

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—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 propoganda 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.

Q. Was that back in the days when the Workers Alliance was still in existence?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Had you had any experience in the Workers Alliance movement, Mr. McCarter?

A. Well, I belonged to them for a while, but very little experience.

Q. Do you know whether or not the Workers Alliance later affiliated with the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Yes, sir. Later.

Q. After the organization of the Old Age Pension Union, what happened to the Workers Alliance?

A. Well, they—going back from the time that they were on that building at the viaduct, they—the Workers Alliance had to give that building up, on account of not paying their rent for two or two and a half years. And then they moved over on Rockefeller, the Old Age Pension Union moved over on Rockefeller in a room of their own. And the Workers Alliance then rented a little old shack, right across the street from the Old Age Pension Union, of theirs. So the Workers Alliance was an organization of their own at that time, those that—well, they had an organization of their own, and yet a great many of them belonged to the Old Age Pension Union and they would come over and meet with us—with the night.

Q. Now, did the Workers Alliance finally cease to function?

A. No, not—well, they eventually did, yes.

Q. Now, going back, I would like for you just as best you can, for the sake of this record, fix the approximate date of when you joined the Pension Union, as to the year. Can you give us some idea?

A. Well, my memory, I'm getting pretty well up in years, and my memory doesn't go back as good as it used to—I can't give you the exact time, but I've been out of the Old Age Pension Union along about eight or nine years, something like that.

Q. Then it would be somewhere prior to 1940?

A. Somewhere along there.

Q. Now, Mr. McCarter, when you were in the Old Age Pension Union there in Everett, did you hold any kind of an office?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What office did you hold?

A. I was the treasurer for nearly three or three and a half years.

Q. Now, as treasurer for three and—three to three and a half years, would that be for three or three and a half years preceding 1940?

A. No.

Q. About what year—

A. That was—I think along about, I'm not positive, but along about 1940 was when I—when they ousted me out of the Old Age Pension Union.

Q. Then you were treasurer prior to that?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, when you were treasurer of the Old Age Pension Union over there at Everett, did you get acquainted with a fellow by the name of Art Johnson?

A. Absolutely.

Q. And did you get acquainted with a person by the name of—a lady by the name of Rose Parks?

A. That's right.

Q. Was Art Johnson and Rose Parks married at that time?

A. No.

Q. Are they married at this time?

A. Well, as far as I can learn, yes.

Q. All right. Mr. McCarter, I'll ask you to state if you had any difficulty with Art Johnson and Rose Parks over, well, let's say the finances of the Pension Union, while you were the treasurer.

A. I had that several times, as far as that's concerned, and one particular time. I—we had three treasurers. We had the organizing treasurer, we had the Old Age Pension treasurer, and we had also another treasurer, and I was the treasurer of all of them.

Q. You held all three positions?

A. That's right. And in one particular time, they was supposed to go to Darrington to organize an Old Age Pension Union.

Q. Now, pardon me just a minute. Now you used the word "they." Will you speak into the record and say, and tell who you mean?

A. Art Johnson and Rose Parks. And they wanted me to go along, but I wasn't able to go at that particular time, or something turned up I couldn't go. Well, they went up there, and instead of organizing an Old Age Pension Union, they organized a Communist organization or a Communist Party, and came back and wanted me to pay the bill and I refused to pay it.

Q. Now did they come—did they want you to pay the bill as an individual or as an officer in some organization?

A. As—out of the Old Age Pension Union, as treasurer.

Q. Do you remember when this occurred?

A. I don't remember, not thinking of taking any notes or anything of the kind, I don't—I can't just remember the date nor the year.

Q. How long was that before you severed your relationship with the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Just a short time. Probably three months.

Q. Do you know whether this matter was later called to the attention, to the president of the Washington Pension Union, Senator Sullivan? James Sullivan, who was the president, and Homer Huson who was the secretary?

