

speaking for themselves. Anyone who supports the Soviet line over and over, time after time, does it consistently, he is a Communist, whether you can produce a card or not. If America will appreciate that and understand that it is important to know that, then we will be on the beginning of American defense in the correct manner, temperately, but realistically.

Q. Is Joseph Stalin the author of the statement that it takes a thousand men to build a bridge but one can blow it up?

A. Yes. It is important, it seems to me, that American leadership be acquainted with Stalin's writings. They can learn a great deal about the ruthlessness of the Soviet dictatorship and its policies. He has written that statement at the time he discussed the Trotskyite conspiracies in Soviet Russia, but it was a fundamental principle in the law of conspiracy that he was stating. It is the way the Communists act—I don't mean physically blowing up bridges, but I mean in the sense that one person poisoning the wells of an organization or a neighborhood or a city can undo the work of a thousand men in a constructive manner. That is, in a constructive manner one person can undo the work a thousand men constructed. If we appreciate that idea, the idea on which the Soviet Fifth Column operates within America we will understand that mere numbers are not all that count. The position of this Fifth Column, the methods by which it controls organizations and the other unscrupulousness with which it proceeds and particularly its constant affiliation with the idea that it is promulgated by Soviet Russia.

Q. Now, Professor, yesterday when I handed you these two exhibits here, checks drawn on the account of the Robert Marshall Foundation, I didn't present them to you. You have testified that you know George Marshall well.

A. I know him well and also—

Q. Just take a look at the signatures and see if you recognize those as the signatures of George Marshall.

A. Well, I am not a handwriting expert but in so far as common experience goes, I would say this is the signature of George Marshall whom I know. I have received letters from him, and communications which have been similar to this.

Q. And you would accept that in your opinion as the signature of George Marshall?

A. Yes, I would, indeed.

Q. And that is the George Marshall you have testified to, who is the well-known member of the Communist Party and a brother of Robert Marshall?

A. Well, he is well known to the Communist officials. He keeps his Communist membership very secret, indeed. In fact, the reason for my association with him was as I indicated that there be no Communist taint, as you might put it, on the committee which he was then directing, but this interview was first obtained through Earl Browder, and as a matter of fact, George Marshall is well known to all leading members of the Communist Party as a loyal and veteran Communist.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I have concluded with the witness.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you have another witness before noon? I believe that we should proceed.

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, we will be very pleased to.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may be excused, then, Mr. Budenz, and thank you very kindly.

(Witness Excused)

(Recess)

(Hearing was resumed after taking a short recess, and the following proceedings were had:)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Whipple?

MR. WHIPPLE: Yes. I would like to ask Mr. Sullivan to take the witness stand.

Mr. Chairman, will you swear the witness, please?

JAMES T. SULLIVAN, having been sworn, testified on direct examination as follows:

#### DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Will you state your name to the Committee?

A. James T. Sullivan.

Q. Will you spell your name, please?

A. S-u-l-l-i-v-a-n.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Sullivan?

A. Seattle.

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

A. Since 1923.

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

A. Yes. In '36 I was elected Speaker of the House, and served in the '37 session. In '38 I was elected a member of the Senate and served in the '39 and '41 sessions.

Q. Mr. Sullivan, have you ever held any official position with the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Yes. I was the first State President.

Q. Would you detail, please, Mr. Sullivan, a brief history of the organization of the Old Age Pension Union as you know it as its first State President?

A. Yes. The first time that any thought came of starting a pension organization in this state followed the return of myself and many others from King County from the 1937 session. At that time those of us elected here in this county who considered themselves liberals and progressives, were down trying to do something to clear up the mess in Social Security and to help the aged people of this state under the policies of Charles F. Ernst. We were told repeatedly during the sixty days down there that if we would withhold any legislation that we had in mind, that he, Charles F. Ernst by himself, would do the right thing for the old people of this state. Sixty days of this session had passed and there was nothing done. We came home here to Seattle and I discussed it with Howard Costigan who was then on the air for Dr. L. R. Clark, and others of us, and conceived the idea then of forming a pension organization in this state for the purpose of forcing justice to be done for the old folks in this state. Immediately we filed Articles of Incorporation, about April of 1937. I and others, I can recall Bert Collins who has now passed away, who was a member of the Legislature, and others that went from one end of this state, especially on this side of the mountains, organizing and setting up pension organizations. There wasn't a night that I was home with my family. I was out all the way from the Canadian border to Longview and Kelso on the Columbia, setting up pension organizations. We had

