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**HEARINGS REGARDING
COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
MINORITY GROUPS – PART 1**



**HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
OF MINORITY GROUPS—PART 1**

**HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION**

JULY 13, 14, AND 18, 1949

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HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF MINORITY GROUPS

WEDNESDAY, JULY 13, 1949

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.
PUBLIC HEARINGS

MORNING SESSION

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:30 a. m. in room 1301, New House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Francis E. Walter, Burr P. Harrison, John McSweeney, Morgan M. Moulder, Francis Case, and Harold H. Velde [entered hearing room after proceedings had begun].

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; Alvin W. Stokes, investigator; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. Wood. The committee will be in order.

Let the record show that the members present are Mr. Walter, Mr. Harrison, Mr. McSweeney, Mr. Moulder, Mr. Case, and Mr. Wood.

The Chair makes the announcement that one of the witnesses subpoenaed to appear here today, Jackie Robinson, is unable to come. He called me this morning and said important matters interfered and asked to be excused from coming here until Monday of next week, at which time he will be glad to come and testify.

I desire to read into the record at this time a letter which I received yesterday from Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, as follows:

JULY 12, 1949.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WOOD: I have your letter of June 30 asking that I present to your committee my comments on the loyalty record established in the European and African theater of operations during World War II by members of minority races. I am deeply grateful to you for allowing me to present these views by letter as an alternative to appearing before your committee because I am committed, in response to requests from the Secretary of Defense, to join a conference at White Sulphur Springs on July 13 and 14.

In the past I have testified, again and again, to the high qualities of loyalty, devotion to duty, and endurance that American soldiers displayed in World War II on some of the most bitterly contested battlefields of history. In that testimony I have never made any exception based upon racial derivation or connection—I have not done so because no such exception was applicable or justified.

I understand your committee is particularly interested in the record of American Negro soldiers. Throughout the almost 4 years that I was commanding in Europe and in Africa, I daily encountered soldiers of the Negro race. It no more

occurred to me to question their mass patriotism and loyalty than it would have occurred to me to entertain such doubts about the entire force. While I do not have the statistics with me, it is my recollection that more than 400,000 soldiers of the Negro race served under my command in Europe alone. Many more thousands were in the North African area. Had there been any general unrest, disloyalty, or unwillingness to serve, the grave results could not have escaped spectacular notice and sensational reporting by the press. I think, therefore, in addition to the testimony of individuals like myself, General Spaatz, General Bradley, as well as many others who were called upon to carry heavy command responsibilities, you have an historical record which provides irrefutable proof of the loyalty of our Negro troops.

Moreover, I should like gratuitously to add to this testimony that I have seen or experienced nothing since the close of hostilities that leads me to believe that our Negro population is not fully as worthy of its American citizenship as it proved itself to be on the battlefields of Europe and Africa.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

Mr. WOOD. I submit that letter for the record.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Chairman, in your conversation with Mr. Robinson did he indicate he would come at a later date?

Mr. WOOD. Yes; next Monday. He expressed regret that he was unable to come at this time, and said he would be glad to come down Monday of next week.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Alvin W. Stokes.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Stokes, will you hold up your right hand? You solemnly swear the evidence you will give the committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. STOKES. I do.

SWORN TESTIMONY OF ALVIN W. STOKES

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Mr. Alvin W. Stokes?

Mr. STOKES. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. STOKES. New York City, December 4, 1904.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Stokes, I would like to ask you to make a report to the committee regarding certain investigations which you have made.

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I have been employed as an investigator by the Committee on Un-American Activities for several years.

Mr. WOOD. Would you mind speaking just a little bit louder. We can't hear you up here.

Mr. STOKES. Yes, sir.

During that time I have given some special attention to Communist attempts to infiltrate, control, and dominate Negro organizations and to recruit, capture, and control outstanding Negroes and others for service in the Communist movement.

In the course of my investigations, I have interviewed hundreds of Negro leaders in every walk of life. On the basis of these interviews and committee records, I can report that hardly more than 1,400 Negroes, or one-tenth of 1 percent of the entire Negro population of the United States, are members of the Communist Party. This in spite of the fact that they have been and are the target of constant and relentless Communist propaganda.

For instance, in the District of Columbia there are less than 100 Negro members of the Communist Party out of a Negro population

of approximately 200,000. Even so, I would question the true intent of even these 1,400, many of whom I am sure would be found loyal to the United States in a real moment of crisis.

Mr. Chairman, if you will permit, I would like to interpolate here for a moment. I think it is something that should go on record. I think this is a proper point to state that were it not for the NAACP, which has fought and is still fighting to legally correct injustices, the Urban League, to which much credit must be given for the continuing accelerated integration of Negroes in the industrial and business life of the Nation, and the many city commissions on human relations and unity, together with hundreds of Protestants, Catholics, and Jewish ministerial and interracial councils, what success communism may have obtained among Negroes must be left to speculation.

Here, too, I think it should be reported, to the honor and the glory of the Negro woman, that her rejection of communism is a strong and formidable factor in limiting Communist political and civic influence among Negro men specifically, and the Negro population generally.

During my investigations I have been made acutely aware of the fact that the Communist Party of the United States has seized every opportunity to exaggerate the inadequacies and inequalities in our democracy, not for the purpose of resolving issues but for the purpose of aggravating the problems and creating disunity among the people of the United States by setting race against race, religion against religion, and class against class.

From recent observation, it appears that the Communist Party has for the time being camouflaged its program for the setting up of an independent Negro Soviet Republic in the so-called Black Belt of the South. This proposal was and is cunningly calculated to promote civil war in which the Negro people would be sacrificed to the machinations of Moscow. This proposal, as camouflaged as it may be, remains inherent in current Communist propaganda.

To cite a case in point, I attended a welcome home rally for Paul Robeson held on June 19, 1949, at Rockland Palace, One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street and Eighth Avenue, New York City. The speakers at this meeting, by inference, deplored the lack of rebellious spirit on the part of the Negro people. It is my opinion that, while no individual speech at the meeting could be construed as a direct incitation against the Government of the United States, the sum total of the inferences, implications, and analogies, together with the temper of the speakers as the statements were made, could leave little doubt in the minds of the audience regarding the intent of the speakers.

At this meeting Mr. Robeson repeated in substance the allegation made by him at the Communist-inspired World Peace Conference in Paris, France, on April 20, 1949, that:

It is unthinkable that American Negroes or Negroes anywhere would go to war on behalf of those who have oppressed us for generations, against a country which in one generation has raised our people to the full dignity of mankind.

I can state, however, that only 25 percent of Mr. Robeson's audience was made up of Negroes. The rest were the usual ragtag and bobtail of the Communist Party.

The fact of the matter is that the Negroes of this country appreciate the blessings of America. They sacrificed their lives to defend it in the last war. They will do the same whenever the United States is in

danger because they realize that, despite certain inequalities and conditions which exist, the American way of life provides ample opportunity to correct these conditions through democratic processes. The American Negro, down to the poorest sharecropper, is better off than the vast majority of Stalin's subjects.

To be sure, rebellion against constituted governments in the event of war with a Communist nation was the theme song of the Paris conference, and Mr. Robeson effectively soloed that song when the Kremlin gave the signal. It was perhaps the most nefarious song Mr. Robeson has ever offered. It was designed to deceive Communists, deceive non-Communists, deceive pro-Communists, deceive anti-Communists, in America and abroad, and was planned to activate old prejudices, stir up new hates, and create greater disunity in this country.

(Representative Velde enters.)

Mr. STOKES (continuing). It perhaps would be charitable and comforting to state that Mr. Robeson spoke for himself at the Paris Peace Conference, but that is not true. Mr. Robeson's voice was the voice of the Kremlin. With that voice he managed successfully to identify Negroes with communism in many politically illiterate minds and fastened the relationship in the thoughts of other persons who have every reason to know better but think as they do, I suspect, because of a guilt complex.

To some extent Robeson's statement achieved its objective. A report of a survey of the reaction of white persons to Robeson's statement made by competent white reporters revealed that more than 50 percent of nearly 1,000 persons questioned in the seven cities believed that:

1. The Negro population of the United States is communistically inclined.
2. That Negroes would be disloyal to the United States in the event of war, providing they had the opportunity to commit disloyal acts.
3. That Negroes and Jews contributed little to victory in the last war.

While most Americans know and concede that the Negro population is perhaps one of the most loyal and most exploited segments of the population of the United States in spite of the fact that it is the victim of disparaging reflections and certain inequalities, the statement made by Mr. Robeson was the first to smear the historical loyalty of the Negro people since Chrispus Attucks shed his blood on the Commons of Boston in the Revolutionary War.

I should like to have your permission, Mr. Chairman, to interpolate here again with reference to a survey in seven cities of the country concerning reactions of white persons to Robeson's statement. I should like to say at this moment that reports from surveys made in the South sustained a very strong belief in the loyalty of the Negro people.

This hearing, however, is only concerned in part with Mr. Robeson's statement and it is only concerned at all because it represents a new high in low Communist propaganda attempts to exploit the Negro population.

This hearing, which is one of a series of hearings now in preparation, is being held at this time in response to numerous requests by prominent Negroes and white persons to expose Communist propaganda directed to minority groups.

It is hoped that these hearings will show that the Communist Party, in order to gain recruits from the minority groups to its insidious purposes, uses three principal methods:

1. The Communists exploit the grievances of the minority groups.
2. The Communists through this exploitation begin to create a disaffection for the United States.
3. The Communists endeavor to develop an affection for the Communist system of government through propaganda directed to the minority groups.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the course of your investigation, did you receive any information which would indicate that the Communists were responsible for the Detroit race riot?

Mr. STOKES. I received no information that would directly link the Communist Party with the Detroit race riot. However, I did receive information that the Communist Party created an atmosphere conducive to racial disorder.

Mr. TAVENNER. After the race riot was in progress, were the Communists active according to information received by you?

Mr. STOKES. According to information received by me, the Communists at that time regretted that the riot had taken place. This is understandable when it is realized that Russia had been attacked and the Communist line had changed as of that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Harrison.

Mr. HARRISON. I believe you said there were 1,400 Negro Communists in the country?

Mr. STOKES. That is right.

Mr. HARRISON. Do you have a break-down of that by States?

Mr. STOKES. I do not have a break-down at the moment by States.

Mr. HARRISON. Of those 1,400, aren't they localized a great deal, most of them being in certain areas such as New York, Michigan, and Illinois?

Mr. STOKES. I would say yes.

Mr. HARRISON. Isn't it a fact that communism among Negroes in the South, take Virginia for example, is very small in comparison with New York, Michigan, and Illinois?

Mr. STOKES. I would say yes.

Mr. HARRISON. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. McSweeney.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Case.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Stokes, how long have you been an investigator for the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. STOKES. Since April 21, 1947.

Mr. CASE. 1947?

Mr. STOKES. That is right.

Mr. CASE. How did you obtain your reports on the Robeson homecoming meeting?

Mr. STOKES. I was there.

Mr. CASE. Did you hear the speakers make the speeches deplored the lack of a rebellious spirit among the Negroes of the United States?

Mr. STOKES. I did.

Mr. CASE. Who were the speakers?

Mr. STOKES. The speakers were Louis Burnham, Charles Howard, and Mr. Robeson.

Mr. CASE. And it was your estimate that only 25 percent of the people present were Negroes?

Mr. STOKES. That is correct.

Mr. CASE. How many people were present, would you say?

Mr. STOKES. Approximately 5,000.

Mr. CASE. Have you investigated personally the extent of active Communist membership among members of the Negro race?

Mr. STOKES. Will you repeat the question, please?

Mr. CASE. Have you personally investigated the extent of active Communist membership among members of the Negro race?

Mr. STOKES. I have.

Mr. CASE. And these figures that you have cited are based upon your own personal investigation?

Mr. STOKES. And committee records.

Mr. CASE. Committee records?

Mr. STOKES. Yes.

Mr. CASE. Records of this committee?

Mr. STOKES. Committee on Un-American Activities, that is correct.

Mr. CASE. Do you know whether or not Mr. Robeson is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. STOKES. I do not. I do know of his open loyalty to the Communist movement and, if the chairman pleases, I will introduce the record.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, this is a record of the Un-American Activities Committee relating to Paul Robeson, showing his various associations with Communist-front organizations and certain activities of his. I desire to offer it in evidence and mark it "Exhibit Stokes 1."¹

Mr. Wood. Without objection it will be received.

Mr. Velde.

Mr. VELDE. Isn't it true, Mr. Stokes, that Paul Robeson has written many newspaper and magazine articles in which he admits he is a Communist?

Mr. STOKES. I have not read any article which stated directly that Paul Robeson is a Communist.

Mr. VELDE. He wrote an article about 4 years ago, in the Saturday Evening Post, I believe, or some other magazine, in which, as I recall, the first line was the statement: "I am a member of the Communist Party."

Mr. CASE. I would like to ask Mr. Stokes with respect to these other speakers at this rally which you attended. The Mr. Howard whom you mentioned, is he a Negro?

Mr. STOKES. Yes, he is.

Mr. CASE. The other speaker, was that Mr. Burnham?

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Burnham, yes.

Mr. CASE. Is he also a Negro?

Mr. STOKES. That is right.

¹ See appendix, p. 485, Stokes Exhibit No. 1.

Mr. CASE. Do you know whether or not either of these is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. STOKES. I do not.

Mr. CASE. Do you know how the attendance was arranged for the meeting at this homecoming? Were tickets required?

Mr. STOKES. Yes; and tickets were sold.

Mr. CASE. Tickets were sold?

Mr. STOKES. That is right.

Mr. CASE. What was the admission fee?

Mr. STOKES. The admission fees were 80 cents, \$1.20, and \$2.20, I believe, somewhere in that general scale.

Mr. CASE. Do you know who received the proceeds from those tickets?

Mr. STOKES. The meeting was under the sponsorship, as I recall, of the Council on African Affairs.

Mr. CASE. Council on African Affairs?

Mr. STOKES. Yes.

Mr. CASE. Do you know anything about the organization of this council?

Mr. STOKES. The council is one among several other organizations which has been cited by the Attorney General of the United States as a subversive organization. It has also been cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. CASE. And you estimated that there were 5,000 people present who paid admission fees from 80 cents to \$2.20?

Mr. STOKES. That is right.

Mr. CASE. Thank you.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. VELDE.

Mr. VELDE. No further questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. There are in the hands of the committee various statements reported by numerous newspapers in the United States regarding statements made by Paul Robeson, one of which I will read, quoting from the Los Angeles Examiner of October 8, 1946:

"I'm not a member of the Communist Party," Robeson said, "but if I was going to join any party—Democratic, Republican, or Communist—I'd choose the Communist."

I desire, through you, to offer in evidence and have made a part of the record this list of statements allegedly made by Paul Robeson, and mark it "Exhibit Stokes 2."

Mr. WOOD. Without objection it will be received.²

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Chairman, it certainly seems to me, in view of the fact Mr. Robeson has made statements that reflect seriously on the loyalty of a large group of our population, that he should be subpoenaed to appear before this committee and give us the basis for the statements he made at this meeting. I would like to suggest at this time that the speech he made at New York be incorporated in the record.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Chairman, if we put in his speech, it seems to me we should also put in the other speeches made at that meeting.

Mr. WOOD. Are there available copies of the speeches made at that meeting?

² See appendix, p. 485, Stokes Exhibit No. 2.

Mr. STOKES. I have no knowledge that copies of the speeches made at the meeting are available to the committee at the moment.

Mr. WOOD. Did you make some extracts from them yourself?

Mr. STOKES. I did, and I might say again that nothing in any individual speech could be construed as an incitation against the Government of the United States, but the sum total of the speeches made and the temper of delivery of those speeches left no doubt in the minds of the audience as to the clear intent of the speakers.

Mr. WALTER. As I understand, Robeson did state flatly that the American Negroes would not fight against Russia in the event of war between this country and Russia?

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Robeson stated, as I recall—and this is not an exact quote—in substance this is what he said:

It is unthinkable that American Negroes or Negroes anywhere would go to war on behalf of those who have oppressed us for generations, against a country which in one generation has raised our people to the full dignity of mankind.

Mr. CASE. On what do you base that as the substance of his remarks? Did you make notes of what he said?

Mr. STOKES. I made notes of what he said.

Mr. CASE. And this is your summary of what he said?

Mr. STOKES. That is right.

Mr. CASE. Do you know whether any representatives of Negro organizations who are respected by the majority of the Negro race have made any statements disavowing this as a fair statement of the attitude of members of that race?

Mr. STOKES. There have been statements by prominent Negroes denying the accuracy of Mr. Robeson's allegation.

Mr. CASE. Do you have any of those statements with you today?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I have various statements of that character here, which I would like to present to the witness and have him read them into the record.

Mr. STOKES. I read now an excerpt from the New Jersey Record of July 2.

Mr. CASE. What is the New Jersey Record?

Mr. STOKES. It is a newspaper, I assume. [Reading:]

New Jersey Record of July 2, one of the leading Negro newspapers in the country, reflects the views of the great majority of colored citizens.

"Robeson lived well here in the United States. He has seen doors opened to him that were closed to the masses of Negroes. He has been placed in a position from which he can trumpet his magnificent voice to the world. Talent alone put him where he is today; a talent so great, that it pushed down innumerable barriers.

"Now that he is in a position to reach down and help others of his race, to be a liaison agent between the races here, he has made himself an object of disgust. On every side we are asked, 'Why doesn't Robeson go on back to Russia and stay there?'

"We ask the same question."

(Source: Congressional Record, July 8, 1949, p. A4571.)

Mr. CASE. Is the New Jersey Record itself a Negro publication, or is it quoting Negro publications or referring to their comments?

Mr. STOKES. I might say I am not familiar with the New Jersey Record.

Here is an excerpt from a letter which was inserted in the Congressional Record Appendix, May 16, 1949, page A3090, which is as follows:

Mr. CASE. Who is it by?

Mr. STOKES. It is a letter received from one of the reputable Negro leaders of Independence Mo., Mr. J. E. Henderson.

Mr. CASE. Does your memorandum indicate who placed the insertion in the Record.

Mr. STOKES. It does not at this point.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask permission that the insertion in the Congressional Record be identified in the record of this hearing following the hearing. It seems to me that in order to be of value in these hearings, it ought to be identified so that it refers to some reputable person. It should carry the name of the person who placed it in the Record, which would give it some standing.

Mr. Wood. Let the record show the proper identification.³

Mr. CASE. What did Mr. Henderson say?

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Henderson said—and this is an excerpt:

The flag of Old Glory will never drag the dirt as long as the Negro of America lives.

Mr. TAVENNER. In order to facilitate the hearing I may state to the committee that we have letters received by the committee which can be incorporated into the record, but which are not available at this moment.

Mr. Wood. Let them be presented and made a part of the record in connection with this hearing.⁴

Mr. McSWEENEY. Were there any solicitations for membership in the Communist Party made at this meeting for the return of Paul Robeson? I don't mean openly, but were any persons in the group making solicitations?

Mr. STOKES. I saw no person in the group seeking to obtain recruits for the Communist Party.

Mr. McSWEENEY. You saw no one approached?

Mr. STOKES. I did not.

Mr. McSWEENEY. Thank you.

Mr. Wood. Any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. Wood. Thank you very much.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to call Rabbi Benjamin Schultz.

Mr. Wood. Hold up your right hand, please. You solemnly swear the evidence you will give this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. I do.

SWORN TESTIMONY OF RABBI BENJAMIN SCHULTZ

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. My name is Benjamin Schultz.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present address?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. My home address is 65 Elliot Avenue, Yonkers, N. Y., and my professional address is 220 West Forty-second Street, New York City.

³ Extension of Remarks, Hon. Hugh J. Addonizio, Congressional Record, July 8, 1949, p. A4571.

⁴ See appendix, p. 485, Stokes Exhibit No. 3.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of any Jewish organizations engaged in the fight against communism?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Well, I am a member and I am also the national executive director of the American Jewish League Against Communism, and, to a further extent, all the Jewish organizations to which I belong are fighting communism. There are a great many of them. But this organization of which I am national executive director is taking that fight as its one and only specialty.

