The two sound kernels of wheat sifted from the bushel of propaganda spilt
written, spoken and otherwise broadcast about the “Russian pulpwood imports
are:
1. The starvation of the American Paper and Pulp Association by the domi-
nating Eastern influence of the association’s major portion to the specific
end that development of the pulp industry on the Pacific is to be left for
under the thumb.
2. The Mexican jumping bean tactics of the United States Treasury De-
partment’s démarche on Russian pulpwood which subject it to the hot-
potato influence of those same Eastern interests.

The determined effort of Eastern industry to squash the development of
industry in the western part of the continent is nothing new. They would prefer
that foreign lands continue to function as supplying colonies, supplying raw materials when needed, but when competitively no. The
blue bloods of New England operate ships to import cheap black labor. In the
South, that New England textiles might have cotton. When the textile mills
were started moving South into those fields of cheap labor, that was different.

Many other pages can be lifted from the book of commerce to cite examples
of smuggling embryo industries in the Western States or by eastern interests.

The second stand of the American Paper and Pulp Association is not the
first uninvited attempt to shoulder the responsibility of guiding western indus-
trial trends. Being artificial and mnemic, the effort is doomed eventually
to the same outstanding success as achieved by the dandelion as an intruder
in the American or a xenomorphic for the windmill. Are further examples of
unsound economics needed, with the present-day examples of pegging
the markets in copper, wool, wheat, stocks, and what not.

If the American Paper and Pulp Association purports a surface sympathy
for the growing pulp and paper industry of the Pacific coast let it explain
the “special Russian edition” of “Pulpmaker” dated June 30, 1930, the association
publication of its pulpwood department, an edition produced by a special note
of introduction from the association’s general manager, Jesse H. Neel.

In this edition, the publication repeats that it has urged the utilization of
Russian pulpwood, because—

With the establishment of Pacific coast sulphate in Eastern markets the production
of sulphite pulp in the northeast is handicapped because of relatively high
domestic and domestic wood prices. Anything weakening the price of wood in the
Northwest would retard the movement of sulphite pulp production to the Pacific coast.

In the same edition of Pulpmaker it is stated that the Russian pulpwood
supply is to be considered as only temporary: that the decline in their competition with other sources of supply is limited to a
fringe principally in the Archangel district, which can be logged and loaded
with comparative ease.

The insincerity of the association’s stand is plain in this further statement
taken from the same edition of Pulpmaker.

“The Russian wood imports are not sufficiently dependable or permanent to
encourage new construction in the East, but they can have the effect of
keeping the industry alive in its struggle to expand in the new regions.”

Is it the business of the American Paper and Pulp Association to say when
and where the industry should build?

In short, it would appear that the American Pulp and Paper Association is
not an American Pulp and Paper Association but an institution run for
the no hesitancy in prostituting the American industry to its own desires. There is evi-
dence that the pulpwood embargo is still in force.

As for the second point, the vacillating policy of the Assistant Secretary of
Treasury in reversing the pulpwood embargo once placed in the action is
by the lifting of the embargo immediately thereafter. Tumbscrews did not pass entirely with the inquisition.

The idea of shifting the burden of proof that Russian pulpwood is not the
product of a standing forest is one of the most astounding and the
right or wrong of the Russian pulpwood is imported. It is no more wrong than
in the political fodder which the situation has developed in this
time. But it does decay the puny arguments of Eastern paper
interests which pull the association wires.

If the United States or any one of the nations with which it enjoys full trade
and diplomatic relations is accused of unfair practices, an investigational sys-
tem permits deep digging for facts. As for Russian pulpwood, the American
Paper and Pulp Association nonchalantly tackles a hula above the Soviet
representatives and dismisses the subject with—

“NO further interference with the movement of Russian pulpwood is antici-
pated, for reasons which the association understands the requirements and may be depended upon to
remove any of the suspicion from future shipments.”

Indeed! If the Soviet were exporting newsprint, bond and ledger, book,
writing, and a few more grades of finished papers, would the hula fit as snugly?

The order goes out—crush the growing pulp and paper industry of the
West. Give no quarter!

TESTIMONY OF RALPH SHAFER

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. State your full name.

Mr. SHAFFER. Ralph Shaffer,

The CHAIRMAN. What organization do you represent, Mr. Shaffer?