rapid success. It was a loose organization. We met every Saturday in the Moose Temple Saturday afternoon and we would have a sort of a meeting. Understand there was no formal organization set up—it was just a loose organization, but it was growing like wildfire. People were coming into it from all ranks of life, not alone aged people, but other people who believed in the things that we did, of helping the old folks in this state, and nothing else. In about October of 1937 we issued a call and delegates came from all sections of the state, and we held our first convention. It was held at the Broadway High School auditorium here in the City of Seattle. At that time I was elected state president. We immediately started then an increasing effort to line up proper support with the people in the State of Washington to help obtain for the old people the justice that was theirs. In a very short while, I might say that within a year's time, we possessed a membership of better than thirty thousand. When I say thirty thousand, I mean that many cards were issued to members in the state, and there was only one purpose in mind at that time, as it was at the beginning, and that was to set up an organization—a state organization with one purpose in mind, of getting better pensions for the aged people of this state. We weren't concerned with what political belief, religious belief or anything else of the people. We wanted the people who believed in that same thing. We had rapid success as I stated, and we continually grew. Our first convention that followed that—we held them about every six months or year—it was the same story. We were getting more and more members into our organization. We were effective politically. We had a lot of the politicians in this state plenty worried. In 1939 the Legislature met. I was then a member of the Senate. In all this time in 1937, '39, and going back to the efforts of one Charles F. Ernst again, he done nothing.

I don't have to mention that. That is common knowledge in this state that he attempted to starve the old people, rather than to feed them. In the '39 session of the Legislature many will recall, was introduced the—then as I remember—the fight I put on the floor of the Senate to try and defeat these infamous poverty, pauper acts of Charles F. Ernst.

He reached back to the time almost in which this state first became a state and took out those old pauper acts and they were introduced as three bills that were introduced in the Senate at that time. They were shoved through. They were shoved through against the opposition of myself and many more who appeared on the floor of the Senate. We came back after that session and as I told many members in the Senate at that time, you fellows have had your last chance of attempting to do something for the old people of this state. We are going to do our own legislating. I wrote along with Homer Huson, who was then the secretary of the Pension Union, to every state in the United States, to get the copy of the Social Security laws that that state had, and we got replies from about every one of the forty-eight states. I think there were about two or three that didn't have any Social Security laws pertaining to old age assistance. But we received replies and exact copies of all these laws from all these Secretaries of State. We took these laws—various—of I would say the forty-five or forty-six states, and we took the best features out of every one of these laws, and that became what was then known and passed by the people of the State of Washington, as Initiative 141. In other words, I done it for this reason. I knew that if it was legal in California to do certain things, it was legal in the State of Washington, so we took the

best part of the California law; we took the best parts of the Utah law; the best parts of various laws, and we passed the best Social Security law for the old people in 1940 that was ever passed in any state up to that time.

I want to go into some of the details showing the changes possibly in the Pension Organization at that time.

When we were discussing this initiative we were then—had different ones in there that I had reason to believe that weren't in there for the purpose of doing the thing that myself and others wanted to do, help the aged people of this state. In fact, I can recall one meeting in particular down at the courthouse. I was there; being state president I could go to any of the meetings whether I be invited as a speaker or not—I went down there after someone had spoken, whose name I don't recall at the present time and all he gave was a song and dance about the glories of the Soviet Union. Here was the look on the faces of these old people who all came there to these meetings. I may state that, by the way, that every meeting that myself or any speaker ever attended—Pension Union meetings—after we would give a talk more than that time was spent with pensioners asking questions—their own to help themselves personally, or to help someone that they knew personally, upon problems that they were confronted with and our interpretation of the law. In other words, they wanted to know how they could be helped; how they could get more money; how they could get a better pension.

When these ones would go around and speak at these meetings, they didn't know the pension laws of this state and the result was that they couldn't answer any questions or anything that were asked them. I recall about '38, '39, that that was the time when the Workers Alliance had folded up. That released a lot of the boys for duty elsewhere. We became a very attractive bait, 30,000 members is an organization well worth having some control over.

Q. Pardon me, Senator, who were some of these people who had been running around, making these speeches—

A. (Interposing) Well—

Q.—that you refer to, about not knowing the pension laws?

A. N. P. Atkinson, Tom Rabbitt, Bill Pennock, that's three of them. These people knew absolutely nothing about the pension laws of this state. In fact, the first time that Pennock moved into the organization he was then secretary to Howard Costigan; at the convention we held in Tacoma in the spring of '39, at that time Homer Huson was removed, which I found later through the pressure of the Communist Party, and Bill Pennock put in in his place.

I jumped on Howard Costigan after that, because I belonged to the Washington Commonwealth Federation and he was executive secretary. I asked Howard what was the idea of taking out a man who was doing a good job for the old people of this state and putting in someone that knew absolutely nothing. Well he said, "Jim, we have got to build Bill politically." I said, "Politically, Hell," because I felt that we were sacrificing a man who was doing a good job. When I mean a good job I mean this—every Monday when the commissioners would meet, the county commissioners would meet, we would take down what was called "grievance cases." In other words, people would come in and they would have a just grievance, and under the law they could have these grievances heard and a determination made whether they had a valid claim for what they were seeking. And Mr. Huson worked at this without any reward, without any pay. When I say pay, I think he got

his lunch money. And he worked with this and he done a good job. I imagine he handled as many as fifteen to twenty thousand of these grievances in this period of time. Well, when the transformation happened where Huson went in—out and Pennock came in, this stuff just dropped like that, I know that I went up to the organization's office in the Lyon Building the following week, and it was like walking into a morgue.