Mr. TAVENNER. What opportunity have you had to personally observe Communist propaganda attempts to deceive, corrupt, disunite, and exploit minority races in the United States?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Sir, may I suggest that it will satisfy you if I give my prepared statement in connection with your question, a documented statement with twenty-odd exhibits. Some of the exhibits will be read by me, but others will just be given to you. Will it be all right if I give my prepared statement?

Mr. TAVENNER. That will be satisfactory.

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Paul Robeson's attempted provocation of American Negroes against their country, and in favor of Russia, is only one instance of a deliberate Communist conspiracy to inflame racial and religious minorities here against the United States.

In reality there are two facets to this policy:

First, in the inciting of Jews, Negroes, and other groups against America.

Second, is the setting of racial groups against one another by exaggeration and creation of differences, through insidious propaganda. The ultimate aim is to throw this land into confusion, paving the way for Stalinist revolution and conquest.

The majority of Negroes, Jews, Catholics, and foreign-born, in common with their fellow-Americans, detest communism. The Jackie Robinsons are typical of the Americans of Negro extraction, and the Paul Robesons are not typical. We persons of Jewish blood—note I say Jewish blood; no person of Jewish faith has any sympathy with communism—we persons of Jewish blood have our Paul Robesons also, but with us, too, the Jackie Robinsons are in the majority, and we have the same proportion of good Americans as are found in the general population.

Our Negroes have suffered much, but they know that step by step conditions in their country are improving. This is because we live under a system where open discussion and airing of grievances are possible, and we have faith in the ultimate victory of our democratic system. In a slave state like Russia, this open discussion and constant improvement would not be possible. Nevertheless, the Communist fifth column in America attempts to use the Negroes, and they also try to use other minority groups, such as the Jews. Constant vigilance is necessary.

The Jew is a lover of liberty. The American Jewish League Against Communism represents the majority viewpoint of American Jews on this subject of communism. On our board of directors are such representative men as Brig. Gen. Julius Klein, a past national commander of the Jewish War Veterans; your own colleague, the Hon. Abraham J. Multer; Isaac Don Levine; Eugene Lyons; Alfred Kohlberg; Morrie Ryskind, of Hollywood; Rabbi David S. Savitz; and Rabbi Ascher M. Yager, leading orthodox rabbis of New York.

My humble self, I am an ordained rabbi since 1931, previously having graduated from the University of Rochester. I was assistant rabbi in Brooklyn from 1931 to 1935 and was rabbi at Temple Emanuel in Yonkers from 1935 to 1947, 12 years. In 1947 I resigned from Temple Emanuel in Yonkers because this evil of communism was so great and international in its scope that I desired to wage the fight against it in a larger field.

We Jews are proud of Bernard M. Baruch, elder statesman and leading fighter against communism; such writers as David Lawrence, who opposes the Red totalitarianism which is nothing but Red fascism; and that great leader of labor, David Dubinsky, mortal foe of everything communistic in the great labor movement. The vice president of his International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, Charles Kreindler, is on the board of directors of our league.

As a rabbi, a believer in God, a servant of mankind, I cry out against this black force of communism which is ushering a new dark age into much of our world, and which seems to be expanding. It brings nothing but chains and stultification of the soil to the individual. The individual is sacred. He is not a clod. He is formed in the image of God. Communism would make him a clod. Moses commanded: "Proclaim liberty throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof." This is found on the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia. The real Jew cannot help being a good American.

As a Jew, I consider communism equivalent to fascism and nazism as a great historic evil.

This country is in greater danger—because of the very subtlety of that danger—than it ever has been in all its history. And persons of Jewish faith have found more peace and prosperity in America than they ever have in any corner of earth. Not only as Americans, but also as Jews, they must act against the enemy of America.

But the Communists, unfortunately, will not desist from their efforts to capture us until either all the minorities are separately won over, or the Communist movement is destroyed.

We have mentioned the first facet of the conspiracy—the inciting of Negroes, Jews, and others against the United States.

In exhibit 1, Daily Worker, August 3, 1948, we see a typical instance of something out of the whole cloth, "Cops disrupt Mt. Vernon Wallace rally," in which it is stated a letter was sent to the mayor of Mt. Vernon, N. Y., by a pro-Communist club protesting the police department's attitude and practices toward Negroes.⁵ I have not heard of any reputable club in Mt. Vernon protesting police action.

In exhibit 2, Daily Worker, August 2, 1948, a big headline screamed, "Drunken cop shoots 2 Negro war vets." This was in Brooklyn. And here is a significant sentence in this item from the Daily Worker: "Don Lester, organizer of the Crown Heights Communist Party, visited the family as soon as the tragedy became known."⁶

Well, it must be remembered that the whole problem of minorities, so-called, is greatly interwoven, so we go from one race to the other.

It must be remembered that the United States Communist Party is the only party in America with a permanent Jewish section. The "spiritual" leader of that section is Alexander Bittelman, who is listed

⁵ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 1.

⁶ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 2.

for deportation as an alien Communist. He has written a text for Communists called *To Secure Jewish Rights*—the Communist Position, a 40-page pamphlet, exhibit 3.⁷ I quote from page 37:

The influence of Communist policies in the American Jewish national group is undoubtedly increasing.

He is an optimist. (Continuing reading:)

Communists in trade unions, fraternal organizations, cultural movements, children's education, women's organizations, * * * are helping to shape and influence the struggle for Jewish rights.

He speaks of Communist activity in the American Jewish Congress, a large national organization, and I wish to say that recently the American Jewish Congress expelled two Communist organizations, the Jewish People's Fraternal Order and the American Jewish Labor Council, much to the disappointment of Mr. Bittelman. The large Jewish organizations like the American Jewish Committee, Jewish Labor Committee, and Jewish War Veterans, are anti-Communist. But constant vigilance is necessary, gentlemen, in all American organizations, Jewish and Christian.

To summarize Bittelman's pamphlet briefly, and to paraphrase it, we can put it into four categories:

1. Preach anti-Americanism.
2. Increase hysteria and insecurity among the Jewish people, to make them think that they are lost in America but safe in Soviet Russia.
3. Further the Wallace movement among Jews. This admonition is found on page 17. This, by the way, is an official document of the Communist Party. I quote from page 17:

It is necessary to rally the Jewish masses to fight for a third party and for a Wallace Presidential ticket.

4. Organize all kinds of meetings and print pamphlets on various Jewish grievances.

We must remember that Stalinist propaganda seeps down into confused liberal circles, and that is where it does the most harm. My exhibits 4 to 10 illustrate the danger, for instance, of the anti-American propaganda.

Exhibit 4 is a big headline in the New York Morning Freiheit, Yiddish-language Communist organ, of July 3, 1948, which reads, "Nuremberg in Washington." This thing is very long and I am not going to translate the whole thing. This article mixes every Jewish local and foreign just grievance into a porridge, to make the reader believe that the rulers of America are about to exterminate him.⁸

Exhibit 5 is an editorial from the New York Morning Freiheit of June 17, 1948, headed "American Airplanes Against Jewish Immigrants." During the Palestine truce some American airplanes were sent as part of the truce patrol, and the Freiheit editorial just cited would have these American airplanes threatening the Jews.⁹

Exhibit 6 is not on a serious topic at all. It is a column in the Morning Freiheit of June 10, 1948. The title is "America, America, Ha Ha" in a mocking tone, and it says:

⁷ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 3.

⁸ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 4.

⁹ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 5.

America! What kind of country do we have here? It is a crazy country, because here a woman offered to marry herself to the highest bidder.

The same column mocks:

America! What kind of persons do you have for Senators and Congressmen? It doesn't like the type of legislators we have.¹⁰

Exhibit 7 is a typical news item from the Morning Freiheit of December 16, 1948, and it is significant. A powerful gentile is spearheading part of the conspiracy. It reports that Bruce Bliven, executive editor of the New Republic, who, I will add, is not a Communist, is to speak before a pro-Communist group on the topic, "The Growth of Anti-Semitism in America." He is heralded as believing that anti-Semitism in America is now so great that it is as bad as it was in Germany when Hitler came into power.¹¹

Exhibit 8 is a big headline in the Freiheit of June 22, 1949, "They are looking for the attackers of Walter Reuther, but they arrest only Negroes and Jews."¹²

There are further exhibits here along the same lines which I will be glad to explain to anyone.

Exhibit 9 is an editorial from the Yiddish-language New York Day of July 1, 1948.¹³

I come now to exhibit 10. I wish to show this to you. Last August, when the Washington espionage ring was exposed by this committee, the Daily Worker called it "Another Spy Frame-Up" and ran with its editorial a picture of Alfred Drefus, the persecuted Jew, and said: "He was framed, too." The implication, to me, is very obvious.¹⁴

So much for Mr. Bittelman's first implied category, anti-Americanism. Now let us get on to the fostering of hysteria, or insecurity. I will give you a couple of exhibits (exhibits 11, 12, and 13) which are almost along the same lines I have shown to you. I want to get on to exhibit 14.

Incidentally, about Jewish insecurity, I want to speak as a Jew. We have some little reason for feeling insecure in the world. Six million of my brethren were slaughtered in Europe in the past few years. This has unbalanced a few persons into thinking that they are about to be murdered. And the Communists are taking full advantage of it. I feel that the less real discrimination there is, and the less real grievances there are, the easier will the cure be.

Besides anti-Americanism and hysteria, there was the Bittelman advice to work for Wallace and to hold meetings for various classes of the population. Here the Communist effort to snare the Jews merges with the Wallace effort. The two are almost indistinguishable.

Exhibit 14 describes the Manhattan County Convention of the Communists in July 1948, which determined the work "among the national groups like Italians, Jews, Irish, Puerto Ricans, and others."¹⁵

Exhibit 15, from the Daily Worker of June 8, 1948, is a beautiful ad with pictures. It advertises Senator Glen Taylor in Brooklyn. He is to speak in Brooklyn. He is not from Brooklyn, as you know. The heading is: "Defend the State of Israel." In this ad people with banners are shown. One banner says they are opposed to conscription, and right next to it is a banner "Defense of Israel." In other

¹⁰⁻¹⁵ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibits 6-14.

words, opposition to Conscription and American armament is linked with defense of Israel—a dangerous association which I consider essentially anti-Semitic in its effect. Other speakers advertised with Senator Glen Taylor are Communist Lee Pressman and Communist William S. Gailmor.¹⁶

Here is exhibit 16, a beautiful folder on Henry Wallace's Greater New York Conference on Jewish Affairs to take up all the grievances of Jews on behalf of the Progressive Party. I may be ignorant, but I haven't heard of any political party having a conference on Jewish affairs except this one.¹⁷

After this conference was held, a publication appeared, sponsored by Wallace, called The Jewish Citizen, issued by the Jewish affairs advisory committee of the Progressive Party. What do you know about that? "The Jewish Citizen"; a special kind of citizen. Here every bit of insecurity that people of the Jewish faith may have is exploited to the hilt. This paper links up the defense of the Communists and the appeasement of Russia with the welfare of the American Jewish people. In this issue of October 1948 (exhibit 17) there is an article on the back in the Yiddish language, by Philip Novick, editor of the Communist organ Freiheit, on Ilse Koch and her relationship to our elections. You know Ilse Koch, the Beast of Buchenwald, who gained fame for making lamp shades out of human skin. The upshot of the article is that if you are not voting for Henry Wallace, you are voting for Ilse Koch. You can have The Jewish Citizen.¹⁸

This story has a happy ending. These people were terribly disappointed—these Wallace-backing, hysteria-mongering, anti-American, pro-Communist forces trying to confuse the Jew. The New York elections were not to the liking of the Daily Worker. There were millions of Jewish voters in New York and the Wallace vote amounted to only a few hundred thousands. The Daily Worker of November 10, 1948 (exhibit 18) expressed its disappointment and said that in the "most progressive Jewish working-class districts" the voters were expected to be for Wallace but had turned out to be for Truman. There was much pondering about the meaning of all this, and shaking of heads among the fifth column, but the answer is simple: Americans of Jewish faith are Americans. And I may add for the record that quite a few voted for Dewey, too.¹⁹

We skip now to the Pacific coast.

Los Angeles is a thorny problem. It is a peculiar town in some respects. I was there and I know that the climate is wonderful and most of its people are wonderful. Hundreds of thousands of Jews live there, many of whom are transient and too many of whom are not interested in their Jewish community council. Therefore, we have the well-meaning Jewish leaders terrorized by Communist elements, who are always alert.

The Los Angeles Jewish Community Council is one of the few such councils in the country where the Communist organization, International Workers Order, has been a part of the council and they have not been able to dislodge it over a period of years. Even the atheist schools of the order are part of the Jewish school system. I am doing this to awaken the Jews in Los Angeles, who, I am sure, do not want this to go on.

¹⁶⁻¹⁹ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibits 15-18.

Here is a photostat put out by the Los Angeles Jewish Voice, September 10, 1948 (exhibit 22), urging all Jews to send their children to a Jewish school, and among the schools listed is the Communist school of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order.²⁰

A pro-Communist reign of terror exists. But what can we expect under the circumstances? Mrs. Phyllis Ziffren was for a long time president of Hadassah, the largest Jewish women's organization. Exhibits 19, 19-A, and 20 show her constant affiliations and associations. Here (exhibit 19-A) she is speaking at a rally of YKUF, a Communist organization, and on the program with her is the pro-Communist Z. Weinper, and also Mr. Henry Sazer, executive secretary of the Los Angeles chapter of the American Jewish Labor Council, cited as subversive by Attorney General Clark.²¹

Here (exhibit 19) Mrs. Ziffren, president of the Los Angeles Hadassah chapter, is a guest speaker at a luncheon sponsored by the Emma Lazarus City Committee (Los Angeles) of JPFO, Jewish People's Fraternal Order, listed as subversive by Attorney General Clark.

And here is a clipping from the New York Morning Freiheit of November 11, 1948, page 3 (exhibit 21).²²

As soon as the majority of Los Angeles Jews decide to become active, they will boot these elements out. In the meantime, Detroit remains an example of a fine anti-Communist Jewish community. And New York, the center of Jewish life, has a group of leading Jews inspiring anti-communism in the whole population, Christian as well as Jewish. I named some of them at the beginning of my statement.

But Los Angeles is really an animadversion. The fact remains that the Wallace vote among Jews was a terrible disappointment to the Communists of America, and the Jews, like other minorities the Reds are trying to capture, remain solidly American.

About the very time that this became manifest, the state of Israel refused to accept the Soviet taffy and began to be regarded as ungrateful. The population voted overwhelmingly against the Communists. The largest political party there is oriented toward the West.

Now I ask a question: Could all this be the reason why Russia showed its true colors and turned openly against Judaism and Jews?

The answer is in the field of conjecture. All that is plain is that the Soviet Union wooed American Jews by every device of propaganda (as outlined by Bittelman) and failed dismally. Also, it is clear that the Soviet line changed abruptly about 1 year ago.

Zionists here became anathema to the Communists; leading Jews were arrested in Russia for expressing sympathy with Judaism. The campaign against the Jewish religion in Russia was intensified. Itzik Pfeffer, P-f-e-f-f-e-r, the leading Russian Jewish writer, is missing. He remains missing, and local Communists will not answer the question what has happened to him.

It is probable also that the new anti-Jewishness of the Soviet regime is meant to deflect the rage of the hungry and downtrodden Russian masses from Stalin to the eternal scapegoat, the Jew. Of writers and

²⁰ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 22.

²¹ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibits 19, 19a, and 20.

²² See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 21.

intellectuals purged in the last few months, Jewish names are in the vast majority.

Exhibit 23 is a Russian newspaper from Moscow, Pravda, issue of March 5, 1949, and I have lined off a paragraph in the first column. I quote from this paragraph. Listen carefully to it and its tone:²³

Homeless cosmopolites who know nothing of creative labor, of truth and honor, have crept into our editorial offices, scientific institutions, and universities. They are people who feel no duty toward the nation, the state, or the party. It is our urgent task, therefore, to smoke these bourgeois cosmopolites out of their holes, because these people without a people or a country hinder the development of Soviet literature.

It sounds like the old Czarist Jew-hatred. It also reminds us of the old Communist line of 1929 when, for purposes of their own, the Reds were encouraging the Arabs to kill the Jews in Palestine.

Exhibit 24 shows two cartoons in the New York Morning Freiheit. I wish all the committee could see this at the moment. Here are two cartoons published in the Freiheit. It is printed in the Yiddish language. These Communists are not really Jews; they are just Communists.²⁴

One cartoon appeared September 4, 1929, and shows the Zionist as a pudgy monstrosity with a hooked nose using an old bearded Jew as a shield. This bearded Jew has an even bigger hooked nose. Streicher, the Nazi, could do no better.

The other cartoon was published in the Freiheit of September 19, 1929, and is labeled "Zionist Charity Giver." He is a gruesome Jew, again with a hooked nose, and a shield of David on his stomach with the dollar sign over it. The other cartoon has the shield of David, or six-pointed Jewish star, on a big money bag.

This was the Communist line in 1929, and it is turning that way again. The Communists will turn on any minority to gain their own ends. The Communists are the friends of no one but the Communist ruling regime.

We have taken up the first facet of the Stalinist policy of the provocation of minorities—the inciting of Jews, Negroes, and other groups against America. But there is another side to this sowing of confusion for a purpose. It is the setting of one minority group against the other.

This divisive agitation derives from a statement by Lenin in his book, Left Communism, that "the time for decisive battle" is "fully ripe" when "all the class forces hostile to us have become sufficiently confused, are sufficiently at loggerheads with each other, have sufficiently weakened themselves in a struggle beyond their capacities."

Well, one day the Communist Daily Worker deplored the "brutal attack on two Italian boys in Red Hook," Brooklyn. But that same moment Communists were circulating among the Negroes in New York's garment manufacturing sector and spreading the story that the largely Italian Local 89 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, a local headed by Luigi Antonini, was discriminating against Negroes and not admitting them to the local. There was not a particle of truth in the accusation. The purpose of the rumor was to destroy the anti-Communist leadership of local 89.

²³ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 23.

²⁴ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 24.



Not the Nazis but the Communists published and peddled these vicious and disgusting anti-Semitic cartoons. They appeared in the Morning Freiheit, official Communist party Jewish language newspaper after the 1929 Arab massacre of Jews in Palestine. Objects To discredit Jewish aspiration for a homeland in Palestine and justify Stalin's power bid to the Arabs against the British. Yiddish caption over Freiheit cartoon at left (Sept. 19, 1929) meant "The Zionist Charity Giver"; that over the cartoon at right (Sept. 4, 1929) meant "The Mask Behind Which He Shoots."

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But the most outrageous instance of Red divisive agitation occurred in dressmaking Local 22 of the ILGWU, managed by Charles Zimmerman, an anti-Communist. Here an organized effort is still in process to set Negroes against Jews. In 1947 Zimmerman charged that the Reds had hired a Negro girl to spread the libel that the Jewish officials were anti-Negro. These Jewish officials happened to be anti-Communist.

Here is exhibit 25, a news account in the Day, showing that on March 3, 1949, before 1,500 people in Manhattan Center, at a convention of local 22, a Negro girl, Minna Springer, arose to charge that the Communists in the local "use Negroes and other minorities for political ends." That is, against the anti-Communists.²⁵

Red-instigated violence between Negroes and whites in New York dress factories has narrowly been averted by the capable union leadership.

