of October and November 1941. Richard Sorge and his fellow conspirators were tried, convicted, and sentenced to death or long prison terms by the Japanese Government during the years of 1942 and 1943.

The Committee on Un-American Activities was fortunate in being able to subpena Mitsusada Yoshikawa for appearance before it on August 9, 1951. He is presently Chief of the Special Investigations Bureau of the Attorney General's office in Tokyo. The files, which the committee had in its possession, had indicated that Mr. Yoshikawa was one of the Japanese procurators assigned to the investigation of the Richard Sorge case and one of his specific assignments had been to conduct the lengthy interrogations of Richard Sorge. Mr. Yoshikawa testified this was one of his assignments during the investigation and that he had as late as 1949 executed affidavits attesting the authenticity of the documents now in the possession of the committee, and which relate to the investigation of Sorge and his companions.

These affidavits were placed into the committee record during the testimony of Mr. Yoshikawa.

The testimony of Mr. Yoshikawa provided an excellent means for the authentication of many of the files and documents relating to Richard Sorge, which were in the possession of the committee at the time of the public hearings.

Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, who served from 1939 to 1951 as Gen. Douglas MacArthur's Chief of Intelligence in the Far East, testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities on August 22 and 23. General Willoughby's testimony was documented in part by some of the files which the committee already had in its possession, and further by files which were obtained after the occupation of Japan. Much of the information contained in these files had been verified through the further investigation by General Willoughby and his staff in the Far East Command. General Willoughby's testimony revealed a fascinating example of international communism, covering a period of 22 years, culminating in the seizure of power by the Chinese Communists in Peking, China, on September 21, 1949. Also, there was revealed during the course of General Willoughby's testimony the identification of many "old wheel horses" of the American Communist Party, who had played a nefarious part in the ultimate Communist conquest of China. These Communist Party work horses were identified as Earl Browder, Eugene Dennis, Sam Darcy, Harry Berger, Gerhart Eisler, and James H. Dolsen. It is interesting to note that most of these same "old wheel horses" are still engaged in the furtherance of international communism in the United States, and are dedicated to the violent overthrow of our democracy. With respect to the internationally known Communist, Gerhart Eisler, it will be remembered that after working for years in the United States as a top Communist agent he unlawfully fled our country while under $20,000 bond furnished by the Civil Rights Congress. Shortly after his arrival in East Germany, he was appointed by Moscow to be Propaganda Minister in the Communist-controlled government of East Germany.

Even more interesting was the identification of American citizens who had contributed greatly to the cause of world communism and until this time had gone undisclosed. This list of traitors to the United States and the rest of the free world reads as follows: Agnes Smedley, Miyagi Yotoku, Willie Lehman, Albert Edward Stewart, Margaret Undjus, Katherine Harrison (first wife of Earl Browder), Reh Bennett, —— Lilliestrom, Leon Minster, Judea Codkind, Langston Hughes, Walt Carmon, Fred Ellis, and others who for the time being must remain undisclosed. The list set forth above is not by any means complete.

In many cases, these Americans were actually involved in one or more espionage groups, whereas in other cases they were involved in Communist-propaganda programs stemming from either publications or organizations which were created and fostered by the Comintern in Moscow. In addition, there were revealed in the testimony of General Willoughby several Christian names of individuals with no further identification—such as "Paul," "Jacob," "Jim," "Alex," "John," and "Charlie." Though lending an air of mystery to this already mysterious story, it is indeed regretful that the true identity of these

individuals who were actively engaged in Soviet espionage has never been established even after extensive investigation by Japanese and American authorities.

The Committee on Un-American Activities is currently engaged in investigations of individuals and organizations that the committee has reason to believe may have been alined with international communism in this country as well as abroad. There are many such leads contained in the files which were turned over to the Committee on Un-American Activities by General Willoughby, in response to a subpena served upon him when it was learned that he was to return to the United States.

There will be forthcoming within the next year additional hearings which will have been developed from the information contained in these files, but which has not as yet been made public.

