

matic. I'd say that it was the most remarkable case of parallelism in history, if it weren't for the—

Q. Today—no, let's—I'll withdraw that. Is it your testimony that membership in the Communist Party and continued membership, means undeviation from the foreign policy of the—

A. Yes, it's automatic. That's why I—I mean, I feel, as a liberal, that it's—the Communist Party penetration of progressive and liberal organizations and people's movement, is extremely dangerous to those movements by reason of the fact that ultimately the test that is applied after the hidden Party members have gained control of those movements is that that movement shall follow the Party line or be crushed.

MR. HOUSTON: I believe that's all. Thank you, Mr. Costigan. Thank you very much for appearing.

MR. HOUSTON: Just one question, Mr. Costigan. You have appeared here voluntarily this morning, have you not?

THE WITNESS: Why, yes. I mean there's no—as I say, it became perfectly obvious that it was necessary. I thought the 1946 campaign had cleared that all up.

MR. HOUSTON: Thank you, Mr. Costigan.

(Witness Excused)

MRS. ISABEL COSTIGAN, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Will you please state your name, Mrs. Costigan?

A. Isabel Harris Costigan.

Q. You are a resident of the City of Seattle?

A. I am.

Q. And you are the wife of Howard G. Costigan, the former witness?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now I'll ask you, Mrs. Costigan, have you ever belonged to the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you first affiliate with the Communist Party?

A. In the fall of 1938.

Q. Were you subsequently, for a period of time, active in the Communist Party?

A. For a few months, yes. It would start perhaps the—the summer of 1938, it was late summer or early fall.

Q. It was prior to the birth of your child?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you assigned a unit in the Communist Party in which to attend meetings?

A. Yes, I was.

Q. What unit was that, Mrs. Costigan?

A. It was a secret University unit.

Q. And did you attend meetings?

A. I attended some meetings, yes.

Q. Mrs. Costigan, I'll ask you if you ever sat in any Communist Party meetings with Hugh DeLacy.

A. Not in those meetings—not in those meetings in units.

Q. Not in unit meetings.

A. No. No.

Q. But did you sit in fraction meetings with Hugh DeLacy?

A. Yes, we attended them. There were some at our house, at our home.

Q. Was Mr. DeLacy a member of the Communist Party?

A. Well, to my knowledge, he performed as one and came with people—he was in attendance with such people as Morris Rapport. And Harry Jackson, who was a—worked with Morris Rapport, who was a Communist official.

Q. Did you understand these meetings being held in your home to be Communist Party meetings?

A. Yes. Yes.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of William Pennock?

A. Yes. Bill lived at our house at one time.

Q. Mr. Pennock lived at your house. Did Mr. Pennock ever attend any of these meetings?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Mr. Pennock a member of the Communist Party?

A. To my knowledge he still is.

Q. You mentioned that you attended unit meetings of a secret University unit. Do you know Ralph Gundlach?

A. Yes, I know Ralph Gundlach.

Q. Did Mr. Gundlach attend any of these Party meetings?

A. No, Mr. Gundlach was in another unit.

Q. He was in another unit.

A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever attended Communist Party meetings with Mr. Gundlach?

A. No, before I was a Communist member, I broke up a unit meeting at his house one night. I went up to his house, not—and some of the members afterwards told me that that was a Communist Party unit meeting that I had invaded, and—

Q. While you were in the Communist Party, did you receive information that Mr. Gundlach was a member of the Communist Party?

A. No, one doesn't receive information, one—on those, one merely attends the same meetings, works on the same program, it's—it's implied and understood rather than—than—that is, once in there, those things are just—aren't discussed. The program that is being worked on is the—

Q. While you were a member of the Party, was there any doubt in your mind that Mr. Gundlach was a member of the Party?

A. None whatsoever.

Q. Do you know a Mr. Eby?

A. Harold Eby, yes.

Q. Was Mr. Eby a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever sat in Communist Party meetings with Mr. Eby?

A. Yes, he attended, or was—spoke at the Communist unit, University unit.

Q. Do you know a Mr.—

A. And his wife was an official of the Communist Party, that is, she did Communist Party work in their headquarters.

Q. Do you know her first name?

A. I think it's Etta. I mean, I—I don't—

Q. Could it have been Lenna?

A. I don't recall at the moment. I—

Q. But it is the lady who—

A. It's Mrs. Harold Eby.

Q. Mrs. Harold Eby. Do you know a Professor Joe Butterworth?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Mr. Butterworth a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes. To my knowledge.

