- Q. He denied it.
- A. Yes, sir.
- Q. And that's the same Mr. Walberg that—where these card parties were held—
 - A. Yes, sir, the same old place.
 - Q. —and the funds were turned over to the Communist Party.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Whipple, I don't believe that you introduced that phase of the evidence by this witness. I—maybe I'm in error, but if you have not. I don't believe—

MR. WHIPPLE: I'm just getting to it. It's going to be my next question.

- Q. Now this—getting back now, to the question of Mrs. Hendrickson, did you testify a while ago—you testified a while ago, didn't you, that she invited you to the—
 - A. Card party, and she said—

MR. WHIPPLE: Is that what you have reference to, Mr. Chairman?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Yes, you referred to the same card party where the funds went to the Communist Party, and unless I am in error, this witness has not testified to that phase of it.

MR. WHIPPLE: Yes, I am quite sure you did, didn't you Mr. Hough, or did you?

THE WITNESS: Well, I think I did. Shall I-

MR. WHIPPLE: Well, let's-if you didn't-

THE WITNESS: —tell it over again?

MR. WHIPPLE: —tell it over again. I'm quite sure you did.

THE WITNESS: Okeh. I said that she come to me after the meeting one night and wanted to know if we wanted to go to a card party.

- Q. After what meeting?
- A. After the Pension Union had adjourned.
- Q. All right.
- A. And "Well," I said, "I don't know. Where's this card party going to be?" She says, "It's going to be over to Mr. Walberg's." Well then is where I interfered the other time when I testified, I told you that he was the chairman of our local, and she says, "It's going to cost twenty-five cents apiece." And so I looked kind of wise and I says, "Well, where does this money go?" She says, "It goes to the Communist Party."
- Q. In other words, the card party was at the home of—was to be at the home of the chairman—
 - A. Yes, sir.
- Q. —of your Pension Union---
- A. Absolutely, yes sir.
- Q. She invited you and told you at the time-
- A. Yes, sir.
- Q. —you and your wife, that the money was going to the Communist Party.
 - A. Yes.
 - MR. WHIPPLE: That's all, Mr. Hough.

(Witness Excused)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Before you proceed, I wonder if we could make a little rearrangement in the seating there. It is thought that we would save those first three seats for the photographers and the press, and if we could seat those other two gentlemen somewhere else, I think it would be a little more convenient for the press.

Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Houston?

MR. HOUSTON: Will you call Mr. Armstrong please?

H. C. ARMSTRONG, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Armstrong, as you testify, when you use a name the first time that you will spell the name for us so that the record will be correct, and also that you answer questions "yes" and "no" as "yes" and "no" and not with a nod, because the recording devices can't record nods. I'll ask you to speak as distinctly as you can so that those microphones can pick this up.

- Q. Will you please state your name?
- A. H. C. Armstrong.
- Q. Are you also known as "Army" Armstrong?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Of what county are you a resident, Mr. Armstrong?
- A. King.
- Q. Have you been a resident of this county very long?
- A. Yes.
- Q. How old are you, Mr. Armstrong?
- A. Fifty-five.
- Q. I will ask you, Mr. Armstrong, if you have ever been a member of the Communist Party?
 - A. I have been.
- Q. When did you join the Communist Party?
- A. Approximately 1936. The spring or summer thereof.
- Q. When did you get out of the Communist Party?
- A. Somewhere in the summer of 1940.
- Q. Now I will ask you to detail for us the circumstances surrounding your joining the Communist Party.

A. It was in 1932 or '3 when the depression got me and the concern of which I was part owner. I became interested in the dole as put out by the various governmental agencies, the W.E.R.A. and the N.E.R.A., those two agencies being the National Emergency Relief Association, and the Washington Emergency Relief Authority; and going on from those two into the Unemployed Citizens Leagues, further into the Commonwealth Builders, then in the Workers—Project Workers Union, and the Workers Alliance.

In my progress through these various stages I became acquainted with quite a few people of various political beliefs and hates. After the Workers Alliance, or rather the W.P.A. came into existence, I became employed on the W.P.A. and we formed a union on the W.P.A. called a Project Workers Union. This was either in the fall of '35 or the spring of '36, I wouldn't be sure, it was right in there some way. And of this organization I became the

King County Chairman of the Project Workers Union, at that time. I was elected to that position on two or three different occasions.

And then it was in the fall of 1936 that the Project Workers Union, together with several other unemployed organizations for the different portions of this state met here in Seattle and merged into one called the Workers Alliance of America—or, the Workers Alliance of Washington, a subsidiary of the Workers Alliance of America. During the time that I was County Chairman of the Project Workers Union, I discovered that there was wheels—were wheels within wheels of that union, that everything appearing on the surface were not as they might seem, and I soon discovered there was a little clique in the background, that it was directing that Project Workers Union, and being an ambitious young fellow, I wanted to find out what was going on, and I did find out. I find out that there was fraction meetings occurring.

And along about that self-same time, at one of the Comintern sessions, Dimitrov—I can't spell that name, I think you've heard it before—read a report advocating the United Front of the Communist Party, and any other liberals that they might draw into their net.

Their platform program of work was something that I could be very sympathetic with at that time. I took their protestations of the United Front at the face value. I accepted invitations to sit in with the fractions of the Communist Party at that time, which were not closed fraction meetings, because I soon found that there was possibly two or three Communists in the members of the Communist Party in the fraction, and they would draw in maybe four or five others, such as myself, who were sympathetic to the objects and aims as outlined by the Party for the work to be done by the Project Workers Union. And as such, I remained the Chairman of the Project Workers Union and a member of the fraction of the Project Workers Union for some time. There finally came a time when I was invited to join the Party. I refused at first. There was a question as to why, and I told them I just didn't want to join at that time, that I wasn't fully in accord with the objects and aims of the Party, but the heat was put on a little bit more and I was finally issued an ultimatum that did I not join the Party that I could no longer be received into the fraction meetings, I would be deposed as the Chairman of the Project Workers Union and discredited completely before the-the boys that I was intending to lead and give succor to at that time.

- Q. Who issued this ultimatum to you, Mr. Armstrong?
- A. Bill Dobbins.
- Q. William K. Dobbins, who-
- A. That's right.
- Q. —has presently been connected with the Building Service Employees Union?
 - A. That's right.
 - Q. Was anyone else present at the time?
- A. I believe that Wallace W. Webb was also present at the time, and possibly one or two others who had faded into the background. It is entirely possible that Harold Brockway might have been there. Now, I wouldn't be sure, but it was at the close of a fraction meeting down in the old Mutual Life Building on the corner of First and Yesler Way, that the ultimatum was finally put out.

- Q. And this was in the latter part of 1937?
- A. I would say that it was somewhere in the summer of 1936.
- Q. Summer of 1936.
- A. I fix that time because it was about that time that the unit of the Workers Alliance to which I was a member—of which I was a member, out in Rainier Valley, had selected me to run for the Legislature. And I did want to become a member of the State Legislature, and the campaign was on. And I was afraid that, very frankly, that if I didn't join at the time my chances of becoming a member of the Legislature would be a little bit slim, because they controlled just lots and lots of votes and lots of voters out there.

And adding it all together, I became a member at that time.

- Q. Who actually took your application, do you recall?
- A. Wallace Webb.
- Q. W-e-b-b, is it?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Now, I'll ask you, Mr. Armstrong, if after you became a member of the Communist Party unit, did you sit in fraction meetings of the Workers Alliance with other Communists?
 - A. I did.
- Q. Can you identify any of the Communists that were on the state board of the Workers Alliance?
 - A. May I refresh my memory here, I have a-
- Q. Just a moment. You have your notes there. Did you compile these notes yourself?
 - A. I did.
- Q. When did you compile these notes?
- A. These notes have been in the process of compilation for a matter of, oh, I would say a week or ten days, or two weeks.
- Q. Have you—are they the product of your own work entirely?
- A. With consultation with friends of mine over the 'phone, and anything of that kind, I mean to refresh my memory with their accounts.
- Q. You have had no consultation with the Committee in compiling those notes?
 - A. No.
- Q. The Committee has had no suggestions or has not discussed any of those names with you during the course of this compilation?
- A. No.
- Q. All right. Now go ahead. The Workers Alliance State Board.
- A. In mentioning these names, I don't attempt to bring out a complete roster of the State Board, because my memory doesn't go back that far. I might even have missed comrades from this list. These are the ones that I can remember, and remember definitely without a shadow of a doubt.
- Q. All right. Each one of these, to your own knowledge, were members of the Communist Party, and you have sat with them in Communist closed fraction meetings?
 - A. Yes.
- Q. All right. Now will you read the list?
- A. Harold-

Q. And identify each one.

A. Harold Brockway was the Executive Secretary of the Workers Alliance; William K. Dobbins was a board member; Wallace W. Webb was a board member; Jim Haggin, H-a-g-g-i-n of Spokane was the Vice—State Vice President of the Workers Alliance and also a board member; Art Furnish, from Spokane, also, F-u-r-n-i-s-h Furnish, from Spokane, was also a board member; Harvey Jackins, J-a-c-k-i-n-s, was also a board member.