It is a sad commentary when American citizens abuse the privilege of travel that is afforded them, to work actively for the furtherance of a foreign ideology dedicated to the overthrow of the Government that affords them such privileges. Likewise, it is extremely regrettable that employees of our Government will misuse the trust placed in them, as was the case in two instances developed through the testimony of General Willoughby; that is, the use of the American consulate in Harbin, China, for the transmission of Soviet espionage reports, and the instance of an American consulate employee in Shanghai in supplying Richard Sorge with confidential and secret information.

For a revealing and interesting example of international communism, and the patience and effort it displays, every American is urged to read the full text of the testimony of Mr. Yoshikawa and General Willoughby. Contained in this testimony is a prime example of the true composition of the Russian Communists. At a time when Russia was reaping huge benefits from our lend-lease program, which was responsible for stemming the tide of Nazi aggression within her borders, Russia saw fit to withhold information from the United States which might have prevented the loss of thousands of American lives, as well as millions of dollars worth of military equipment. To be specific, the hearing developed that Richard Sorge advised Moscow, as early as August of 1941, and again in October of 1941, that there would be no war with Russia on the part of Japan, but that Japan would move to the south and challenge America and England in the Philippines, Singapore, the Malay States, and Sumatra.

The hearing also shows conclusively the bridge between what some people might call water over the dam and current Communist treachery. Here is presented an example of international Communist treachery conceived in 1928 and maturing in 1949, with many of the individuals who helped bring about such an event actively engaged in the same pursuits today, only more frightening because it is within the boundaries of our own United States.

Files and Reference Service

The committee's files contain a wealth of specialized material, maintained to aid the members of the committee and its staff in the investigation of un-American activities and the making of recommendations for the control of such activities in this country. These files also serve as a basis for furnishing information on the subject to

the Members of Congress. This invaluable collection of source material has been assembled since 1938 and covers an even longer period of time. Its size and scope was set forth in some detail in the 1950 annual report of the Committee on Un-American Activities so no recapitulation will be made here. However, the collection has continued to grow during 1951 by the careful selection and incorporation of material both new and old.

In 1951 we added 225 books and pamphlets, many of which were written and published to further the Communist cause in the United States; 684 issues of newspapers and other periodicals issued by the Communist Party, its front organizations and others; an uncounted number of the letterheads, programs, leaflets, and other literature of organizations whose true purpose cannot be called American; clippings by the thousands; the 2,023 pages of testimony given by witnesses in public hearings before the committee; and the 530 pages of reports published by the committee during the year.

The maintenance of such a collection requires special care. Not only must the very old material be carefully preserved but it must be kept as readily available as the more recent for constant consultation. Each piece of new material must be properly classified and cross-referenced, indexed, or cataloged so that it may be located easily for use in connection with any person, group, or subject on which it may furnish information.

From 50,000 to 60,000 index-card references to the above-named sources have been made and added to file in 1951. Moreover, consolidation of the three published individual-name indexes to public hearings and reports of the committee for the years 1938–41, 1942–47, and 1948–49, respectively, has been almost completed and brought up to date. It is planned that this consolidated index to all the public documents issued by the committee from 1938 through 1950 will be published soon and will be revised periodically to provide a true cumulative index.

The general interest in this country in the work of the Committee on Un-American Activities and the need for more authoritative information on the subject have been reflected in the number and types of inquiries received by the committee from the Members of Congress for information from the files. Although the number of inquiries has increased during this year, and the committee has found it necessary to prohibit employees of Congress from coming in to make their own checks for information, the files' staff has been able to meet the demands and furnish answers within a reasonable amount of time.

In cases where the type of information requested or material available did not require a written report, a verbal answer was made to the inquiries, but the greater number of replies were in the form of written reports from the files of the committee.

These reports were compiled by the file section of the committee staff, setting forth whatever information was found to appear on a given individual or organization in the committee's public hearings, published reports and files of source material. They also showed source of the information reported, and included the official citation by the Committee on Un-American Activities and/or the Attorney Generals of the United States on each organization referred to in the report.

Requests from the staff members of the committee were similarly answered, and in many cases were accompanied by the actual loan of the material upon which the report was based. The total number of inquiries received from these sources in 1951 amounted to about 3,300 and involved a check and answer on approximately 7,600 individuals and 2,000 organizations.