Q. Did Mr. Butterworth attend any of these meetings?

A. Yes, he and—his wife was almost more active than—his wife is now deceased—but Dorothy was actually I think a little more active than Joe was. But they were—

Q. Was there any question as to whether or not Joe was a member of the Communist Party?

A. Not in my mind.

Q. Do you recall ever having met Harry Renton Bridges?

A. Harry Bridges was a guest in our home, yes. He attended at least one meeting there.

Q. At least one meeting.

A. I recall it because I was fixing warm milk for him for his ulcers, and—

Q. You didn't actually sit in the meeting then; you were in the kitchen warming milk for him, is that right?

A. Yes, I usually provided the food and did that sort of thing, at those meetings.

Q. Was this a Communist Party meeting that Mr. Bridges attended of the top fraction—

A. Well, I understood it to be. Mickey Orton was there and Hugh DeLacy was there, and I think—as I say, it's difficult for me to remember all of the people attending a meeting in 1937. And I just—too many things have happened before and since. But, he was there with Morris Rapport, and with—I believe Bill Pennock was there. But there was a large group attending, of labor leaders and others who were in attendance.

Q. Were there—

A. I think Jess Fletcher was there, as I recall.

Q. Were there any there who you did not believe to be Communists?

A. I would think there would be every effort made to keep anyone who was not a Communist out of such a meeting, because those meetings were always very—very hush, and there was every reason to keep non-Communists away.

Q. Do you recall whether or not you invited Harry Renton Bridges out, or did someone else invite him?

A. No, I wouldn't ever—you see, these were not tea parties. They—I was not extending the invitations, I merely opened the door and—the people came in, and I assume that Morris Rapport arranged who arrived.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Terry Pettus, editor of the "New World"?

A. Yes.

Q. Was Mr. Pettus a member of the Communist Party during the period you were?

A. I always assumed that he was. He met on such meetings and followed the Communist Party line with devotion.

Q. Now do you know a man by the name of N. P. Atkinson?

A. Yes, I do. I recall one of the times when the—it's funny—it's very difficult to be a Communist and have a sense of humor. And I think I was probably one of the least likely candidates for a Communist that I can think of. And—N. P. Atkinson was dressing down my husband because my husband couldn't get along with people and wasn't following the line properly. And I recall N. P. pacing up and down the floor and giving Howard—and all I could think of it was certainly the pot calling the kettle black, at that point. And Howard was holding his temper very nicely, and N. P. Atkinson was giving Howard quite a dressing down, and—about Howard's inability to get along with people and to follow the line in its finer implication.

Q. You've testified you know William Pennock quite well.

A. Yes.

Q. He lived in your house, did he not?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you heard from Mr. Pennock lately?

A. Mr. Pennock called me last night, and I must say I like Bill Pennock personally. He's a very amiable person. And—but my feeling, and I told Bill that last night, I will not say anything here that I didn't—hadn't said to Bill personally—that Bill does a job in a nice way for the Communist Party, and they use other people with sharper minds for other work. Bill is the one to admire the ladies' hats and is kind to people, and thinks of nice little things for people, and he is a very amiable person who—it would be very hard for the—for an outsider to believe that, if you hadn't watched the fact that he had never deviated from the Party line, it would be very difficult for the person meeting Bill Pennock for the first time to consider him a Communist. Therefore, he was very valuable, and he's been very valuable in the Pension Union, because—

Q. You say he called you last night. What was the substance of his conversation?

A. Well, he wanted to reach Howard, and ask Howard—he just couldn't believe that Howard and I would lower ourselves to testify here, that after all we were friends, and that this—that to subject ourselves, to lower ourselves to testify before this committee, was something he just didn't think even the Costigans could stoop to, I believe, was about the gist of it.

And my answer in reply was that there is no way in which a Communist fights fair, that I couldn't possibly lower myself in the estimation of a Communist, there's nothing to which they haven't subjected us in the past few years in the way of intimidation of—anonymous phone calls, anonymous letters, of almost blackmail, of threats, open and covered, that the Costigans could never earn a living in the Pacific Northwest as long as there were any Communists.

And we've been subjected to the most—and that's one of the things I think it's so easy to slip into the Communist Party and it's so difficult to get out. And I think there's many a member in the Communist Party that goes along the line now because he doesn't dare do otherwise. For one thing, to say he's getting out of the Communist Party is like being excommunicated is to put it mildly, because a Communist once in the Party lives and breathes in that atmosphere. His social contacts are either in the Communist Party or among people he's trying to recruit into the Communist Party. His activities are for those causes which the Communist Party is espousing at the time. And he is in a whirlwind of activity, he never has an idle moment, and all of those are with Communists or potential Communists, or people whom he is trying to influence. So he has no social life, outside of the Communist Party.

