

ments, and as soon as he pushed in some place—Russian place, he instantly would open a Russian church. That's how it happened that Ukrainians where he was moving very fast, actually were helping Germans to go faster, because they saw their only chance to get their church back.

Q. In other words, as fast as Hitler's armies overran Russia, they immediately opened the churches in every town—

A. Yes.

Q. —they went into?

A. Yes.

Q. And the Russian people wholeheartedly attended the churches?

A. Certainly.

Q. And that got to the Russian people in the areas where he had not conquered yet?

A. Exactly, and then of course the Communist Party realizes they are losing many people this way, and started opening churches themselves again.

Q. They didn't change their thinking any, it was an expediency of the war, then?

A. Yes, I am quite sure it is—it will be the same after awhile, and I believe it is again going on—all this suppression of churches.

Q. They are suppressing the church?

A. Yes, they never did change their ideas about church.

MR. HOUSTON: I see. Mr. Chairman, I believe that is all from this witness. It is possible we will recall him at some future time if we need him—that is, during the term of this hearing, but I would like to have him released from the hearing if it is agreeable to you now, to let him return to his duties aboard ship which is not in this port at this time, even.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I will leave it to you and the Captain to decide that.

(Witness Excused)

ELLSWORTH CLAYTON WILLS, called as a witness, having been first duly sworn, testified on direct examination as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Will you state your name for the record, please?

A. Ellsworth Clayton Wills.

Q. How do you spell your last name, please?

A. W-i-l-l-s.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Wills?

A. 2131—46th Southwest, Seattle.

Q. What business, profession, or occupation are you in at this time?

A. I am a college student.

Q. Where—

A. University of Washington.

Q. Mr. Wills, how long have you resided within the State of Washington?

A. Outside of the war service, must be about thirty years.

Q. Mr. Wills, the record in addition to being taken down stenographically is also being recorded, and I will greatly appreciate it if you will address your

remarks to the "mike" directly to your left and speak loud enough so there will be no question of its being recorded.

Mr. Wills, have you ever held any official position with the State of Washington?

A. Yes. I was a member of the Washington Legislature.

Q. As a member of the Legislature of the State of Washington, what district did you represent?

A. I represented the 34th District.

Q. During what years, please?

A. 1939 and 1940.

Q. Mr. Wills, were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you first join the Communist Party?

A. I think about 1935.

Q. Mr. Wills, do you remember the name of the person that recruited you into the Communist Party?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Just—

A. James Cour.

Q. Would you spell that for the sake of the record, please?

A. C-o-u-r. Cour.

Q. Do you remember where he recruited you in the Communist Party?

A. Oh yes. Do you mean the actual episode?

Q. Yes, the building, location, or where was it, in other words?

A. A restaurant directly in the middle of the block, the Columbia Cafe, as a matter of fact.

Q. Here in the City of Seattle?

A. Here in the City of Seattle.

Q. After being recruited in the Communist Party and joining the Communist Party, what unit of the Party were you assigned to, or what unit of the Party did you attend?

A. The West Seattle unit. It had a number, but I don't recall the number.

Q. For the sake of the record, what years did you attend meetings of the Communist Party in the West Seattle unit?

A. It was in the West Seattle unit, only.

Q. And what years—

A. I would say roughly between the years 1935 and 1940.

Q. During the period of five years from 1935 to 1940?

A. Now this—don't misunderstand me. Not attending the actual unit but certainly involved.

Q. I understand. You referred to Mr. Cour as being the person who recruited you into the Party. Did you know what his activity was at the time as to what his employment was?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. What was that, please?

A. Mr. Cour was either—well, he was working for the Voice of Action. His capacity I am not sure of. I think he was an assistant editor.