Q. Is that the Harvey Jackins who subsequently was expelled from the Boeing Aeronautical Employees Union?

A. That I can't tell you, because I am not acquainted with that particular case of Boeing Aeronautical—

Q. Is that the Harvey Jackins that until recently was connected with the Building Service Employees Union?

A. It is my understanding that this is the same person. Byrd Kelso was also a member of the State Board; Hazel Leo Wolfe, I will refer to her probably more as Leo Wolfe than I will Hazel because of the fact that that was the nickname by which we knew her, by Leo Wolfe, W-o-l-f-e; Victor Hicks came to us from the Teachers Union, and he also was a member of the State Board; Louis Holm, H-o-l-m was a member of the State Board; and another lady who I can identify no more than a Mrs. Reardon. I don't know as I ever heard Mrs. Reardon's first name. A gentleman by the name of Gallagher, G-a-l-l-a-g-h-e-r, a member of the State Board from Shelton. Another chap by the name of Smith, a State Board member from Everett. A Mrs. Gould, a State Board member from Yakima. We also had another chap by the name of Clancy. A Harry Spickler, a one-armed gentleman, also a State Board member, and the chairman of the Rainier Valley local of the Workers Alliance. A Mrs. Martin, who I can identify no further than the name Martin. because that's what we always called her, was just the plain Martin, was also a member. Mrs. Brockway's mother, I can't recall her name at present. I tried in every way to refresh my memory and can't. She was a member of the State Board from Tacoma. A young chap by the name of Einar Wahl, E-i-n-a-r W-a-h-l was a member. A chao by the name of Jackson, J-a-c-ks-o-n was a member from Renton. Another member was a man by the name of Canelli, he was just an ordinary board member. And Jim Riley, R-i-l-e-y, the husband of, I believe it was Harriet Riley who testified here a day or two ago, was the Executive Secretary of the King County Unit of the Workers Alliance and also a member of the State Board.

I believe those are all of the names that I can at present, at the present time, there may have been more, in fact I am positive there were more, but I don't wish to state now positively names that I can't identify definitely.

Q. Now you can testify of your own personal knowledge as a member of the Communist Party, at this time that each of these were Communists at that time, and that you have sat in closed Party meetings with them.

A. I can.

Q. Now I will ask you, can you further identify this Mr. Clancy—no, I'll withdraw that question. Did anything unusual ever happen to this Mr. Clancy in the way of being kidnapped?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you relate the circumstances of that?

A. One evening, I believe as I recall it was a Saturday evening. I went down to the Workers Alliance headquarters in the Mutual Life Building on

First and Yesler Way, to attend a fraction meeting. There was present, as I recall at that time, Bill Dobbins, Harold Brockway, Byrd Kelso, and myself, sitting in a room on the second floor facing First Avenue, or facing Pioneer Square. We were waiting for this man Clancy.

Q. Why were you waiting for Mr. Clancy?

A. Mr. Clancy was to come up there and meet with us about certain things, and it was control time and Clancy was one of those that was supposed to bring the books of the so-called Skid Road local of the Party, up there—

Q. He was bringing Communist Party books to this meeting, for you, is that right?

A. Yes. And he was a little bit late. I believe it was Harold Brockway looked out the window and he said, "Here he comes around the corner now." A startled look comes over his face and he says, "Jesus Christ, someone kidnapped him." And we all rushed to the window and I didn't see the actual kidnapping, but we discussed it later and some couple people had grabbed this Mr. Clancy and shoved him in an automobile and Mr. Clancy thenceforth disappeared for several days, possibly weeks.

Q. What did you do, or what did any of the group do?

A. Well, we held a hurried consultation. We tried to find out the—the license number of the car, but we couldn't do it, I believe successfully, that is the license number that was obtained for us was issued to somebody that we couldn't trace, but from other witnesses we deducted the fact that the person who was kidnapped was—or rather, the kidnappers were Federal agents of some kind or another.

So after further huddling up in his office, he got ahold of John Caughlan-

Q. John Caughlan?

A. John Caughlan, the lawyer-

Q. Well, who was John Caughlan?

A. John Caughlan was a lawyer, very highly thought of by the Party. And we went out to his house on Queen Anne Hill, the western slope of Queen Anne Hill, in my car and picked up Mr. Caughlan. We huddled around there and tried in every possible way to find what become of Mr. Clancy, but our efforts were unavailable.

Q. Did you go to any Federal agency and accuse them of kidnapping Mr. Clancy?

A. We went down to the Immigration authorities, and—the building down there on Airport Way, and we were thrown out of there with the admonition to get the hell out and stay out.

Q. Now, I will ask you, Mr. Armstrong, do you testify that the Workers Alliance was controlled by the Communist Party?

A. It was, very very definitely.

Q. Now, do you know an organization known as the League Against War and Fascism?

A. There was an organization of that type, by that name. Whether it's still in existence or not, I don't know.

Q. And were you interested in this organization?

A. I was.

Q. I'll ask you if you became a member of this organization.

A. I did.

- Q. Were any Communists operating within this organization?
- A. They were.
- Q. Can you name any of them?
- A. Harold Dunleavy, D-u-n-l-e-a-v-y; Carl Brooks, B-r- double o-k-s; Revels Caton, R-e-v-e-l-s C-a-
 - Q. Now, just a moment, Mister-
 - A. -t-o-n.
- Q. We had a demonstration here the other day by a colored man who was identified as Carl Brooks. Was this Carl Brooks you refer to here, a colored man?
 - A. Yes. George Hurley.
 - Q. Now, which George Hurley is that?
- A. George Hurley is the gentleman that is the ex-member of the State Legislature.
 - Q. Was George Hurley a member of the Communist Party?
- A. To my best belief, he was, yes. Joe Stack—or, Walter Stack, rather, S-t-a-c-k; and Irene Browsowski, now how do you spell that one?
- Q. Is it B-r-o-w-s-o-w-s-k-i?
- A. I would say so, something like that.
- Q. Now were each of these members of the Communist Party?
- A. To the best of my knowledge and belief, yes.
- Q. And you have sat in top fraction meetings with them?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Now, Mr. Armstrong, were you given a card in the Communist Party?
- A. I had—a card was made out to me; I saw the card, but I never carried it.
- Q. It was retained by the Party functionaries?
- A. It was.
- Q. And that was because you were a—an important man, and it would have been quite some embarrassment to the Party if you had been identified as a member, is that right?
 - A. So I was told, yes.
- Q. From your experience in the Party, is that common that important people do not carry their cards?
 - A. Very common.
 - Q. Did you pay dues into the Communist Party?
 - A. Yes.
 - Q. Now, were you assigned a unit in which you would attend meetings?
- A. I had been assigned to—at various times in the—in my history in the Party, I had been assigned to two or three, or—or at least three different units.
 - Q. Now, do you recall any of those units?
- A. The first unit that I was assigned to, when I first joined the Party—I'll put it this way, when I first joined the Party, I was assigned to no unit. Ordinarily Party members are either assigned to a unit immediately or assigned to a school. The debate went on for some little time whether I was to go to school or be assigned to a unit immediately, and it was finally decided that I was not to go to school, because there was too many people going to that school, the Communist School, that possibly would talk out of turn, and let my position become known.

And so, I was assigned to a clandestine or a professional unit, if you wish to call it, either one or the other.

- Q. Now when was this, Mr. Armstrong?
- A. This was in the fall of 1936.
- Q. Now do you recall any others that met with you in this clandestine or professional unit?
- A. Yes. There was two sisters by the name of Hill, H-i-l-l, one of them's name is Glennette, the other one's name is Gretchen; Hugh DeLacy—
 - Q. That is the former ex-Congressman DeLacy?
- A. That's right. A chap by the name of Gundlach, G-u-n-d-l-a-c-h.
- Q. Can you identify this Mr. Gundlach for us?
- A. He is a professor, I believe, at the University of Washington.
- Q. Would you know his first name?
- A. I would know it if I would hear it, but I can't recall it offhand.
- Q. Is it Ralph Gundlach?
- A. Yes, Ralph Gundlach is right. Joe Butterworth.
- Q. Now will you identify Mr. Butterworth?
- A. Also a professor at the University of Washington. His wife, Dorothy. A chap by the name of Duz Stratton, S-t-r-a-t-t-o-n, I believe, is the name. He was a school teacher from Everett. Again this Hal Dunleavy, D-u-n-l-e-a-v-y. And Victor Hicks. Are those that I can remember and can point out right now. I might also mention that this clandestine unit was a unit where they was ordinarily pretty careful to address each other and introduce each other by their Party names, instead of the—their real name. As a consequence, I met many people there at that unit, professional men, doctors, and lawyers, at least I was introduced to them as such, by Party names that I knew very well was not their own name. And I also in this particular unit was known as and addressed as Mr. Bush.
- Q. Now these that you have identified, you positively know that they—that these are the correct names that you are now giving?
 - A. Yes.
- Q. And you have sat in unit meetings of the Communist Party with each of these names you have just mentioned?
 - A. Yes.
 - Q. On more than one occasion?
 - A. Several occasions.
- Q. Now were you subsequently transferred to another unit within the Communist Party?
 - A. I was.
 - Q. And what unit was this?
- A. That was the unit that was formed from the Communist members that worked for Tom Smith, the Thirty-Third County Commissioner's District.
 - Q. Now do you recall anyone that met in this unit?
- A. I have the list of names here that I could read off to you. Again, crops up the name of William K. Dobbins; a chap by the name of McNew, M-c-N-e-w, I can't at the moment recall his first name, but most of the meetings were held at his home out at Ballard; Bert Collins, deceased; Al Barnes, B-a-r-n-e-s—

Q. Is this the Al Barnes that until recently was connected with the Building Service Employees Union?

A. That's right. And Sam Dorman, from over east of the lake; another chap that was known as Chuck Malone, M-a-l-o-n-e, I believe his name was Charles; another man by the name of Louis Laguire, L-o-u-i-s L-a-g-u-i-r-e; Merwin Cole; Charles Legg—

Q. Is that the Charles Legg that has been very active in the Machinists Union Local 79?

A. I don't know as him being in 79, I know he was in 289.

Q. In 289, yes. Hope Lodge.

A. No. the Auto Mechanics.

Q. The auto what?

A. The Auto Mechanics.

Q. The Auto Mechanics.

A. Yes. And he was expelled from there, I believe.

Q. Is that the same Charles Legg that participated in the demonstration at the Plymouth Church here several years ago?

A. It is my belief that it is. And George Bradley.

Q. Now were you—now in each—with each of these men you sat in this Communist Party meetings?

A. This one here very definitely, I sat in a very—in a Communist Party meeting because I was the secretary there, the dues secretary.