Q. What do you mean when you said this stuff "dropped like that"?

A. Well, there was no one around there to answer the questions. In other words, any time that you would go into the Pension Union's office you would find people there from all sections, not alone of the City of Seattle and this vicinity, but even other sections of the State. They would come in to find out if we could do something to help, and it was continuous help. When they went up there and they would ask someone for some help and he knew less about the law than they did it certainly discouraged them from coming back.

Q. Senator, going back just a little bit to the early organization of the Old Age Pension. What was the attitude of the Communist Party when the Old Age Pension Union was first organized, thought of, first set up?

A. You mean in '37? You are referring to?

Q. Yes, back before it became an organization of some 30,000 people.

A. Well, they made no effort to do anything with it. It was until the Workers Alliance folded up, because it was—work getting plentiful then and Workers Alliance was formed to take care of the workers on W.P.A., so that left a lot of busy beavers with nothing to do. They had to find a place to light.

Q. Now, let's get right down to cases here. Will you at this time portray in your own words the infiltration of the Communist Party in the Old Age Pension Union, as you saw it—

A. Why yes, the first notice that I had of it, we would hold our state board meetings which were held in one of the courtrooms—smaller courtrooms, justice courtrooms, down in the courthouse every Saturday—they would come in from all sections of the state. It would be the form of resolutions that would be introduced. In other words, resolutions were foreign to Pension organizations. I mean they had nothing to do with the pensions which the organization was primarily set up to do something about. But they would take into matters of international scope and well, I can take one illustration that was very personal. At the time when Russia invaded Finland, you recall that President Roosevelt just lashed out—with—didn't mince any words about declaring that Russia was an aggressor nation and the same thing that he declared when Mussolini and his group moved in from Ethiopia. At that time, in order to clarify things, because there was a lot of muddled thinking in the minds of a lot of Liberals in this state, seven of us who were in Legislature at that time—I recall Ellsworth Wills, West Seattle, Senator Paul Thomas, Army Armstrong, Bert Collins and myself signed a statement that we released to the paper upholding and complimenting President Roosevelt for his statement. At the very next meeting of the state board of the Pension Union a resolution was introduced following the noon recess. And at the noon recess when the boys really met and mixed the poison that they tossed out in the afternoon meeting. They come in with a resolution at this time, condemning me for my upholding President Roosevelt in his condemnation of the aggression of Russia.

Q. Do you mean to say they introduced a resolution condemning you for upholding the President of the United States?

A. Yes sir.

Q. Incidentally, who introduced that resolution or championed it on that occasion?

A. That was one thing that really burnt me up. The fellow that introduced the resolution—I am going to give you the background. Just about as we formed our pension organization—we formed the pension organization, and say, these members were coming in fast and furious, lots of them. Some of these people who had ideas that possibly there was a chance of making some money for themselves—two of them from Pierce County set up a booth in the fair at Puyallup. One named Pettus, and the other named Tom Brown, and they set up the booth there and they were taking in dues for another organization other than the Pension Union that we had formed. A lot of the old folks thought it was a state organization and they paid their two bit pieces and they received thousands of dollars from these people. Myself and others made many trips for months and months over to Tacoma to attempt to acquaint the people of the state that this was just an organization to milk these old people and to do nothing for them. This was common knowledge. Now this fellow Pettus, lo and behold for some unknown reason—I suppose he met favorable with the boys who were mentioned to move in with these resolutions—in he comes with this resolution condemning me.

Q. Now will you further identify for the record, Senator—just which one of the Pettuses you are referring to?

A. I am referring to the elderly Pettus—the one who is a representative from Tacoma.

Q. Is that, incidentally, the gentleman who was excluded from the building here yesterday—in yesterday's morning session?

A. Yes, sir.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Whipple, I would like some clarification on that resolution. He said "resolution attacking him," and we were talking about a resolution condemning President Roosevelt. Just to be sure that the record is straight on what resolution he is referring to there.

Q. Incidentally, will you clarify that here?

A. Yes. The resolution condemned me because myself and others—me, because I was an officer of the Pension Union—had seen fit to back up President Roosevelt when he condemned the Russian aggression into Finland. And, I may say, the resolution passed.

Q. Was there anyone else interested in the passing of that resolution besides Mr. Pettus at that time? Anyone else speak on it?

A. We had several from Snohomish County. I recall one Rose Parks spoke for it. In other words, they—it came right after the noon recess, and I found later that they while they were sitting around their teacups they cooked it all up and figured the spot that each was to play when they came back to the meeting.

Q. What further evidence of the Communist Party infiltration did you first note in the Pension Union movement?

A. Well, it was the activities of people that I knew that were known to me as being Communists that were getting very active in this Union and setting up policy.

Q. Did you know at that time a man by the name of N. P. Atkinson?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who was N. P. Atkinson?

A. The first I knew of N. P. Atkinson, he ran a scab printing shop in the basement of the Alaska Building, and I found that out through the Typographical Union—I am a member of the Electrical Workers Union, so I get around quite a bit in labor circles. And then he used to come in to meetings of the Washington Commonwealth Federation of which I was a member, also on the state board, and he always represented and spoke for the League Against War and Fascism.