He has to get to the point his economic life is dependent upon it, because if he breaks with them, whatever job he has—he is exposed and his job is forfeit. There is no—there is no security for him in the—the non-Communists won't speak to him and the Communists won't speak to him, so he's—he's in a place where he has no associations whatsoever for a period of time after getting out of the Communist Party.

And in my estimation there is no morality in the Communist Party, there are no levels to which they will not stoop to attack a man, personally, financially, morally, and in any direction in which they can attack someone, they will do it.

Q. In other words, they use the smear tactics?

A. If smear tactics—if they consider smear tactics will be effective, they will use smear tactics. And—but different people are used for different attacks. That is, Bill Pennock probably would not be used in smear tactics. Bill Pennock is a nice Communist.

Q. Do you think that is of Bill Pennock's choosing, or is that because this is the role they have decided he should play?

A. I think it's partly Bill's nature. Bill is a—Bill is a kindly individual. I think the Communists are smart enough to try to put people into—never underestimate the power and the intelligence of a Communist. That's—and I think they try to put people where they are most effective.

Q. You didn't hear Mr. Pennock kicking on this door the other morning, did you?

A. No, I haven't been down.

Q. Why did you leave the Communist Party, Mrs. Costigan?

A. Well, I was sold a bill of goods which I was—I was sick from the moment I first attended a unit meeting. And it was only a matter of just my—I suppose my reactions are a little slow, so it took me a little time having gotten in, to get out again, but—and it was sort of an easing out. That is, I didn't have a card, so I didn't have any card to dispose of and there was no moment of—no precise moment in which it could be said I broke with the Party, because I just was—I was sick from the moment I got in. I was sold a bill of goods of democratic centralism, for one thing, the theory being that the little people decided what is needed for the little people, and they tell—they have a little group meeting, a little fraction meeting, and then they tell the leader and he tells somebody else, and it goes on up, and pretty soon decisions are made which are good for the little people.

Well, once you get into a Communist Party Unit, you don't say anything. You're just told what is good for the people, and what is going to be the line

this week and next week, and what is the most important thing to do and what should be done this week and next week, and you're assigned a job to do and meetings to attend, and that sort of thing. And there's no—there's no outfit which talks more democracy and practices more dictatorship than the Communist Party. They just—their talk and their practices are completely opposite.

Q. Do they revere the traditions of this country and our way of living, standards of morality?

A. Well, that's one of the reasons, at the time I got into the Communist Party, I think they were espousing many of the things in which I believed. I've—I'm an ardent individualist, and—but at that time they were—they were opposed to Mussolini and Hitler and dictatorship here and abroad, and to the shipment of scrap iron to Japan, and all of those things which I felt very keenly about the encroachments of Fascism throughout the world, and it was very easy to slip into the Communist Party at that time, because they talked a good democratic line. And—but once in, I found very low respecters of any morality on which we base our standards of living.

You will notice the kind of people whom I know are Communist Party members, will switch marriage partners in the Communist Party, but they stay in the Communist Party. And if—I think the Communist Party at no time would hesitate to break up the marriage if they thought—if one partner of the marriage partner was not going quite down the Communist line and might help—might help the other partner break away from the Communist Party.

I know I was considered a suspect in the Communist Party for a long time, and that's one of the reasons I think I got in was because—until I had become a member, they were always a little suspicious that I might sort of help to pull Howard away from them. So I was never very trusted by the—by the Communists.

Q. Who recruited you into the Communist Party?

A. I—I don't recall precisely, but I think it was Mrs. Harold Eby.

Q. Now, Mrs. Costigan, I want to get it just clearly in the record, without any explanations, will you just relate as near as you can, the conversation last night with Mr. Pennock, what Pennock said to you, your reply, his reply, and so forth. Will you repeat that conversation as near as you can recall it?

A. Well, Bill told me that—well, it was a long conversation, so to repeat all of it here would be a little difficult. Bill said he was not calling up at the behest of anybody in the Communist Party, and that his was an individual call—by the way, Terry Pettus had called previously and reached Howard. Terry Pettus called asking if it was possible that Howard were going to testify.