In Detroit, in 1948, Leon Mosley, a Negro boy, was killed by a police bullet. The Communists began a violent agitation among Negroes, which was of anti-Semitic nature. Fearing harm to the many white Jewish shopkeepers in the area, Oscar Cohen, executive director of the Jewish Community Council, appealed to the police and responsible Negro leaders, and precautions were taken against the Communists and their anti-Jewish incitation. Exhibit 26 is an editorial in the Detroit Jewish Chronicle blaming the Communists for this racial trouble.²⁶

A somewhat different technique is illustrated in Los Angeles. In March 1948, a police bullet fatally hit a young Mexican, Augustin Salcido. Communist agitation resulted in "demonstrations," during one of which, it was announced, a "wreath" was placed on the steps of the Jewish Welfare Building. Why the Jewish Welfare Building? Thus two minorities were cleverly linked for Communist propaganda against the majority population. The policeman, by the way, was completely cleared by the superior court.

Exhibit 27, a Los Angeles letter to the Freiheit, tells the story. But whether minorities are linked, or whether they are divided, by Communist propaganda, the net result is always hatred toward constituted authority.²⁷

Isidor Begun, Bronx County chairman of the Communist Party, was recently ousted from his party post because he became nauseated with artificial race incitation. The party ordered him to accuse the Allerton Apartments in the Bronx of excluding Negroes. He refused, because Negroes had never applied to live there. He was expelled for "white chauvinism."

This testimony is perhaps the only way that certain Americans of Jewish faith will learn of the Communist conspiracy against them. That is one of the reasons I was glad to accept the invitation tendered by this committee. This testimony is also perhaps the only way that the minorities in our population will learn of their twisted function in Communist ideology. It is a good thing that they know this. The necessity of vigilance, intelligent vigilance, cannot be overemphasized.

It is a good thing that Americans generally learn of the unusual burden that Negroes, Jews, foreign-born, and other minority groups

²⁵ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 25.

²⁶ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 26.

²⁷ See appendix, p. 485, Schultz Exhibit No. 27.

must bear—the constant repelling of this subtlest of enemies. American history, the story of the recent war, and the names of persons prominent in American endeavors, show that the minorities have come out of this purgatory stronger and purer than ever.

We Jews have suffered from discrimination for centuries. We have enough real trouble without having the Communists create trouble for us where it does not exist, or having them imagine troubles for us. I know that other racial and religious groups feel the same way.

The one sure thing about America today is that, through the democratic process, injustices are being gradually removed. I would recommend to Americans that the removal of these injustices be hastened, and that the Communists be thereby further weakened.

I trust that no American and no liberal will allow himself to be used for an international conspiracy which, if successful in the United States, would abolish the American way of life and substitute a slavery unparalleled in world history, signifying tragedy and death to liberals and conservatives, Jews, Protestants, Catholics, whites, Negroes, and all freedom-loving men on this continent.

Mr. Chairman, will you allow me to state the names of certain 100 percent Communist fronts purporting to appeal to the Jewish people, in order that well-meaning people may be cautioned against them?

Mr. Wood. We will be glad to have them in the record.

Rabbi SCHULTZ. American Biro-Bidjan Committee: Biro-Bidjan is that area in Soviet Russia which is supposed to be a Jewish homeland, but which is nothing but a fraud. There is no Jewish life there to speak of. For 30 years they have collected money for the Jewish people of Biro-Bidjan, and nobody knows where that money goes.

Here is a cute thing recently formed known as the Joint Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism. That is composed of the American Jewish Labor Council and the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, both cited as subversive by Attorney General Clark.

Here is a Jewish publication: Jewish Fraternalist. This is the official organ of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order.

The so-called School of Jewish Studies of New York: It is a school of Communist studies.

Jewish Council for Rehabilitation of Russia: Now deceased, luckily.

American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists, and Scientists: That is a Communist-front, pro-Russian, anti-American organization, not representative of the Jewish people.

Here is a publication: New Currents. It appears very irregularly. It is the organ of the subversive American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists, and Scientists.

Chelsea Jewish Children's School is a Communist front.

Defense Committee for Alexander Bittelman: That is the ineffable optimist, now listed for deportation, who is the "spiritual" leader of the Jewish section of the United States Communist Party.

Icor: It may be inactive now, but it is likely to come up again at any moment. It is a Communist front.

Naileben is the official publication of Icor.

Ikuff: That is not really Jewish. It is Communist. Sholem Asch, the famous author, denounced Ikuff a week ago. They had even fooled him. He said he didn't want to have anything to do with Ikuff because they were pro-Communist.

One of the amazing things is that the International Workers Order, which is listed as subversive and which goes in for nationalities, is chartered as an insurance organization. Yet it pays for full-page ads in the Daily Worker advocating or disapproving things done by the Government of the United States or Congress. I am not a lawyer, but it would be well to look into the insurance qualifications and activities of the International Workers Order in New York State.

Jewish People's Committee: Now deceased, cited as subversive and Communist.

And now I want to mention a magazine called The Protestant. It is not affiliated with any church at all. You call a magazine The Protestant; you claim to be Christian; you begin to fight anti-Semitism; you go to Jews and say "We are Christians fighting anti-Semitism"; you follow the pro-Communist line. It is a racket of powerful proportions. It has been officially denounced by the central representative of the Jewish Community of the United States.

They are liable to spring up at any time.

I wish to end up by saying that our great representative organizations, such as B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish League Against Communism, will live up to the highest American ideals and are Jewish and anti-Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. Do you know what the circulation of Freiheit is?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. The circulation of Freiheit is very small. I don't think it is over 30,000. But I might say it screams very loudly, and they give out a lot of free copies.

I am glad you asked the question, because it gives me the opportunity to bring to your attention that the largest Jewish newspaper in the world, with 100,000 daily circulation, the Jewish Daily Forward, is probably the leading anti-Communist force in America and has been for years past.

Mr. WALTER. Thank you.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. No questions. I want to thank the rabbi for his vigorous statement against communism, and commend him for his stand.

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Thank you, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Case.

Mr. CASE. You have made a very interesting statement. There is no doubt in my mind but that organizations of minority groups dedicated to the task of spreading the true principles of Americanism must take the major responsibility in opposing and counteracting Communist activities, particularly among minority groups.

The organization of which you are now executive director, the American Jewish League Against Communism, has been in existence for how long?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. For a little more than a year. It was announced in March 1948.

Mr. CASE. And do you have a membership?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Yes; we have a membership. We have just concluded 1 year and the paid-up membership to be reported is one thing, and the membership that has joined within the year is something else.

I would say our membership consists of several thousands. I must ask the treasurer for the exact number today.

We have members in 22 States. We have two incorporated chapters, one in New York State, and one in California, working mostly in Los Angeles. And we have groups working in cities which are not incorporated but which are aiming to become incorporated. I have received requests in the past week to form chapters in Chicago and Baltimore, and many requests have come in from small communities.

Mr. CASE. Does your organization depend exclusively on membership fees?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Yes. We are a nonprofit educational organization subsisting on memberships and on labor unions.

Mr. CASE. What is your membership fee?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. We have no stated fee. Anything over \$1 is accepted as a membership fee. We have members in the range of \$1 up to \$15,000, and those dues are paid.

Mr. CASE. I was interested in this pamphlet which you presented as an exhibit, entitled "To Secure Jewish Rights—The Communist Position" by Alexander Bittelman. According to the imprint on it, it is printed by New Century Publishers, 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y. Are you familiar with New Century Publishers at that address?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Yes. I have never known a publication of New Century Publishers to follow anything but the pro-Communist line.

Mr. CASE. I notice on the back page of this publication there are listed, over the name of New Century Publishers, "Recent Pamphlets," as follows:

N. Y. Herald Tribune's 23 Questions About the Communist Party, Answered by William Z. Foster.

Should Americans Back the Marshall Plan? by Joseph Starobin.

Jewish Culture in America—Weapon for Jewish Survival and Progress—by Nathan Ausubel.

Culture in a Changing World—a Marxist Approach, by V. J. Jerome.

Notes from Gallows, by Julius Fuchik.

The Red-Baiting Racket, by George Morris.

Why I Am a Communist, by Benjamin J. Davis.

In this publication by Mr. Bittelman I note this sentence on page 36:

The National Jewish Commission of the Communist Party in its 12 months of existence has realized some significant objectives formulated in the party's resolution on Jewish work.

Then after a sentence or two it says:

A major field of operation for our commission was to guide Communist participation in the Morning Freiheit, in the Morning Freiheit Association, and in Jewish Life.

Rabbi SCHULTZ. May I add to the list of publications that are Communist, Jewish Life. Jewish Life is a Communist publication. There is, unfortunately, another publication of the same name which is orthodox and not Communist at all.

Mr. CASE. What is the difference between the Morning Freiheit and Jewish Life?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Morning Freiheit is daily and in the Yiddish language. Jewish Life is monthly and in the English language.

Mr. CASE. How can you distinguish between the two publications of Jewish Life?

Rabbi SCHULTZ. I have tried to tell these excellent people of the other Jewish Life to do something about it, and I hope your question today will encourage them to change their name or to force the other publication to change their name.

Mr. CASE. Apparently neither one has the name registered as a trade-mark.

Rabbi SCHULTZ. That I would not know.

Mr. CASE. Also in this pamphlet by Bittelman I notice on page 16, in connection with the section headed "The 1948 elections," this paragraph:

The 1948 elections, which will decide the next phase of the people's struggle, already present three simultaneous directions for progressive action. First, the fight for a progressive pro-Roosevelt Congress; second, the fight for the building of a third party, a people's anti-imperialist, democratic, peace party; third, the fight for the launching of an independent people's Presidential ticket. We must bend every effort to involve the Jewish people in these election struggles, especially in the large centers where most of the Jewish masses live.

Rabbi SCHULTZ. Yes. I pointed out that they failed.

Mr. CASE. What do you take it they mean where they say, "First, the fight for a progressive pro-Roosevelt Congress."

Rabbi SCHULTZ. When a Communist uses a word, and when a non-Communist uses a word, the word assumes different meanings. For example, when Communists talk about peace, they mean Russian conquest. When Communists talk about a pro-Roosevelt Congress they mean something diametrically opposed to what a non-Communist means when he talks about a pro-Roosevelt Congress. The Communists have adopted the memory of President Roosevelt, I am sure much to the distress of followers of President Roosevelt.

Mr. CASE. Thank you.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. I wanted to make a comment that this committee is not operated for political purposes. I would add to that statement that the committee has never questioned the loyalty of the Jewish people nor of the Negro people, and that the proceedings and hearings now being conducted are conducted in the spirit of cooperation with such people as yourself in the fight against communism.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like the record to show that the New Century Publishers referred to by Congressman Case has been cited by this committee as an official Communist Party publishing house by its action on May 11, 1948; and that similar action was taken by the California Committee on Un-American Activities in 1948.

Mr. Wood. Any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. Wood. Thank you very much, Rabbi Schultz. You may be excused.

The committee stands adjourned until 10:30 tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon, at 12:10 p. m., on Wednesday, July 13, 1949, an adjournment was taken until Thursday, July 14, 1949, at 10:30 a. m. Later in the afternoon, however, it was decided to continue the hearings at 4 p. m. of the same day.)



HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF MINORITY GROUPS

WEDNESDAY, JULY 13, 1949

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 4 p. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman), presiding.

Subcommittee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Morgan M. Moulder, and Harold H. Velde.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Alvin W. Stokes, investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. Wood. Let the committee be in order, and let the record show that for the purposes of the session this afternoon the Chair has designated a subcommittee composed of Mr. Moulder, Mr. Velde, and Mr. Wood.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to call Mr. George Hunton.

Mr. Wood. Will you raise your right hand, please. You solemnly swear the testimony you will give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HUNTON. I do.

Mr. Wood. Have a seat.

SWORN TESTIMONY OF GEORGE K. HUNTON

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please state your full name.

Mr. HUNTON. I am George K. Hunton. My residence is in Brooklyn, N. Y. I was born in the United States and have been a resident of the State of New York for about 35 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present occupation?

Mr. HUNTON. At present I am the executive director of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York, and editor of its publication, the Interracial Review.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been so engaged?

Mr. HUNTON. Since the organization of the council 15 years ago, in both capacities.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I will ask Mr. Stokes to examine this witness, as he has talked to him.

Mr. Wood. Very well.

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Hunton, will you please relate your education, training, and experience prior to your present position as executive director of the Catholic Interracial Council?

Mr. HUNTON. Yes. I was educated at Holy Cross College and am a graduate of Fordham Law School and a member of the New York bar. I practiced law several years before getting into the Catholic Interracial Council work. The Catholic Interracial Council is made up of white and Negro Catholics, and it has an educational program to combat racial prejudices and to secure social justice for all, regardless of race. From the beginning our program has been constructive, and we have opposed all forms of totalitarianism. From the beginning we have leveled a three-front attack against nazism, fascism, and communism.

Mr. STOKES. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HUNTON. I am glad you ask that question. Of course I am not, first because I regard myself as a good American, and that would preclude anyone sincerely from becoming a member of the Communist Party. And, secondly, I believe in God and religious freedom; I am a member of the Catholic Church; and under no circumstances would I ever consider being a member of that very dangerous, corrupt, and subversive organization.

Mr. STOKES. What personal opportunities have you had to observe Communist propaganda attempts to deceive, corrupt, disunite, and exploit the Negro population in the United States?

Mr. HUNTON. I have found, as have all members of my group—that is, the officers and directors of the Catholic Interracial Council—over the years, that Communists in general employ two tactics: (1) they attempt at all times to increase antagonism between different groups. In our particular area that means they increase antagonism between reactionary whites and the disadvantaged Negro group. The purpose is to defeat constructive programs for social justice and to turn the Negro from democratic processes to the relief promised by the Communist Party.

I would like to say at this moment, in my judgment this sinister plan has failed completely. There have been remarkable gains in interracial justice over the years. The Negro has not been drawn into the Communist Party; and may I anticipate a future question and say in my judgment there always has been and is today and I believe in the future the Negro will remain completely loyal to his country, the same as loyal white Americans.

In 1934 I became a member of the American Scottsboro Committee. I came in at the behest of Mr. Liebowitz, who was upset over the tactics of the Communists in goading the South and playing havoc with any kind of defense. A group went in the committee made up of non-Communists. I think I was the only Catholic in that group, but was made a member of the executive committee of the group.

We found from the outset the Communists wanted to have conferences with us. We had knowledge of what they had done before. We knew when the boys were first arrested the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had taken over their case to guide and counsel them, and had secured representation for the boys by reputable counsel, men from the South as well as men like Mr.

Hays and Clarence Darrow from the North, only to find the Communist coterie made things so unpleasant they had to withdraw, and NAACP withdrew on account of the fact this group had charged the NAACP with having collected money for the boys and having diverted it for their own purposes.

Parenthetically, may I say I had the pleasure later on of hearing a Communist leader repudiate that and regret they had made that mistake of charging NAACP with having misappropriated the funds.

Mr. Wood. At this point, could you give us the source of that information you received?

Mr. HUNTON. I was going to come to that, Mr. Chairman, a little later. Perhaps it might fit in better there, although if you wish I will go into that now.

Mr. Wood. No. That is all right.

Mr. HUNTON. We went into the case there with our eyes open and made up our minds we would have no conferences in any shape or form. We went despite everything being done. There were constant expeditions and groups of people going into the South to goad southern opinion and to attack the southern courts and to distribute inflammatory literature; to do everything possible to arouse sentiment in the South and destroy any climate where it would be possible to try a case.

We knew they were willing to jeopardize the chances of those boys. In my opinion, from everything I have observed over the years, the Communists in that case did not want the boys freed. They wanted them kept in jail, and so forth, to be held up as martyrs.

In 1934 the committee suggested that I go down South and talk to southern leaders and find out what the situation was there. Again we saw a parallel situation. I talked with white and Negro leaders, educators, lawyers, editors, writers, and people active in interracial work. All those I interviewed were white and Negro southerners who believed in the innocence of these boys and wanted them freed and regretted the fact the South was being goaded by this inflammatory sort of attack and barrages of pamphlets and rabble rousing that took place down there.

A little later on, the American Scottsboro Committee was notified that overtures had been made by a group which wanted to organize what I believe was the first united front in this country. They are a group of outstanding, reputable leaders. I met them in the office of Morris Ernst. There were Norman Thomas, Walter White, Charles Houston of this city, and others, in no shape or form sympathetic to communism or Communists, but they had been persuaded that they should go along and have a united front instead of divided councils. They asked our committee to go along with them, and I remember our committee said we knew from our own experience that it wouldn't be safe; that you couldn't depend on the Communists, or trust them, you couldn't rely on their word; that they did not want the boys freed, and we would not go along and seemingly give support to a group we constantly denounced.

In connection with that conference, a Communist leader, Robert Minor, asked Walter White why he didn't show more enthusiasm for going along with this united front. Mr. White spoke up and said:

"We have never gotten over the viciousness of the attack that the Communists made to the effect that the NAACP had taken the money given for the use of these poor boys and used it for organizational purposes."

Mr. Minor raised his eyebrows and said: "Did we do that? If we did, it was a mistake."

I remember two or three people leaning over and saying to Walter White: "Not a crime; but a bad blunder, bad politics."

That was another example of how we saw communism in action. Instead of being humiliated at having to admit that had been done, they say it was a tactical error, a bad bit of strategy.

The united front did not work. Our apprehensions were all justified. You can have all kinds of testimony, and such testimony has come out in the papers. People have explained what the situation was. Mr. Thomas, Mr. Roger Baldwin, and others found the Communists continued this attitude of exploiting the boys, goading the South, defying the courts and prosecutors, and making it impossible to secure freedom for the boys.

I understand from the leaders that many times they had secured a tentative agreement of parole for some of the prisoners, and as soon as that was done a group of Communists would come down and picket the courthouse and negotiations would be called off. Today I think there are still two boys in jail, and I have no doubt but that if the Communists had their way there would be seven others still in jail.

That is one case.

Mr. STOKES. Are there any other cases you have personal knowledge of that have been exploited in such manner?

Mr. HUNTON. It was attempted.

I am a member of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC. I was one of the original group who met when it was organized 5 years ago. This organization is made up of representatives of all churches—Catholics, Protestants, and Jews—and all national origin groups, but it was to have no Communist affiliation in any shape or form. Yet the Communists definitely tried to climb on the band wagon.

For example, at the time we held a Madison Square Garden rally shortly after it was organized, they sent a group to us and wanted to know if they could have people come under the program. We said "No," it would not be allowed. Whereupon they denounced the meeting in the press, picketed the meeting, distributed circulars to the effect that the national council were not sincere in this movement.

Another case was the situation where they tried to climb into a committee that had something to do with integrating the Negro in big-league baseball.

In 1931 Monsignor Campion of Brooklyn formed a committee made up of people like Commissioner Naughton, civil service commissioner of New York; distinguished Negro sports editors; one or two others; and myself. Letters were sent to the press calling on Lawrence McPhail to admit Negroes in national baseball.

There was a meeting set and Communists came. They had to stand to one side and wait because we would not go into conference with them. They stood without shame, and after the conference, when pictures were taken, they stood in the background although they were not in the conference.

They tried in every way, while this was going on, to picket the offices of the Pirates in such a way as to stir up the resentment of the management there.

To make a long story short, conferences were held with Monsignor Campion and his group which brought about the hiring of Jackie Robinson, which was a very excellent thing for racial relationships. In my judgment the hiring of Jackie Robinson improved the racial attitude of hundreds of thousands of sports lovers in this country.

The Communists knew at the outset that this step, if taken, would be a forward step and would improve race relations. They didn't want to improve them, they wanted to worsen them, and therefore they did everything possible to stir up resentment of those in authority in national baseball, but they did not succeed.

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

Mr. STOKES. To what extent have Communist propaganda attacks been directed against Catholics?

Mr. HUNTON. I think every time there is a religious controversy between, perhaps, members of the different churches, and some attack is made on Catholic people, the Commies jump on the band wagon and try to make the situation as bad as possible.

I was interested in what Rabbi Schultz said about the support they gave the Communist, anti-Catholic paper, the Protestant. They have tried to play upon Protestants inclined to be anti-Catholic in their sentiment to stir up bigotry.

Mr. STOKES. Is there anything in your experience that would tend to indicate potential disloyalty among any segment of the population?