Q. As the dues secretary?

A. Yes.

Q. And you know that each of these were a member of that unit?

A. I either collected dues from them or attempted to.

Q. Now were you subsequently transferred to another unit in the Communist Party, Mr. Armstrong?

A. I was.

Q. And what unit was this?

A. This was the Thirty-Third District Unit, out in the district in which I lived.

Q. Now do you recall anyone that you sat in unit meetings there?

A. John Laurie, as I recall was the chairman; a Bob Smith; Anne Gunther—

Q. Isn't that G-u-n-t-h-e-r?

A. That is. And I might add that it is not—it is not a relation of the professor at the University of Washington. It is a different Anne Gunther. And a different family of Gunthers also. Celeste Brooks; another comrade who we know only as Mr. Barber because that was his profession and also was his Party name; and Mr. and Mrs. Kingsbury; H. A. McEcheran, M-c-E-c-h-e-r-a-n; Mrs. Al Bristol, B-r-i-s-t-o-l; Mr. and Mrs. Harry Spickler; George Luckman, L-u-c-k-m-a-n—this latter chap, by the way, ran for Precinct Committeeman out there in the last election in the Democratic Party, and came darn near being elected, except that he wasn't a citizen; Anton Lautenslager, L-a-u-t-e-n-s-l-a-g-e-r; Carl Brooks, this is the self-same Carl Brooks that we've mentioned before; Sam Bonevie, B-o-n-e-v-i-e; Melba Brahan, M-e-l-b-a B-r-a-h-a-n; Dan Melatti or Nelatti, I'm not just exactly sure how to spell his name; and Emerson Daggett, D-a-g-g-e-t-t.

Q. Can you describe this man Melatti for us?

A. He's a—or, rather a slight chap, of Italian extraction I believe, an industrious hard-working chap.

Q. Will you stand and see if you see this gentleman you refer to in the audience at the present time?

A. I can't make him out right now. He may be back there, but I don't see him.

Q. That's fine. Thank you very much. Now with each of these names that you have mentioned, you sat in closed unit meetings of the Communist Party?

A. I have.

Q. And each of them, to your knowledge, are members, or were members of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. Now did you ever sit in any meetings with the King County Central Committee of the Communist Party?

A. I have.

Q. Who composed this committee, Mr. Armstrong?

A. I can't give you a complete roster of the committee, because again time intervenes, this was seven or eight years ago, a good many of the people that met there I knew simply by their first name or a nickname, but I'll read off to you those that I know and can actually identify.

Harold Brockway at that time was the chairman; Al Bristol, B-r-i-s-t-o-l; this Mrs. Reardon that we've mentioned before; John Laurie, L-a-u-r-i-e; Harvey Jackins; Carl Brooks; a man by the name of Baxter, B-a-x-t-e-r, who we called "Whitie"; and his wife Reva, R-e-v-a. There was several others, I believe, that I can't positively identify by name because I know them either by a nickname or just a first name, or something of that type.

Q. Now when was this that you sat in these Central Committee meetings for King County with these, Mr. Armstrong?

A. I would say 1937 and 1938, along in there somewhere.

Q. In 1937 and 1938 each of these, along with some others, were members of the King County— $\,$

A. Yes.

Q. —Executive Committee of the Communist Party.

A. That was the time when the King County—or, rather, the Communist Headquarters was out there in about the twenty-four hundred block, I think it was, on Second Avenue. It was way out there in one of those shop fronts.

Q. Now, Mr. Armstrong, did you ever know of an organization known as the Washington Commonwealth Federation?

A. I helped to organize it, I should know it.

Q. Will you describe for us, briefly, the history of this organization?

A. I'll have to drop back in my history a little bit prior to the formation of the Washington Commonwealth Federation, to describe briefly another organization called the Commonwealth Builders. That organization sprung up in Washington here, sometime in 1934. It became very active in the 1934 campaign, about the same time that Upton Sinclair was promoting his epic movement in California. The epic as you know, taking its name from "End Poverty in California."

We trailed along with them and had another organization that we dubbed the Commonwealth Builders and our slogan was "End Poverty in Washington." We at that time had a very nice organization, that had some very well meaning and some very thorough going liberals, in my estimation; but we found that in promoting this organization we could not broaden it out sufficiently to take in other groups of people that we wanted to amalgamate into a large body of people with similar aims and objects and so forth.

And so in working around, discovering what we'd like to do, and so forth, we went up to Canada at one time. The people that went to Canada on that particular trip were Cyrus Woodworth,—Woodward, W-o-o-d-w-a-r-d, who was later the president of the Commonwealth Federation; Howard Costigan, who was on the stand this morning; a man by the name of Murray, from Everett, whose front name escapes me; another man by the name of Riordan, R-i-o-r-d-a-n, whose is not to be confused with this Mrs. Reardon, whose name has been mentioned before; and myself; the five of us, and we drove in Mr. Murray's car to Vancouver at one time. I believe this was in either the fall of '35 or the spring of '36. And we spent several days up there examining the structure of the Cooperative Commonwealth of Canada, a federation of Canada.

We come back and set up a similar structure here and issued calls for a convention. Preparatory to that convention, we had acquired a sound truck, a nice little Model A Ford panel truck with sound apparatus in it. Another person by the name of Floyd Hyde and myself—I might say at this time neither Floyd Hyde nor myself, were members of the Communist Party, and also Floyd Hyde I don't believe ever was one. We toured this state, we was gone for six weeks drumming up this convention, and the convention was finally held in Tacoma in October of 1935.

I might say, at that time the Communist Party was distinctly cold on this federation, because in my opinion it was their opinion that they couldn't control it properly, because we were setting up this Commonwealth Federation on too broad a base. We was inviting into the Commonwealth Federation, units of the Grange, of organized labor of every possible stamp that we could get, C.I.O. and A. F of L., the United Producers of Whatcom County, the Farmers Union, several units of the various cooperative ventures around over the state. And the Party at that time thought that was a little too big a bite to take. But in the meantime, after that first convention for this Commonwealth Federation was organized, came along the Project Workers Union and the Workers Alliance, and a little later on the Old Age Pension Union. And the comrades at that time could begin to-were beginning to see the light. And with that, we in the Project Workers Union and the Workers Alliance and kindred organizations, were instructed to set up as many organizations as we could possibly set up. If we could find ten names, which was a minimum for any organization to belong to the Commonwealth Federation, or ten or fifteen of them, I wouldn't be sure which but would be some small amount like that, that we was to get those ten names, obtain a charter and send delegates to the convention that was going to be held then up at Everett.

At that time, the "powers that be" in the Federation objected to, particularly the Project Workers Union infiltrating into the Federation. They rejected our application for membership credentials, because it was Communist-controlled. We threatened to throw a picket line around their meeting

hall up in Everett, and finally they succumbed and we went up there, and when we went up there, brother we took it over.

- Q. And then the control-
- A. And from then on the control of the Commonwealth Federation begin to get redder and redder. Legitimate labor organizations, such as this organization that I belonged to at the time I went into the Public Action Group. As an estimate, I will dare say that ninety per cent of the organizations—organized labor, that is, the A. F. of L.—there is quite a few C.I.O. unions still hang—cling to the structure, but the majority of the A. F. of L. unions dropped out. And as the Pension Union came on, the interlocking directorate with the Pension Union, the Washington Commonwealth Federation and the Workers Alliance became so powerful that there was times that we'd slip down to the Pension Union and they'd give us the Workers Alliance and they'd give us the workers in the Commonwealth Federation and when they'd call the roll they'd be practically the same, there'd be very little difference, except the person in the chair.
- Q. Now when was this convention in Everett, Mr. Armstrong?
- A. I would place that as 1936, in the fall.
- O. 1936.
- A. Now, I may be wrong in that, it may not have been until the spring of—well, it must have been 1936.
- Q. And at that convention, did the control of the Washington Commonwealth Federation pass to the Communist Party?
- A. Very definitely. I'll show you just exactly how it worked. Cyrus Woodward was re-elected as the president at that time, and he was bitterly opposed to Communism, and tried in every way to prevent the infiltration. We still wanted to keep the—our respectability that surrounded Mr. Woodward in the president's chair for some little time yet, but finally we got tired of it. He was continually threatening to resign. So the way was finally paved at a fraction meeting one night, in about these words, "We'll just goad Woody' tonight to the extent of his resigning, and then in a helluva hurry we'll accept his resignation, and he's out." And that's just exactly what happened.
- Q. That was planned in a Communist Party caucus?
- A. It was, at a fraction meeting.
- Q. Did you subsequently become a member of the State Board of the Washington Commonwealth Federation?
 - A. Me?
 - Q. Yes.
- A. I was a member of the State Board of the Washington Commonwealth Federation from the time of its inception.
 - Q. Now did you hold Communist Party fraction meetings, as such?
 - A. We did, with the State Board members.
- Q. Can you identify any of the members of the State Board who were members of the Communist Party?
 - A. Hugh DeLacy—
- Q. You have sat in Communist Party fraction meetings of the State Board, with Hugh DeLacy.
- A. I have.