Mr. SHAFFER. The Shaffer Box Co., at Tacoma.

The CHAIRMAN. What position do you hold in that organization?

Mr. SHAFFER. President.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been president?

Mr. SHAFFER. Twelve years.

The CHAIRMAN. You have just heard the testimony of Mr. Thorpe.

Could you tell the committee what you know about the pulpwood
industry and how it is affected by the importation of Russian pulp-
wood, and any other information along that line that would help
the committee in its investigation?

The MR. SHAFFER. The manufacture of pulp in this particular section of
the country has grown considerably in the last four years. During
that time a little pulpwood has been exported from this country to
the eastern part of the United States. Practically no attempt has
been made to sell pulpwood, on account of the difficulty of transporta-
tion of same, the loading of the vessels and the discharging of
the same on the other end. It now costs for clean pulpwood, that is, wood
in cord form with the outer and inner bark cleaned off, about $8 a
cord to get it to the water, and the loading of that pulpwood on a
vessel would cost about a dollar and a half to $2 a cord. The freight
rate per cord would be approximately $9 or $10, although it would be
very difficult to get it on regular vessels. It would have to be sent
out what we call tramp steamers, inasmuch as the cargo would not
pay for regular conference that vessels carry. That would land that
pulpwood, if it were possible to send it in shipload lots, at approxi-
ately $17 to $18 a cord, ex-dock, on the various estuaries of the
Atlantic coast.

The information I have on the price of Russian pulpwood is,
of course, hearsay and may not be admissible, because I have not seen
the invoices. I just returned from New York where I secured infor-
mation, but not authoritative, that the price of the Russian pulp-
The Chairman. That is what we want to know: Four or five dollars less than the pulpwood they have been importing from Canada?

Mr. Shaffer. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. And also would have been $2 or $4 or maybe $3 less than they probably might have sent it from here?

Mr. Shaffer. Yes, sir. It would have been at least a dollar to two dollars.

The Chairman. Yes; anywhere from $1 to $4.

Mr. Shaffer. But there is a chasm in there which we have not bridged, because to produce pulpwood in this country we would have to send it only in shipload lots, and at times like these it would be rather easy to get some stray ships and send them; but in normal times that could not be done.

The Chairman. Of course Russian pulpwood is shipped in shipload lots?

Mr. Shaffer. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. The place of destination being as near the mill, probably as they can get it.

But figuring the wood costs two or three dollars more than the $15.50 they are paying now, of course that is the obvious reason they are buying in Russia, because they can get it cheaper than anywhere else at present?

Mr. Shaffer. That and the fact they have large investments in pulp mills and it is only fair to say that anybody having a large investment would try to operate it, rather than stop the entire obsolescence at one time. So they prefer, even though they pay more for pulpwood than they could buy a corresponding pulpwood in this country for, to go ahead and keep their mills active.

The Chairman. I do not follow you at all there. If they can get it cheaper here, they would buy here; if they get it cheaper there, they would buy there.

Mr. Shaffer. Yes; but if you have an investment in a pulp mill of, say, a million and a half or two million dollars, you desire to keep that operating; instead of declaring it entirely obsolete and then selling the machinery at, maybe, one-tenth, you are going to keep that mill operating even though your operating cost, generally, may be higher than that which you can buy pulp for. You do not want to wipe all of your investment off your books.

The Chairman. The fact is, according to your figures, they buy it cheaper in Russia than they can buy it either from here or Canada?

Mr. Shaffer. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. That is the point?

Mr. Shaffer. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. Is there anything else you want to say before the committee asks you questions?

Mr. Shaffer. The only issue we have, of course, on the Pacific northwest, on this Russian pulpwood, is that we have built pulp mills here, for the making of pulp which we desire to sell to the Middle West mills of the United States and to the Atlantic coast mills of the United States that have been established for the last 50 or 100 years, and this part of the country is essentially a raw material producer and we can produce pulp now and deliver it to the Atlantic coast and the Middle West at a lower cost to those mills than they can produce pulp from their local woods, unless they are permitted to purchase Russian pulpwood at the rates now prevailing. So we in the Northwest, with our small population, desire to keep our men employed; because we can not make money unless we employ men.