Mr. HUNTON. I am very glad you asked that question. I think I can testify objectively as a person who has been deeply interested and who has made a great many associations and worked in many movements, such as the fight for an antilynching bill, and the NAACP's program for increasing employment opportunities for Negroes, and my own work as editor of our magazine, and I say that as between white America and Negro America there is no difference in the degree of patriotism.

The Negro, in particular, is perhaps the only group in this country who has absolutely no background of memory of a fatherland or motherland. He is an American and nothing else.

Mr. MOULDER. As a matter of fact, a greater percentage of Americans are members of the Negro race than of any other race?

Mr. HUNTON. I think so. They are Americans and nothing else. They certainly, I think, in my judgment, have gone very far in delving into the duplicity of Communists. They have been fooled several times, but in my opinion I think they would be prepared to give salutary advice to well-educated pinks. I feel very definitely that the Negro always has been, is today, and in my judgment always will be

a great American, a real, loyal American, upstanding in every way, shape, and form. A great many more things to distress him and tempt his loyalty have confronted him than those of us who are white, but in spite of that there have been no traitors in his group. We cannot say that of the whites. There have been traitors among the whites.

The patriotism of Negro America is just as great as the patriotism of the overwhelming majority of white America, and in my judgment the patriotism and loyalty of the American Negro never ought to be questioned in this country again, and I believe and agree with those who are the authorized spokesmen and representatives of Negro leadership who have said: "Paul Robeson is speaking for himself and only for himself."

Mr. STOKES. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. Wood. Mr. McSweeney.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. I was very much interested in your testimony. I feel that the Negro, since the days of emancipation, as a race has risen very rapidly. He has gone from a dejected position to a very high position. I want to thank you for your contribution to setting the minds of the people at rest as to the attitude of the Negroes. I served with them in both wars and am proud to call them my comrades. I don't know to this day but that the Unknown Soldier may be a Negro boy, and I pay the same tribute to him whether he be a Negro boy or a white boy.

Mr. HUNTON. Thank you.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. No questions.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Velde.

Mr. VELDE. No questions.

Mr. Wood. We are very glad to have you here. It is a sad commentary that the only person in high position who has ever brought into question the loyalty of the Negro race has been himself a member of that race.

Mr. HUNTON. I thank you very much for the opportunity to be here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Young.

Mr. Wood. Will you raise your right hand, please? You solemnly swear that the testimony you will give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. YOUNG. I do.

Mr. Wood. Be seated.

SWORN TESTIMONY OF THOMAS W. YOUNG

Mr. TAVENNER. Please state your name.

Mr. YOUNG. My name is Thomas W. Young.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. YOUNG. I was born in Norfolk, Va., October 8, 1908.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what is your present occupation?

Mr. YOUNG. I am president and general manager of the Guide Publishing Co., Inc., publishers of the Journal and Guide, a weekly newspaper with a circulation of 65,000 principally in Virginia and North Carolina.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been engaged in the publishing business?

Mr. YOUNG. Practically all my life. My father was the founder of the paper in 1910. At least, he took it over as a small journal at that time, and I have been in it with him since I came out of school in 1932.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your educational background?

Mr. YOUNG. I went to public schools in Norfolk, Va., and high school at Hampton Institute, and college at the Ohio State University at Columbus, Ohio. I studied law and journalism and completed both courses.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Stokes, will you question the witness?

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Young, do you have a prepared statement?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. We will be glad to have you read it.

Mr. YOUNG. I am happy to accept the invitation extended me to appear before this committee because I feel very strongly the need for bringing into proper perspective some of the opinions that have been expressed publicly concerning the loyalty of the American Negro.

It would serve no useful purpose for me to dwell upon the more obvious manifestations of the Negro's loyalty. These have already been mentioned here by others. Instead I should like to address myself to what seems to me to be the flimsy foundation upon which the apprehension about the loyalty of this group rests.

Please bear this in mind, that there is no evidence on record of the disloyalty of their country on the part of Negroes generally. It has not been charged, even, that there have been overt acts by Negroes on which suspicion of disloyalty could be predicated. On the other hand, the entire record of the American Negro's service to his country, from the Revolutionary War, in which Crispus Attucks, a Boston Negro, was among the first to shed blood for this Nation's independence, down to the recent World War II, in which members of this group played important and heroic roles on every front, is a satisfactory refutation of such charges.

That record and the contributions of the Negro to this country's great peacetime achievements should render unthinkable any presumptions of inconsistent conduct at any time in the future.

But there has been expressed a dissent by one who has at least won the attention of those for whom and to whom he now purports to speak. And it is that dissent which occupies our thinking today. I think it will be helpful to recognize that simple fact and deal with it directly and specifically.

What basis, if any, is there for believing Paul Robeson when he says that in the event of a war with Russia the Negro would not fight for his country against the Soviets?

No matter how strongly we may believe it is false, that statement, coming from Mr. Robeson, is not easily disposed of. His own life story is an inspiration to the humble people for whom Mr. Robeson now presumes to speak. Whatever else we might think of his personal loyalties, it would seem highly improbable that Mr. Robeson could be unfaithful to his own people. So it must be conceded that his intemperate outbursts at Paris carried appreciable weight, however much we may dislike the notion.

Two things can be pointed out to discredit that statement. In the first place, Mr. Robeson is now so far out of touch with the Negro's thinking and his everyday emotions that he can no longer speak au-

thoritatively about or for the race. His distant travels and his latter-day preoccupations with the affairs of the Soviets have broken the bond he once held with the Negro mind. He has so completely removed himself from the intimate affairs of the Negro group in America that he no longer has the opportunity to know nor the authority to speak about the aims and aspirations and resolutions of this group.

The plain truth about the matter is that in his Paris declaration Mr. Robeson has done a great disservice to his race—far greater than that done to his country. And if Mr. Robeson does not recognize the injury he has done to the cause of the Negro in this country, then that underscores his disqualification as a representative of the race. And if he does not recognize the injury he has done, he must also be cognizant of the extent of his betrayal of his race in the interest of the new cause to which he now devotes himself.

But the second point, while less obvious, is more helpful in arriving at a proper perspective. It is this: The Negro in this country is as basically American as any other element of the population. He has been on the soil as long; he has fought to protect and preserve its liberties, and he has toiled to help build the Nation during all the years of our history. The things he yearns for and strives for are entirely compatible with the aims and the shibboleths of Patrick Henry and Benjamin Franklin and George Washington and all the others who helped found this Nation.

We have got to acknowledge that in some respects our democratic processes have slowed down or failed temporarily. But any over-emphasis of these circumstances obscures the more important fact that, despite these occasional reverses, the machinery which we in this country have embraced for the realization of our declared way of life is nevertheless accomplishing, however slowly, the most cherished aspirations of the Negro group. The evidences of this accomplishment are everywhere, although they are frequently corrupted by the miscarriages of the machinery.

I think it is very clear that what the Negro in this country wants is simply to have our democratic machinery functioning properly. We do not want to throw out the framework of our present plan of operation in favor of another that has never been exposed to the problems which frequently bog down our machinery.

The dissatisfaction so often shown for the manner in which our democratic processes are functioning is too frequently misunderstood. And a few opportunists with questionable motives have exploited this to the extent that it now becomes advisable to adopt effective counter-measures.

We have this disadvantage: The Communists have thrown what amounts to a picket line around our democratic establishment. And we are observing that “picket line” with the same blind reverence that is shown to all other picket lines in this country. Everyone accepts the righteousness of the cause of the pickets, no matter how unreasonable or how wrong it may be.

I experience some of that reluctance today, for I know that there are some who will ask: “Who is he to question the wisdom of Paul Robeson?” But until someone dares to cross the “picket line” thrown about our establishment by these Communists, the true cause of the Negro will be lost by the default of those who discern its outlines and recognize the dangers it faces.

Mr. Robeson does not speak for the young men who served their country so well during the recent war. He does not speak for the common people who read and believe in the Negro newspapers. He does not speak for the masses of the Negro people whom he has so shamelessly deserted.

I have heard Paul Robeson declare his own personal disloyalty to the United States. He has no moral right to place in jeopardy the welfare of the American Negro simply to advance a foreign cause in which we have no real interest.

It is my firm conviction that in the eyes of the Negro people this false prophet is regarded as unfaithful to their country, and they repudiate him.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Do you, as a representative of your people, know of any other country in the world which would recognize the splendid talents of Mr. Robeson more than America, and any country which would have compensated for that voice more than this country?

Mr. YOUNG. My experiences are limited. I would not be qualified to say whether or not some other country might, but I will say I think this country has very generously recognized his talents and rewarded him for them.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. I want to compliment you on your clear and concise statement and reiterate what I said this morning, that it is not the purpose of this committee to question the loyalty of the Negro race. It is thoroughly understood by the members of this committee that it is above reproach. These hearings are being conducted to combat the idea Paul Robeson has given by his statements.

Mr. YOUNG. That was the impression given to me.

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Young, when, where, and under what circumstances did you hear Paul Robeson declare his personal disloyalty to the United States?

Mr. YOUNG. Well, I will have to relate something first. In college I joined a Greek-letter fraternity. It seems Mr. Robeson at sometime also joined that fraternity. I would like to say that is the only organization, so far as I know, to which both of us belong.

He came to Norfolk in October 1947 at a concert. It was a pseudo concert, because it merely afforded him a platform on which to speak for a while. Then this fraternal organization gave a smoker for him. There were about 22 men present.

The usual subject matter he would dwell upon came up, and he spoke his mind on it along the lines we expected. I remember distinctly he made this statement, and I quote it, I think, almost word for word: "If this country ever went to war against Russia and my son took up arms to fight against Russia, he would no longer be my son." That was October 10, 1947, at Norfolk, Va.

Mr. WOOD. So his pronounced sentiments recently are not indicative of his being recently converted to communism?

Mr. YOUNG. No. I am sure his feelings expressed now coincided with those he expressed a year and a half or 2 years ago.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Velde.

Mr. VELDE. I appreciate your very intelligent statement. Do you know whether or not Mr. Robeson was a Communist Party member or a Communist at that time?

Mr. YOUNG. No, I do not. I asked him the question myself and I got no answer.

Mr. VELDE. He refused to answer?

Mr. YOUNG. It was a social conversation and he talked about everything else but that and never came back to it.

Mr. VELDE. Have you had any other contacts with Mr. Robeson except at this fraternity meeting?

Mr. YOUNG. No, except 20 years or so ago, in 1931 or 1932, I was at a small gathering where he was present, but I was not in close contact with him there.

Mr. VELDE. Do you think it would be advisable to have Paul Robeson subpoenaed to testify before this committee?

Mr. YOUNG. That involves an opinion which may be of no value to the committee. I will answer it if you wish. It is purely my opinion.

Mr. VELDE. Yes, we understand that.

Mr. YOUNG. I don't think you would get any helpful information. You would get some statements, but I don't think they would be much help.

Mr. VELDE. What I am getting at, he has made statements of disloyalty to the press, apparently, and to you personally. If he would repeat those under oath I think the effect of his testimony would be very startling to the people of the colored race.

Mr. YOUNG. It is possible that would be true.

Mr. MOULDER. Don't you think his appearance before this committee would be publicized?

Mr. YOUNG. I think he would use it as a sounding board to further spread his ideas. What his notion is, I don't know. I am familiar with the fact that the Negro publishers, almost to a paper, completely repudiated Robeson's statements. Until the past June I was president of our Publishers' Association, and I know all members of our organization were thoroughly in disagreement with him.

Mr. WOOD. Do you know of any Negro publication in this country, or any outstanding Negro leader in this country, who is in accord with the views recently expressed by Robeson and which he expressed to you 2 years ago?

Mr. YOUNG. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is the organization of which you are a member Nation-wide?

Mr. YOUNG. It includes all the major newspaper publishers. It is a national organization.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Did you happen to be at the homecoming rally for Mr. Robeson?

Mr. YOUNG. No; I wasn't.

Mr. STOKES. Would you care to relate the subject of the conversation or discussion that preceded the statement by Mr. Robeson which you have quoted?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes. Of course, as you have probably become familiar, certain phrases and words tell you who is speaking and what he is speaking about, and we had hardly gotten started until we got to that, and, probably out of mischief, I appointed myself a cross-examiner of him.

One statement he made was how long it would take for the struggle of the masses to achieve the democratic goals they sought. He related he had been traveling through the North and had stopped at one university and asked how long it would take, and they said 500 years; and another school said 1,000 years; and another school said it would never happen in America under the present set-up we have here.

Mischievously, again, I asked why, with all the advantages he had seen in other parts of the world, he had brought his own son back here to go to school. He didn't answer that question, either.

Mr. Wood. Thank you very much.

The committee stands adjourned until 10:30 tomorrow morning.
(Thereupon, at 4:55 p. m., Wednesday, July 13, 1949, the subcommittee adjourned.)



HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF MINORITY GROUPS

THURSDAY, JULY 14, 1949

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

MORNING SESSION

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:50 a. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John McSweeney, presiding.

Subcommittee member present: Representative John McSweeney.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Alvin W. Stokes, investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. I would like the record to show that Mr. Wood has asked me to act as chairman of the subcommittee to hear the testimony this morning. I am present and others will be present a little later.

Mr. Tavenner, will you call the first witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Mr. Granger.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Raise your right hand, Mr. Granger. You swear the testimony you give before this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GRANGER. I do.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Will you proceed. Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am going to ask Mr. Stokes to proceed with the questions.

SWORN TESTIMONY OF LESTER B. GRANGER

Mr. STOKES. Will you give your full name and address?

Mr. GRANGER. My name is Lester B. Granger. I am the executive director of the National Urban League, which has its headquarters at 1133 Broadway, New York City.

Mr. STOKES. Do you have a prepared statement, Mr. Granger?

Mr. GRANGER. I have a prepared statement I would like to present and then submit myself to any questions the chairman or members of the committee might want to ask me.

Mr. STOKES. I ask you now whether you are or have ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRANGER. No.

Mr. STOKES. Thank you. Will you proceed with your statement.

Mr. GRANGER. A brief description of the Urban League may serve to give point to some of the remarks included in this statement.

The National Urban League is a social-service agency which seeks to improve the socio-economic conditions under which Negroes live in American cities, using to this end the professional skills of organized social work and the lay leadership of representative colored and white persons who serve on the executive boards and committees of the National Urban League and its local affiliated branches in 29 States and the District of Columbia.

In the usual sense of the phrase, the Urban League is nonpolitical. But every American social agency that deserves the classification social agency must be political to the point of subscribing unreservedly to the principles that must govern a vibrant and growing democracy. And a social agency, to be truly American, must be opposed to any social and political forces that threaten the onward march of that democracy. It must, therefore, be opposed to communism as well as to fascism. It must not only reject the dishonest appeals of those who would substitute a State-controlled existence for the democratic relationships involved in group cooperation and personal freedom. It must resist these, but at the same time it must strongly fight against the native-born proponents of a brutal racism such as Hitler found to be a convenient tool in his building of the Nazi state.

Thus, as the National Urban League goes about its work of providing better job opportunities for Negro workers, better homes for Negro families; and better facilities for health and recreation and good citizenship among the Negro population, and seeks to make such provision through use of the leadership resources of the best among our white and our colored leaders throughout the country—in doing such a job the National Urban League constantly finds itself opposed to and opposed by the proponents of communism in the United States.

I have made the foregoing statement, Mr. Chairman, in order to set forth without any chance of misunderstanding the philosophy and methodology that govern the operation of the National Urban League insofar as political questions are concerned. But in making the statement that follows, I am speaking, not as the chief executive officer of the Urban League, but rather as a Negro individual—one who has spent more than 15 years in the service of his organization and who has traveled throughout the country in large cities and small, who has had intimate contacts with all types of Negro and white Americans; who has been in the offices of labor unions, in the plants and offices of business and industry, in churches and lodges and social clubs and civic groups of both the Negro and the white population. As an individual, therefore, who has had ample opportunity to observe not only to what extent Communist influence has been developed among our Negro population, but also the methods and the techniques and the strategies by which the Communist Party has sought to advance its cause among the Negro people of this country.

Let me make it very clear from the outset that I consider that the extent of Communist influence among our Negro population has been grossly exaggerated, not only by spokesmen for the Communist Party, but also by gullible and fearful defenders of the status quo in politics. I believe that objective reference to a few basic figures will prove my point.

The number of Communists in the United States who are officially members of the party has been variously estimated during the last 10 years at between 100,000 and 200,000. Of course, these numbers do not represent all of the influence generated by the Communist Party, for so-called "fellow travelers" have been estimated at between one and two million. In other words, for every official member of the Communist Party, there are believed to be some 10 or 12 "fellow-travelers," or effective and consistent sympathizers with and supporters of the Communist Party line.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. May I interrupt there?

Mr. GRANGER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Does that mean they belong to anything? Are they card holders?

Mr. GRANGER. No. The one or two million, according to my understanding, do not formally belong to anything, except they may belong to Communist-front organizations.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. They are merely sympathizers?

Mr. GRANGER. Sympathizers, going along.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Excuse me.

Mr. GRANGER. American Negroes have traditionally reflected with a fair degree of consistency the political thinking of their neighbors and their neighborhoods. In sections which are overwhelmingly Republican, for instance, the great majority of Negroes are apt to be Republicans. Where they are distinctly Democratic, the great majority of Negroes are Democratic. The chief exception to this general rule is to be found in those Southern States where, through manipulation of election laws for a great many generations, Negroes have been prevented from voting as Democrats in the primaries of an overwhelmingly Democratic area.

Now, Negroes are 10 percent of our national population, and if this same consistency in adherence to prevailing political thinking holds good with respect to Communist belief and persuasion, then 10 percent of the members of the Communist Party—and possibly 10 percent of the "fellow-travelers"—would be colored Americans. In other words, there would be, according to this method of figuring, approximately 10,000 Negro members of the Communist Party and another 100,000 inclined to support the party in its political objectives and policies. Even if this were true, these numbers would hardly be large enough to justify the wild speculations that have been indulged in about Communist infiltration in Negro leadership groups, or Communist capture of the political power of Negroes.

Actually, however, the ratio is a great deal less than one-tenth, as is admitted by Communists themselves in their infrequent moments of frankness. Fifteen million Negroes live in these United States, but of that number approximately 65 percent—close to 10,000,000—still live in the South. And, as everyone here knows, the media of communication are more limited in the South than in other parts of the country.

Transportation is more difficult, especially in those farming areas where the large proportion of our southern Negro population lives. And because of limited transportation and communication facilities it is difficult for any undercover movement to spread in the South, unless it be a movement which suits the purposes of the dominant majority.

The Ku Klux Klan, for instance, was at one time able to spread very

rapidly because it fitted ideally into the plans of the political and economic overlords of the southern region at that time. And so because of these basic difficulties of communication, the chances are slight that there has been any important recruitment of Negroes in that very part of the country where considerably more than half of the Negroes live.

It is my considered opinion that the number of Negroes in this country who are members of the Communist Party falls considerably below even that 10,000 mark which would be established by the usual population proportions.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Let the record show that Mr. Velde is present. You may proceed.

Mr. GRANGER. The highest figure that I have heard quoted from any authority is 2,000. The party has suffered serious losses of membership during the last few years.

This latter figure is further supported by the experience of the Progressive Party in the recent Presidential election. It is no secret that Henry Wallace's candidacy for the Presidency, if not originally conceived, was at least warmly supported by the Communist Party. And Communist spokesmen and political hacks did their utmost to convince American minorities—and especially such groups as our Negro population—that their best chances of improving their social and economic position lay in rolling up a large protest vote for Henry Wallace, even if their candidate should not be victorious in the election. And every person present will remember the grandiose claims of coming victory that were made by "Wallaceites."

It will be remembered, also, that at the Wallace meetings there was invariably a generous turn-out, and whenever the Presidential candidate spoke in the environs of such cities as New York or Chicago a large number of Negroes were sure to be included among his audience.