- Q. And it was openly known among the members that it was the Communist Party fraction of the Commonwealth Federation.
 - A. Correct. Howard Costigan, Harold Eby-
 - Q. Can you identify this Harold Eby?
- A. A professor at the University of Washington. William K. Dobbins, a Jim Cour, C-o-u-r, I believe.
 - Q. Now who was Mr. Cour?
- A. At that time, Mr. Cour was the editor of the then "Commonwealth Builder," the newspaper. Kathryn Fogg, Merwin Cole, Jess Fletcher, Margaret Haugland, H-a-u-g-l-a-n-d.
 - Q. Was this the Margaret Haugland that lives in West Seattle?
- A. The Margaret Haugland that I referred to, lives in, or did live at that time, live in West Seattle. Eugene Dennett.
 - Q. Now, who was Eugene Dennett?
- A. Well, beyond being a member of the State Board of the Commonwealth Federation and a member of the Communist Party, I can't identify him very much further. It was my opinion, although I can't—I have nothing to bear it out, that he was a paid official of the Communist Party, but I have no way of verifying that. I've never known Mr. Dennett to be of any use for labor. William Ziegner, Z-i-e-g-n-e-r.
- Q. Is that the William Ziegner who recently connected with the Building Service Employees Union?
 - A. Do you mean connected or disconnected?
 - Q. Both.
- A. That's him. Homer Huson, H-u-s-o-n, who I believe was on the stand here; Senator N. P. Atkinson; Emma Taylor Harmon; Bert Collins; Victor Hicks; Reva Baxter; Bill Pennock—
- $Q.\ \, \text{Is}$ that the William Pennock that is president of the Old Age Pension Union?
 - A. I don't know just what his title is, but he's the one. And Tom Rabbitt-
 - Q. Is that the ex-Senator Tom Rabbitt?
- A. Yes. And Celeste and Carl Brooks, sometimes one and sometimes the other, Celeste Brooks being Carl Brooks' wife.
- Q. Now this group was sufficiently organized, and as being members of the Communist Party, controlled the policies of the Washington Commonwealth Federation completely, is that right?
 - A. That's right.
- Q. And you would from time to time have these caucuses of the Communist Party members and agree upon an action which subsequently was carried out in the Federation.
- A. Fraction meeting is the correct word.
- Q. Fraction meeting. Was Morris Rapport ever in attendance at any of these meetings?
- A. Yes, Morris Rapport—I've sat with Morris Rapport on several different occasions where—not the, this entire group you understand, that I've just read, would never at any time assemble as a fraction, I mean the entire group. There would possibly be five or six of us get together, and on many different occasions Morris Rapport was amongst us.

- Q. Would Morris Rapport call meetings?
- A. No. No, Morris Rapport, to my knowledge, has never called a meeting. The call for a meeting has always come from Costigan, DeLacy, Dobbins, or Dennett.
 - Q. DeLacy has called meetings of this group, then.
 - A. He has.
 - Q. And these others you have named.
 - A. Yes.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Houston, I wonder if this would not be a convenient time to take about a ten-minute recess.

MR. HOUSTON: That's agreeable with me, if it is with the witness.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will be at ease for ten minutes.

(Recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you proceed, Mr. Houston?

- Q. Mr. Armstrong, I'll ask you if you ever heard of an organization as the Old Age Pension Union?
 - A. I have.
- Q. Will you explain your knowledge of the organization, its organization and its history, as you know it?

A. The Old Age Pension Union was organized, frankly, over my objections, as the president of the Workers Alliance of Washington, because the Workers Alliance within its structure had a division that could take on the work of the, even under the Old Age Pension Union. But it seemed to the powers that be—or that were, rather, that a separate organization entirely should be fostered, the Old Age Pension Union. I believe that was the brain-child of Mr. Costigan. And that union was hastily organized and proved to be at one time very popular. Its objects and aims as publicly enunciated, in my mind, were good, that is, to promote pensions for the elderly or the senior citizens, and I think that in many ways the Old Age Pension Union has done a pretty fair job. As long as it did do a good job, as long as it confined itself to the needs of the old people, that is, to their immediate needs, and not so much to the needs of the nebulous future, as concerned the—well, what was going to happen to them if and when Russia was overthrown, or something of the kind.

Now units were set up everywhere, and it was rather a popular thing for the more prominent of the legislators and the leaders of various organizations to affiliate with the Old Age Pension Union because they was always receiving a little bit more publicity than could be obtained in the Workers Alliance, they was having larger bodies—larger meetings, larger bodies of people at their meetings, and their membership was growing much faster than the Workers Alliance, and the reason for that was the Old Age Pension Union at that time, at the inception, charged no dues and no initiation fees, and the Workers Alliance did.

So it was very easy to become a member of a free organization as against the membership of the Workers Alliance where initiation fees and dues were collected.

The structure of the officials of the Old Age Pension Union followed very closely the pattern of the officials and the board of either the Washington Commonwealth Federation or the Workers Alliance. Many of the members of—many of the individuals were members of all three boards, such as myself.

I was a member, I was one of the incorporators, I believe, of the Old Age Pension Union, and yet to my knowledge I don't believe that I ever attended an Old Age Pension board meeting, nor a convention, except I did go to their conventions carrying the greetings of the Workers Alliance there, would appear briefly on the platform and say my little piece and scram, and—well, that's about all there really is to it. It was just a—it sprung up in a hurry.

- Q. Well, very shortly after it sprung up did not the Communist Party get control of this organization?
 - A. Almost immediately.
 - Q. Almost immediately.
 - A. It was, in my opinion, a Communist-inspired organization.
- Q. Now, did they have control as long as you were a member of the Communist Party?
 - A. Yes.
 - Q. More or less, do the same officers control it today that controlled it then?
- A. To a great degree, there have been a few ousted and so forth, but the general make-up is about the same.
- Q. Now I will ask you if you know a publication known as the "Washington New Dealer"?
 - A. Yes.
 - Q. Was that an unofficial organ of the Communist Party?
- A. I would say that it was, yes, from my knowledge of the interlocking directorate, seeing as how I'm one of the stockholders in it.
- Q. Did that paper follow the line of the Communist Party?
- A. As well as it could. There was times when it floundered around a little bit not knowing what to do.
 - Q. That's when it didn't know just what the line was, eh?
 - A. When they couldn't read between the lines, they couldn't follow it.
 - Q. Did that same thing happen to members of the Communist Party?
 - A. Very, very definitely.
 - Q. Well, does the Communist Party compel adherence to its line?
- A. The best that it could, yes. It demanded that the line be followed completely, and those who bucked it all were disciplined or expelled.
- Q. Was the Communist Party and its organizations that it dominated, democratic?
 - A. No.
 - Q. Orders came from the top down, not from the bottom up?
- A. That's right. On many, many occasions a fraction meeting would be held, and theoretically this fraction meeting was to outline or to make a policy for an organization, whether it be the Washington Commonwealth Federation, the Workers Alliance, or the Old Age Pension Union, and we of the brain trust or the fraction would sit there and listen to directives that was to be handed to us, and we'd chalk the way and go out and do our stuff.
- Q. There was no policy formulated at these fraction meetings that you know of, but it was merely to devise methods of carrying out policy that was handed down.
- A. Right. The same pertains to the units of the Communist Party. I have spoken that I belonged to three or four different units, the Thirty-Third District

Unit, and the Third Commissioners Unit and so forth, and invariably the procedures were the same, that long directives would be handed down to us, that is, read off, they would be discussed thoroughly and assignments would be given to Tom, Dick, Harry, Mary or who it was. All we'd have to do is go out and do it. We couldn't decide ourselves what was going to happen.

- Q. Was there some confustion and embarrassment at the time of the Molotov-Hitler Pact?
- A. I would say that confusion was rife, I believe is the word. No one knew what was going to happen next because for some unknown reason the Party line wasn't transmitted to us for a matter of weeks, or ten days or something, I forget just how long it was. In the meantime we was floundering around in the fog.
 - Q. Now, was it somewhat embarrassing when Russia invaded Finland?
 - A. It was even worse than that, Mr. Houston.
- Q. Now, were you one of the seven legislators that sent a telegram to Roosevelt and published it in the "P.I." commending him for his condemnation of Russia as an aggressor nation?
 - A. I was.
 - Q. When was this?
 - A. In June of 1940.
 - Q. How did the Communist Party accept this act on your part?
 - A. They wasn't very happy about it. In fact they reacted very violently.
 - Q. What did they do?
- A. Well, the first thing they did, they called me to accounting. I was notified by, I believe it was Mr. Brockway, the—
- Q. That is Harold Brockway?
- A. Yeah, Harold Brockway. —that I was to be interviewed by the powers that be on a certain date at a certain time. We went out to the west slope of Magnolia Bluff out there on the hills above the railroad tracks to the home of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Legg.
 - Q. Is that the Charles Legg you have previously referred to?
- A. Yes. And at that meeting, by the way, they used my car to get out there with. Harold Brockway, Byrd Kelso, Mrs. Reardon, another person who I can't place right now, there was five of us rode out in my car, and myself, and there we found Mr. Rapport and either Lou Sass or Al Bristol. Now I wouldn't be sure, but it was one or the other of those. Mr. Murphy from Portland.
 - Q. That is—was the Murphy that was the district organizer—
 - A. Of Oregon district down there, yes.
 - Q. —at Portland.
- A. And two or three other people in the, high in the annals of the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party were there.
 - Q. Was Mr. DeLacy there?
- A. I don't believe Mr. DeLacy was.
- Q. Well now, what time did you get out at this home?
- A. We arrived there, roughly, about one o'clock.
- Q. And this meeting also occurred in June shortly after you-
- A. Well, I wouldn't say that it was in June, but it was almost immediately after this telegram, it occurred.