A. They were the president and secretary of the Old Age Pension Union at that time.

Q. Well, did you call this matter to their attention—

A. No.

Q. —at the time it happened?

A. No, because right at that time they brought charges against me.

Q. Who brought charges against you?

A. Rose Parks and William Pennock.

Q. Well, why did Rose Parks and William Pennock bring charges against you?

A. Well, because I didn't cater—it seemed to me, now, that because I didn't cater to their way of doing business, and refused to pay bills that would come in to the Union and was ordered by the Union for me to pay them.

Q. Now what bills came in to the Union that they ordered you to pay that you objected to?

A. The bill—when they went up to organize the Old Age Pension Union at Darrington.

Q. Were there any other bills that came in that you refused to pay, or was there any other money spent by the Pension Union over your objection?

A. Oh, there were—there were several times that I refused to pay bills, but they overrode my objection, and they were paid.

Q. When you'd object to the payment of bills, as the usual thing, what were those bills for?

A. Well, there was some for—there was one for the W.C.F., one for Workers Alliance, and then they—they wanted five dollars a month for the Workers Alliance County Council and I refused to pay it, and I made a fuss on that and then is when the real trouble started.

Q. Testimony has been introduced at this hearing, Mr. McCarter, that the Workers Alliance was a—during the years, nineteen, oh '37 and '38 and '39 was dominated by the Communist Party. Did you know that to be a fact at that time?

A. Well, no, I suspected such things, but I wasn't positive.

Q. What was your reason for objecting to the payment of this money over to the Workers Alliance?

A. Well, because the Workers Alliance never did do the Old Age Pension Union any good, or they've never helped the Old Age Pension Union, but they always wanted help from the Old Age Pension Union.

Q. I see.

A. And I thought that we had all we could do at that time of taking care of our own affairs.

Q. Do you remember back about the time that Harry Bridges was being tried for deportation?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you answer into the microphone so that we can—it be recorded.

THE WITNESS: I'll try to.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Answer instead of nodding, because it doesn't record a nod.

Q. Do you remember when Harry Bridges was being tried by the Government for deportation?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was any effort made on behalf of the Pension Union to collect money or send money to his Defense Committee?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You said that you got in trouble with these people because you objected to the payment of money over to the Old—over to the Workers Alliance. Were any kind of charges filed against you?

A. They brought charges against me—well, before I go through the charges, they elected new officers and got me out—to get me out of the Old Age Pension Union. And the old people voted me back in, but the Workers Alliance and the outsiders voted me out. Therefore, I resigned, or I claimed I resigned, but they claimed to throw me out. Then they brought charges against me for being a disloyal member of the Old Age Pension Union.

Q. Now who preferred those charges?

A. Mrs.—Rose Parks and Pennock.

Q. Now you refer to Pennock. Is that the—

A. He's the president of the Old Age Pension Union.

Q. The president of the Old Age Pension Union. All right—

A. Or the organizer, I believe it is.

Q. He held some position in the Old Age Pension Union at that time, did he not?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And is that the same William Pennock who is the president of the Old Age Pension Union at the present time?

A. Correct.

Q. Now then, where did they file these charges?

A. Well, they wanted to try me before the Workers Alliance County Council.

Q. Now wait just a minute. You mean that they filed charges against you to throw you out of the Pension Union, but wanted to try you before the Workers Alliance?

A. That's correct.

Q. Go ahead and explain that.

A. Well, I'll explain it this way, that I would not accept to be tried, I told them that I would be tried before Local 25 or before our own local. Now during this time we had—between this time we had organized an Old Age Pension local in East Everett. We sent a dollar for a charter.

Q. Who did you send that to?

A. To the head office in Everett—or, in Seattle here. They've still got our dollar and never sent our charter.

Q. Did they send your dollar back?

A. Never did. And so then Bill Wannick and some other fellows there in town, we got together and we took out a charter of the Old Age Pension Association. So I told them that I'd be tried before the Old Age Pension Association or before the Local 25. Instead of doing that, they wouldn't have it that way, so they switched the local—or switched the trial, the hearing, over here to Seattle before the—before the, oh I forgot now what branch of the Old Age Pension Union that was, and we wouldn't—I wouldn't listen to that.