And yet what happened in the election? An analysis of the election returns shows that the number of votes corralled by Henry Wallace as candidate for the Presidency approximately equaled the maximum estimate of the number of "fellow-travelers" consistently supporting Communist purpose.

Mr. Wallace rolled up around 2,000,000 votes, but if the figures available from such cities as New York and Chicago are to be taken as evidence of what happened, considerably less than 10 percent of those 2,000,000 voters were Negroes.

New York's Harlem, that tremendous Negro neighborhood, is frequently represented by its detractors as a "vast, seething hotbed of communism." Yet in Negro Harlem, Henry Wallace consistently ran a poor third to President Truman and Governor Dewey. In five election districts of that area, President Truman received 108,643; Governor Dewey, 34,076; and Henry Wallace only 28,903—14 percent of the total vote cast in that area, and that was practically a total Negro vote.

In Brooklyn, where another large concentration of Negroes is to be found, the figures show a similar ratio—one that was lower than the ratio of white support for the Progressive Party candidate.

In Harlem, again, the Negro candidate for the State Senate, running under the banner of the American Labor Party—a Progressive Party affiliate—and a Negro who is in excellent standing among Communist sympathizers, received only 12,719 votes against the vote of 55,874 for the regular Democratic candidate, who was white.

In Chicago, three Negroes sought to represent the Negro south side in Congress. The Democratic candidate rolled up a count of 98,204 votes; the Republican, 43,620; the Progressive Party candidate, 5,188.

And yet Chicago and New York are the two large cities which have been constantly referred to as centers of Communist influence among Negroes.

Where, then, is this vast outturning of Negro following in response to an assumed Communist leadership of our Negro population? I say that there was no such turn-out because no such following ever existed except in the imagination of the defenders of the status quo and the spokesmen for the Communist Party.

Why, then, all the shouting about Communist influence among Negroes? Why the blatant claims by spokesmen for the Communist Party, and why the hysterical charges by the defenders of an entrenched conservatism? Because I believe that analysis of the claims and charges will show them, in the main, to proceed from one or the other of these quarters.

The answer to the mystery reveals that there is no mystery at all. The Communist Party seeks to establish among Negroes and the rest of the world the illusion of an influence they actually never hope to attain.

On the one hand, that illusion, if foisted upon the public, might tend to intimidate truly democratic Negro leadership in their opposition to the Communist Party, for fear of losing their own influence with their own racial group. And on the other hand, that illusion might persuade the unsuspecting among the general public that the Communist Party is actually making progress in recruiting among the disadvantaged of the world's greatest power. Such an impression, skillfully established, would support Communist prophecies of coming collapse of capitalism, and would obviously strengthen the hand of Moscow in power politics the world over.

Some might say this is a far-fetched deduction. Yes, possibly it is. But not if we keep in mind the close-knit relationships of Communist strategy in its various world-wide aspects. And as for the anti-Communist reactionaries, they, too, are engaged in trying to fool the public by shouting "Communist" at every Negro spokesman who offers a protest against the injustices perpetrated upon his people, or by exaggerating the extent of actual Communist influence among the Negro public.

The press, for instance, has recently been full of accounts of racial clashes here in Washington, and in St. Louis, and in Youngstown, Ohio, and other cities, arising out of insistence of Negro citizens that they be given full access to public recreational facilities—swimming pools, especially—which are built and maintained through taxpayers' money. Here is a position which is defensible in law as well as in democratic theory. There is no trace of Communist ideology contained in such a position. Yet in such instances charges have been freely made that these incidents have been created by Communists.

In Youngstown, Ohio, a local newspaper and some city authorities have heavily advertised charges that "left-wing" leadership has sought to exploit the local swimming pool situation for their own purposes. By implication, at least, anti-Communist Negroes are daubed with the Red brush. According to such practice, if Communists were to come

into a city selling Bibles, the Christian church would be brought under suspicion of Communist inclination.

These accusations are, of course, playing directly into the hands of Red leadership, here and throughout the world. Defenders of the status quo may hope to intimidate reputable Negro spokesmanship, or they may seek to discredit a justifiable protest by affixing the Red label. But actually they are supporting the very position that Communists are hoping to establish, the position that Communists do have a great deal of influence among our Negro population.

Consider, for instance, the hysterical shouts and headlines that followed Paul Robeson's Paris address to a Communist-sponsored conference. That furore would have been ludicrous if it had not been so tragic. Consider this. One man, Mr. Robeson, expressed his personal opinion and made a reckless prediction of what 15,000,000 Negroes in the United States, all different individuals, would do in the event of war with the Soviet Union. And remember, also, that this same man, just a year previously, was predicting the election of Henry Wallace with the overwhelming support of that same Negro public, the Negro electorate. And I have already reminded this committee of how grievously in error that earlier prediction was.

But did the American press refer to this prophet's batting average before advertising his current performance? No. The press headlines stretched across the country. The radio blared in suburban homes and farm houses and city apartments. A Nation-wide 9-day sensation was manufactured. Prominent colored men and women, and others not prominent, were importuned by the white press to disavow the Robeson statement, and to assure white America that the traditional loyalties of American Negroes would be continued "world without end, Amen."

It is to the credit, I believe, of our racial common sense that most Negro spokesmen did not fall into the error of responding to such requests. For the most part they merely pointed to the record, and suggested that the record be brought into evidence.

The reason for this kind of response by Negro spokesmen is clearly understandable. Authentic Negro leadership in this country finds itself confronted by two enemies on opposite sides. One enemy is the Communist who seeks to destroy the democratic ideal and practice which constitute the Negro's sole hope of eventual victory in his fight for equal citizenship. The other enemy is that American racist who perverts and corrupts the democratic concept into a debased philosophy of life. In opposing the one enemy, Negro leadership must be careful not to give aid and comfort to the other.

Those white leaders of stature in this country, those who exert widespread influence in Government, industry, business, and politics, will be very badly advised if they seek to increase the difficulties of reputable Negro leadership as it stands precariously on defense against these twin enemies.

The American Negro population will never accept or willingly endure any social philosophy or political practice that enforces upon persons, merely because of their color, an inferior status in their citizen-community. Such acceptance, if offered, would be a betrayal of the Negro's responsibility for working to build democracy in the country which he has helped to found, protect, and support.

As long as there is one Negro left who can be identified as such, and who is subjected to restrictions and abuses because of his race, that one Negro will continue, courageously and stubbornly, to resist racism in American life.

In that resistance, the Negro has to choose between two allies—the one honest and the other dishonest. The honest alliance is increasingly being established with Americans who may be liberal or conservative in their political affiliation, but who are agreed that race, color, and creed must not be allowed to condition a person's chances of happiness, health, and success in the American community. To seek to check this alliance, or to disregard the principles upon which it is based, would be to encourage Negro Americans to seek support from alternative sources.

Even under the best of present conditions it is sometimes hard for the so-called average person of color to retain faith that in some predictable future his racial disabilities will be removed. That such faith is generally maintained is entirely due to the courageous and often self-sacrificing support which the Negro group has received from white Americans of democratic conviction and liberal impulse.

On the other hand, when the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama or Georgia or Florida indulges in floggings, lynchings, or other forms of intimidation of Negroes, and the Klan's atrocities are tolerated without protest, or are even tacitly approved by representative leadership of their communities, the Negro population is provided with additional grievance against the present way of life in America and Communist zeal for proselytizing is correspondingly accelerated.

When on the floor of the Congress, duly elected representatives of the people of the States of the Union express obscenely racist sentiments regarding the legitimate aspirations of Negro citizens, once more aid and comfort are given to the Communist cause.

There are, it is true, only a small number of Negroes who have joined or who sympathize with the Communist Party in its efforts to "hamstring" this country's welfare, but even that small number stands, not as a testimonial to the recruiting skill of Communist leadership, but rather as a sign of our failure to make good on our democratic professions.

The party has been very clever at adopting, as if they were their very own, causes which any self-respecting Negro must necessarily support. Red spokesmen got their first soap-box position in Negro neighborhoods throughout the country with the notorious Scottsboro case.

Jim Crow practices by labor unions, denial of free employment opportunity by employers, racial segregation enforced by law or by covenants or community custom—these are situations which have nothing to do with Marxism. But they do serve the strategy of the Communist Party.

The obvious way to block such strategy is for the anti-Communists of this country to deprive our enemies of their propaganda weapon by moving with equal vigor and more honesty to eliminate these festering spots from our national life. The prescription which I offer is less worry about Robeson and more concern for democracy.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities can make an unparalleled contribution to such an effort by instituting and vigorously prosecuting an inquiry into the activities of such organizations

as the Ku Klux Klan, and similar "black shirt" and "white sheet" groups wherever they may be found. Such efforts can well serve to reassure Negro leadership that while it is fighting against one enemy of this country, communism, our Government is helping to fight off the other, racism.

Negro leadership in America does not need any defense against the charge of being Communist-led. There are, of course, some few exceptions, in the case of the blind, the short-sighted, the careless, or just the plain stupid. But any effort to indict a whole leadership group because of the attitudes of a few persons, many of whom are completely sincere, may easily lead to a revulsion of feeling among the Negro population which would be ideally suited to the purposes of the Communist Party.

Mr. Chairman, this statement that I have made is not a report on Communist activities among Negroes so much as it is an indictment of the kind of blind mismanagement and stubborn stupidity that encourages such activities.

We in the Urban League movement—our more than 400 staff members, our more than 4,000 board and committee members—have been for years fighting against Communist objectives. Not by name calling or empty baiting of the enemy, but rather through the simple device of seeking to make democratic advances for our Negro population.

We have never been afraid of Communist infiltration, for there is no room for anti-democratic influences in a movement which is wholly and continuously and effectively engaged with the business of building Democracy.

As we lift employment barriers, one by one, and open the way to fuller employment of the skills of Negro workers; as we aid the racial group to secure better housing and a fuller share in use of public facilities—as we accomplish gains in this direction, we are cutting away the ground upon which the Communists attempt to establish their position with Negroes.

Therefore, let me repeat in closing that the real danger to America that lies in any Communist appeal to racial minorities is not any important chance that the appeal will be effective. The real danger lies in the uses which the Soviet Union and all its party puppets here and abroad can find for the unsavory racial conditions which the party so zealously advertises.

It is true that this country stands shamed before the world today because our racial practices do not accord with our professions of democratic idealism. It is this stubborn straying from our national ideal that the Communist Party has been able to use effectively throughout the world. We should remember the Communists have not forged the weapon they now use against us. We have placed it in their hands. It is still not too late to recover it.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Thank you very much. I hope the members of your league realize what a splendid presentation you have made in their behalf.

Mr. GRANGER. Thank you.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Will you proceed with your questions?

Mr. STOKES. Would you be good enough to tell us the methods used by Communists to infiltrate Negro movements?

Mr. GRANGER. I can answer authoritatively only of the experience that we have had in the Urban League, and I would deduce from our

experience that the Communist infiltration of any movements, Negro or any others, is more successful when the movements are on a loose, mass membership basis without any control over membership, and when the main interest of the organization is centered upon grievances, real or fancied, which the members hold. Under those circumstances, the conditions are favorable to Communist infiltration.

The National Urban League is a controlled-membership organization. We are a professional social service agency, and the masses of people are not usually interested in joining such an organization.

From time to time we have established popular auxiliaries of our organization. The Negro Workers' Councils we established in 1934 and maintained until 1939 were loose groups of Negro workers who, at that time, were either ignorant of or hesitant to join the trade-union movement.

The Urban League realized the country was on a wave of a greater movement of organized labor, and realized if Negroes did not join they would miss the train 10 years hence. We spent \$30,000 or \$40,000 indoctrinating Negroes on the importance of trade-union membership and the ways members of a minority group can protect their status.

That was an ideal organization for the Communists to capture, and they did. They grabbed one in New York City; we had to kill it off. They grabbed another, I think in Pennsylvania, and we had to kill that off. The Communists were never barred from entering, but as soon as we found that a council was being subverted from its true purposes and was becoming a mere mechanism for the propagation of Communist strategy, we would close it down and open another. That kept us going all over the country.

I would say from that experience that my first two statements are correct.

Their methods are to go into an organization; if there is a fee, to pay the fee; if activity is the measure of membership, to be very active; but by one means or other to get a large number of members to go in and to gravitate, generally not to the presidency or highest post, but to some minor post that is a good look-out post, and then at various points to exert open or covered control that will keep the movement going along Communist Party policy, or at least not opposed to it.

In 1936 or 1937 I wandered into the support, and ultimately became chairman, of a committee for the aid of Loyalists in Spain. At that time most liberal Americans were concerned with the Spanish war and were supporting the Spanish Loyalist cause. I pride myself on being a person of liberal impulses. I made a contribution of an ambulance to demonstrate Negro support of the Spanish Loyalists.

My contribution must have been gratifyingly large, because almost immediately I had an invitation to become chairman of the committee. Being very susceptible at that stage—I was a country boy recently come to the large city—I accepted the chairmanship. The party members are very kind. They will take away from the chairman the responsibility for doing the work. I didn't keep up with what was happening. This is a confession of stupidity.

Suddenly I found that this committee was being used for the purposes of the Communist Party in denouncing aid to Great Britain. It was called to my attention by certain non-Communist members, and I immediately called a meeting.

As usual, the non-Communist members came or did not come, according to their convenience. The Communist members showed up. I found we were only a branch and did not have authority. When I expressed myself on keeping this organization out of Communist politics, there was a tremendous and well-organized resistance from a majority of those present, and they out-voted me. The vote was that the course would continue along the previous line. Whereupon I, by letter, circulated a statement among the total membership of the committee, and we got a vote to close the committee down. That is the only thing we could do. It was captured then.

Mr. STOKES. Where can the line be drawn between Communist-front activities and Negro progressive activities?

Mr. GRANGER. At certain times you can't draw the line, because at times it is Communist Party policy completely to accept a given Negro movement. For example, a program against lynching. Every zealous Communist Party member will denounce lynching and will serve in a protest movement against lynching. You can't tell the difference. The difference can be established where a movement becomes not wholly moral but partly political, and if an alert person knows what the objectives of the organization are, he can tell when the effort is made to push the organization on the tracks of the Communist express.

This Committee for the Aid of Loyalist Spain was an example. As long as we were talking about our hopes for Loyalist victory against Fascist forces, we were all agreed and all righteous. But when we talked about the outbreak of war and boycotting aid to Great Britain and France, then it became political.

Mr. STOKES. You implied that there are instances where Communists seize issues in which Negroes must assert an interest. That is sometimes classified as fellow-travelers. Are there two kinds of fellow-travelers, would you say?

Mr. GRANGER. No. I would say there are full-time fellow-travelers and part-time fellow-travelers. There are people of my acquaintance who, as long as I have known them, have not deviated from the Communist line. In following the line they have backtracked and lurched around with marvelous agility, yet they have never deviated from the Communist line. I would call them full-time fellow-travelers.

There are others who, because of their interest in their own concern, are not too scrupulous of what use is made of their interest. They will go along 5 months or so and then drop out. I would call those part-time fellow-travelers. They are really the tools of the Communist Party.

Mr. VELDE. May I ask a question at this point? Don't you feel that these fellow-travelers who are full-time fellow-travelers, who refuse to admit their membership in the Communist Party but follow the Communist line consistently, are more dangerous than the actual member who admits membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. GRANGER. I think at times they are more effective because they do not admit their membership. Our policy is not to worry about whether a man has a card or not. Look at his record.

Mr. VELDE. I have a favorite expression along that line. I have often said if a person talks like a duck and walks like a duck and swims like a duck, he is a duck, and I think that is true of persons who consistently follow the party line.

I appreciate your very fine statement here, and I think it represents the views of the majority of your people. You were talking about FEPC and civil rights. Do you think that support of these various measures, here in Congress, for instance, by the Communist Party, acts as a deterrent to their passage?

Mr. GRANGER. No; I don't think so. I think it can be advertised as a deterrent, but I think any Congressman is intelligent enough to know that the civil-rights program represents the warm aspirations of all Negroes, and I think they know, also, that Communists would drop Negroes in a moment if it served their purposes. So I would say this, that a hostile reaction to legislation because Communists happen to support it is a confession of a private conviction against that legislation on the part of Congressmen.

Mr. VELDE. I am glad to hear you say that. I feel somewhat the same way, although I think sometimes Communist support of a piece of legislation acts against the passage of the legislation.

Mr. GRANGER. It can act as an expedient.

Mr. STOKES. I would like to ask you whether or not you think that the organizational structure of Negro protest organizations as of this time, in their weakness, invites infiltration by Communists?

Mr. GRANGER. No. I would say most Negro organizations now, those that are really responsible, are pretty much on guard. There are some that, in their very nature as mass movements, cannot limit people because of their religious or political beliefs, but where Communists move in the leadership are sufficiently educated to know it. Sometimes I think it is better to let the Communists move in and then chop off their heads after they move in.

As long as the boys are running around in public shouting, you know what they are saying. When they go underground, Joe Stalin will know what they are saying.

Mr. STOKES. I would like to have your permission, Mr. Chairman, to ask Mr. Granger one or two things which I realize he may be reluctant to project here, but Mr. Granger has rendered distinguished service to the Nation on many fronts. Mr. Granger, please tell the committee some of the things you have done for the Government.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. We will be glad to have that background.

Mr. GRANGER. I don't mind bragging at all.

I have been with the National Urban League since 1934, and have been executive director and chief operating head of that agency since 1941, and I hope to stay in there as long as I am able to work. It is the highest recognition I have received.

During the war, of course, I was in World War I as one of the first Negro officers who managed to get gold and silver bars. In World War II, I was fortunate in being selected to serve as a special assistant to Mr. Forrestal, then Navy Secretary, and I traveled extensively throughout the whole continental area advising on problems involving Negro personnel. Mr. Forrestal thought well of my service, as did the President, and I received the Navy Distinguished Civilian Service Medal and the President's Medal for Merit.

In the field of social work I have been honored by professional organizations. I served as first vice president of the American Association of Social Workers, which is a professional organization, and I am cur-

rently serving as elected first vice president and acting president of the National Conference of Social Workers, which has some 8,000 members. I am on the editorial board of the Social Work Yearbook, and my alma mater, Dartmouth College, conferred on me an honorary doctorate.

I could go on at great length.

Mr. STOKES. Please do.

Mr. GRANGER. I am trying deliberately to say that the Urban League is an established organization, and in this statement, though I speak as an individual, I try to speak the philosophy of the Urban League, and if I have bragged about my background it is only to typify the membership of the Urban League. We are awfully good stuff in the Urban League.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Were you at the Robeson homecoming rally?

Mr. GRANGER. No. I knew in advance what was going to be said, and I saved the time.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Were you ever approached by anyone to become a member of the Communist Party, or to become a fellow-traveler?

Mr. GRANGER. No. I have been approached in various capacities. For instance, the Negro Labor Victory Committee, organized at Harlem, which was left-wing. I was asked to be honorary president. Just a short time previously I had been denounced by the Communists because I was one of the members of the Social Service Employees' Union who opposed the union's stated policy and put on a mass meeting at Atlantic City designed to win workers over to support for Great Britain and France. That was in April or May of 1941. Those of us who participated in that rally were denounced by the union's leaders and were threatened with expulsion for what they called union-splitting.

In the midst of that, Soviet Russia was attacked, and a short time later I was approached by the Negro Labor Victory Committee and asked to be their honorary president. I considered it an insult. Three months previously I was an S. O. B.—Sigma Omega Beta. I said: "If I was a dirty dog in May, I am today and you don't want me. If I wasn't a dirty dog in May, you are today and I don't want you."

I wasn't asked to serve on anything else.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. You referred to the Urban League. I know of the splendid work of the Urban League in my district in Ohio. Has it collaborated with groups of white people, or groups of people striving to combat communism, or are you operating pretty much alone?

Mr. GRANGER. We operate as a professional social service agency, and as tempting as the invitation is, we generally refuse invitations to go out of our field. We don't have lawyers on our staff. We have trained social leaders. So the movements we cooperate with are those working along the same line.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Do you feel today that the labor organizations are helping to break down prejudices? I have noticed those in my own district are trying to break down prejudices.