3

Q. Now would you proceed and describe that meeting for us?

A. Well, it was opened up—I don't know whether anyone has ever described to you or not, how a meeting of that kind is conducted. The comrades all get in and sit around and the highest official there, which in this case was Mr. Rapport, calls the meeting to order and we all take seats around the room. And then the person on the right of the chairman, he'll say, "You may open, comrade so and so," and comrade so and so has his say or her say, and then it goes to—along the rest of the way around the room.

This meeting opened up by Mr. Rapport looking at me and raising an eyebrow, or possibly both of them, and he says, "So you're here, are you? I didn't think you'd have the guts to come." And I told him that, which was my opinion, that I wouldn't have missed that meeting for practically anything, because I knew what was going to occur out there and I just wanted to see how they'd go about it.

And I sat there for five long hours, from one o'clock in the afternoon to six o'clock at night, and I took the most tremendous verbal beating I ever took in my life.

Q. Did all present engage in this verbal beating on you?

A. Each and every one of them, had their little say. Mr. Rapport, he became actually almost insane there toward the end of the meeting when he couldn't get me to recant. One of the most—it shows you how asinine people like that can get under—in a condition of that kind. He finally plead with me to recant, to—"I've lost—you've lost the confidence of the people. Alls you've got to do to regain the confidence of the people is to say—is to recant, and come along with us." And I innocently inquired, "Well, I was just to recant and come along with you, even though I didn't feel that way, would I regain the confidence of the people?" "Oh, yes, yes, you will." And I said, "I don't want the confidence of the people, then." And that made him madder.

Q. Did they read the charges against you and then answer for you, or did they let you answer?

A. Well, Rapport, as was his custom, would hurl questions at me as to why I did this, why I did that, why I did the other thing, and then before I had an opportunity to answer he'd turn around and say, "Comrades, he did it for this, he did it for that, he did it for the other thing. I'll tell you why he did it. He won't answer." And I never had an opportunity to open my mouth.

- Q. Was that the last Communist Party meeting you ever attended?
- A. That was.
- Q. Now previous to this meeting, you had been paying dues in the Communist Party, had you not?
 - A. Yes.
 - Q. And would they come and collect these dues from you?
 - A. They would.
 - Q. Did they give you the privilege of paying no more dues in the Party?
- A. I guess that is what you would describe it as. They simply didn't come around and collect any more dues.
 - Q. You never got a chance to refuse any-
- A. No. Another thing that Rapport said this day, was when he opened the meeting, he called me Mr. Armstrong, I believe. "Well," he says, "you'll notice, Mr. Armstrong, that I am not calling you comrade today."

- Q. Was it customary in fraction meetings and Communist Party meetings to call each other comrade?
 - A. Oh, yes.
 - Q. Was that the general custom?
 - A. Just as you do in a lodge, call them Brother Houston, and so forth.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Moose Lodge, I presume.

THE WITNESS: I'm a Moose, too.

- Q. Now, I will ask you Brother Armstrong, did you ever reaffiliate with the Communist Party?
 - A. No. Although I have been invited to.
 - Q. Who invited you to reaffiliate?
- A. Oh, Mr. Brockway.
- Q. When was this?
- A. Oh, it was a matter of possibly a year or so later when they had tried their best to discredit me in every possible way, and failing to do that they decided to love me to death.
 - Q. Well, will you explain that a little bit more?
- A. Well, at the time of this meeting out there, in 1940, in June or thereabouts, there was an election coming up that fall in which I—in which I was going to be a candidate, and they tried in every possible conceivable way to defeat my re-election to the State Legislature. In fact, that self-same fall they did attack several others of those people who had signed this thing, and did defeat them. Amongst others was Kathryn Fogg and Ellsworth Wills. They defeated those two. They—I believe they was instrumental in defeating Mike Smith, who was the candidate for County Commissioner of the south district.

I don't recall whether Ed Henry was a candidate that fall or not, but I'm under the impression that he was. Now I may be wrong on that, but anyhow the next time that Ed run, he was defeated. In fact, Ed hasn't made the Legislature since. And they tried in every possible conceivable way to defeat me, even to the extent of the Reds red-baiting, if you know what I mean. They went out and whispered to the people out there that I was a Communist.

- Q. This was after you had completely broken with the Communists.
- A. This was after I had completely broken with the Party, with them.
- Q. Did they ever whisper to anyone that you was a Communist while you were a member of the Party?
 - A. No, no.
- Q. Well, did they continue their opposition to you?
- A. They continued through that election period; nevertheless, upon me being elected, I was again approached. That's when they decided they couldn't destroy me by, shall we say forced violence, by ruthless methods, that they possibly might be able to, as I say, love me to death. So they began to surround me and draw me back into the fold again, and talk soft and sweet, and in fact I was told it was quite sure that they—I would be welcomed back to the Party, if I would only care to come and acknowledge that I had possibly made mistakes previously.
 - Q. And you never did go back?
- A. No, but I acknowledged to myself that I had made a mistake before then, or two of them.

- Q. Not the mistake in getting out of the Party?
- A. No, but in getting in.
- Q. Did they continue in successive elections to run candidates against you?
- A. Yes, in the 1940 election they run a nice little lawyer out in that district, Oliver Henderson.
- Q. Was he a member of the Communist Party?
- A. Not to my knowledge. I may have my suspicions, but I can't say that he was.
- Q. But you know that the Communists ran him because of all of them supporting him— $\,$
 - A. Yes.
 - Q. —is that the basis of your statement?
 - A. And since that time Claude Smith has run twice.
 - Q. Now was Claude Smith a member of the Communist Party?
 - A. To the best of my knowledge, I believe he is, yes.
 - Q. And has that continued to the present?
 - A. Up to the last election.
 - Q. Now did they ever attempt to smear you?
- A. Yes, they used about everything that they could possibly use in trying to smear me, my morals, my honesty, and everything else.
- Q. Well, do you have any examples of that? How about this moral business, how did they attempt to smear you— $\,$

A. Well, I presume for the rest of them I should tell what you know, Bill. At the time that—in about, I would say 1940 or a little bit earlier than that, I took a Civil Service examination for the United States Government that required certain qualifications of which I was at that time peculiarly fitted, and as far as I could find out I passed that examination with rather a decent mark. And after passing the examination, then the investigation came on as to my fitness and as to the truthfulness of my answers in the examination. And the examination not only of myself, that is not only did they examine me but they also went around to the people that were my neighbors, my friends, my personal friends around my home, my political friends, and also I find my political enemies, who at that time very definitely was the Communist Party.

And they produced before the Civil Service Board of the United States here in the City of Seattle, who testified as I understand it, under oath, a lady, a blonde lady who I was supposed to have lived with in the City of Olympia during the 1939 session of the Legislature. The utter dishonesty and ruthlessness of that is borne out by the fact they was not only trying to discredit me and prevent me from obtaining that job, but if they could have substantiated their charges of my living with that woman at that time, my home of some twenty-five or twenty-six years standing at that time would have been broken.

They also testified before that self-same board down there that I was carried off the floor of the House of Representatives frequently in a stupid condition because of drink, and at the two hotels in the City of Olympia, the Governor and the Olympian, forbade me to enter there because I couldn't conduct myself as a gentleman.

That was just some of the things that they did.

- Q. Now, was that a general program of the Communist Party to smear people?
 - A. It certainly was.
 - Q. Have you ever heard people chastised in Communist Party meetings?
- A. I heard them talk to them, not only myself—I enjoyed the verbal beating I got—but I have heard other people get a verbal beating that my—actually wrung my heart.
 - Q. Will you recite the exact circumstance?

A. I will cite one instance in particular, that after the Communist Party had decided to give me the gate and successfully had done so, not only—well, I'm getting a little bit ahead of my story. A faction within a fraction—they had a faction within a fraction at one time—decided to upset the leadership of the Workers Alliance, and so in the last convention they ganged up on me and deposed me as president. Heretofore, prior to all of those conventions we held fraction meetings. For some unknown reason this time, the fraction meeting was denied, although I jumped up and down and screamed and I knew something was going to break because this happened, and I was afraid of the effect that it was going to have on the workers themselves.

But a fraction meeting was denied me—denied us, and so as a consequence the Workers Alliance had an entire new set-up, and in other words it was destroyed. The local—we—at that time we had some fairly nice offices up town, on the corner of Third and Marion, we—in that Trader's Building—we had some nice offices up there. And at that time the state apparatus of the Workers Alliance was moved up to Everett and the county apparatus was moved down on the skid road, something that we had been very definitely trying to avoid for a number of years.