Q. Do you know whether or not at that time, or soon thereafter, he headed that institution known as League Against War and Fascism?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was that the same League Against War and Fascism that was declared recently by the Attorney General to have been a subversive organization?

A. The same organization.

Q. I would like to ask you at this time if N. P. Atkinson ever solicited your membership in the Communist Party?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. I will ask you at this time to state who succeeded you as president of the Old Age Pension Union after your term of office expired?

A. N. P. Atkinson.

Q. I will ask you to state if you know Charley Legg?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. I will ask you to state if you know Bill Dobbins?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. I will ask you if they ever took any interest in the so-called infiltration into the Washington Pension Union movement?

A. Quite a bit.

Q. I will ask you to state if Charley Legg ever solicited your membership in the Communist Party?

A. Yes, he did.

Q. I will ask you if Bill Dobbins ever solicited your membership in the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. I will ask you if you know of your own knowledge of the activity of the then-executive secretary of the Old Age Pension Union, William Pennock, his solicitation of young people into the Communist Party?

A. It was common knowledge among those of us who built the Pension Union, especially in the Federation, that that was the part that Pennock played amongst the young—especially when he was going to the University of Washington.

Q. I will ask you to note—I will ask you to state if you know Al Barnes?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You knew Bill Ziegner?

A. Yes.

Q. I will ask you to state if that was the same Al Barnes, same Bill Ziegner who were officials of the Building Service Union, and installed in their positions by reason of their Communist activity in that union?

A. They are the same ones.

Q. I will ask you to state what part they played in the infiltration of the Communist Party into the Old Age Pension Union?

A. They took a very active part at conventions and these conventions.

Q. Do you know John Caughlan?

A. Yes. John Caughlan appeared in the picture of the Pension Union—at the start we had a lot of good lawyers who were as sincerely interested in pensions as we were. I recall Henry Kyle, Mark Litchman, and Ed Henry and Paul Coughlin who were interested in the things that we all were at that time, of helping the old people of this state. They handled free of charge any legal difficulties to help the old people get better pensions. Well, then they were shoved out, when the change was made, and John Caughlan moved in.

Q. When did John Caughlan move in—when did he move into the picture?

A. Oh, I'd say the latter part of '38, '39—about '39.

Q. Now, one other thing before we get off this subject that I would like for you to bring out. What dues were charged these Old Age Pensioners at the start?

A. At the start there were no dues.

Q. What salaries were paid you officers of the Old Age Pension Union at the start?

A. None.

MR. CANWELL: Mr. Whipple, may I interrupt here. I will ask you if you have a convenient spot here so we may recess.

MR. WHIPPLE: I am just coming to it. Just in about half a second.

Q. You mean to state that you officers received no salaries at the beginning of the organization?

A. I would leave my job here in Seattle and many the night I have done it. I have gone as far north as Blaine, Washington, and Nooksack, Washington, Longview, Washington, and I have been back to work the next morning. I would drive all night and I never even received expense money. In fact, I thought it would be a disgrace to even ask it, from people who were receiving \$30 to \$40 a month. I traveled to Spokane the same way.

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Chairman, this represents probably about a fourth of the testimony that this witness will offer, and this is a convenient place to interrupt.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: If this meets with your approval, we will reconvene at 1:30. Is that satisfactory?

MR. WHIPPLE: It is.

(Recess)

(One Thirty o'clock, January 28, 1948)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Are you ready to proceed?

MR. WHIPPLE: Call Mr. Sullivan to the stand.

JAMES T. SULLIVAN resumed the stand:

## DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Are you the same James Sullivan who was testifying at the hearing this morning, before we recessed?

A. Yes.

Q. Senator Sullivan, you testified this morning, as I remember it, that N. P. Atkinson, who succeeded you as president of the Old Age Pension Union on one occasion solicited your membership in the Communist Party. When did that occur?

A. Just about a few weeks before the 1939 session of the Legislature convened. He called me up. I was working at the courthouse at the time—head of the electrical department—he called me up and wanted to know could he meet me and have a luncheon date. We had lunch across the street there in the hotel, the restaurant across the street, and we no more than sat down, in fact the waitress hadn't even taken our order yet, and he approached me with the idea that I join the Communist Party. I laughed at him and told him that he didn't make sense, for me with the beliefs I had, of being a Communist and he attempted to paint a picture of how the program would be taken care of and all I had to do was follow.

Q. Now was he president of the Pension Union at that time?

A. Oh, no.

Q. That was before he succeeded you as president of the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Yes.

Q. You also testified that on one occasion Charley Legg solicited your membership in the Communist Party. Now, when did that occur, and where did that occur?

A. Oh, it was right the first time that I was elected to the House. I would say possibly '37 over in Ballard.

Q. All right, where did it occur?

A. At a meeting, W. C. F. meeting.

Q. A W. C. F. meeting in Ballard in the City of Seattle?

A. Yes.

Q. You stated this morning that on one occasion Bill Dobbins solicited your membership in the Communist Party. Will you tell the committee when that occurred?