Mr. GRANGER. I think labor unions are doing a good job along that line.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Mr. Velde, have you anything further?

Mr. VELDE. No.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. No.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Thank you very much.

Mr. TAVERNER. Dr. Johnson.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Dr. Johnson, will you raise your right hand? Do you swear the testimony you will give before this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. JOHNSON. I do.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Mr. Stokes, you kindly brought out about Mr. Granger's background at the end of his testimony. I think it might be well for you to have the doctor state his background now.

SWORN TESTIMONY OF DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON

Mr. STOKES. Will you give your full name and address and when and where you were born?

Dr. JOHNSON. My name is Charles S. Johnson. I am living in Nashville, Tenn. I am serving as president of Fisk University. I was born in Bristol, Va.

Mr. STOKES. Will you relate your academic experiences and positions held and contributions made to the educational field?

Dr. JOHNSON. I began my academic career, after leaving the University of Chicago, first working as a research director for the Urban League, then as research director for the National Urban League, then as director of the department of social sciences at Fisk University. I have been president of that institution 2 years.

Mr. STOKES. What is the size of that institution, Fisk University?

Dr. JOHNSON. We have about 1,000 students.

Mr. STOKES. Is it not true that you are the author of some volumes dealing with social issues?

Dr. JOHNSON. Yes. I have written a number of volumes, about 10 or 12, I suppose, dealing with social issues, with race relations, with education and the South.

(Representative Velde leaves.)

Mr. STOKES. Touching a bit more on the academic field, have you not served as a delegate to educational conferences in this country and abroad? Will you tell us something about that, please?

Dr. JOHNSON. I have served as United States delegate to the first conference of UNESCO in Paris, and to the second conference in Mexico City; as member of the President's Board on Foreign Scholarships under the Fulbright Act; as a member of an International Commission, under the old League of Nations, to Liberia.

I worked with the Department of Agriculture, Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, and served on committees with some of those Departments, including the Department of Justice and the Department of Commerce.

Mr. STOKES. Are you a veteran?

Dr. JOHNSON. Yes. Not of this last war. I was a regimental sergeant-major, Eight hundred third Pioneer Infantry, in the First World War, and saw action in the Meuse Argonne offensive.

Mr. STOKES. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. JOHNSON. I am not now and never have been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. STOKES. Do you have a prepared statement?

Dr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. STOKES. Please proceed with your prepared statement.

Dr. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, I have been asked by this committee to state my views, as an educator, regarding the loyalty of American Negroes. It would, of course, be presumptuous of me to attempt to speak for Negroes generally. I can only venture an opinion. Except for the fact that in these days of international tension, many Americans are seriously apprehensive about our national security, either because they know the character of the dangers, or do not know the character of these dangers, the question as to the loyalty of Negro Americans, in my opinion, would be more than unnecessary; it would be absurd. In one sense it is like asking if Tennesseans, or Presbyterians, or foreign-born citizens, or American women, or persons with freckles, are loyal. They are all basically Americans whose group identification, whatever it might be, stands in very incidental relationship to their basic loyalty and belief in themselves, as citizens.

Considering the long untarnished historical record of Negroes in times of national emergency, it is difficult to escape a feeling of disappointment that motives and actions of such clarity could be so imperfectly read.

As in any segment of the population, there will be found varieties of opinion on national issues, and various methods of expressing these views. This is, as I understand it, a freedom provided and encouraged by the form and philosophy of the Government of which Negroes, like all the rest, are a part, and under whose protection they live.

There has been, to my knowledge, no attempt, or advocacy, over the long history of this population, either through poverty of intellect or excess of passion, to subvert the principles or form of this Government.

A moment's reflection would reveal that the consistent objective of this group has been that of hastening the achievement of the American democratic ideal. In this respect they have shown not only an unshakable loyalty, but a persistent faith in the future and destiny of the Nation and all its people. They have been both willing and eager to pay the price of their citizenship.

It is, perhaps, pertinent to say that my observations have not been casual and superficial. For the past 25 years, as a sociologist, a considerable part of my professional life has been devoted to social research, in the South and North, and to the teaching of Negro youth. Through this activity there has been exposure, in one way or another, to the social attitudes of no less than a hundred thousand Negro families.

It can be said categorically, that however unhappy some of the individuals may have been, in stressful and provocative situations, no hint of disloyalty has been voiced.

This is not an attitude, I hasten to say, that might be attributed to fear, for among them there were many who feared neither death nor disgrace. Where there has been resentment it has been not against the form of government, but against those who misinterpreted or sought to abuse the purpose and power of government, and vitiate its cherished freedoms.

If we examine the familiar indices of national loyalty, the efforts and ambitions of American Negroes have at times been embarrassingly excessive. In time of war they have pleaded for combat service, for the supreme hazards of military service.

The Negro press has insisted upon this opportunity. In periods of voluntary enlistment it has been necessary to curb their numbers. They have offered and risked their lives freely for their country even while bitterly resenting, at times, the conditions under which they were permitted to die in honor.

As servants, messengers, chauffeurs, as well as common soldiers and officers, they have held information useful to the enemy. If there is record of any such information being divulged for personal profit, or out of misplaced loyalty, or racial resentment, it has yet to come to my attention. In fact, where special security measures have been required it has often been Negro troops who were called upon to provide the ultimate safeguards.

I am aware of the current concern about security, which takes on a new and obsessive character, with the danger of unsuspected elements of weakness within the national structure. The discovery of such weakness, I well understand, can be an important factor in the strategy of modern warfare. It is my candid opinion that neither the new strategy in action nor the greatly increased level of education and alertness of the Negro population to national and international issues has in an important degree changed the basic position of complete loyalty to American democratic ideals or the structure of the National Government.

There are, however, two regretable circumstances that should be mentioned, even though it must certainly be already known to this committee: If there is any belief that Negro citizens hold and have been consistent in expressing, it is that inequalities among common citizens, and racial discriminations, should be removed from American life. Many of them, with no thought or interest in any other philosophy or form of government, have advocated the removal of these barriers to full citizenship, and in some instances have joined or contributed to organizations that had this as their objective. The fact that some other political doctrine is also against these same objectives, has with pathetic anomalousness tended to rob a fundamental American tenet of one of its strongest virtues.

Wanting the elimination of inequalities and racial discrimination is not wanting to subvert the Government. Rather, it would seem to be wanting to preserve our form of government from the subversion of those who would give strength and truth to assertions from unfriendly sources, whether as observation or calculated propaganda, that these inequalities and inhumanities are tolerated in America.

A second unfortunate circumstance is the fact that many shortsighted and perhaps emotionally disturbed persons, knowing the unfavorable popular meaning of the term "communism," employ it with calculated malevolence to prejudice the public against the objects of their personal hostility and aversion. I have heard some of the most sacred tenets of our democracy and of our Christian tradition referred to as being inspired by Moscow. What is really meant in these circumstances is that a particular personal prejudice cannot of its own merit, or that of any respectable argument, win its case unaided by prejudice and hysteria.

Mr. Chairman, I give this testimony as an American citizen who believes in the philosophy and future of this Nation. Further, I give this testimony as a Negro American who believes that he speaks a sentiment like that held by millions of others, that the highest achiev-

able ends and goals of living are here. These ends must still be worked for and struggled for, and in this restless seeking there is a patriotic service of the heart, deeper in its meaning and integrity than the mere uttering of slogans with the lips.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Dr. Johnson, I want you to know that I am very proud to have these statements of yours and Mr. Granger's go into the records of this committee. I think they give a new concept to all of us of the people in your group.

Any questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. STOKES. Dr. Johnson, there is a concept which has been identified with the thinking of certain segments of our population that if the Negro is as smart as he says he is, and he is being treated unjustly in many areas, as is well known, if he is not a Communist, why isn't he?

Dr. JOHNSON. Well, I would give three reasons there, just as speculation. The first is that I am not so certain that a tremendous number of people know what communism is. The second is that the Negroes are rooted in this country, in the life of this country, and they seek their fortunes and futures here; and they feel—I am speaking now, interpreting as an opinion—they feel that it is infinitely better to rest their case with the internal correction of their grievances than to fly to fates unknown, untested. The third is, I believe that Negroes, like Americans generally, are profoundly loyal to the higher purposes and future of our democratic form of government, our democratic way of life.

There are imperfections of a most serious character in the way of life. These imperfections are being corrected slowly, we feel too slowly, but there is a sense of forward movement, and there does not seem to be any form of government or projection of the future that holds more for all of the people than our own.

Mr. STOKES. Thank you.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Any further questions?

Mr. STOKES. No further questions.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. I was in combat service in the Second World War in Italy, and I found that the Fascists had tried to impregnate the minds of the younger Italians with the Fascist movement. Have you seen any evidence of anybody trying to impregnate your students with what we might call subversive concepts?

Dr. JOHNSON. I can't say I have found very much evidence of it, although there are efforts, which I approve, to make the Negro youth aware of and discontented with a level of citizenship which is not up to our best standards nationally. I can't honestly say I have observed direct operations of individuals who were bringing Communist principles, as such, to them. Our student organization I know fairly well. Individual students I know fairly well. I don't feel there is much political activity on our campus, not quite enough general political activity, and very little that I can observe that has any relationship to communism.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Before we dismiss you, Dr. Johnson, I think I ought to make an explanation to the witnesses, to the ladies and gentlemen of the press, and to the other people present, as to why my colleagues were unable to attend the hearing this morning.

May I say, members of this committee are members of other committees as well. I have the honor myself of being a member of the

Rules Committee, and that committee is having a meeting this morning. Members of this committee are on among the most important committees of the House, and they had to take today to attend meetings of other committees of which they are members and to take care of the week's work, and they are very sorry not to be here to hear this very, very important testimony.

Mr. Tavenner, is there one more witness for the morning?

Mr. TAVENNER. Call Mr. Clark.

Mr. Wood. You solemnly swear the testimony you will give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?¹

Mr. CLARK (C. B.). I do.

SWORN TESTIMONY OF C. B. CLARK

Mr. STOKES. Will you give your full name and address, please?

Mr. CLARK. C. B. Clark, 3631 Fairwood Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. STOKES. When and where were you born?

Mr. CLARK. July 21, 1905, Newport News, Va.

Mr. STOKES. You are here in response to an invitation by the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. CLARK. I am.

Mr. STOKES. Do you have a prepared statement?

Mr. CLARK. I do.

Mr. STOKES. Do you mind if I ask if you are now or ever have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CLARK. I am not now nor have I ever been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WOOD. Do you have a prepared statement you desire to read?

Mr. CLARK. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed.

Mr. CLARK. There is perhaps no time in the glorious history of our great Nation when it has been so important to evaluate the contributions of the Negro to the making of this history and building of the United States than the present.

Today, when the loyalty of the Negro is in question, it would be well for you to look back over the pages of some of our written history, to delve into our national, State, and local archives, to but find that wherever white Americans have done battle to establish and perpetuate freedom and democracy, he has been aided, abetted and sometimes led by his black brother.

The American Negro holds it as his inalienable right to defend or fight for his country, for he and his ancestors have purchased a far greater share of it with their blood than many of the bigots who would deny them full participation in the fruits of their sacrifices.

To believe or even think that the Negro will not fight against any enemy of his country is asinine.

I have been informed that the reason for my invitation here is due to the unique record of my family, in that a search of the records indicates that one or more of my male ancestors has fought in every war since the Revolution. There is, however, nothing unique in this

¹ Testimony of Manning Johnson, immediately following that of Dr. Charles S. Johnson, is printed separately under same title, part 2. Morning session recessed at 12:55 a.m., reconvened at 2:30 p.m., Clarence B. Clark taking the witness stand at 4:05 p.m. Representative Wood came in and assumed chair at 3:46 p.m.

phase of my family history, as there are over 300 Negro families in the United States who can directly trace their lineage back to those 500 Negro soldiers who stood with General Washington in the uniform of the Continental Army at Yorktown, as he received Cornwallis' sword.

Through all of the wars, black Americans have stood shoulder to shoulder with white Americans, to repel or fight any and every enemy of the United States. From the Commons of Boston to the beachheads of Salerno, Okinawa, Iwo Jima, and Normandy, Negro blood has flown freely and willingly in the cause of democracy, and there has never been a Benedict Arnold among them.

The Negro today is no different in the belief of his right, his duty and his privilege to defend his country than his forebears. And without fear of refutation, I say he will again fight unless prevented by the actions of bigoted fellow Americans.

Communist-inspired propaganda has recently successfully managed to smear the Negro population of the United States as potential traitors in the event of a conflict with Russia. These allegations, we can assure you, are not true. A vast majority of Negroes have no respect for Russia, no love for communism, nor belief in any foreign ideology. They know that the United States is their heritage, far more so than many whites who are citizens of it. They seek only to enjoy fully those privileges guaranteed them under the Constitution—those of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—throughout the entire United States.

No doubt the emissaries of communism feel that because we fight discrimination here in the United States, that the American Negro would betray his heritage. But 99 and 99/100ths percent of us cry out that this is our own, our native land, and we will ever fight to preserve it.

In closing, the American Negro feels about the United States as a Negro corporal, addressing a group of officers at Henley Field, Tex., said:

My wife and I may squabble and fight like cats and dogs. However, the moment an outsider or neighbor interferes, we stop fighting, kick hell out of the interferer, and then go on back fighting to adjust the home.

To you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I can say, coming from Pennsylvania, the State where I live and where I have been an investigator, district attorney, and have held various other offices in my county, where I am considered to perhaps know more men of the street than any other man, that these are the opinions of those people.

When the papers in Pittsburgh published that I would be called here, for a couple days before coming my phone rang continuously. In my office my secretary, and in my home my wife, were bothered by people of the street, and from the mines, calling up and saying:

We are glad you are going. We know you will tell the committee, and we hope you will tell President Truman and whomever you will speak to, that we will fight anybody if they interfere with the United States. What we do here to adjust our own differences and rights is our own business, but as to Russia or anybody else, we would give them no help.

Mr. STOKES. From your statement I am led to believe you are a veteran; is that true?

Mr. CLARK. That is true. I am a disabled veteran. I was not drafted. I lowered my age and submitted myself to voluntary induction.

Mr. STOKES. You lowered your age and submitted yourself to voluntary induction?

Mr. CLARK. That is right. Prior to submitting myself to voluntary induction, I was a member of the local draft board.

Mr. STOKES. Why did you manifest that anxiety to get into the war?

Mr. CLARK. For two reasons: First of all, I feel like the average Negro that this is my country. I will fight to preserve it. Secondly, I wanted to keep unbroken the record established by my family.

Mr. STOKES. Would you care to tell us the record established by your family? I presume it is in a military way?

Mr. CLARK. Yes. I can give you a brief history.

The establisher of our family line was a slave known only as Jonas. He was probably born in or around Monticello, Va., in that he was a hostler and servant to George Rodgers Clark. In this capacity, I have been informed, he accompanied his master on most of the expeditions and served with him throughout the Revolutionary War. In the year 1780 he was granted his freedom, and all the issues of his body thereafter were declared to be free. This freedom was granted him because of his services; and Jonas, having taken the last name of his former master and companion, moved to what is now Alexandria, Va., where the family resided as freedmen for several generations, until around 1877.

One of Jonas' sons, Richard, married Eliza Boykin of Boston, Mass. Eliza Boykin was a niece of Peter Salem of Bunker Hill fame. Richard Clark, along with his brother-in-law, Charles Boykin, served through the war of 1812.

I have a great uncle, George Clark, who served in the Mexican War.

David Clark, a great uncle on my father's side, served in the Civil War.

Norris Clark, who is my immediate grandfather on my father's side, served during the Civil War.

And I even have a relative who served in the Confederate Army, George Washington Thomas, who was the son of his master and a slave, and accompanied his father to the Civil War and served on the Confederate side, and I believe later was granted a pension.

Richard Clark, an uncle, served in the Spanish-American War.

In World War I, my brother, H. T. Clark, who resides in Newport News, Va., served in the merchant marine, carrying horses, and so forth, to Europe. And my brother-in-law, W. H. Reeves, died as a result of that war.

Of course I served in World War II.

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Clark, I have purposely held this question in abeyance until the last: Will you tell us your occupation, please?

Mr. CLARK. At present I am on leave from my position as deputy registrar of the Registration Commission of Allegheny County, undergoing treatment at Walter Reed Hospital.

I am also a free-lance writer, making contributions to various newspapers, and have been appointed as special investigator for the registration commission of election frauds.

Mr. STOKES. Were you injured in the last war?

Mr. CLARK. I was.

Mr. STOKES. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Coming as I do from a section of Georgia where there is almost an equality, numerically, between the Negro race and the white race, and having had the privilege of association with the Negro race all of my life, and being proud of the fact I am from the only State I know of where, in one county, everyone of age, black and white, volunteered for service in the last war, I would like you to carry back to your people that there never was any doubt on the part of this committee as to the patriotism of your race. You were asked to come here solely for the purpose of adding your voice to that of others to repudiate various utterances of certain individuals regarding the patriotism of the Negro race.

Mr. CLARK. Thank you.

Mr. WOOD. Any other witnesses?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, it might expedite matters to call this other witness on Monday.

Mr. WOOD. Very well.

The committee will stand adjourned until 10:30 Monday morning.

(Thereupon, at 4:50 p. m. Thursday, July 14, 1949, an adjournment was taken until 10:30 a. m., Monday, July 18, 1949.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF MINORITY GROUPS

MONDAY, JULY 18, 1949

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC SESSION

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:50 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. Burr P. Harrison presiding.

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Burr P. Harrison, John McSweeney, Morgan M. Moulder, and Francis Case.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; Alvin W. Stokes, investigator; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. HARRISON. The committee will come to order.

I regret that because of illness the chairman, Mr. Wood, will not be present this morning. He has designated a subcommittee composed of Mr. McSweeney, Mr. Moulder, Mr. Case, and Mr. Harrison to conduct this hearing, and has asked me to act as chairman of that subcommittee.

I ask the witness to please stand.

You solemnly swear the evidence you are about to give to this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ROBINSON. I do.

Mr. HARRISON. Take a seat.

SWORN TESTIMONY OF JACK ROOSEVELT ROBINSON

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Robinson, will you state your full name?

Mr. ROBINSON. Jack Roosevelt Robinson.

Mr. STOKES. When and where were you born?

Mr. ROBINSON. Cairo, Ga., 1919.

Mr. STOKES. Have you a prepared statement?

Mr. ROBINSON. I have.

Mr. STOKES. You may proceed.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. Chairman, when the House Committee on Un-American Activities invited me to appear here today and express myself on the subject of your present interest, I answered that I would be glad to do so, although it isn't exactly pleasant to get involved in a

political dispute when my field of earning a living is as far removed from politics as anybody can possibly imagine.

I am sure you know that I am a professional ball player. Baseball has been called the great American sport because all Americans get their kicks out of the game in some way or other, no matter what their political or social connections may be. So it's customary, and I suppose pretty sensible, for ball players to keep out of partisan politics or any other kind of arguments and contests that may split their supporting public.

Of course it will be said, and it's certainly true, that the question of Communist activity in the United States isn't partisan politics. But it's also true that some of the policies of this committee have become political issues. And so, naturally, I have had a great many messages come to me, by wire, phone, and letter, urging me not to show up at this hearing. And I ought to make it plain that not all of this urging came from Communist sympathizers. Of course, most of it did. But some came from people for whom I have a lot of respect and who are just as opposed to Communist methods as I am.

And so it isn't very pleasant for me to find myself in the middle of a public argument that has nothing to do with the standing of the Brooklyn Dodgers in the pennant race—or even the pay raise I am going to ask Mr. Branch Rickey for next year!

So you'll naturally ask, why did I stick my neck out by agreeing to be present, and why did I stand by my agreement in spite of advice to the contrary. It isn't easy to find the answer, but I guess it boils down to a sense of responsibility. I don't pretend to be any expert on communism or any other kind of a political "ism."