Q. Do you remember the name of the editor at that time?

A. Yes. Lowell Wakefield.

Q. Now, what was this Voice of Action?

A. The Voice of Action was the Party publication in the City of Seattle and on the Northwest coast.

Q. What do you mean when you refer to the Party publication?

A. Well, I say it was directed by the Communist Party. It was the Voice of Action. It should be almost self-evident.

Q. I will ask you to state after you joined the Communist Party, if you ever were active in the affairs of the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Yes, as a speaker and also as—well, you might call it the collateral speaker. I didn't only speak, I also determined some part of the policy—I mean very-little policy.

Q. Did you go out making speeches to the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Oh, yes. About three times a week for a long time.

Q. Under whose auspices were you making these speeches?

A. The Speakers' Bureau of the Washington Commonwealth Federation.

Q. Who controlled the Speakers' Bureau of the Washington Commonwealth Federation at that time?

A. Who controlled it?

Q. Yes sir.

A. That's a rather difficult question.

Q. Maybe you don't understand what I am driving at. I will withdraw that question and ask it this way: Were you a member of the Old Age Pension Union at the time you went out and made speeches to the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Oh, yes. But I—

Q. Yes.

A. I want to clarify that situation so there won't be any—

Q. Let me ask you, the next question I think will clarify it. Did you join the Old Age Pension Union before or after you joined the Communist Party?

A. After.

Q. At the time you joined the Old Age Pension Union how old were you?

A. I don't want to appear modest—

Q. Well, approximately.

A. Well, around thirty-two or thirty-three, around there.

Q. Thirty-two or thirty-three. What was your purpose in joining the Old Age Pension Union when you joined?

A. I want to clarify that situation before we go any further, I mean just as a matter of clarification. I didn't join the Pension Union as a pensioner, obviously. I joined the Pension Union because they received a certain amount of my dues—I mean paid into the the various Party channels. Those dues were accepted by the Pension Union and in exchange I was given a card which made me a member of the Pension Union. And that is—as my actual membership is concerned, that is as far as it applied.

Q. You just merely paid your dues in that?

A. That is right, yes.

Q. You got a card back?

A. That is right.

Q. But you did go out and make speeches to them—

A. Oh, definitely; oh, sure.

Q. All right, now when you went out and made speeches to the Pension Union what were the purpose of those speeches—what were—

A. Well, at the particular time, we won't go back into the Legislative body, what it consisted of, many persons are probably here who know the situation as well as I do. The idea was to organize the Pension Union and to keep it organized because it was a very, very important and essential point in the policy. You had something dumped in your lap, incidentally; something you never had before, such as a lot of old people who usually are politically incapable because of age, for one thing, incapable of any organized thought. Naturally they had one thing they wanted—they wanted a pension. Promise them anything.

Q. Now it was the policy of what organization to organize the Pension Union and keep it organized?

A. It was the Communist policy.

Q. Now, did you ever receive any direction as to the line of thought you would develop at your—in your speeches before the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Oh, yes. The line of thought at that time was taken usually from the publication of the Washington Commonwealth Federation, and at that time it was—first the New Dealer and later on I forget what they called it now, in other words, I didn't have to be briefed before I went into a meeting at any time of the Old Age Pension Union to make a speech. I knew.

Q. In other words, you knew what your line was before you made the speech?

A. I knew—that's right.

Q. Now then, state to this—into this record whether that was the Communist Party line or not the Communist Party line?

A. It was the Communist Party line.

Q. Now at the time you were paying dues into the Old Age Pension Union were you also paying dues into the Communist Party?

A. Well, probably—I don't know. I mean—

Q. During the period of time that you were in the Communist Party were you also in the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Yes. During the whole period. I mean, as far as the Pension Union was concerned, yes.

Q. Going back to your activities in the Communist Party, did you reside in West Seattle at the time?

A. That is correct.

Q. Did you ever act in any, oh, let's say either official or semi-official position in your respective unit of the Communist Party out in West Seattle during the period of time you lived out there?

A. Yes, yes I did.

Q. State that for the record, here.

A. Well,—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Please speak toward the microphone.

THE WITNESS: Yes, sir.

A. I acted in this capacity, that I was chairman of several meetings, but don't understand that I was official as chairman. There was—it was sort of an honorary position.