The Chairman. Can you tell how much pulpwood has been imported from Russia?

Mr. Shaffer. Solely from hearsay, sir.

The Chairman. You have not the actual figures?

Mr. Shaffer. No, sir.

The Chairman. We can get them, but I was wondering whether you had them.

Mr. Shaffer. I do not like to say anything unless I know I am correct, and I have not got the information from the various sources.

The Chairman. You have not got the figures from the Department of Commerce?

Mr. Shaffer. No, sir.

The Chairman. Of course, you would only know how it affected your industry if you knew how much was being imported?

Mr. Shaffer. All I know now is six shiploads; but I have not been able to find out. The Chairman. Then you are not able to tell exactly how this affects your industry?

Mr. Shaffer. Well, only through the fact that during the last eight months the price on unbleached sulphite pulp has dropped $12 a ton, but that does not all bear on the question of Russian pulpwood; it is the question of other factors—the Swedish pulp coming in here at prices claimed to be dumping. As a matter of fact, they are selling below their cost everywhere, so that the whole thing enters into the point where the Russian pulpwood is merely a contributory factor in this situation and one which may arise a number of mills which, economically, should be obsolete.

The Chairman. Have you any recommendations to make on this question, either of convict labor, the dumping of Russian wood pulp into this country, or amendments to the present law?

Mr. Shaffer. The only recommendations I can make, from a business standpoint, would be that the congressional committee select some investigator or some agency that they feel would be unbiased and make a direct investigation in Russia, because, from all that I have read, Secretary Lowman's statements and various other statements that have been presented to the Treasury Department in defense of this, it seems to be nearly all hearsay

The Chairman. Have you any evidence to submit yourself; have you any affidavits, or do you know anybody who has been over there and seen the situation?

Mr. Shaffer. No, sir.
Mr. Nelson. Mr. Shaffer, I think perhaps the people of my State are as much interested in this question as your people, relatively. We produce a great deal of pulp and it is a very acute question in my own district. But you could not expect to sell either pulp or pulpwod in the East at a time when the great quantities of pulp in Nova Scotia are exhausted, or in Canada, contiguous to the New England States, could you?

Mr. Shaffer. You say quantities of pulp, sir?

Mr. Nelson. Pulpwod.

Mr. Shaffer. Well, that is where the previous witness got mixed up with you. I wanted to see that we understood each other. The question of pulpwood, of course, is just merely a raw material, and that must be manufactured.

Mr. Nelson. Well, you know that the mills in the Eastern territory are bringing in immense quantities of pulpwod from Nova Scotia, do you not?

Mr. Shaffer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Nelson. And bringing it in by water?

Mr. Shaffer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Nelson. And bringing it in cheap?

Mr. Shaffer. I do not know about "cheap."

Mr. Nelson. Well, you could not sell your extreme western wood on the Atlantic seaboard until that pulp is exhausted, could you; you would not expect to?

Mr. Shaffer. We are not attempting to sell our western pulpwod in that territory.

Mr. Nelson. Or your pulp, either?

Mr. Shaffer. Yes, sir; we make as good pulp as they do and we can make it cheaper and deliver it into the markets.

Mr. Nelson. You cannot make pulp any cheaper than they can in Nova Scotia, can you?

Mr. Shaffer. Well, I am perfectly willing to show the committee our books, to prove we are doing it.

Mr. Nelson. And this Swedish pulp has been shipped into the eastern market for a good many years, has it not?

Mr. Shaffer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Nelson. And at a pretty low cost?

Mr. Shaffer. You mean cost to the buyer?

Mr. Nelson. Yes.

Mr. Shaffer. Well, that has varied as much as $24 a ton.

Mr. Nelson. Could you compete with Swedish pulp?

Mr. Shaffer. We are making pulp cheaper than Sweden is; yes, sir.

Mr. Nelson. Could you compete on the Atlantic seaboard with the Swedish pulp?

Mr. Shaffer. Yes, sir. Understand, I am not talking purely about my own mill; I can include both bleached and unbleached sulphite in 8 or 10 mills in this particular district.

Mr. Nelson. Haven't you got your figures on the selling price of Russian pulp in this country rather low—$15.85?