The loyalty and security programs of the Federal Government have resulted in ever-increasing demands being made upon the files of the committee by the executive as well as the legislative branch. In the President's Executive Order 9835, of March 21, 1947, the files of this committee were listed as one of the sources of information which must be checked in determining the loyalty of Government employees and applicants for Government employment. Properly accredited agents and record searches of almost every executive department and independent agency, as listed in the United States Government Organization Manual for 1950–51, have visited the file section of the committee at some time during the year. They have consulted all indexes to the publications and files and have requested the withdrawal from files of all material found pertinent to cases under consideration. It has become necessary to assign one full-time clerk to assist in answering their questions and to withdraw and return the material to files. Over 6,300 visits by Government agents in 1951, as compared with 3,600 in 1950, have been recorded. The length of visits varied, but, since a small amount of additional space was obtained during the year to aid in accommodating these agents, a greater number of them have been assigned to spend full time at this office.

It is estimated that they have checked three-quarters of a million names through our indexes this year and have consulted an average of well over a hundred pieces of file material daily.

Statistics alone cannot show the total value of service provided. So, in conclusion, it should be emphasized that during the year 1951 valuable source material was acquired and incorporated in the files, and a larger volume of reference service than in any previous year was provided by the files' staff to Members of Congress, the various agencies of the executive branch of the Government, and other members of the committee staff.

Publications

According to testimony of many witnesses who have appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities, one of the most effective ways to combat the growth of communism in our country is by educating the public as to the aims and methods of the Communist Party and the results of Communist ideology where it has gained control.

Since the hearing room of the committee, located on the second floor of the Old House Office Building, is quite small, comparatively few people are able to get the benefit of personally attending committee hearings. After completion of a series or phase of these hearings, the actual verbatim records of proceedings are printed and are available for distribution upon request as long as the supply lasts. Thus, several thousand persons have the opportunity of knowing exactly what took place during the extensive hearings of the committee without having to be present.

In many cases, letters requesting printed copies of these hearings

indicate that they are to be used by church, labor, veteran, civic, patriotic, educational, and other groups who are intelligently fighting communism and subversive activities. Distribution of committee pamphlets to organizations adds greatly to their actual circulation, since they are read by many individuals.

Other than the printed copies of hearings, reports are issued from time to time by the committee. These reports are compiled from facts obtained in sworn testimony of witnesses and from long and careful research into the publications and public statements of officers of organizations which have been found to be either in the Communist orbit or under Communist influence.

Organizations described as Communist fronts in reports of the committee are those which the committee has found to have been created or captured by the Communists to do the party's work in special fields. The Communist front is the greatest weapon of communism in the country today because subterfuge often makes it difficult to recognize its true Communist nature. The Communist front does not hesitate to camouflage its true purposes behind such moral and human appeals as "peace" and "civil rights" when it serves the Communist purpose and the aims of the Soviet Union. Neither does the Communist front deviate from the "line" of the Communist Party.

During the year 1951, the committee printed approximately 703,840 copies of its hearings and reports. Of this number, the limited staff of the committee has filled requests for over 415,000 copies.[1]

The following are examples of the many thousands of letters received weekly by the committee:

ST. MARYS SEMINARY,
Baltimore, Md., January 24, 1952.

DEAR MR. CARRINGTON[2]: Thank you very much for sending me the Shameful Years which arrived today. And for that very generous shipment earlier of those hundreds of copies of 100 Things You Should Know * * *. These latter have been liberally spread among our students here and serve as an excellent easy introduction to the work your committee has been doing through the years.

How do I go about getting more copies of the Shameful Years? It is a fine compendium of what must literally be hundreds of pages of testimony and hours of examination. Whatever you are able to do with regard to this latest committee publication, I shall greatly appreciate.

* * * * * * *

TORRINGTON, CONN., *December 14, 1951.*

DEAR SIRS: * * * I have been requested by members of the local to secure enough copies of the pamphlet 100 Things You Should Know About Communism, to distribute amongst the 130 men in our bargaining unit. If there are any other publications that you feel will help us combat this subversive organization we would be happy to have them. Thank you.

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TRENTON, N. J., *January 16, 1952.*

GENTLEMEN: * * * We are interested in obtaining information on quantity copies of 100 Things You Should Know About Communism * * *.