Q. In other words, it was passed around from time to time?

A. That is correct, yes sir.

- Q. In due course of time, you were the chairman.
 A. That is right.
- Q. But you did at different times act as chairman of the—that West Seattle unit during the period of time—
 A. That is right, yes.
- Q. Now, can you identify the names of any persons that were members of that same West Seattle unit of the Communist Party, Mr. Wills?
 A. Yes, I can.
- Q. Will you name them for us, please?
 A. Mr. and Mrs. Hester.
- Q. Now what Mr. Hester—do you know his first name?
 A. I do not know his first name.
- Q. To refresh your recollection I will ask you if it was Al or Albert?
 A. That is right.
- Q. How do you spell that last name?
 A. H-e-s-t-e-r.
- Q. Do you think of any other name?
 A. Margaret Haugland.
- Q. Margaret Haugland?
 A. That is right.
- Q. Will you spell the last name, please?
 A. Wait until I see it. I never could spell it. H-a-u-g-l-a-n-d.
- Q. Do you think of any other name?
 A. Elizabeth Boggs.
- Q. How do you spell her last name?
 A. B-o-g-g-s.
- Q. Anyone else?
 A. Let me refresh my memory a minute.
- Q. Well, I will ask you if you ever heard—if you knew a person by the name of Mable Jensen?
 A. Yes sir. Definitely.
- Q. I will ask you to state whether or not she was a member of this West Seattle branch of the—or unit of the Communist Party, during the time that you were—
 A. She was, yes.
- Q. Did you ever hear the name of Mike Smith?
 A. Yes of course. He was my seat mate in the Legislature—we served the same session.
- Q. He was your seat mate in the Legislature?
 A. No, he wasn't my seat mate—but I mean we were in the same group together—same Legislative group.
- Q. Well, will you state at this time that Mike Smith during that period of time was a member of the Communist Party?
 A. Oh, absolutely.
- Q. Does the name Morris Rappport or Rappaport mean anything to you?
 A. It does considerably, yes.
- Q. I will ask you to state whether or not—I will ask you to state who Morris Rappport was, briefly.

- A. Rappport at the time I was involved was the Northwest organizer for the Communist Party—
- Q. Mr. Wills—pardon me. Did you have something further to add?
 A. Well, I don't know how much more important he was than that.
- Q. Mr. Wills, during this period of time that you were in the Party in various capacities as you have testified from 1935 to 1940, did you ever hear of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?
 A. Oh yes.
- Q. State briefly into the record what the Abraham Lincoln Brigade was.
 A. Well, the Abraham Lincoln Brigade was a group of volunteers from the United States of America who were supposedly going to Spain to win the Spanish revolution. I was subscribed to, you might state it that way, by Morris Rappport, but my passport was not actually delivered or anything for certain reasons. I volunteered for that organization.
- Q. Going back just a little bit—who recruited persons into the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?
 A. It usually operated this way—that through a—well, through the Party press.
- Q. Now again will you identify what you mean by Party press?
 A. Well, it is very difficult to identify it, in other words, you have so many booklets to buy—
- Q. What party are you talking about?
 A. I am talking about the Communist Party.
- Q. That's the only identification I wanted to know.
 A. —so many booklets, and you would get perhaps on one meeting night perhaps a bundle of the stuff and you had to use it—I mean it was sort of dumped on you.
- Q. All right. Did you ever have a discussion with Morris Rappport about your going over to Spain?
 A. Oh, definitely, yes sir.
- Q. Along with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?
 A. That is correct, yes.
- Q. Do you remember when it happened, what—
 A. It happened in Meve's Cafeteria. The date I don't know.
- Q. Well did you—was there anything done about your going over to Spain—did you take into—was there any overt act on your part toward accomplishing that purpose?
 A. Well, not an overt act, no. I was young and able—I will put it that way.
- Q. Well, did you do anything—did you start to Spain or did you—make any effort—
 A. Well, I was going all out, yes sir. But due to personal difficulties at the time, when my family was ill, I didn't go. That's all there was to that.
- Q. Did you have to have a passport to get from this country over there?
 A. Yes. Definitely.
- Q. Anybody give you any instructions about how to get—
 A. Yes, I had instructions.
- Q. Who gave you those instructions?
 A. Rappport did.