Going to college at UCLA, helping to fight a war, with about 10,000,000 other fellows, trying to break into professional baseball and then trying to make good with the Dodgers, and trying to save some money for the time when my legs lose their spring—all this, together with my family life, has been enough to keep me busy without becoming an "expert"—except on base stealing or something like that.

But you can put me down as an expert on being a colored American, with 30 years of experience at it. And just like any other colored person with sense enough to look around him and understand what he sees, I know that life in these United States can be mighty tough for people who are a little different from the majority—in their skin color, or the way they worship their God, or the way they spell their names.

I'm not fooled because I've had a chance open to very few Negro Americans. It's true that I've been the laboratory specimen in a great change in organized baseball. I'm proud that I've made good on my assignment to the point where other colored players will find it easier to enter the game and go to the top. But I'm very well aware that even this limited job isn't finished yet. There are only three major league clubs with only seven colored players signed up, out of close to 400 major league players on 16 clubs.

But a start has been made, and progress goes on, and southern fans as well as northern fans are showing that they like the way things are working. And as long as the fans approve, we're going to keep on making progress, until we go the rest of the way in wiping Jim Crow out of American sports.

We are doing this because the American fans are just beginning to understand that a sport, to be a real sport, has got to be contested on

the basis of the best man or team winning—and that "best" has got nothing to do with how much brown or red or yellow tint is in a man's skin.

We're going to make progress in other American fields besides baseball if we can get rid of some of the misunderstanding and confusion that the public still suffers from. I know I have a great desire and I think that I have some responsibility for helping to clear up that confusion. As I see it there has been a terrific lot of misunderstanding on this subject of communism among the Negroes in this country, and it's bound to hurt my people's cause unless it is cleared up.

The white public should start toward real understanding by appreciating that every single Negro who is worth his salt is going to resent any kind of slurs and discrimination because of his race, and he is going to use every bit of intelligence such as he has to stop it. This has got absolutely nothing to do with what Communists may or may not be trying to do. And white people must realize that the more a Negro hates communism because it opposes democracy, the more he is going to hate any other influence that kills off democracy in this country—and that goes for racial discrimination in the Army, and segregation on trains and buses, and job discrimination because of religious beliefs or color or place of birth.

And one other thing the American public ought to understand, if we are to make progress in this matter: The fact that it is a Communist who denounces injustice in the courts, police brutality, and lynching when it happens doesn't change the truth of his charges. Just because Communists kick up a big fuss over racial discrimination when its suits their purposes, a lot of people try to pretend that the whole issue is a creation of Communist imagination.

But they are not fooling anyone with this kind of pretense, and talk about "Communists stirring up Negroes to protest," only makes present misunderstanding worse than ever. Negroes were stirred up long before there was a Communist Party, and they'll stay stirred up long after the party has disappeared—unless Jim Crow has disappeared by then as well.

I've been asked to express my views on Paul Robeson's statement in Paris to the effect that American Negroes would refuse to fight in any war against Russia because we love Russia so much. I haven't any comment to make on that statement except that if Mr. Robeson actually made it, it sounds very silly to me. But he has a right to his personal views, and if he wants to sound silly when he expresses them in public, that is his business and not mine. He's still a famous ex-athlete and a great singer and actor.

I understand that there are some few Negroes who are members of the Communist Party, and in the event of war with Russia they'd probably act just as any other Communist would. So would members of other minority and majority groups. There are some colored pacifists, and they'd act just like pacifists of any color. And most Negroes—and Italians and Irish and Jews and Swedes and Slavs and other Americans—would act just as all these groups did in the last war. They'd do their best to keep their country out of war; if successful, they'd do their best to help their country win the war—against Russia or any other enemy that threatened us.

This isn't said as any defense of the Negro's loyalty, because any loyalty that needs defense can't amount to much in the long run.

And no one has ever questioned my race's loyalty except a few people who don't amount to very much.

What I'm trying to get across is that the American public is off on the wrong foot when it begins to think of radicalism in terms of any special minority group. It is thinking of this sort that gets people scared because one Negro, speaking to a Communist group in Paris, threatens an organized boycott by 15,000,000 members of his race.

I can't speak for any 15,000,000 people any more than any other one person can, but I know that I've got too much invested for my wife and child and myself in the future of this country, and I and other Americans of many races and faiths have too much invested in our country's welfare, for any of us to throw it away because of a siren song sung in bass. I am a religious man. Therefore I cherish America where I am free to worship as I please, a privilege which some countries do not give. And I suspect that 999 out of almost any thousand colored Americans you meet will tell you the same thing.

But that doesn't mean that we're going to stop fighting race discrimination in this country until we've got it licked. It means that we're going to fight it all the harder because our stake in the future is so big. We can win our fight without the Communists and we don't want their help.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Counsel, any questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. There are no questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Mr. Chairman, I merely want to commend this fine young American for coming here and giving us this forthright statement, which I think he owes, in reality, to his people, but he has done it very liberally and I am very glad to have him here to give this very fine testimony today.

Mr. MOULDER. I join in what Mr. McSweeney has said in complimenting you on the splendid statement you have made. I will add, it is not the purpose of this committee, in conducting these hearings, to question the loyalty of the Negro race. There is no question about that. It is to give an opportunity to you and others to combat the idea Paul Robeson has given by his statements. I think you have rendered a great service to your country and to your people, and we are proud of you and congratulate you upon being the great success that you are in this great country of ours.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Robinson, you have made a splendid statement here. I was interested in your reference to the fact that you were one of the several million boys who were fighting for this country during the war. Were you in the Army, or Air Force, or what branch of the armed services?

Mr. ROBINSON. I was in the Army.

Mr. CASE. How long were you in the Army?

Mr. ROBINSON. Thirty-one months.

Mr. CASE. Thirty-one months?

Mr. ROBINSON. Yes.

Mr. CASE. Did you serve some of that time overseas?

Mr. ROBINSON. No, I didn't have a chance to go overseas because of an injury I received. I served as morale officer at Fort Riley and Camp Wolters, Tex.

Mr. CASE. Did you find any program there, among boys of your race, that would indicate any kind of basis for the statement purported to have been made by Paul Robeson?

Mr. ROBINSON. All I found was that the boys wanted to go over and fight and get the war over with so they could get back to their families. That is the only thing I found. I have had wires from some of the boys thanking me for expressing their views and saying what I did about their going over and fighting for these United States.

Mr. MOULDER. And you would do so again and again?

Mr. ROBINSON. Yes, I would, very willingly.

Mr. CASE. You attended the University of California in Los Angeles?

Mr. ROBINSON. Yes.

Mr. CASE. Where did you take your grade- and high-school work?

Mr. ROBINSON. Pasadena, a suburb—I was going to say a suburb of Los Angeles, but I guess Los Angeles is a suburb of Pasadena.

Mr. CASE. Mr. Nixon doesn't happen to be here this morning, so I think you can talk about California safely.

In your school life, did you ever note any attitude on the part of members of your race that would give any support to the alleged statement by Mr. Robeson?

Mr. ROBINSON. I have never run across it any time. In my life I have never run across anybody of my race who would not fight for these United States because of his love for any other country. They would all fight for these United States to protect any rights they have.

Mr. MCSWEENEY. Have you ever been approached yourself to join any of these subversive organizations?

Mr. ROBINSON. I never was approached, but when I was a kid we were interested in the way they acted to get us to join. In Pasadena there used to be group out there of Communists. I don't know how strong they were. But they used to send out young ladies to see if we would join their organization. It was quite funny to us. We had enough sense to know what they were after, and none of the fellows in my group had any desire to join an organization like that.

Mr. HARRISON. Any other question?

(No response.)

Mr. HARRISON. The committee appreciates your position, and on behalf of the committee I thank you for your appearance here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the committee has received quite a few letters showing an extreme interest in this question, and I will ask the senior investigator, Mr. Russell, if those letters are in shape where they can be introduced in evidence now, or whether he will present them later.

Mr. RUSSELL. I will present them later.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. HARRISON. Thank you.

The committee stands adjourned.

(Thereupon, at 11:10 a. m. the meeting adjourned.)



APPENDIX

EXHIBITS INTRODUCED INTO THE RECORD DURING TESTIMONY OF ALVIN W. STOKES AND RABBI BENJAMIN SCHULTZ, AND RETAINED IN THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Stokes:

- Exhibit No. 1—Record of Committee on Un-American Activities relating to Paul Robeson.
- Exhibit No. 2—Statements allegedly made by Paul Robeson upon various occasions.
- Exhibit No. 3—Statements made by persons in repudiation of statements allegedly made by Paul Robeson.

Schultz:

- Exhibit No. 1—Daily Worker, August 3, 1948, "Cops Disrupt Mount Vernon Wallace Rally."
- Exhibit No. 2—Daily Worker, August 2, 1948, pages 1 and 11, "Drunken Cop Shoots Two Negro War Vets."
- Exhibit No. 3—"To Secure Jewish Rights—The Communist Position," 40-page pamphlet by Alexander Bittelman.
- Exhibit No. 4—Morning Freiheit, July 3, 1948, "Nuremberg in Washington."
- Exhibit No. 5—Morning Freiheit, June 17, 1948, editorial, "American Airplanes Against Jewish Immigrants."
- Exhibit No. 6—Morning Freiheit, June 10, 1948, "America, America, Ha ! Ha !"
- Exhibit No. 7—Morning Freiheit, December 16, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 8—Morning Freiheit, June 22, 1949, "They Are Looking for the Attackers of Walter Reuther, but They Arrest Only Negroes and Jews."
- Exhibit No. 9—New York Day, July 1, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 10—Daily Worker, August 2, 1948, editorial, "Another Spy Frame-Up."
- Exhibit No. 11—Detroit Jewish Chronicle, March 11, 1949.
- Exhibit No. 12—Jewish Review, Paterson Post, July 22, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 13—Jewish Review, Paterson Post, August 26, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 14—Morning Freiheit, July 13, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 15—Daily Worker, June 8, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 16—Folder, Henry Wallace's "Greater New York Conference on Jewish Affairs," September 26, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 17—The Jewish Citizen, October 1948.
- Exhibit No. 18—Daily Worker, November 10, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 19—Los Angeles Voice, May 7, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 19a—Los Angeles Voice, May 14, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 20—Los Angeles Voice, May 28, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 21—Morning Freiheit, November 11, 1948, page 3.
- Exhibit No. 22—Photostat of Los Angeles Jewish Voice, September 10, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 23—Pravda, March 5, 1949.
- Exhibit No. 24—Morning Freiheit, two cartoons, September 4, 1929, and September 19, 1929.
- Exhibit No. 25—The Day, New York, March 3, 1949.
- Exhibit No. 26—Detroit Jewish Chronicle, June 18, 1948.
- Exhibit No. 27—Morning Freiheit, July 20, 1948.

STOKES EXHIBIT NO. 1

PAUL ROBESON

The records, files, and publications of the Committee on Un-American Activities reveal the following information concerning Paul Robeson:

Soviet Russia Today, August 1936, page 13, published an article on Paul Robeson and how he feels about the Soviet Union. Paul Robeson stated that, "the

Soviet Union is the only country I've ever been in, where I've felt completely at ease. I've lived in England and America and I've almost circled the globe—but for myself, wife, and son, the Soviet Union is our future home. For a while, however, I wouldn't feel right going there to live. By singing its praises wherever I go, I think I can be of the most value to it. It's too easy to go to the Soviet Union, breathe free air, and live 'happily ever afterward'." During a visit to Moscow he took occasion to visit a number of Soviet workers' homes. One of them he visited was that of his brother-in-law, John Goode, employed in Moscow as a mechanic and bus driver. Robeson said that "he lives in a comfortable airy apartment, plenty of sunlight, surrounded by a number of other workers who had places of the same sort. I don't say everything's perfect, but they're building, improving all the time." In the Daily Worker of October 11, 1946, page 11, it states that when Robeson was questioned relative to his visits to the Soviet Union and the schooling his son got there, he said "My son had what I would call a very basic Soviet education." In answer to the question as to whether he was a Communist, he replied "I characterize myself as an anti-Fascist." However, he said he wasn't a member though he would choose it over the Republicans, explaining that "in my association with Communists throughout the world, I have found them to be the first people to die, the first to sacrifice, and the first to understand fascism."

In several different instances Paul Robeson defended the Communist Party. In the July 23, 1940, Daily Worker, page 1, he signed an open letter to President Roosevelt protesting against the attack on the right of the Communist Party to use the ballot. In the September 23, 1940, Daily Worker, page 4, he signed a statement urging ballot rights to Communists. The Communist Party of New York, N. Y., wrote a statement to the President, which defended the Communist Party, and it was signed by Paul Robeson and others. (Daily Worker, March 5, 1941, p. 2.) The Daily Worker of April 22, 1947, page 5, named Paul Robeson among the 100 Negro leaders who called upon President Truman and Congress "to repudiate decisively the Fascist-like proposal to illegalize the Communist Party." According to the Daily Worker of April 21, 1947, page 1, when asked if he was a Communist, Robeson replied that "there are only two groups in the world today—Fascists and anti-Fascists. The Communists belong to the anti-Fascist group and I label myself an anti-Fascist. The Communist Party is a legal one like the Republican or Democratic Party and I could belong to either. I could just as well think of joining the Communist Party as any other."

Paul Robeson defended the Communists and Communist candidates many times. He filed a Supreme Court brief in behalf of 12 Communist leaders and his photo appeared in the Daily Worker on January 9, 1949, page 3, in this connection. When some of the Communist Party leaders were arrested in 1948, Paul Robeson sponsored a Statement by Negro Americans in behalf of these people. (Daily Worker, August 29, 1948, p. 11; Daily Worker, August 23, 1948, p. 3.) The Daily Worker of September 16, 1940, page 1, named Paul Robeson as one of those who signed a statement by Negro leaders protesting attacks against Communist candidates. A meeting was held in Madison Square Garden on March 17, 1941, honoring William Z. Foster, the national chairman of the Communist Party, on his sixtieth birthday. Paul Robeson sang at this event. (Daily Worker, March 19, 1941, p. 5.) Paul Robeson was chairman of the Committee for the Reelection of Benjamin J. Davis, a Communist Party candidate. (Daily Worker, September 25, 1945, p. 12.) An advertisement in the Washington Post of November 4, 1946, named Robeson as a member of the Citizens Committee for Robert Thompson and Benjamin J. Davis, who were Communist Party candidates. The Daily Worker also shows that Paul Robeson spoke at a dinner held in honor of Ben Davis. (October 20, 1947, issue, p. 7.) Paul Robeson was a supporter of the defense of Gerhart Eisler and Leon Josephson, Communists. (Daily Worker, April 28, 1947, p. 4.)

An article which appeared in Newsweek of June 2, 1947, and was reprinted in the Congressional Record on May 28, 1947, page A2681, reported that Paul Robeson "makes no secret of his sympathy for the [Communist] party."

Paul Robeson was a speaker at the meeting of the First National Encampment of Communist Veterans of World War II, which was to meet in Washington, D. C., on May 8, 1947, as shown by the Daily Worker of April 30, 1947, page 12. On page 3 of the Daily Worker, May 8, 1947, Paul Robeson was named as an honored guest at the veterans' encampment.

According to the pamphlet, What Is APM?, page 12, Paul Robeson was a member of the National Council of the American Peace Mobilization. He was vice chairman of this organization, as shown in the Daily Worker of September 3,

1940, page 4. Paul Robeson spoke at the mass meeting of the American Peace Mobilization in Washington, D. C., September 13, 1940. (Daily Worker, September 13, 1940, p. 4; Daily Worker, September 15, 1940, p. 2.)

The American Peace Mobilization was cited as "one of the most seditious organizations which ever operated in the United States" and as an "instrument of the Communist Party line prior to Hitler's attack on Russia" by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, page 5; also cited in reports, June 25, 1942, page 18; and January 2, 1943, pages 8 and 9. Attorney General Francis Biddle cited the organization as "formed in the summer of 1940 under the auspices of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League as a front organization designed to mold American opinion against participation in the war against Germany." * * * The most conspicuous activity of American Peace Mobilization was the picketing of the White House, which began in April 1941, in protest against lend-lease and the entire national defense program. * * * on the afternoon of June 21, 1941, he (Frederick V. Field, national secretary) suddenly called off the picket line around the White House. (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7684.) Attorney General Tom Clark cited the American Peace Mobilization as "subversive" and "Communist" in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

Paul Robeson was chairman of the Council on African Affairs according to the following sources: A letterhead dated May 17, 1945; leaflet, What of Africa's Peace in Tomorrow's World?; Pamphlet, Africa in the War; leaflet, The Job To Be Done; pamphlet, Seeing is Believing—Here is the Truth About South Africa, 1947; Daily Worker, March 29, 1948, page 7. Paul Robeson spoke at a rally of the Council on African Affairs in New York on April 25, 1947, as shown by a leaflet of this group. In the Daily Worker of April 19, 1947, page 12, he was condemned by the Peoria City Council as "an avowed or active propagandist for un-American ideology."

The Council on African Affairs was cited as "subversive" and "Communist" by Attorney General Tom Clark in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

Letterheads of the Civil Rights Congress dated March 4, 1948, and May 7, 1948, named Paul Robeson as vice chairman of this group. The Daily Worker of January 18, 1949, page 11, listed him as vice chairman and speaker before the group.

The Daily Worker of October 21, 1947, page 5, showed that Paul Robeson signed the call for the national conference of the Civil Rights Congress in Chicago. Paul Robeson and Eugene Dennis, a Communist Party member, spoke at a meeting of the Civil Rights Congress. (Daily Worker, November 5, 1947, p. 5.) He also spoke at the national conference of this group when it met in Chicago, according to the Daily Worker of November 19, 1947, page 6. The Daily Worker of January 29, 1948, page 10, named him as a speaker at the rally of the garment division of the Civil Rights Congress. Paul Robeson sponsored the freedom crusade of the Civil Rights Congress and protested the indictment of 12 Communist leaders. (Daily Worker, December 31, 1948, p. 3.) As shown by the Daily Worker of November 4, 1947, page 16, Paul Robeson supported the Civil Rights Congress. He was also a member of the delegation of the Civil Rights Congress. (Daily Worker, December 20, 1948, p. 4.)

The Civil Rights Congress was cited by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities in its report dated September 2, 1947, pages 2 and 19, as an organization formed in April 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations (International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties); "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it." Attorney General Tom Clark cited the organization as "subversive" and "Communist" in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

A letterhead of January 18, 1939, named Paul Robeson as a member of the executive committee of the China Aid Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

The China Aid Council was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report dated June 25, 1942, as a subsidiary of the American League for Peace and Democracy, page 16.

The American League for Peace and Democracy was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as "the largest of the Communist front movements in the United States * * * formerly known as the American League Against War and Fascism, and, at the time of its inception, as the United States Congress Against War * * * The league contends publicly that it is not a Communist-front movement, yet at the very beginning Communists dominated it. Earl Browder was its vice president." "An examination of the program of the American League will show that the organization was nothing more nor less than a bold advocate of treason." (Reports, January 3, 1939, pp. 69-71, and March 29, 1944, p. 37; also cited in reports, January 3, 1940, p. 10; January 3, 1941, p. 21; June 25, 1942, pp. 14-16; and January 2, 1943, p. 8.) Attorney General Francis Biddle cited the organization as established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Fascism "in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union." "The American League for Peace and Democracy * * * was designed to conceal Communist control, in accordance with the new tactics of the Communist International." (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pp. 7683 and 7684.) Attorney General Tom Clark cited the organization as "subversive" and "Communist" in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.

Paul Robeson entertained at the Chicago Peace Mobilization of the Emergency Peace Mobilization as shown by the Daily Worker of August 13, 1940, page 5. He was a singer at the Anti-Conscription Rally and Chicago Peace Rally, affiliates of the Emergency Peace Mobilization, which met in Chicago on August 31, 1940, and September 1, 1940. (Leaflet, Defend America Now; Daily Worker, August 31, 1940, p. 1.) The Daily Worker of September 3, 1940, page 1 named Paul Robeson as vice chairman of the Emergency Peace Mobilization to lead delegates to the White House.