A. Right on my back porch in the City of Seattle. In fact, Bill came down 8th Northwest, and as though he came just for that purpose. In fact, there was one of the—if a Communist could be honest, there was the most honest one I ever knew, because he was one that has never denied it. It was a religion to him, and he couldn't understand why everyone else couldn't see it the same way. He was amazed that I couldn't. That was just after I came back from the 37th Session.

Q. Mr. Sullivan, you testified this morning that on one occasion you served as a member of the Senate of the State of Washington?

A. That's right, '39, '41 session.

Q. I will ask you if during that period you became acquainted with a gentleman by the name of Lenus Westman?

A. Yes.

Q. Just state briefly to the Committee the nature of that acquaintance.

A. Well, Lenus Westman came down to take his seat in the '41 session and there was enough information on hand when the Committee was set up, to convince this Committee and the Senate that he was a member of the Communist Party, and the State Senate of 1941 refused to seat him.

Q. For that reason?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. For the reason that he was a member of the Communist Party?

A. That he was a member of the Communist Party. Hearings were held in Olympia by a committee appointed by Lieutenant Governor Vic Meyers and at the end of these hearings took about two or three weeks, why on Friday afternoon, why we voted on the report of the committee and refused to seat Lenus Westman. The county commissioners of Island and Snohomish Counties then appointed an engineer, a civil engineer by the name of Pat Crane.

Q. All right, who introduced the resolution Westman be not seated?

A. Who set up the committee?

Q. Yes.

A. I did.

Q. You did that yourself personally? Now, was that the same Lenus Westman who was excluded from the hearing room here this morning?

A. Yes, he was sitting over here.

Q. Mr. Sullivan, after—going back to the 1940 convention held here in the Moose Hall, that was the occasion when you more or less severed your connection with the Old Age Pension Union?

A. That is right—that is, as an organization.

Q. As an organization. Now, just state briefly to the Committee what took place there at the Moose Hall in 1940 in reference to any public statement that you made at that time to the convention relative to the reason that you were severing your connection with it as it was at that time organized?

A. The statement I made to the convention that Sunday morning was to the fact that the Pension Union had ceased to be an organization that was striving to help the aged people of this state, that it was more concerned in furthering the welfare of a particular European nation, namely Russia, and I walked out of the convention following my speech.

Q. You discussed this morning the infiltration of certain Communists into the Pension movement. Now, after N. P. Atkinson and Bill Pennock were the president and executive secretary respectively, of the Old Age Pension Union what then did they do concerning the raising of finances?

A. Well, after Atkinson moved in, I was no longer in the organization, so the only information I would have would be from talking with members that I knew.

Q. What information do you have as to their activities before you left the Old Age Pension Union relative to their sale of pamphlets, et cetera?

A. Oh, this really was amusing. When we were circulating a petition for Initiative 141, our committee met, I say our committee for the Pension Union Committee met here in Seattle, and we were always figuring ways and means in which we could get more signatures on these petitions. N. P. Atkinson came up with the idea that we charge these old people for the petitions that we gave

them, and they took out then and got signatures placed on them. The idea was laughed down, because it was so ridiculous. No one went for it.

Q. Now when did that happen?

A. In the spring of 1940.

Q. The spring of 1940. Incidentally, do you know a person by the name of Hugh DeLacy?

A. Yes.

Q. What was his attitude toward the United States preparedness program in 1940?

A. My information on this will have to come from my reading of the papers, as I was in Spokane at the time. If memory serves me right there was a strike out at Boeings at that time and he, with others, and I am still figuring on what the papers—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I think we had better confine ourselves—

Q. You weren't there personally, yourself?

A. No.

Q. I beg your pardon. I thought you were there.

A. No.

Q. All right. Do you know of your own knowledge, Senator, whether or not any contributions were made by the Pension Union to any so-called Communist front organizations?

A. Yes, a lot of them.

Q. Could you name any of them to the Committee at this time?

A. Oh, League Against War and Fascism and Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and Defense of O'Connor, and these other two seamen in California that were convicted on a murder charge, murdering some fellow by the name of Albert, I believe.

Q. When you mention the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—is that the same Abraham Lincoln Brigade which was mentioned by Professor Budenz this morning as being a Communist front organization?

A. Yes.

Q. You mentioned the League Against War and Fascism. Is that the same League Against War and Fascism that was headed by N. P. Atkinson and designated as being a Communist front organization?

A. That is right.

Q. By Professor Budenz, as well as the Attorney General of the United States?

A. That is right.

Q. What, if anything, did the Pension Union do during the year 1940 concerning the sending of delegates to the Chicago convention of American Peace Mobilization?

A. Well, in 1940—I want to get this across. In 1940 the only activity that I can speak for at first hand would be the actual convention itself, because I was at that time working in Spokane.

Q. You were not present at the convention?

A. Oh, yes. I come over to the convention.

Q. All right, go ahead.

A. But as to what would be happening here in the City of Seattle in the Pension Organization, this would only come to me through second hand.