And after the State Board was over—or, after the State Convention was over, Rapport heard of these things and he was very concerned about what was going to happen to the Workers Alliance, and so he called a meeting. Now I say he called one, I don't mean by that that he approached me first and said, "Let's meet," Brockway says that "Rap" wants to meet with us out at such and such an address, at a house out there in the—near the Providence Hospital. And he said, "We will meet there at such and such a time," so at such and such a time we met out there at that address.

There was present, besides Rapport and myself, Brockway, Kelso, Mrs. Reardon, oh, four or five other people of the old Workers—

- Q. Was Mrs. Hazel Wolfe present?
- A. Oh yes, Mrs. Hazel Leo Wolfe was there. She's—I'm glad you brought that up, because she's the one that I've been telling this story about.

Again we had that session where the chair opened it and then everyone had their little say, and it showed quite a bit of confusion. There was another case of confusion in the Communist Party ranks. There was no one's story who dove-tailed in exactly correctly, and it finally got around to this Hazel Wolfe telling her story, and during her story she criticized Harold Brockway. And when she criticized Harold—I won't go into the detail on what she criticized him, I—Morris Rapport leaned forward and said, "Do you mean to say that you —why didn't you—why didn't you prefer charges against Mr. Brockway before the Communist Central Committee if you felt these things about him?" Hazel Wolfe says, "Well, I was thinking of doing that." And Rapport exploded. "You've been thinking about that," and he stuttered around there, and, "The

meeting's over right now." And he gave the most damnable exhibition of temper that I've ever seen in all my life, calling poor little Hazel Wolfe down there, calling her a bitch, and a slut, and a whore, and all those kind of things. And he put the finger right on Harold Brockway and on Mrs. Reardon and on Kelso and he says, "If this bitch belongs to your unit down there, I'm charging you right today of taking her down there and expel her. I won't have her, sit in a meeting with her again."

And the meeting broke up, and there was never another meeting of that kind held, as far as I know.

- Q. Did he say anything about Mr. Brockway being a fine gentleman-
- A. Oh yes, he said that-
- Q. —having been in seventeen jails?
- A. He said—he says, "I wouldn't ever sit in a meeting with a thing like you again by daring to think that thing about Harold Brockway, who's been out here in jail in fighting the working class' troubles for years."
 - Q. Did Mrs. Wolfe subsequently rejoin the Communist Party?
 - A. I can't tell you.
- Q. You can't tell me. Now were charges ever preferred against her, to your knowledge, do you know whether-
 - A. Not to my knowledge. It was shortly after that I got the beating.
 - Q. Is that typical of a meeting that Mr. Rapport would run?
- A. I would say that Mr. Rapport was one of the foulest-mouthed persons that I ever sat in a meeting with. He was always using profanity of all different kinds, regardless of whether who was there, or who he alluded to.
- Q. Now, Mr. Armstrong, at one time you were State President of the Washington Commonwealth Federation, were you not?
- A. Not of the Washington Commonwealth Federation, but the Workers Alliance of Washington.
- Q. The Workers Alliance. Did you have your picture published in "The Saturday Evening Post" and a write-up about you?
 - A. Yes.
 - Q. Do you recall when that was?
- A. It was somewhere in 1938, I would say. In September, I think. I wouldn't be sure.
- Q. Of what organization were you the president then?
- A. The Workers Alliance of Washington.
- Q. And this article alluded to that?
- A. Yes.
- Q. It appeared in-did you see a notice in last night's press that you were going to appear here as a witness today?
 - A. Yes.
- Q. I'll ask you, Mr. Armstrong, have you had any threatening telephone calls or any attempt to influence you in your testimony?
 - A. I have.
 - Q. When was the call made?
 - A. About eleven-fifteen last night.
 - Q. Who made the call?
 - A. Bill Pennock.

- Q. Do you know Bill Pennock well?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you recognize his voice on the telephone?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Will you relate for us, as near as possible, the conversation that took place?
- A. Bill Pennock called up and said he was very surprised to-in picking up the last night's edition of the paper, that is, the last night's edition of the morning paper, to see that I was going to testify out here today, and wanted to know if that was voluntary or if I was subpoenaed. He went on to explain to me that even if I was subpoenaed that I didn't have to pay any attention to it because the committee was—was not constitutional, it was illegal, didn't I read Meakim's decision, and he rattled on like that. I assured him that I was going to attend the meeting regardless of anything that I knew of at the time, that I was going to be here and was going to testify.

Well, he went on to state that the regard—high regard which had existed between us in times past would certainly color or soften my testimony, and I brought up to him the fact that the blonde—he didn't soften that blonde up any when he brought-produced her.

With that the conversation languished and we both hung up.

- Q. Now I will ask you, Mr. Armstrong, how long have you been a member of the Legislature?
 - A. I am entering my twelfth year. That's-
 - Q. Of continuous service?
- A. Continuous service. That's six sessions—that is seven sessions. Six regular and one special session.
- Q. Were any other members of the Legislature members of the Communist Party while you were a member?
 - A. There were.
 - Q. Do you recall who any of them are-were?
- A. Ellsworth Wills, Kathryn Fogg, and Sexton P. Nortenberg, N-o-r-t-e-nb-e-r-g, Ernest T. Olson-
 - Q. Is that the Ernest T. Olson from Tacoma, who is now in the Senate?
- A. Yes. N. P. Atkinson, Tom Rabbitt, Bill Pennock, Bert Collins.
- Q. Now I'll ask you if any meetings were held among you, as Communist meetings, while you were a member of the Legislature.
 - A. Yes.
 - Q. Who would call these meetings?
 - A. Mike Smith, mostly.
 - Q. Was Mike Smith a member of the Communist Party?
- A. Not to my knowledge. I can't place Mike Smith in the Communist
- Q. Did you ever solicit Mike Smith for membership in the Communist Party?
- A. I did.
- Q. What was his response?
- A. He signed the application, but like most applications, it has to be accompanied by a little of the green stuff, you know, with the engraving of the Presidents on it. He failed to respond to that portion of it.

Q. In other words, Mike Smith signed an application to join the Communist Party, but never paid any money to go with it.

A. That's right. So far as I was concerned, I heard later that he did elsewhere, but to my own knowledge, I don't know. Except in this manner, when some of these meetings that we held down there, Rapport was present, and in opening, or in talking in the meetings, Rapport would introduce Mike to other people that were there, and as Comrade Smith, and Mike never denied it.

Q. Now, did anyone else call these meetings besides Mike Smith?

A. No, it was—it was generally more or less of a—we more or less generally left it up to Mike.

Q. I'll ask you if that was what was meant when from time to time there would be an announcement that there would be a committee meeting of the ditches—Dykes, Drains and Ditches?

A. That was somewhat of a password of ours, yes.

Q. And all of you members of the Party knew what that meant.

A. That's right.

Q. Now where were these meetings in the Legislature, while you were in the Legislature, held Mr. Armstrong?

A. We didn't hold meetings at any great length, in the Legislative building itself. We generally congregated in a room—committeeroom thirteen on the House side, then we generally adjourned either to Mike Smith's home, which was on the east side of Olympia there, or to one of the cafes downtown where we would have a private room.

Q. What room was this Committeeroom Thirteen?

A. Well, it was just one of those ordinary committeerooms up there, behind the balcony, for the Legislature, it was in the Legislative Building, it was a room with a round table in it, chairs around it, desks, typewriters and so forth.

Q. And in that room you would conduct Communist Party fraction meetings.

A. We have conducted them there, yes.

Q. Now who would be present at those meetings?

A. Well, Wills, Fogg, Nortenberg, Olson, myself, Mike Smith, and sometimes

N. P. Atkinson would come over from the Senate.

Q. Now where-

A. Let me explain a little bit more on this particular fraction meeting. The fraction meetings of a purely Communist nature down there, while they were Communist-inspired and Communist-conducted, was also conducted under the spirit of the Dimitrov Report or the United Front. In other words, we in the Party would hold a very short meeting and decide what should be done, that is, the strategy for tomorrow or the next day. And we generally had that over with very quickly before the rest of the invited guests would arrive. There were many good and sincere people in the Legislature down there at that time, who would come down there from other portions of the state, who were sent there primarily by organized labor or the railroad brotherhood, or people of that kind, that would sit in with us on these so-called caucuses. And as soon as our fraction meeting was over, which was very rapid, then we'd have a regular so-called left-wing caucus, and sometimes we'd have as high as twenty-five or thirty of these legislators in there that would be pretty well swayed by our little fraction for a while.

- O. By the organized minority.
- A. By the organized minority.
- Q. Did George Hurley ever attend any of these meetings?
- A. Not with me, no, because at the time that George Hurley was in the Legislature down there, I was an outcast.
- Q. You were out of the Communist Party?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did Emma Taylor Harmon?
- A. Yes.
- Q. She did attend these meetings?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Is Emma Taylor Harmon a member of the Communist Party?
- A. In my opinion she is, yes.
- Q. Well, was she admitted to these-
- A. She was admitted to these closed fraction meetings for discussion purposes.
- Q. Do you know Conrad Vinje?
- A. I know Conrad Vinje, yes.
- Q. Was he a member of the Legislature at this time?
- A. He was.
- Q. Did he attend any of these meetings?
- A. I can't—I can't place Conrad actually in these meetings. My memory don't serve me that well. I couldn't do it. It is my opinion that he did, but I wouldn't want to put—
- Q. Now would you have any members of the Communist Party present at these meetings who were not legislators?
- A. Not in the State House itself. We did at several times out at Mike Smith's home.
 - Q. Well now, who would these people be?
 - A. Well, Rapport himself was there, Jesse Epstein-
- Q. Is that the Jesse Epstein, Jesse Epstein who was Director of the Federal Public Housing Administration in the City of Seattle?
 - A. Yes.
 - O. And you sat in closed Communist Party meetings with him?
- A. Meetings that were described by Mr. Rapport as being just for the comrades.
- Q. Had you sat anyplace else with Mr. Epstein, ever in unit meetings?
- A. No
- Q. And Mr. Rapport described these as a closed Communist Party meeting.
- A. Yes, he-
- Q. Jesse Epstein was present.
- A.—very definitely, when Rapport opened the meeting, very definitely said that there was no one but the comrades here and introduced—at that time I had never met Mr. Epstein. Rapport introduced Comrade Armstrong to Comrade Epstein.
- Q. Did Mr. Epstein protest at the term "comrade"?
- A. No.