Then Bill Pennock called, and Howard was out at the moment, so I answered the 'phone, and we had a rather lengthy conversation. The old thought that we couldn't stoop to so low to sit in the same chair as Homer Huson had sat in, and, well, it could be expected perhaps of Jess Fletcher, but certainly not of the Costigans to testify. The thing about the Communists expect the other people to fight fair, and—whatever they consider fighting fair, but—and certainly testifying against them or admitting one's previous mistakes was not part of fighting fair, I presume.

Q. Do you believe that Communism is a threat in the United States of America today, Mrs. Costigan?

A. I think the Communist Party in the United States is definitely a threat. Whether they practice theoretical Communism, I don't know. I've never been a reader or a student of Karl Marx. And the only thing I can say is that I think one of the things we need to do with our young people is to prepare them so that when they get to the university or get places where they're going to run into Communists, is to have them have some basis of an understanding of democracy and an understanding of—of the principles in our political beliefs so that they're not taken in by these things, so that they have some background. I think one of the finest things that could happen would be to have a—some of the theories of Karl Marx and some of the theories of the Communists taught in the high schools so they would know them and know their arguments. Now, they come up against them in the university, they are totally unprepared and have no answers and don't know wherein the doctrines are at fault. And—

Q. Don't you believe hearings such as these are good to expose the theories?

A. Yes, I think many a liberal for a long time has been stopped. One of the smartest pieces of propaganda that the Communist Party ever put out was the term "red-baiting." If you are a good liberal, the theory goes, you will never red-bait. Now red-baiting is a term that is—the Communists set the definition, and if you—in order to not red-bait, I finally concluded in my slow way of arriving at my conclusions, that if you allow the Communist Party to put you in the position of not red-baiting, you are not in a position then to ever criticize any stand that the Communist Party takes, because if you criticize anything the Communist Party does, any members of the Communist Party, any activities of which they pursue, you are per se red-baiting. Therefore, you are not a liberal. Therefore, according to the Communist Party form of reasoning, you cannot attack the Communist Party, you cannot disagree openly with the Communist Party, and remain a liberal, because if you do so you are red-baiting.

And I think the only hope for a liberal movement in this country is to expose the—the dictatorial, not the progressive line of the Communist Party, which is the window-dressing. As I say, the Communists talk a progressive line, but their actions are something entirely different. And it's my quarrel not with their talk about progressive measures, but their practice of dictatorship, and of following the Soviet Union, with which I quarrel very bitterly.

Q. They have a secret hidden objective at all times, then.

A. I would say it was always the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

Q. That is paramount in their thinking and—

A. Yes, but they never sell a prospective member that line. That isn't what they talk to the prospective—they find out what the prospective member is interested in, and those are the things that the Communist Party is interested in, is—are whether it be the old age pension, or trade union movements, anything of that sort. It's always—it's always a progressive—the progressive approach that is sold to the prospective member.

Q. Now, I want this one thing answered. There are other members that you can identify in the Communist Party that we have not asked you about today, is that right?

A. Oh, definitely, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: That's all, Mr. Chairman. Thank you very much, Mrs. Costigan.

Mr. Chairman, before we progress, may we have a short recess?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Be at ease for about ten minutes.

(Recess)

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

MR. WHIPPLE: Yes, we are, Mr. Chairman.

W. E. McCARTER, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Will you state your name, please?

A. William E. McCarter. William E. McCarter.

Q. Mr. McCarter, the testimony in this hearing, in addition to being taken down by the stenographer, is being transcribed by a sound device. Will you please talk loudly and talk into this "mike" here so—

A. As much as I can, brother, but I've been sick and I haven't got very much of a voice.

Q. I appreciate that, sir. Where do you live, Mr. McCarter?

A. I live at 2920 Norton.

Q. In what city?

A. Everett.

Q. How long have you been a resident of the State of Washington?

A. About twenty-nine years.

Q. Mr. McCarter, I'll ask you if you ever belonged to one of the pension unions over at Everett, Washington?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Which one of the locals were you a member of?

A. Local 25.

Q. Was that the so-called daylight local, or the so-called night local?

A. That's right, daylight local.

Q. Is there more than one local in Everett?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. The local that you belonged to met, you say, in the daytime.

A. Yes, sir. No—I'll take that back. At night.

Q. The one you belonged to met—

A. Yes, at night.

Q. —at night. Now, was there a local that met in the daytime?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. In other words, there are two locals of the Pension Union in Everett, Washington.

A. That's correct.

Q. One meeting in the afternoon, and one meeting at night. Now, prior—strike that. When did you join this—

A. Well, I don't just remember the year, but they at that time, they were in the old building by the viaduct. They met in the Workers Alliance building, at that time.