Q. Did you know at that time—when you were given those instructions by Morris Rapport to get that passport that you were being recruited into the Abraham Lincoln Brigade by the Communist Party?

A. Oh yes, definitely. I talked about that—

Q. Did you go to Spain as a result of that?

A. No, I didn't. I did not.

Q. Your reason for not going was what?

A. Well, it was purely—well, a personal family reason. In other words, my family was ill. That's the only reason.

Q. Now, referring to the persons whom you named a few minutes ago as being members of the West Seattle Communist Party unit namely, Mr. Al Hester and Mrs. Al Hester, and Mrs. Mable Jensen, and Mable Conrad and Elizabeth Boggs, did you actually yourself sit in Communist Party meetings with them?

A. Absolutely.

Q. There in West Seattle?

A. That is right.

Q. Now state—

A. I wish—I wish to make a statement of my own here. This is as of about seven years ago. In other words, I don't know what the status is now.

Q. Now you say you do or don't know?

A. I don't.

Q. I understand. I understand now that you are testifying as to conditions—

A. That is correct, yes.

Q. —at the time you were in the Party then, not now?

A. That is right.

Q. Now then, what part, if any, did any or all of those persons whom you have named play in the Old Age Pension Union movement during the time you were in the Communist Party?

A. I wish I had a match, please. I am going to have to expand that question a little, if you don't mind.

Q. Well, let me ask the question another way. Did they take any part in the Old Age Pension Union Movement?

A. Oh, but certainly.

Q. Then just discuss that, if you will.

A. In the first place, what didn't we concern ourselves with? May I put the question on that basis rather than the statement. We concerned ourselves with everything that looked like it had potentialities of mass movement. Anything. The Pension movement at that particular time that the Legislative act was made were—well, the pensions were available to the old folks. Immediately required from the standpoint of the Communist Party an organization—of course, you don't get away this easy. If you are getting anything from the state and the Communists has anything to do with it you are going to organize. You know that. Therefore, the Pension Union was organized. And I say it was organized on the basis only that it could be controlled by the only persons who were interested in organizing, and that was the Communist Party.

Q. Now you—

A. Does that clarify that at all?

Q. Very well, sir. And do you make that statement as a former member of the Communist Party knowing what the Communist Party's attitude was at that time?

A. I do, yes, absolutely.

Q. Mr. Wills, have you ever attended any plenums held by the Communist Party?

A. Yes, yes I have.

Q. Do you remember a particular plenum held in the Norway Hall of the Communist Party that you attended?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. About 1938?

A. Yes I do, around there.

Q. Just briefly what is a plenum held by the Communist Party?

A. Well, a plenum is a sort of a form of convention, I mean that's about the closest I could come to it, in which the various units get together and they elect certain representatives. It doesn't make any difference who you elect, anyway. I mean you're almost either—I mean they use the form of democracy as something that is not democratic. A plenum, you get together when a major change of policy is taking place, usually.

Q. Would there be anyone sitting in those plenums that were not members of the Communist Party?

A. No.

Q. This particular plenum that you referred to that you sat in—where was this held?

A. Norway Hall.

Q. And what year was that, if you remember?

A. Around 1935, I believe.

Q. Now did there any—was there anyone seated in this plenum or present in this plenum that was not a member of the Communist Party?