Q. Well, state what took place at that convention—can you answer that question as to whether or not they sent delegates to the American Peace Mobilization?

A. Yes, they did. That was handled at the convention.

Q. That was handled at the convention?

A. Yes.

Q. That is the same American Peace Mobilization committee which was declared by the Attorney General as being a subversive organization?

A. Yes.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Pardon me. Answer yes. Nods will not record on that machine.

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know who railroaded that through the convention?

A. Well, from the looks of the audience that day, it was easy. I am speaking as a delegate, and when I looked out in that Moose Hall that day, the number of old folks you could almost put inside of this small area there. There were people there that wouldn't have been drawing old age pensions for thirty years, and some of them I don't think had attended a Pension Union convention. In other words, it was just a packed meeting of Communists.

Q. That was the 1940 convention of the Old Age Pension Union?

A. That's right, yes.

Q. Where, sir?

A. What?

Q. Where did you say that convention was held?

A. The convention was held in the Moose Temple in the City of Seattle.

Q. Do you remember what month in 1940 that was?

A. July.

Q. Did you ever hear of the organization known as the Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever hear that organization mentioned at any convention or any Pension Union meetings?

A. At board meetings, yes.

Q. All right. Tell us when and where that occurred?

A. Well, that happened quite frequently along in '39.

Q. What was the occasion of its being mentioned—what was discussed there?

A. Well, the discussion was the usual line—the resolution was brought in and all the canned speeches were made and it was all put across.

Q. Do you know whether any money was donated to that organization?

A. Oh, yes, always.

Q. Do you have—do you know of your own knowledge the amount of money that was donated?

A. No, I don't.

Q. Now, you referred a while ago to this O'Connor-Ramsey-King—or Ramsey-King-O'Connor Defense Committee.

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know whether or not that committee was a committee of the Communist Party or not?

A. Yes.

Q. Raising funds to defend those three Communists who were in San Quentin penitentiary?

A. That is right.

Q. That is the organization you now refer to?

A. That is right.

Q. That is the Ramsey-King-O'Connor Committee?

A. Right.

Q. Mr. Sullivan, do you know, or did you know along back during those years a man by the name of O. R. Mundy, commonly referred to as Bill Mundy?

A. Yeah, Bill Mundy worked in the office. He was an elderly gentleman and handled a lot of the grievances.

Q. Will you spell that man Mundy's name?

A. M-u-n-d-y.

Q. What was his—what were his duties in the office of the Old Age Pension Union?

A. He was just in charge of the office. In other words, he kept track of the books in there—people who would come in with any grievance, he would take their name and what their grievance was and then it would be turned over to Mr. Huson to take down to the Commissioners or welfare authorities to see if something could be done about it.

Q. Was your attention called to—officially called to any of his actions at that time that you thought were peculiar or out of the way?

A. Yes.

Q. What were they?

A. It was brought to my attention that he was mixing business with pleasure. What I mean by this was that instead of taking care of the needs of the old people who came in there with a grievance, he would try to sell them a Communist card.

Q. What do you mean by the fact that he would try and sell them a Communist card?

A. Well, he wanted to sign them up as members of the Communist Party.

Q. That was in the—

A. In the office of the Pension Union.

Q. Office of the Pension Union. Now, what year did this occur?

A. Well, that would have occurred in the year of '38.

Q. Here in the City of Seattle?

A. Here in the City of Seattle in the Lyon Building.

Q. Do you remember—I think you mentioned this morning that the Workers Alliance had been merged with the Pension Union?

A. That is right, following the folding up of W.P.A.

Q. Now, do you know whether or not any of the officers of that Pension Union were consulted about that merger, or not?

A. No, they just happened.

Q. What do you mean by that expression?

A. Well, at a convention there would be new faces show up.

Q. Go ahead and just explain, Mr. Sullivan.

A. Well, in other words, the delegates would be—different ones would show up as delegates—people that were not in the pension movement, and a lot of younger people than there was when we formed the organization in 1937. In other words, they weren't people that were identified in any pension movement, whether it was the Townsend, or whether it was our organization. In other words, they were from other organizations and they kept coming into the Washington Old Age Pension Union, and attempting to set the policy.

Q. Were you familiar back there in those days with the newspaper referred to as the Washington New Dealer?

A. Yes.

Q. And I think also with the Sunday News?

A. Yeah, Sunday News—there were several names.

Q. And also the present paper referred to as being the New World?

A. New World, that is right.

Q. I will ask you to state when you were the president of the Old Age Pension Union what paper carried on its masthead the fact that it was an official organ of the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Well, the Washington New Dealer.

Q. And what has been the official publication of the Old Age Pension Union since then?

A. The New World.

Q. That is a paper that—

A. A paper published in Seattle.

Q. The present paper now being published in Seattle, successor to the Washington New Dealer?

A. Right.

Q. I would like to ask you, Mr. Sullivan, if you were acquainted with a gentleman living over in Everett by the name of Art Johnson?