- Q. All right, now was Mr. Dobbins ever present?
- A. He was.
- Q. Anyone else you think of?
- A. Oh, I could mention scores of them as far as that goes, but they were mostly there as spectators. I mean, at none of these closed meetings—Jesse Epstein's position down there was rather peculiar. That year he was very definitely trying to ditch the sales tax. Jesse Epstein was down there on what was explained to me as a functionary of the Party trying to guide us along on what was tax structure. And from time to time as the other people come down there—I know that we had several banquets down there, in the Crane Cafe down there where other people were there that I knew of to be comrades, but they weren't down there attending any of these meetings.
- Q. Those that had business with the Legislature were the ones—that were members of the Communist Party attended these meetings, is that right?
 - A. That's right.
- Q. Now at these meetings would you plan strategy and how you would work in the Legislature?
 - A. That's right.
 - Q. Morris Rapport was present at the meetings, but not the ones under-
- A. He wasn't—don't misunderstand me. Rapport was only down there possibly twice or three times, at the very most, during that session of 1939. Dobbins was his spokesman as was also Jimmie Cour. Jimmie Cour at that time was sitting pretty high in the Party structure, and he was the boy that came down there mostly.
- Q. Was there ever attempt made to keep the fact that you members of the Legislature were members of the Communist Party a secret?
 - A. I didn't quite understand that question.
- Q. There was every attempt made to keep your membership in the Communist Party a secret?
 - A. Oh, very definitely. Very definitely.
- Q. Now, this was in the 1939 session that you referred to these meetings? Is that correct?
 - A. Yes.
- Q. Who would announce that there would be a committee meeting of the Dykes, Drains, and Ditches?
 - A. Mike.
 - Q. Mike—
 - A. Mike Smith.
- Q. Mike Smith. When he did, you'd know immediately what he meant. There was no such committee in the Legislature was there?
- A. Yes, there is—frankly, at that time there was a committee called the Dykes, Drains, and Ditches. And it was—it also so happens that we of the left—the left-wingers was in the "dog house" with the people who run the Legislature down there, and we got all the tag end and bob tails of committees, and this Dykes, Drains, and Ditches was just about as low as they could stick Mike, so they gave it to him. That was a joke,
- Q. And there was no one present on this committee of the Dykes, Drains, and Ditches that was not a member of the Party?

- A. That's right. Oh no, I'll take that back, there sometimes were legitimate meetings of this committee, not very often, but ordinarily it got to be a joke down there.
- Q. Now, you have referred to a time in 1941 when you and I had a little interview down there, and a party produced this blonde. Do you recall our discussion about a Communist Party meeting where Earl Browder was in attendance?
 - A. Yes.
 - Q. Will you tell us about that meeting?
 - A. Well, should I tell them how-explain how astounded I was when she-
- Q. Well, we want just the testimony about the meeting, now.
- A. Well, the meeting-
- Q. Tell us what you think.
- A. The meeting, in my opinion, was one of the most secret and hush-hush meetings that I have ever attended. I received instructions—I first was asked by Comrade Rapport whether I wished to meet Mr. Browder. I did want to meet Mr. Browder, because Mr. Browder to me, and still is, a man with a great deal amount of intelligence.
 - Q. When was this meeting?
- A. It was just prior to the election of 1940, as I recall, or sometime in there. when Browder and Ford was running for president, I can't place it exactly. but it was somewhere in there. And so a little bit later I received a telephone call, I don't know who the telephone call was from. He said he was talking to "Rap" about something yesterday, and that thing has been arranged. This was on a Saturday that I got this telephone call. Now this voice on the other end of the wire said, "Tomorrow morning at ten o'clock you take your car and you go to such and such a spot and you pick up Mike Smith and you go someplace else and you pick up somebody else." I forget who this other person was. And he said, "Then you're to go to such and such address," which was out in the University district, "and you park your car there, then you three people get out of that car and you stroll, just stroll casually now, stroll north a block, and then east a block, and then west a block, and then, so forth and so forth, pretty soon you'll come to a certain house," And he didn't give us the address of the house, as I recall, they described it to us. "And you go into that house—"
 - Q. Did he say anything about a rose in the window?
- A. Oh something like that, it may have been something of that kind, some kind of identifying mark, but the thing that sticks most in my memory is the two blocks east, and so forth. It was a round-about way of getting there, but we finally got there, and we found that we was in Joe Butterworth's house. And pretty soon—
 - Q. Is that the Professor Joe Butterworth that you previously referred to?
- A. It is. And pretty soon there was other people. They'd come in through the basement, and they'd come in through the back door, and they'd come in through the alley door. And so there was quite a little gathering there. And after we was all there and checked off the list by Mr. Rapport, then the discussion begin and we had a very nice hour or so's discussion with Mr. Browder.

Q. Was there anyone there except members of the Communist Party and Mike Smith?

A. Not to my knowledge. That's another thing that convinces me that Mike some way or other did get into the Party later on, is the fact that that, as I say, was a very hush-hush meeting.

And then a little bit later, after the conference was over, we departed in the same way. A group of one or two at a time, and through the alley and through the basement, through the back door, and through the front door. And first, Mr. Browder left, and the rest of us had to sit there until fifteen or twenty minutes, or half an hour or something after he'd gone, to assure secrecy. And the only people who knew anything about it was the F.B.I. and the Civil Service Commission.

- Q. Was it somewhat disconcerting when I asked you about that meeting?
- A. I think the word is "flabbergasterating."
- Q. Now, Mr. Armstrong, will you care, while we're on this subject, to mention the officials of the Communist Party that you've met with from time to time?
- A. Well, I think the—it's without pamper. Of course, I've met in the meantime with a good many secretaries and chairmen of units. The first official that I ever had contact with, to my knowledge, was Allen Macks.
 - Q. Who is Allen Macks? Will you explain who he is?
- A. At that time Allen Macks was the District Organizer of the Communist Party, with headquarters at that time, in the Colonist Building on the corner of Second and Yesler Way.
 - Q. And that's prior to the time that Mr. Rapport was-
- A. That was prior to that time, as I recall. And then, of course, Mr. Rapport, who was the District Organizer, and Louis Sass, S-a-s-s, Sass, L-o-u-i-s Louis, and Al Bristol, Lowell Wakefield, and Harry Jackson, and Joe Stack, and Harold Johnson—
 - Q. Which Harold Johnson is this, now?
- A. This Harold Johnson at that time, I have him here and I should have had him on—also on the King County Central Committee, and also he was a member, if my memory goes back correctly, and I believe it does, of the Thirty-Third District club, or unit. He at that time, and I presume still is, a member of the Hope Lodge Machinists Union No. 79.
 - Q. Is he an official of that lodge?
- A. I can't tell you. I don't know. I also met with Ford, the Vice Presidential candidate with Earl Browder, and with "Whitey" Baxter, who was the Educational Director of this area here for a long time; Ernie Fox, who was the Director of the Labor Union structure, I don't recall just what that—his official name was. It was the labor trade union fraction or structure, whatever it was, that had the charge of organizing and infiltrating into organized labor, both the A. F. of L. and C.I.O.
 - Q. Did he have a connection with another labor union in town?
- A. As I understand it, he was connected with some other Maritime Federation, whether it was in that local union or something else, but I know that he was primarily sprung for the waterfront, whether it was the Maritime—whether it was some actual local of the Seamen's Union or Sailor's Union, or whether it was the Longshoremen, I'm not clear on that. But he did spring from the waterfront.

Barbara Hartle, who is now one of the big bugs here in King County, this section of the woods, at that time she was the area secretary, I believe, in Spokane. Jim Haggin, who at that time and has since disassociated himself with the Party, was the regional Communist head over there. Al Germain, G-e-r-m-a-i-n, who since is dead, was Jim Haggin's assistant. I've met Henry Huff, the present head here, and I might say that Henry smiled at me sweetly and intimated that any advances that I might be—might make toward him would not be rebuffed. Revels Caton—

- Q. That was before today, of course.
- A. That was before today. Revels Caton, R-e-v-e-l-s C-a-t-o-n, a Negro who at that time was the head of the—that division of the Communist Party who was interested in misleading the Negroes. And then, of course, Mr. Murphy, the organizational director of Portland.
 - Q. Did you ever meet with George Bradley?
 - A. Yes. George Bradley, I believe, if I were to go back here to-
 - Q. Yes, you've already named him previously.
- A. Yes, he was in the—he worked with Tom Smith out there and was in that unit, and I also have him again here in the Trade Union fraction or organization, whatever it is, at that time was headed by Ernie Fox.
- Q. Is that the same George Bradley who is now a Vice—International Vice President of the Building Service Employees Union?
 - A. I believe that it is.
- Q. Was he connected with the Building Service Employees Union at any time while you knew him?
 - A. Yes.
- Q. Now, it's—our little conversation of several years ago, Mr. Armstrong, when I was with the Civil Service Commission, we didn't get into the record who all were present at this hush-hush meeting. Can you recall some of the people that were there?
- A. Yes, there was Ellsworth Wills, and Rappaport, Mike Smith, Kathryn Fogg, myself, I believe Al Bristol, Mrs. Reardon was also there of the Workers Alliance, Dorothy Butterworth and Joe Butterworth. There may have been others, but I just can't bring to mind right—Harold Brockway.
 - Q. Do you know a Richard, Dick, Murphy?
 - A. I do.
- Q. Do you know whether or not Mr. Murphy was ever a member of the Communist Party?
 - A. Not to my knowledge.
- Q. Not to your knowledge. Did he serve in the Legislature at the same time you did?
 - A. He did.
- Q. And while you were a member of the Communist Party?
- A. No.
- Q. No. He was not a legislator then-
- A. No.
- Q. —at the time you were in the Communist Party.
- A. No.