A. I doubt it very much. Unless of course there were Federal agents. I don't know.

Q. Well, do you know of anyone sitting in that plenum that wasn't a member of the Communist Party?

A. No, I don't.

Q. Do you remember the names of the persons who attended that plenum along with you?

A. Some of them.

Q. Will you recount those that recur to your mind at this time?

A. Both Hesters.

Q. You mean by that the two Hesters you talked about—Al Hester and his wife?

A. That is correct, yes. That is right.

Q. All right. Were there any doctors there?

A. There was a Dr. Baxter.

Q. Was that a man or a lady?

A. It was a lady. Not a doctor, either.

Q. Do you know of anyone else that was there—do you remember anyone else that was there?

A. Yes sir, her daughter was there.

Q. What was her name?

A. Marjorie Baxter.

Q. Marjorie Baxter. Do you know who—what her name became subsequently?

A. Yes, of course.

Q. What was that?

A. Plumb. No I'm wrong, pardon. I take that back. That's wrong. Westman.

Q. Westman. Do you know Lenus Westman?

A. I have never met the man.

Q. Do you know whether this Marjorie Baxter was—later became related to Lenus Westman?

A. Yes I am aware of that. They are man and wife, I believe.

Q. Now, was there anyone else there, that you remember?

A. I am pretty positive that Brockway was there, and I am quite sure that Wakefield was there.

Q. Brockway. Do you remember what—was that—was that Harold Brockway?

A. That is right. That is right.

Q. You are quite sure that Harold Brockway was there?

A. I would be fairly certain, yes.

Q. What was his—he doing about that time?

A. Well, at that particular time when the plenum was called there was a little internal disturbance in the Party. I mean the boys weren't getting along. They usually don't anyway. And the reason for the plenum, I think, was for certain—I got the impression, anyway, that the idea was to straighten out Wakefield.

Q. What Wakefield was that?

A. That's Lowell Wakefield.

Q. Lowell Wakefield. Is that the same Lowell Wakefield that you testified to a while ago was editor of the Voice of Action?

A. That is correct, yes.

Q. The Communist Paper—

A. That is right.

Q. —in this locality? It was your impression that this plenum was held for the purpose of straightening out this Lowell Wakefield?

A. Also—it was held for another reason, also. I don't want to use bad English. The result also was for the purpose of elections that were coming up. In other words, the various districts of King County had to be consolidated. You had to bring all these units together in order to make out your slate. Now I say, by slate that the Party never did anything in its life politically except slates.

Q. What Party are you referring to, by the word Party?

A. I am referring to the Communist Party.

Q. All right. Was the head of the Party of the Northwest District at this plenum?

A. Rapport was there, yes.

Q. Who handed down the Party line on that occasion?

A. That I don't know. My local unit was responsible for my indoctrination.

Q. Was anyone else at this particular plenum that you recall—other than those persons whom you have named?

A. No—

Q. Refreshing your recollection I will ask you if Margaret Haglund was there?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, did you ever serve our country during the war?

A. I did.

Q. What branch of the service were you in?

A. I was in the United States Navy.

Q. Did you receive an honorable discharge—

A. I did.

Q. —from the United States Navy?

A. I did.

Q. When were you in the United States Navy and for how long?

A. During 1942, 1943, '44—three—two years anyway. Overseas, two.

Q. You were overseas two years?

A. That is right.

Q. Now, I would like to ask you to state if you finally got out of the Communist Party?

A. How did I finally get out?

Q. First I will ask you if you finally got out of the Communist Party?

A. I got out, sure. I got expelled, if that's what you mean.

Q. That's what I want to know. How did you—how did it happen that you got expelled from the Communist Party and what was the circumstances?

A. Well, the circumstances were just plainly this: That a lot of the—many members of the Legislature—I think there were seven—we made this statement publicly to the PI here in Seattle, that the Russian aggression against Finland was an open act of aggression, and I felt honestly that it was, and I think I had a lot of companionship on that. We made that open statement. As a consequence of that statement which was diametrically opposed to the Party line, I was expelled out of the Communist Party. Does that clarify that?