Mr. Shaffer. I got that from the Oxford Paper Co., of New York, last week. They are a rather large outfit. They are not buying any pulp wood from Russia, but they seemed to think they would.
Mr. Shaffer. I do not know. It is a very hard job for an employer to understand what the employee really thinks; so I am not competent to answer that.

Mr. Eslick. These men are perpetually trying to cause strife and disturbance in your mill, are they not; among your hands?

Mr. Shaffer. I do not think so, no—not the ones I know. There are others, of course, that do.

Mr. Eslick. You just said they kept haranguing the men. What are they trying to do by haranguing the men?

Mr. Shaffer. Of course, I do not hear it; I just hear of it; but most of their talk is the question of getting higher wages and I do not blame them. I do not argue with them about that.

Mr. Eslick. The reason you can not pay higher wages is that your prices do not justify it; that is true, is it not?

Mr. Shaffer. Yes.

Mr. Eslick. Now, the raw material, the wood you speak of shipping, is measured in cords; is it not?

Mr. Shaffer. Yes.

Mr. Eslick. Your finished product is the pulp. is it not?

Mr. Shaffer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Eslick. How do you sell that, by the ton?

Mr. Shaffer. By the ton; by the American ton. that is, the short ton.

Mr. Eslick. You spoke of Russia reducing her prices recently. How much has that reduction amounted to?

Mr. Shaffer. Now, may I correct you? That was Sweden reduced the prices. Russia does not produce any pulp.

Mr. Eslick. Russia does not produce any pulp?

Mr. Shaffer. No, sir.

Mr. Eslick. Did you not say Russia had reduced the price of pulpwood?

Mr. Shaffer. No.

Mr. Eslick. Recently?

Mr. Shaffer. No.

Mr. Eslick. I misunderstood you, then. I thought you said, $15.85 a ton—

Mr. Shaffer. If I understand you correctly, that was not a reduction in their price; that was the price at which they sold their pulpwood, exdock, Atlantic coast ports. I do not know whether they have ever sold any higher than that.

Mr. Eslick. They have not sold any higher than that?

Mr. Shaffer. I do not know that.

Mr. Eslick. That is approximately how much cheaper than you could ship the wood and lay it down there?

Mr. Shaffer. Well, it would be approximately $1 to $2 a cord cheaper.

Mr. Eslick. Now, do you know whether or not Eastern producers or Canadian producers, adjacent to the Eastern States, could produce that wood and lay it down there cheaper than $15.85 a ton?

Mr. Shaffer. No; they can not.

Mr. Eslick. In other words, the Russian wood is the cheapest pulpwood that is furnished to the eastern market?

Mr. Shaffer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Eslick. About how much per cord; do you know?

Mr. Shaffer. Well, it varies in localities, but runs from $3 to $4 up to $7 or $8 a cord. It takes two and probably a fraction cords of woods to make a ton of pulp.

Mr. Eslick. Now, do you know whether the Russian consignment of wood to America has been growing rapidly, or not?

Mr. Shaffer. Well, in so far as my knowledge goes, the whole situation has come about in the last five months and no pulpwood was ever sent in here before that time from Russia.

Mr. Eslick. And the effect of that is it has practically shut off the pulp market of the Northwest, has it not, as to the Middle Western and Eastern States?

Mr. Shaffer. No, sir; it has not shut it off; it has forced us to come down in our price very materially, so that the pulp mills in the Northwest are either selling at cost or less than cost, or piling up their pulp, or shutting down. Some of them are shut down.

Mr. Eslick. But it is injuring your business and hurting wages, is it not?

Mr. Shaffer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Eslick. And that has occurred in the last five months?

Mr. Shaffer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Eslick. Now, is that causing unemployment in this section?

Mr. Shaffer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Eslick. Has that been to a marked degree, or not?

Mr. Shaffer. It is just now starting to show up in the pulp industry.

Mr. Eslick. Let me put it this way: Growing out of this importation of pulp and pulpwood, your labor has gradually diminished in the last five months, has it not?

Mr. Shaffer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Eslick. In the pulp and pulpwood industry, your labor is now at the lowest ebb it has been in some time?

Mr. Shaffer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Eslick. Now, if your section does not get some relief from this Russian situation, and the importation of wood and pulp, what will be the ultimate effect of this condition in the wood and pulp industry in the Northwest?