The Emergency Peace Mobilization was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report dated March 29, 1944, pages 105, 156, and 169, as a Communist front which came forth, after Stalin signed his pact with Hitler, to oppose the national defense program, lend-lease, conscription, and other American warmongering efforts. It immediately preceded the American Peace Mobilization in 1940. "The American Peace Mobilization * * * was formally founded at a meeting in Chicago at the end of August 1940, known as the Emergency Peace Mobilization." (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7684.)

A 1947 catalog of the winter term for George Washington Carver School listed Paul Robeson as a member of the board of directors. The George Washington Carver School was cited as an adjunct in New York City of the Communist Party by Attorney General Tom Clark in a letter furnished the Loyalty Review Board, December 4, 1947.

A letterhead under date of February 23, 1946, named Paul Robeson as a national sponsor of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. The Daily Worker of December 3, 1948, page 12, listed him as a performer at a meeting of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee was cited as a "Communist-front organization headed by Edward K. Barsky" by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report dated March 29, 1944, page 174. Attorney General Tom Clark cited the organization as "subversive" and "Communist" in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

Paul Robeson was a national sponsor and a sponsor of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, according to letterheads of July 6, 1938, and February 2, 1939, respectively.

"In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations." Among these was the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 20, 1944, p. 82.)

The Daily Worker of April 19, 1947, page 4, named Paul Robeson as one of the sponsors of the May Day Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. He was a member of the same committee for the May Day Parade. (Daily Worker, April 28, 1947, p. 3.) The Daily Worker of April 18, 1947, page 4, listed Paul Robeson as a proposed speaker for the May Day parade. Paul Robeson was one of the marshalls for the United May Day Parade. (The Worker, April 27, 1947, p. 2.)

"The May Day Parade in New York City is an annual mobilization of Communist strength." (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, p. 179.)

A Call to a Win the Peace Conference held in the National Press Building, Washington, D. C., on April 5 to 7, 1946, named Paul Robeson as one of the sponsors of the group (also Daily Worker, March 5, 1946). A summary of the proceedings of this conference showed that Paul Robeson was elected cochairman, with Col. Evans F. Carlson, of the National Committee to Win the Peace. On June 13, 1946, Paul Robeson spoke at the Win the Peace Rally to Stop World War III, sponsored by the National Committee to Win the Peace, as shown by a handbill of the rally. According to a letterhead of February 28, 1946, and the Daily Worker of May 9, 1946, page 3, Paul Robeson was a sponsor and cochairman, respectively, of the Win the Peace Conference. He was the cochairman of the New York Committee to Win the Peace. (Letterhead dated June 1, 1946; New York Committee Call to Win the Peace Conference, June 28 and 29, 1946.) Paul Robeson sponsored the Conference on China and the Far East (called by the National Committee to Win the Peace; and the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy) which was held in San Francisco. (Call to Conference, dated October 18-20, 1946.)

The National Committee to Win the Peace was cited as "subversive" and "Communist" by Attorney General Tom Clark in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy was cited as "subversive" and "Communist" by Attorney General Tom Clark in a letter furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, April 27, 1949.

According to a pamphlet, For a New Africa (proceedings, Conference on Africa, New York, April 14, 1944) Paul Robeson was chairman of the National Negro Congress. He was also a participant in the Cultural Conference of the National Negro Congress. (Daily Worker, March 14, 1947, p. 11.)

"The Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress. * * * The officers of the National Negro Congress are outspoken Communist sympathizers, and a majority of those on the executive board are outright Communists." (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, January 3, 1939, p. 81; also cited, reports, January 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 20; and March 29, 1944, p. 180.) A. Phillip Randolph, president of the congress since its inception in 1936, refused to run again in April 1940 "on the grounds that it was 'deliberately packed with Communists and the Congress of Industrial Organizations members who were either Communists or sympathizers with Communists.'"

"Commencing with its formation in 1936, Communist Party functionaries and 'fellow travelers' have figured prominently in the leadership and affairs of the congress * * * according to A. Philip Randolph. John P. Davis, secretary of the congress, has admitted that the Communist Party contributed \$100 a month to its support.

"From the record of its activities and the composition of its governing bodies, there can be little doubt that it has served as what James W. Ford, Communist Vice Presidential candidate elected to the executive committee in 1937, predicted: 'An important sector of the democratic front' sponsored and supported by the Communist Party." (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pp. 7687 and 7688.)

Attorney General Tom Clark cited the National Negro Congress as "subversive" and "Communist" in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

An undated leaflet of the South is Closer Than You Think (received about February 1947) listed Paul Robeson as a member of the executive board of the New York committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Paul Robeson was one of the narrators in the attack by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare on the Freedom Train. (News release, November 15, 1947.)

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate, was cited as a Communist-front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report dated March 29, 1944, page 147. The Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist-front organization "which seeks

to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States." (H. Rept. No. 592, June 12, 1947.)

Paul Robeson was a patron of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship as shown by a letterhead of October 27, 1942. He was a speaker and entertainer of this group at a meeting in New York City, November 6 to 8, 1943. (Pamphlet, U. S. A.—U. S. S. R., p. 31.) According to a letterhead and memorandum (dated March 13, 1946; March 18, 1946, respectively) Paul Robeson was a sponsor of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc. A printed advertisement announcing a rally for peace appeared in the Daily Worker of December 1, 1948, page 6. Paul Robeson was on the program, which was held at Madison Square Garden on December 13, 1948, and was arranged under the auspices of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. On Sunday, March 30, 1941, Paul Robeson sang in pageant The Negro in American Life which program was sponsored by the National Negro Congress and the International Workers Order. Paul Robeson spoke at the seventh annual convention rally of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order of the International Workers Order held at Madison Square Garden on June 15, 1947. (Daily Worker, June 8, 1947, p. 12.) According to the Worker of June 29, 1947, page 5m, he was a member of the IWO.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship as "the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian" as shown by its report dated March 29, 1944, p. 156. Attorney General Tom Clark cited the organization as "subversive" and "Communist" in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

The International Workers Order was cited as "one of the most effective and closely knitted organizations among the Communist-front movements" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Repts., January 3, 1939, p. 79; March 29, 1944, p. 181; also cited in Repts. of January 3, 1940, p. 9; and June 25, 1942, p. 19). Attorney General Francis Biddle cited the International Workers Order as "one of the strongest Communist organizations" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688). Attorney General Tom Clark cited the organization as "subversive" and "Communist" in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

The New Masses of March 14, 1944, page 2, and April 30, 1946, page 2, named Paul Robeson as a contributing editor to this periodical. He signed a letter to the President, which was written under the auspices of New Masses, April 2, 1940, page 21. The Daily Worker of October 10, 1944, page 6, named Paul Robeson as an endorser of New Masses. On January 14, 1946, Paul Robeson was honored at a New Masses dinner held at the Hotel Commodore in New York City for the purpose of giving awards to those who contributed to greater inter-racial understanding. (Daily Worker, January 7, 1946, p. 11.) At the New Masses second annual awards dinner Paul Robeson received an award for his contribution made to promote democracy and inter-racial unity. (New Masses, November 18, 1947, p. 7.)

New Masses was cited as a "Communist periodical" by Attorney General Francis Biddle (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited New Masses as the "nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party" in Report 1311, dated March 29, 1944. The publication had previously been cited in reports of the committee dated January 3, 1939, and June 25, 1942.

Beginning in March 1948, New Masses and the Marxist quarterly known as Mainstream were consolidated into a publication known as Masses and Mainstream, located at 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y. In the March 1948 issue, volume 1, No. 1, of Masses and Mainstream, Paul Robeson was listed as a contributing editor. The Daily Worker of April 29, 1948, page 6, shows that Paul Robeson was one of those who sponsored the meeting on Culture Against the Warmakers, which was held under the auspices of Masses and Mainstream. Paul Robeson was a participant in the Masses-Mainstream demonstration against the Mundt anti-Communist bill. (Daily Worker, May 25, 1948, p. 13.)

Paul Robeson was a participant in Mother Bloor's eighty-fifth birthday banquet. (Daily Worker, June 12, 1947, p. 11.) Ella Reeve Bloor is an ardent Communist member and worker.

Paul Robeson spoke at the fourth anniversary dinner of the Jefferson School of Social Science, according to the Daily Worker of February 6, 1948, page 7.

He also participated in a music for children program sponsored by this group. (*Daily Worker*, May 13, 1948, p. 7.)

"At the beginning of the present year, the old Communist Party Workers School and the School for Democracy were merged into the Jefferson School of Social Science" (Rept. 1311, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944). The Jefferson School of Social Science has been cited as an "adjunct of the Communist Party" by Attorney General Tom Clark in a list furnished the Loyalty Review Board, released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947.

Paul Robeson visited and entertained the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain, as shown in the *Daily Worker*, issues of January 24, 1938, page 4, and April 6, 1938, page 2.

"The Communist Party was active in recruiting American boys for the so-called Abraham Lincoln Brigade in behalf of Loyalist Spain. Browder has boasted that 60 percent of the brigade was composed of Communist Party members" (Rept. 1311, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, dated March 29, 1944). The Abraham Lincoln Brigade has been cited as a Communist organization by Attorney General Tom Clark in a list furnished the Loyalty Review Board, released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, April 27, 1949.

Paul Robeson sang for a benefit called Six Songs for Democracy, which was sponsored by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, as shown in the *Daily Worker* of September 17, 1940. He spoke at a convention of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and was awarded the Dombrowski Medal. (Volunteer for Liberty, November 1946, p. 7.) Paul Robeson also participated in the program sponsored under the joint auspices of Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and Coordinating Committee for Spanish Republic. (*Daily Worker*, November 28, 1947, p. 7.)

"In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations." Among these was the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Rept., March 29, 1944, p. 82.) Attorney General Tom Clark cited the organization as "subversive" and "Communist" in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

Paul Robeson spoke at a meeting of the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America as shown by the *Daily Worker* of May 31, 1947, (p. 12). United Negro and Allied Veterans of America was cited as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, United States of America by Attorney General Tom Clark in a letter to the Loyalty Review Board released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947.

Paul Robeson spoke at a meeting held in Washington, D. C., which was sponsored by the Washington Peace Mobilization on September 13, 1940. (See Handbill, Paul Robeson will welcome America's real fighters for peace and freedom.) The Washington Peace Mobilization was cited as a Communist-controlled organization which participated in the White House picket line. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Rept., March 29, 1944, p. 143.)

On June 14, 1946 Paul Robeson spoke at the Youth Rally to Defend Labor's Right to Strike. This meeting was sponsored by the American Youth for Democracy and held at the Manhattan Center in New York City. (See Handbill). The *Daily Worker* of April 28, 1947, p. 4, named Paul Robeson as a supporter of this same group. Paul Robeson performed at a meeting of the American Youth for Democracy according to the *Daily Worker* of September 25, 1947, page 11. He also was on a program of the "Call to Arms Against Universal Military Training" sponsored by the American Youth for Democracy. (*Daily Worker*, December 4, 1947, p. 6.)

The American Youth for Democracy was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as the new name under which the Young Communist League operates and which also largely absorbed the American Youth Congress. (Report dated March 29, 1944, page 102.) Attorney General Tom Clark cited the organization as "subversive" and "Communist" in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. Its "high-sounding slogans" cover "a determined effort to disaffect our youth and to turn them against religion, the American home, against the college authorities, and against the American Government itself." (Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Rept. No. 271, April 17, 1947.)

An advertisement in the Daily Worker of August 12, 1947, page 8, announced a variety concert by Paul Robeson and others to be given at Peekskill Stadium in New York on August 23, 1947, under the auspices of the Committee to Aid the Fighting South. The Committee to Aid the Fighting South was cited as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party, U. S. A. by Attorney General Tom Clark in letter furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947.

Paul Robeson signed a statement sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties hailing the War Department order on Commissions for the Communists. (Daily Worker, March 18, 1945, p. 3.) He also signed a statement opposing the use of injunctions in labor disputes which was sponsored by this same group. (Advertisement, New York Times, April 1, 1946, p. 16.)

"There can be no reasonable doubt about the fact that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—regardless of its high-sounding name—is one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party." (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 50; also cited in Reports, June 25, 1942, p. 20; and January 2, 1943, pp. 9 and 12.) Attorney General Francis Biddle cited the organization as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program. * * * (It) was established as a result of a conference on constitutional liberties held in Washington, D. C., June 7-9, 1940. * * * The defense of Communist leaders such as Sam Darcy and Robert Wood, party secretaries for Pennsylvania and Oklahoma, have been major efforts of the federation." (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687.) Attorney General Tom Clark cited the organization as "subversive" and "Communist" in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the United States Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

Paul Robeson signed a petition of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom. (Sheet attached to letterhead of January 17, 1940.)

The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom was cited as a Communist front which defended Communist teachers by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its reports dated June 25, 1942, page 13, and March 29, 1944, page 87.

Paul Robeson was one of the representative individuals of the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo "on sale of arms to Spain." (Booklet, These Americans Say, n. 8.)

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

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities found "Communist leadership entrenched" in these three unions with which Paul Robeson was affiliated. (Rept. No. 1476, January 3, 1940, p. 13; Rept. No. 1311 of March 29, 1944, p. 18.) When speaking before a meeting of the National Maritime Union, Paul Robeson declared in criticism of the United States, "this is not 'The House I Live In'." (Daily Worker, September 30, 1947, p. 3.) He was a participant in Fighters for Liberty, UERMWA radio program, as shown in the Daily Worker of February 9, 1948, p. 13. Paul Robeson toured Hawaii under the sponsorship of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union. (Daily People's World, April 6, 1948, p. 2.)

In a speech which he delivered at the Paris Peace Conference, Paul Robeson stated: "It is certainly unthinkable for myself and the Negro people to go to war in the interests of those who have oppressed us for generations." (Daily Worker, April 26, 1949, p. 4.)

In an address made by Paul Robeson at his Welcome Home Rally held in New York June 19, 1949, under the auspices of the Council on African Affairs, he made the following statement:

"Yes, I love this Soviet people more than any other nation, because of their suffering and sacrifices for us, the Negro people, the progressive people, the people of the future in this world." (Daily Worker, July 3, 1949, p. 6m.)

He made the following statement at the rally referred to above concerning his support of the Communists:

"* * * So I'm not afraid of Communists; no, far from that. I will defend them as they defended us, the Negro people. And I stand firm and immovable by the side of that great leader who has given his whole life to the struggle of the American working class—Bill Foster; by the side of Gene Dennis; by the side of my friend Ben Davis; Johnny Gates; Henry Winston; Gus Hall; Gil Green; Jack Stachel; Carl Winter; Irving Potash; Bob Thompson; Johnny Williamson—12 brave fighters for my freedom. Their struggle is our struggle." (Daily Worker, July 3, 1949, p. 6m.)

STOKES EXHIBIT 3

CITY OF NEW YORK,
FIRE DEPARTMENT,
July 11, 1949.

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington 25, D. C.

DEAR SIRS: I am opposed to recent statements made by one Paul Robeson, concerning the attitude of the rank and file Negro toward the United States in the event of war.

I am a Negro with a responsible position in the New York City Fire Department, as an architect. My experience has taught me that in the United States of America, any man who proves himself qualified, will succeed regardless of race, color, or creed.

The prejudices of which Mr. Paul Robeson speaks, are fast becoming extinct; they are ghosts of a past era when ignorance was rampant. Today we have a more educated, God-fearing America. Tomorrow we will reach the goal of perfection. The American Negro of worth, looks ahead; looks to make himself and his children better and more useful citizens.

I am a veteran of World War II and will gladly answer my country's call whenever I am needed.

I am ashamed of Mr. Robeson, whom America has given all the opportunities, education, wealth, and success which he now enjoys. He is America's No. 1 ingrate.

Respectfully yours,

J. MILTON WORMSLEY, *Jamaica, N. Y.*

LOCKLAND, OHIO.

Chairman JOHN S. WOOD,
Un-American Activities Committee,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am a basketball coach in Lockland-Wayne High School. My team last spring, played Delphes St. John for the State class B championship. All the players on my team were Negroes. My school is staffed and attended by Negroes only.

I am interested in the Paul Robeson matter. I would like to back those who say that the Negro will always be loyal to his country. I know that these boys that I have worked with for the past 12 years will fight for this country against any foe.

In our travels around to many white schools we have been treated as Americans should. Our path has not been a rosy one. The difficulties which we have encountered have made us do a better job the next time we appear.

The millions of Negroes in the country do not support Mr. Robeson. This is our home. We know no other country. We owe allegiance to no other country. No country could give the rights and benefits which our country has given to all its citizens.

In your committee deliberations please call on me if I can assist in any way. I would be very glad to testify as to the loyalty of my people.

May God bless you and the persons who are working with you.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH E. MARTIN.

P. S.—If our boys had been in any other country, they would have been denied the honor of competing for a State championship.

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: This is poorly written and I'm sure there's no literary merit within. This is more or less a plea to let an unknown person testify at a hearing concerning the idiotic, assinine statements of a man so ungrateful to his country, Paul Robeson. I am a Negro by birth, an American by the democratic way of life. This man has made a statement that has turned the hearts and minds of thousands of people against him.

I have written many articles on the subject of democracy (enclosed is one such article).

I ask that you accept the testimony of the man on the street, the man behind the hoe, the man that made it possible for such a man to make such a rash statement concerning those that know no other country but one—and love every inch of it.

Sincerely,

J. W. LUDLOW.

[Telegram]

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF., July 10, 1949.

Chairman JOHN S. WOOD,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Jackie Robinson speaks truthfully of our race will fight. Charles Wherry, advocate Booker T. Washington and George W. Carver films.

HARRY LEVETTE,

Reporter, Associated Negro Press, Los Angeles, Calif.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Chairman JOHN S. WOOD,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

HONORED SIR: Let Communists go underground. We can ferret them out. It is better this way than to have to listen to their impudence and be helpless to do anything about them.

Paul Robeson, Judith Coplon, and many others insult my citizenship every time they open their mouths. They insult our dead.

Since we are in a state of cold war with Russia, why don't we pass laws to punish our "cold enemies"?

These Communists are "cold traitors."

All proven cold traitors should therefore lose their citizenship and be exported to Russia (literally, and at their own expense).

In their places we should permit DP's to enter the United States.

These DP's are anxious to become good American citizens. They would appreciate our freedom—not to attack it—to destroy it.

A DP who has fled from communism would make a fine replacement.

I, personally, am not a Catholic, but I heartily sympathize with the fight in Europe for religious freedom.

Outlaw communism in the United States.

Punish these outlaws ("cold" or "hot.")

If we do not face this peculiar emergency and solve it, we are doomed.

I believe in freedom, righteousness, and truth. Our fathers fought for these things—they are worth fighting for. We must not lose them. (Our civilization would not be the first one destroyed by an enemy.)

First, we must fight communism by laws—laws capable of meeting a "cold war," a "cold traitor," a poor substitute for a good American.

Will you please see what you can do?

Thank you, and sincerely,

EVELYN S. ROBERSON.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., July 8, 1949.

CHAIRMAN HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am an American Negro and I'm proud of it. Proud to be a citizen of the greatest and best country in the world.

There is absolutely no truth in the statement made by Mr. Robeson saying the Negroes of this country would not go to war against Russia. * * * If it came to war, and God forbid it, any country is wrong when it comes to fighting this country, and you can quote me. I'm sure every well-thinking Negro feels the same.

True, there are happenings that take place here that are not to our liking but let Robeson show me a country without fault and I'll show him a country that is unpeopled.

Is Robeson a Communist or a rabble rouser? I notice by the papers that he settled a trust fund of \$500,000 on his son. Is that a Communist gesture?

Respectfully,

ROBERT F. CLARKE, Sr.

X



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NON-CIRCULATING