Bill Wannick wrote them a letter and told them that we would be willing to try it before the Local 25 or our own local.

Q. Pardon me, just a minute. You referred to somebody by the name of Bill someone. What was the last name?

A. Bill Wannick.

Q. Wannick?

A. Wannick.

Q. How do you spell that, do you know?

A. No, I don't know just exactly how that is, he's a lawyer there—used to be a lawyer there.

Q. I see, some attorney. All right.

A. He's dead now.

Q. Well now let's just pause here a minute. If I understand you correctly now, Rose Parks, Bill Pennock, the present president of the Pension Union, wanted to get you out of the Pension Union.

A. That's correct.

Q. And they first wanted to try you before the Workers Alliance—

A. That's right.

Q. —and when you refused to be tried before the Workers Alliance, they then moved the proceedings here to Seattle?

A. That's right.

Q. Well what sort of an organization did they try you before here in Seattle?

A. Well, it was before the State Board.

Q. State Board of what?

A. The Old Age Pension Union. At the same time I belonged to the State Board at that same time.

Q. Now, were you charged with disrupting the activities of the State Board of the Old Age Pension Union?

A. No. I was charged with disloyalty to the Old Age Pension Union.

Q. Charged with disloyalty to the Old Age Pension Union.

A. That's right.

Q. Well, then what happened?

A. Then we wouldn't—we wouldn't listen to that, so they went ahead anyhow and had their trial.

Q. Do you mean to tell me that they tried you in absentia? In other words, they tried you without you being there?

A. That's what they claimed, and—claim, and wrote me a letter that I was out of the Old Age Pension Union entirely.

Q. In other words—

A. Off of the Board and all.

Q. In other words, they got you off the State Board and out of the Old Age Pension Union movement, is that right?

A. That's correct.

Q. Now, why did they do that, Mr. McCarter?

A. Well, you've got as much a thought of that as I have.

Q. Mr. McCarter, I can't testify. Now, why did these people throw you out of the Old Age Pension movement?

A. Because I couldn't see and cooperate with the Communist Party, as far as I could see, in my estimation.

Q. Mr. McCarter, obviously during the time you were in the Old Age Pension Union, you attended many meetings.

A. Many of them.

Q. Did you have occasion, as an official of the Old Age Pension Union, to notice the kind of literature that would be distributed there at the meetings by state officials and others that would come?

A. Well, we had the "New Deal," then we had oftentimes literature would come from the head office.

Q. Now you used the expression "New Deal." Are you referring to—

A. The "New Deal" paper.

Q. —the "New Dealer"?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. The publication that was put out by the Washington Commonwealth Federation?

A. That's right.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Whipple, in your questioning there, you said various state officials. If you will identify them—

Q. Do you remember—who would bring that literature there to your meetings, Mr. McCarter?

A. Well, it generally was sent there by mail.

Q. Oh. Who usually would send it to you?

A. Well,—

Q. What state—

A. —as far as I knew it came through the office of the Old Age Pension Union from Everett here.

Q. You mean—

A. Or from Seattle, I meant to say.

Q. When you refer to it coming from the office from Seattle, are you referring to the State Office?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you remember any other literature, in particular, that they'd send you?

A. No, not that I remember of.

Q. I think you testified about their raising some money for the Harry Bridges campaign, didn't you?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, Mr. McCarter, based on the three or three and a half years' experience as a former treasurer of the Old Age Pension Union, I'd like to ask you whether or not in your official capacity as a treasurer, or as an individual member of the Pension Union for that matter, whether or not the state officers of the Pension Union were working for the interest of the pensioners at that time.

A. Well, as far as I could see, right at that particular time, I believe in my own mind that they were.

Q. Did you have occasion to change your mind later?

A. Absolutely.

Q. When did you change your mind?

A. Oh, I changed my mind when they was getting up a bill for '41.

Q. What caused you to change your mind then?

A. The reason I changed my mind was this: Our local in Tulalip sent them nine dollars and our local, main local there at Everett sent them twelve dollars, to Mr. Pennock. And the state—the state local or the local of Tulalip got a receipt and thanks for the nine dollars, but we never got any receipt in any way shape nor form that they ever received the twelve dollars from our local.