Mr. Shaffer. Well, it means the closing down entirely of all the straight pulp mills.

Mr. Eslick. In other words, you simply can not compete with the situation as it exists?

Mr. Shaffer. Well, we can lose just so much money; then we will either go bankrupt or shut down until things change.

Mr. Eslick. What I mean is you can not compete with any profit under present conditions?

Mr. Shaffer. No, sir.

Mr. Eslick. Of course, if you can not make a profit it means bankruptcy, does it not?

Mr. Shaffer. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. Are the pulp manufacturers shipping pulp into the Middle West now, and have they in the last few years?

Mr. Shaffer. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. How far in the Middle West do you go? Do you go as far as Chicago?
Mr. Shafer. We get into Ohio and Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota by rail.

The Chairman. And you have been doing that right along; have a steady business there?

Mr. Shafer. Yes, sir; on an increasing ratio until the last several months.

Mr. Nelson. Mr. Shafer, are you speaking advisedly when you say Russian pulpwood is the cheapest pulpwood on the Atlantic coast?

Mr. Shafer. Well, I am speaking from the knowledge that has been given me by pulp and paper men on the eastern coast.

Mr. Nelson. Well, what does Nova Scotian wood cost laid down in the Atlantic ports?

Mr. Shafer. I do not know.

Mr. Nelson. What are the Maine men getting for pulpwood cut on their lands there?

Mr. Shafer. Well, it could give you all that data; it has been published by the American Pulp & Paper Association.

Mr. Nelson. You did say that the Russian wood was the cheapest wood?

Mr. Shafer. Well, that is a most logical question, and that is something we should do, but we lack capital in this part of the country and we lack trained paper men.

Mr. Nelson. Oh, well, there are plenty of them you could get. That is all.

The Chairman. Thank you very much.

**TESTIMONY OF MRS. W. H. DU BOIS**

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The Chairman. Please give your full name.


The Chairman. What organization do you represent?


The Chairman. Do you live here in Seattle?


The Chairman. Do you hold any official position in the Daughters of the American Revolution?

Mrs. Du Bois. I am State regent.

The Chairman. Have you any information in regard to the exhibition of Russian art that was shown here in this city?

Mrs. Du Bois. My main information is in regard to an exhibit shown in Spokane.

The Chairman. In Spokane?

Mrs. Du Bois. Yes; in Spokane.

The Chairman. That is where you live, is it?

Mrs. Du Bois. That is my home, yes.

The Chairman. Will you tell the committee what you know about that?

Mrs. Du Bois. Because on the bowls was “Sent by Amalgam” and also they had a placard in the store reading “Amalgam.” I also talked with the superintendent of the Frederick & Nelson store this morning and he told me it was sent out by Amalgam Trading Corporation. I asked him the question.

The Chairman. What did this man say who was making the speeches? Did you hear him speak, yourself?

Mrs. Du Bois. I did.

The Chairman. What did he say?

Mrs. Du Bois. He spoke of the educational system in Russia, in particular; said it was the greatest educational system in the world, far superior to the educational system in the United States.

The Chairman. What else did he say?

Mrs. Du Bois. One woman asked him a question in regard to the religious life of Russia and if it were true that the churches had been destroyed, and he said in some instances they had been destroyed, but they were building great manufacturing plants in place of these churches.

The Chairman. And he made these speeches to the people who came to buy; is that it?

Mrs. Du Bois. Yes; mostly women.

The Chairman. What did you think of the speeches?

Mrs. Du Bois. I considered it Russian propaganda. I considered it a very unnecessary thing for an organization sending this exhibit over our country, taking our money, to help support a government that is not recognized by the United States.

The Chairman. Did he make any comments in his speech about our Government, or of government, anything of that nature?

Mrs. Du Bois. No; I did not hear him say anything about it.

The Chairman. Is there anything else that you would like to tell the committee?

Mrs. Du Bois. I think not.

The Chairman. Have you any other information in regard to communist activities you would like to speak on here?

Mrs. Du Bois. I think not. There are the communist schools in this State of Washington.

The Chairman. Can you tell the committee anything about the communist schools in the State of Washington?

Mrs. Du Bois. There has been a communist school at Woodland, Wash.—I cannot say whether it is still in session there or not—and