Q. That does. In other words, by reason of the fact that you and six other Legislators made a public statement censuring Russia's attack upon Finland—

A. That is right.

Q. —you were expelled from the Communist Party?

A. That is correct.

Q. Now what did that act of expulsion consist of?

A. In my case it didn't follow the usual pattern. The usual pattern first is to get you up before some—before an important committee of the Party and thereby crucify you, as an example. Well, apparently what the Party opinion was at that time that I would be better off left alone, so they sent an emissary from some other unit that I didn't know, to pick up my book, which I did. I yielded the book.

Q. Now, do you at this time know who that emissary was?

A. I do not.

Q. Was it a man or a woman?

A. It was a woman.

Q. A person totally unknown to you at that time?

A. Completely unknown to me, yes.

Q. And a person whose identity has never yet been revealed to you?

A. I wouldn't know her if I saw her tomorrow.

Q. That's all, Mr. Wills, thank you every much.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Mr. Wills.

(Witness Excused)

MR. WHIPPLE: Now the next witness is Alfred Gordon.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you stand and be sworn.

ALFRED GORDON, having been first duly sworn, testified on direct examination as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Be seated, please. And try to speak loud enough to be heard and toward the microphone.

MR. WHIPPLE: He refers to that microphone there.

If it please the Chairman, I would like to have this instrument identified and given a number in this case.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Number 17.

MR. WHIPPLE: I should like to have this one marked.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Number 18.

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Will you state your name?

A. My name is Alfred Gordon.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Gordon?

A. 1325 Holly Street.

Q. How long have you lived in the State of Washington?

A. Twenty-three years.

Q. Mr. Gordon, I hand you what has been marked for purposes of identification as Committee's Exhibit No. 17. I will ask you to examine that and state for the record, if you will, what that is.

A. That's my membership in the Communist Party for the year 1947.

MR. WHIPPLE: May it please the Chairman, I would like to dictate this exhibit into the record as being 1946-1947 membership card of the Communist Party of the United States of America, the same being No. 55817 over the signature of Henry E. Huff, signature of state chairman.

Q. Mr. Gordon, do you remember when you joined the Communist Party?

A. October, 1946.

Q. Mr. Gordon, who recruited you into the Communist Party?

A. A party by the name of Ward Coley, executive of the Building Service Employees International Union.

Q. Were you a member of that union at that time?

A. Yes sir. Member of the executive board.

Q. Mr. Gordon, do you know a man by the name of William Pennock?

A. I do.

Q. Is that the same William Pennock who at this time is the president of the Washington Pension Union?

A. He is.

Q. Will you—I would like to ask you whether or not this same William Pennock was a member of the Communist Party at the time you were a member of the Communist Party?

A. I was so informed.

Q. Who informed you that he was a member of the Communist Party?

A. A party by the name of Olga Schock and also Mr. Ward Coley.

Q. Were you—is that the same Mr. Ward Coley that recruited you into the Communist Party?

A. That's right.

Q. Did you know this Olga Schock to be a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you spell that name, please?

THE WITNESS: S-c-h-o-c-k.

Q. Was she also an employee of the Local 6 Building Service Union?

A. She was.

Q. I will ask you to state how long you were a member of the Communist Party?

A. I resigned from the Communist Party in May, 1947.

Q. Mr. Gordon, I will ask you to state if you ever heard of a person by the name of Thomas Rabbitt?

A. I did.

Q. I will ask you to state whether or not Thomas Rabbitt was a member of the Communist Party?

A. I was so informed.

Q. Who informed you that Thomas Rabbitt was a member of the Communist Party?

A. Olga Schock and Ward Coley.

Q. The same two officials that you referred to a few minutes ago?

A. The same two, that's right.

Q. And were they members of the Communist Party at that time?

A. They were.

Q. Were they members of the same unit of the Communist Party that you were a member of?

A. That's right.

Q. This Thomas Rabbitt whose name you have referred to, is that the same Thomas Rabbitt who at this time is vice-president of the Washington Pension Union?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you answer it yes or no?

THE WITNESS: That's right.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Thank you.

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Mr. Gordon, as a former member of the Communist Party, I will ask—I would like to ask you to state whether or not the Washington Pension Union