Then I began to realize, or in my own estimation now, in my own mind, now remember, that there was some crooked work going on somewhere.

Q. Now this twelve dollars that was sent in, was that sent in on behalf of a Pension Union local?

A. That was sent in for to help them on the initiative 141. The Old Age Pension Association gave that to them.

Q. And you never got any receipt back for this?

A. No receipt whatever.

Q. Well, did you get the money back?

A. No, sir.

MR. WHIPPLE: Thank you, Mr. McCarter. That will be all.

(Witness Excused)

M. D. ADAMS, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. You may state your name, please.

A. M. D. Adams.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Adams?

A. Everett.

Q. How long—

A. 1609 Rainier.

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

A. Oh, fifty-five years.

Q. Mr. Adams, have you ever been a member of the—either one of the Everett locals of the Washington Pension Union?

A. Yes, 224.

Q. Now when does Local 224 meet?

A. They meet—well, they meet once a month. Every week on Wednesday. Every week.

Q. Do they meet in the daytime or nighttime?

A. Daytime.

Q. When did you join the Local 224 of the Washington Pension Union?

A. Last March.

Q. Do you mean now, March of 1947?

A. Yes.

Q. After joining the Local 224 of the Pension Union there in Everett, did you have any cause to become dissatisfied or disgusted with the activities of the Washington Pension movement in Everett?

A. Well, not at first. I suppose I didn't know what it was when I did join it. I supposed it was a real pension union, and working for the pensioners instead of being a Communist Party.

Q. Well, did you have occasion to change your mind as to what you thought it was at first?

A. Yes, and it wasn't long until I found out what it was. Of course, I had read about, oh, Costigan, DeLacy and Pennock, and Chart Pitt and all those for seven or eight years, those all known as radicals. And when I saw what was going on in the Pension Union, I knew that Pennock was a Communist. And there's no question about that.

Q. Now you refer to Pennock in the Pension Union, are you referring to his activities in the local there in Everett or his activities as a state official of the Pension Union?

A. As a state official yes.

Q. Well, what activities did you see that caused you to come to that conclusion?

A. Well, for one thing the, you know the "New World," they was always doing something to this money for the "New World."

Q. That's the official publication of the—

A. Yes.

Q. —Pension Union?

A. Every time Pennock come up there he'd have an armful of the "New World" and forcing them, practically speaking, on the members.

Q. Forcing them on the members. Well, what else came to your attention, if anything?

A. Well, I asked the secretary one time what salary Pennock was getting.

Q. Now who was this secretary you asked?

A. A fellow by the name of Boetcher. I call him Molotov.

Q. Now just—would you pronounce—could you spell that first name?

A. Oh gosh, I don't believe I could.

Q. To refresh your recollection, I'll ask you if it was spelled B-o-e-t-c-h-e-r?

A. I think so.

Q. What was his first name, do you know?

A. I don't.

Q. Would you know his first name if you heard it?

A. No, I don't think I ever heard his first name.

Q. What was he the secretary of?

A. Local 224.

Q. And you asked him if—what salary Pennock was getting?

A. Yes.

Q. All right, what was his answer?

A. He told me he was getting two hundred dollars. And I said, "He is not worth it."

Q. Did you have any reason for saying that?

A. Well, I guess plenty reason.

Q. Well, outside of Pennock's trying to force the "New World" on the pensioners, did he come down there and discuss your pension problems, tell you how that you could—

A. Oh, yes. Yes, he discussed pension problems.

Q. And each time he'd come he'd want to force the "New World" on the persons present.

A. On the pensioners, yes.

Q. Any other publications or any other literature that was presented to your local at any time?

A. Oh yes, there was letters that was read by the secretary, but he talks with his mouth shut and you can't hear what he says.

Q. Well, after you finally became, as you say, either disappointed or disgusted with the—what was going on in the Pension Union, did you do anything about it?

A. Did I do anything about it?