A. Yes.

Q. Also a lady by the name of Rose Parks?

A. Yes, both of them.

Q. I think they are probably married at this time, are they not? At the time you knew them were they married, or not?

A. No, they were not.

Q. Now, do you remember a Mr. W. E. McCarter, who was secretary or treasurer of the Everett local at that time?

A. Yes, I do. I recall McCarter real well.

Q. Will you spell McCarter's name?

A. M-c-C-a-r-t-e-r.

Q. All right, did any—was there any circumstance that was officially called to your attention by Mr. McCarter of the activities of Art Johnson and Rose Parks?

A. Oh, yes. The first time that I met McCarter, I went there on a Saturday evening to speak to their Pension Union meeting and the thing that impressed me with this fellow, and I never forgot him, was the fact that every time the Committee report was called for, up hopped this fellow. He was one of these—well, he was a man along in years, ruddy complexion, but he had the energy and the ambition of a young man, and every committee that was



reporting, he would hop up; finance committee, he would hop up, and I was talking to him myself and some of the members after that, and he would go out of Everett and catch salmon and then put on salmon feeds. They would put on a little feed there for the Pension Union and raise funds. In other words, he was just a bundle of energy. Well he come to find out that after he was getting his money into the organization that they were supposed to have been sending delegates to a meeting—speakers to a meeting up in Darrington, and when the old fellow checked on it he found out that they didn't go up there to a Pension meeting in Darrington, the Pension Union in Everett financed delegates to go up to a Communist Party meeting in Darrington, and it burned the old fellow up so that he pulled out of the organization along with about half the membership and set up another organization in the spring of 1940.

Q. Now, you say that was called to your attention officially?

A. That is right.

Q. Now, did you subsequently make an investigation of that complaint?

A. Yes, I—

Q. What investigation did you make?

A. I went up there one Saturday night. Etta Tripp, no not Etta Tripp, but Bertha Atwood, Mr. Dixon and my wife and myself went up there, because they were putting on a lunch. We went up there to McCarter's Local, that was during the drive for Initiative signatures for 141, and incidentally, when he left the Union he was still circulating petitions for 141. We went up there to his meeting and we took part in the meeting and I gave a short talk and there we had a lot to eat afterwards, a general good time. When I went up there I know that the pressure was put upon me and upon two that accompanied me by Atkinson that we shouldn't be going up there to see this fellow because—well, he just—didn't belong in the Pension organization, and I recall one remark of our educational director, I said, "What's wrong with McCarter?" The educational director of the Pension Union at that time was Mrs. Etta Tripp. She says, "The trouble with him, he is getting dangerous. He is starting to think for himself." That's—

Q. And that is the remark she made relative to Mr. McCarter?

A. Yes.

Q. Well, what were your findings officially about the trip Art Johnson and Rose Parks took up to Darrington?

A. Well, I found out when I checked on it in Darrington that it was true.

Q. That they did go up there to this Communist Party meeting rather than the Pension Union?

A. That is right.

Q. Now, referring to some of the present as well as past officers of the Washington Pension Union, William Pennock, Thomas Rabbitt, N. P. Atkinson, Mabel Conrad, the present executive secretary, are any of those people receiving pensions at the present time?

A. No.

Q. Or are they even eligible to receive pensions?

A. Not for a long time.

Q. What segment of the membership of the Washington Pension Union are pensioners?

A. That I couldn't say. I don't know what the makeup of the union is at the present time.

Q. Well, what segment of the Washington Pension Union at the time you left in 1940 were pensioners?

A. Oh, a large majority of them were drawing pensions.

Q. I have reference to the officers now, such as the president, the executive secretary and the various officers.

A. Well, I would say about half—half of the officers.

Q. And the other half were not drawing pensions?

A. That is right.

Q. Can you think of anything else, Senator, that is pertinent to this investigation that I haven't asked you?

A. No, but it might possibly be of interest to this committee and the hearing to just give my opinions on the Pension Union from the time I was in it, up to the time I got out, to the present day. The effect of this—of any organization, whether it is a pension organization or what it is, is based not upon its ability to do a job through its own membership, but to get help from outside its membership. I can go back to 1940 when we were circulating petitions for Initiative 141. We could have never, with our 30,000 membership in this state, put over Initiative 141. We had to do it through the help of other organizations. We had to be respected by other people throughout the state. As an illustration, myself, as a member of organized labor I was able to go, and I did, every night I would speak before different labor organizations and get their endorsement and get funds from them to support Initiative 141. I held meetings with the State Grange, with Mr. King, who is now dead, and with Railway Brotherhood, and in fact with the King County Medical Association. In other words, we had access to any organization in this state. We were that well thought of by the people of this state, and the fact, when Initiative 141 was voted upon in 1940 it was certainly shown that the people of this state were wholeheartedly behind us. I don't think there was a county in the state where Initiative 141 didn't carry by an overwhelming vote. Now what happened after 1940 is this—that the picture of leadership in the Old Age Pension Union drove out people who could draw other people to that organization and to its support.