We intend to offer this material in conjunction with an anticommunistic television program broadcast each week over station WATV, Newark, N. J. The pamphlets will be displayed on the program and copies offered free to any viewer sending in a request.

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[1] In addition to these, the committee has also distributed thousands of copies of publications printed in previous years, as well as documents released by other congressional committees and Government agencies.

[2] Clerk of the committee.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES FOR THE YEAR 1951

Statement on the March of Treason
Report on the Communist Peace Offensive (House Report 378), April 28, 1951
100 Things You Should Know About Communism Series, including Spotlight on Spies (House Document 136, May 14, 1951)
Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications (Committee Print, March 3, 1951) (House Document 137, May 14, 1951)
Hearings Regarding Communist Activities in the Territory of Hawaii, Part 4 (Testimony of Jack Kawano)
Communist Infiltration of Hollywood Motion-Picture Industry, Part 1, March 8 and 21; April 10, 11, 12, and 13, 1951
Communist Infiltration of Hollywood Motion-Picture Industry, Part 2, April 17, 23, 24, 25; May 16, 17, and 18, 1951
Communist Infiltration of Hollywood Motion-Picture Industry, Part 3, May 22, 23, 24, 25; June 25 and 26, 1951
Hearings Relating to Communist Activities in the Defense Area of Baltimore, Part 1 (based on testimony of Mary Stalcup Markward), June 19, 20, 21, 26, 27, 28; July 11 and 13, 1951
Hearings Relating to Communist Activities in the Defense Area of Baltimore, Part 2, (Maryland Committee for Peace and Baltimore County Committee for Peace), June 28; July 10 and 21, 1951
Hearings Relating to Communist Activities in the Defense Area of Baltimore, Part 3, June 19, 20, 26, 27, 28; July 10, 12, and 13, 1951
Exposé of Communist Activities in the State of Massachusetts (based on the Testimony of Herbert A. Philbrick), July 23 and 24; October 10 and 11, 1951
Communist Infiltration of Hollywood Motion-Picture Industry, Part 4, September 17, 18, and 19, 1951
Communist Infiltration of Hollywood Motion-Picture Industry, Part 5, September 20, 21, 24, and 25, 1951
Hearings on American Aspects of the Richard Sorge Spy Case (based on testimony of Mitsusada Yoshikawa and Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby) August 9, 22, and 23, 1951
Communist Tactics Among Veterans' Groups (testimony of John T. Pace), July 13, 1951
Hearings Regarding Communist Activities Among Farm Groups, February 28 and March 9, 1951
The Shameful Years, Thirty Years of Soviet Espionage in the United States (released as Committee Print December 30, 1951; House Report No. 1229, January 8, 1952)

RECOMMENDATIONS

The committee feels that, in line with the findings on Soviet espionage in the United States as reflected in the committee report, "The Shameful Years," it is necessary that positive steps be taken to stem Soviet espionage. It is felt that Congress must take the initial steps to ascertain what legislation is necessary to afford adequate protection against espionage. In the course of such congressional study, it would be necessary to ascertain whether the existing laws relating to espionage have been properly enforced; and, if not, proper responsibility should be affixed.

The committee suggests that among the phases Congress should consider in strengthening espionage legislation are:

(*a*) *A single comprehensive espionage statute applicable to both peacetime and wartime.*—This should incorporate the present provisions of wartime espionage statutes, carrying a capital-punishment sentence. The statute of limitations would not then apply in espionage any more than it applies to other crimes carrying a capital punishment. The provisions of legislation dealing with the unauthorized taking of classified Government papers and documents should be

broadened to include the transportation of such papers and documents in interstate or foreign commerce.