That is one thing that the old people in this state need today, and they haven't got. They can't go to other organizations and get support. I was down to the Legislature the day in last session when the old folks were down there and they were down there on a just cause. But when they looked out and seen who was traipsing along with the old folks, all the good that they might have felt toward the old folks froze and nothing was done.

Q. Who were these people?

A. Well, there was Rabbitt, and there was Pennock, the usual coteries of them. In other words, members of the Communist Party. And as long as the people of the state know that these people are leading these old folks, even though they feel like they want to help, they won't.

MR. CANWELL: Mr. Whipple, before we go on, there is one point that I would like to clarify here, in that we want to at all times be as fair as possible. I think a statement was made which I feel perhaps was not made in the way that it should be made if there is information to support it. That is that a certain man was collecting thousands of dollars. I wonder if the witness has



the facts to support that, or if he wishes to revise that statement. This is not the sort of statement that we wish to make unless it is supported.

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. According to your testimony this morning, Senator Sullivan, regarding Mr. E. L. Pettus of Puyallup. Just what did you have in mind in making the statement that you made there as to the amount of money that he received?

A. This is common knowledge. Any person that attended the Puyallup Fair will remember a booth set up there in the year of 1938, September, and at that fair this organization, and Tom Brown was the leader of it—I don't give Pettus half the credit that I do Tom Brown in leading the people astray, because Tom Brown is a younger fellow and he knew better, but they were there and issuing membership cards and a lot of these old folks thought they were joining the Washington Old Age Pension Union and they found out they were joining this other organization. We hopped upon this thing so quickly that we isolated it just to Pierce County. I myself went over to Pierce County many a Sunday evening and spoke at their meetings.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Sullivan, may I interrupt? Did you have complaints from old people who joined this group who felt they were joining another organization? That is what we want to know.

A. Yes, sir. To show you the smallness of Brown, one time this old lady come into our office and told us about it. She lived outside of Puyallup. Never called up—didn't say a word. Brown came out there to her house in a car and said he was going to take care—help her to get an increase in her pension. Well, she was all for that, even though she didn't know him or anything about him. Well, then before he left he charged her for the gasoline that it cost him to go out there, and I think she paid him a dollar besides. She tells this herself in the office. But I mean, this was a common occurrence. I mean the members of the Pension Union at that time and the members of the State Board will well remember the fight that we had in our State Board meetings of clearing up that situation in Tacoma. It existed for at least six months.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Sullivan, you would not indicate that you had any knowledge of the amount of money that might have been raised through that channel; that was the point I wished to clear up.

THE WITNESS: Yes. It ran into thousands of dollars and we made every effort on our part, the Pension Union, of forcing them to turn the money over to the Washington Old Age Pension Union. We done it at our State Board meetings. We never got a penny.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: That is all.

MR. WHIPPLE: Thank you, Senator, that is all.

WITNESS EXCUSED.

HOMER HUSON, having been duly sworn, testified on direct examination, as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Will you state your name?

A. Homer Huson.

Q. How do you spell your last name?

A. H-u-s-o-n.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Huson?

A. 6024—32nd Ave., Southwest.

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

A. I am a truck driver, but at the present time I am working for an export company—an export package company for foreign goods.

Q. Mr. Huson, are you appearing here at this time voluntarily or as a result of being subpoenaed by this committee?

A. As a result of a subpoena.

Q. Mr. Huson, I will ask you to state whether or not you have ever held any official position with the Old Age Pension Union?

A. For quite a long while as the executive secretary of the Pension Union.

Q. Was that before the Pension Union was organized as a state organization, or after it was organized as a state organization?

A. After it was a state organization.

Q. Mr. Huson, I will ask you to state at this time if you have ever been a member of the Communist Party?

A. Not to my knowledge. I have not been a member of the Communist Party, although I have had the privilege to sit in in their fraction meetings, due to the fact that a member of the Communist Party came to me, stating that my dues were paid in the Communist Party and I was eligible to sit in in their fraction meetings.

Q. All right. Now, who was this member of the Communist Party that came to you with that information?

A. Keith Bradley.

Q. When did that occur?

A. That was in 1937.

Q. And where?

A. At his home.

Q. Here in Seattle?

A. In Georgetown, Seattle.

Q. Here in Georgetown, Seattle. I would like for you to tell this Committee, Mr. Huson, whether or not you were subjected to any criticism by the Communist Party at the time you were an executive secretary of the Old Age Pension Union relative to Communist Party affairs?

A. On numerous occasions I was criticized by the Communist Party, but for my being "thrown out," so to speak, it came about through the northwest organizer of the Communist Party, Lou Sass, which I was called to his office—shall I explain?

Q. Yes.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: How do you spell that?

THE WITNESS: L-o-u S-a-s-s.

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Go ahead and explain that circumstance.

A. I was called to the office of Lou Sass with Bill Pennock and the proposition was put up to me that I was on my way out because they wanted to put William Pennock in as executive secretary—it would give him more prestige as running for office—some political office.

Q. Who made this proposition to you?

A. Lou Sass.