(*b*) *The broadening of the rules of admissibility of evidence.*—The committee is also aware that the executive branch of the Government is seriously being hampered in the prosecution of persons engaged in espionage because of the present limitations on evidence that may be presented in the courts. The committee realizes that the restrictions against the admissibility of evidence secured from wire tapping has been imposed to protect the rights of the individual. The committee, while desiring to maintain all of the rights of the individual, feels that the rights of the individual can be preserved only if the national security remains. It is the committee's opinion that, if Soviet espionage continues unchecked, the rights of American citizens are being placed in graver danger than would be the case with legalized wire tapping. The committee suggests, therefore, that Congress consider legislation to permit as evidence the results of wire tapping in matters affecting the national security as well as in such crimes as kidnaping and extortion. In order that a proper control might be exercised, it is felt that, as in the matter of arrests, searches, and seizures, the judicial branch of the Government should be empowered to authorize the use of such techniques.

(*c*) *Immunity for witnesses appearing before congressional, executive, or judicial hearings.*—The committee also feels that, since it is essential to any investigation, whether it be congressional, executive, or judicial, to have the testimony of competent and informed witnesses, legislation should be enacted to effect a greater latitude in granting immunity from prosecution to these witnesses.

The committee has frequently experienced instances where witnesses while having information of undoubted value to the work of the committee, have refused to answer questions on the basis that to do so might tend to incriminate them. If such legislation as suggested by the committee were enacted, it would, while maintaining the rights of the individual, permit the proper investigative bodies to gather a true and comprehensive picture of the information they seek.

(*d*) *Reciprocal restrictions on travel by Soviet and satellite diplomats.*—The committee's investigations have also disclosed that Soviet espionage has been assisted by the fact that Soviet nationals have been given unlimited freedom to travel throughout the United States and to and from Canada and Mexico. The committee's reports dealing with Soviet espionage clearly show that Soviet officials have abused this freedom to actively engage in espionage operations. This situation exists even though United States diplomats in Russia and her satellites are virtually under house arrest and under constant surveillance by the Russian secret police. There have been instances in which United States officials have been prohibited from contact with American nationals who were being held by authorities in Soviet countries.

For these reasons, the committee feels that there should be reciprocal restrictions enforced by this country with the Soviet and satellite countries.

The committee also feels that, in order to afford a greater national security, foreign nationals entering the United States should be required to surrender their passports and/or visas at the point of entry

and that these papers should not be returned until the departure of the individual from the United States.

(*e*) *Issuance of passports.*—The committee recommends that all persons securing passports must, at the time the passport application is executed, state under oath whether they will or will not visit any of the presently so-called iron-curtain countries.

The committee also recommends that if, in the course of travel abroad, any person holding a passport finds it necessary to visit an iron-curtain country, and did not indicate that he intended to visit an iron-curtain country on his original application, he must obtain authority to make such a visit from either a consular officer of the United States, the proper Ambassador, or a specified member of the consular or ambassadorial staffs.

A similar provision, such as that set forth in paragraph 2 of this section, should also be made applicable to all persons holding passports who desire to visit any other country exclusive of iron-curtain countries and who have not indicated their intention to visit these other countries on the original passport application.

It is hoped that these provisions will prevent American Communists from receiving instructions from abroad. It is a well-known fact that American Communists often travel abroad for the purpose of receiving instructions from Communist functionaries, not only in the iron-curtain countries but in other European countries as well.

(*f*) *Cancellation of passports.*—The committee in the past has experienced several instances in which persons for whom subpenas have been issued are found to be outside the United States and the subpenas cannot be served upon them. The committee recognizes the fact that a person might endeavor to use a prolonged absence from the country as a means to evade appearance before this, as well as other congressional committees.

It is believed that in order to cope with such situations legislation should be enacted to provide for the cancellation of the passports in the possession of any United States citizen in a foreign country for whom a subpena is outstanding within 6 months of the date upon which he receives personal notification that such subpena is outstanding. Notice would be made by an accredited official designated by the United States Department of State.

(*g*) *Revocations of commissions in the armed services.*—The committee, during its hearings, has had the unfortunate experience of having had before it witnesses, who, while holding commissions in the armed services of the United States, have refused to affirm or deny allegations of membership in the Communist Party or Communist-front organizations. The committee is aware that a commission in the armed services of the United States is a privilege accorded to citizens of the United States of unquestioned loyalty and not an inherent right provided for in the Constitution. This being the case, the committee recommends that in any instance where a person holding a commission in the armed services chooses to refuse to answer questions concerning his present or past membership in the Communist Party, such commission shall be immediately revoked.

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