- Q. Then you wouldn't know of any activities of his in the Legislature, then?
 - A. I heard nothing of Communist activities, no.
- Q. Now, did you meet ever with the Trade Union fraction of the Communist Party?
- A. Well, I met with several of them, you might—I might put it this way, the Trade Union fraction or the Trade Union steering committee, or whatever you want to call it, I met with them on several different occasions; and as usual in meetings of this kind, there was times when there'd only be four or five of us present and the next time there'd be a little, few more of a different—different people and so forth.
- Q. Well, all of them, at all times were members of the Communist Party and you were meeting as such.
 - A. Yes.
 - Q. Who-would you care to name some of them?
- A. The head of the outfit at that time, as I told you before, was this Ernie Fox. If my memory goes back, some of those present at those meetings, and I might say that some of the meetings took place in the Communist head-quarters up in—in the 2400 block on Second Avenue and later some of them were held down in the Smith Tower when we had a—quite a swanky office down there at one time. And these people that I will mention were there at one time or another, possibly never all at the same time. In fact I'm quite positive that at this fraction, all these people who I will mention were not all there at the same time.

Starting off with Ernie Fox, you have Bob Stevens, S-t-e-v-e-n-s.

- Q. Who was this Mr. Stevens?
- A. He is a member—or at that time was a member of Hope Lodge Machinists No. 79. We have, I believe his first name was Bob Camozzi, C-a-m-o-z-z-i. At that time Camozzi was a—some official, I believe, of the Radio Telegraphers Maritime Union, or whatever it was. In other words, the wireless operators on the ships. Hugo Lundquist, L-u-n-d-q-u-i-s-t. He at that time, as I recall, was the—one of the higher officers, I don't recall offhand whether it was the business agent or the president. I think it was the president, but I wouldn't be sure, of the Aeronautical Mechanics Union. Nelson, I think his first name was Burt, he come from the Longshoremen's. Carl Brooks—
 - Q. Is that Burt spelled B-u-r-t?
- A. Yes. He's the—it was listed—but that's his name, that's the way it was spelled. Carl Brooks, of the Scalers Union. Victor Hicks, H-i-c-k-s of the Teachers. Bill Ziegner, he had a rather dual roll there, as I recall, he belonged both to the Hod Carriers Union and to the County Employees Union. Glenn Kinney, K-i-n-n-e-y, I believe his name was spelled, he belonged to the Machinists Union, Hope Lodge No. 79. Bert Collins, a member of the same union that I belonged to, the Auto Machinists No. 289. Bill Dobbins, at that time a member of the Hod Carriers and leader of the Building Service Union. George Bradley, he come in I believe at that time from the Municipal—County, Municipal and State Employees Union, from the north county district out here, and later from the Building Service Employees Union, and he was looked upon, in my estimation, as being a sub-leader of that group under Ernie Fox. Jess Fletcher, also attended. And Ward Coley, another Building Service representative. Claude Smith, from the Newspaper Guild. Charles Legg, I'm not sure

whether he was representing the Municipal, County and State Employees Union out here, or the Boilermakers, or both. Wallace Webb, Wallace W. Webb, of the Shingleweavers at that time. Earl Gunther, since deceased, come in and as I again explain that he is no—not connected with the families of Gunther from the University of Washington, he come in from one of the theatrical units—unions. Whether it was the Stage Employees or not, I don't know, but I think it was. And Harold Johnson, of the Machinists again, as I mentioned before and also of the Thirty-Third District Unit of the Party.

Those are the only names that I have present in the time I have been—might have recollection of a few more, but I don't recall them just now.

- Q. Now with every one of these you have met in closed Communist Party fraction meetings, at the call of the Communist Party, and to further the Communist Party program.
 - A. That's right.
- Q. I'll ask you, Mr. Armstrong, while you were a member of the Communist Party, did you notice any evidence of atheistic teaching?
- A. Well, yes, the—all the literature—I won't say all the literature, but at every unit meeting where they—a formal unit meeting, such as the Thirty-Third District meeting, or the Thirty-Fourth District meeting, or any of those unit meetings, they always had what they call a literature secretary, or agent. And that secretary was supposed to get there before the meeting would open and spread out the Party literature on the benches, or someplace where it could be readily observed and offered for sale. There was always something in there about atheism, that is books on atheism, and anti-Christ. And one of the slogans was, as everybody knows, is "Religion is the Opium of the People."
- Q. Do you believe that Communism is a threat to the United States of America today?
- A. I very definitely do, yes. If the—if the people that I know of, who are still and have been in the Party, their actions, their utter lack of integrity, their total disregard for any human decency, in any respect, to achieve their own ends is a criterion of what we could expect from Russia or from the Communist Doctrines as a whole, I don't want any of it. I think it's very detrimental, very definitely detrimental to American ideals and liberty.
- Q. Do you think the Communist Party is a Fifth Column, owing allegiance to Russia?
 - A. In my mind there is definitely no doubt of that.
 - Q. Their first allegiance is to Russia?
- A. Absolutely. That is, if one goes back and studies history, that one can see the sudden switch of the Party line from this, that or the other thing. At the time when President Roosevelt was so desperately trying to build up the Armed Forces of the United States to detract—or, to counteract Hitler, we know what we suffered then from the Communist Party calling him a warmonger. I, and the rest of us who were attempting to achieve a little security through Roosevelt's program were also warmongers.

And yet in a very few short days, or weeks after that, we find that what occurs, that Hitler stabs Russia in the back and so forth, why Roosevelt is one of the God's creation. Even today we find the Party crying, "Let's go back to Roosevelt policy." They don't even know what Roosevelt stands for. They're trying to convince us that they do. They're trying to convince us that they're for Roosevelt policy; but they're not for Roosevelt policy; they're

for Communist Party policy as laid down by the Comintern. And Roosevelt never had anything to do with that, he never subscribed to any of it that I know of.

- Q. Now, Mr. Armstrong, you testified earlier that when at a Party meeting the cards were stolen and it appeared you were in trouble, you telephoned Rapport and he told you to get—to go see Caughlan, did he not? John Caughlan?
- A. I don't know—I don't recall now, Mr. Houston, who all we telephoned. I know that we ended up Brockway, Kelso, Dobbins and myself, ended up out at John Caughlan's house somewhere on Queen Anne Hill.
 - Q. Did Caughlan seem to be sympathetic with your problem?
 - A. Very much so.
- Q. As a member of the Communist Party who knew the program and to observe the actions of Communists, would it be your opinion that he was a member of the Communist Party?
 - A. It would be.
- Q. And you testify then, as a Communist at the time and knowing what the actions of the Communists were?
 - A. That's right.
 - Q. He followed the Communist Party line?
 - A. Invariably.

MR. HOUSTON: I believe that's all. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask for just a five-minute recess now, just a very short recess. I think I've concluded with the—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Do you have other witnesses to produce at this time?

MR. HOUSTON: I may have, I want to—I want to confer.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Armstrong may be excused, and we will be at ease for about five minutes.

(Witness Excused)

(Recess)

MRS. KATHRYN FOGG, resumed the stand for further examination and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

- Q. You are the Mrs. Kathryn Fogg who testified here the other day?
- A. Yes sir, I am.
- Q. Mrs. Fogg, did you hear the testimony of Mr. H. C. Armstrong?
- A. I did, sir.
- Q. At all places in this testimony where he mentioned your name and placed you in meetings, was that true and correct?
- A. Yes sir, it was. He failed to remember I was in his car with Mike and he, was the only thing.
 - Q. You recall that now.
 - A. Yes.
- Q. And none of Mr. Armstrong's testimony wherein he placed you in a meeting was incorrect, then?
 - A. It was all correct, every time.

MR. HOUSTON: Thank you very much, Mrs. Fogg.

(Witness excused)

JESS FLETCHER, resumed the stand for further examination and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

- Q. You are the Jess Fletcher who testified before this committee last week?
- A. I am.
- Q. Mr. Fletcher you have heard—have you heard the testimony of Mr. Armstrong?
 - A. I did.
- Q. At all places where Mr. Armstrong placed you in Communist Party meetings, were you there?
 - A. I was, although he missed some of them.
- Q. Was all of the testimony of Mr. Armstrong pertaining to meetings where you were present, correct?
 - A. Absolutely correct.
- Q. Now I will ask you, Mr. Fletcher, have you ever sat in closed Communist Party meetings with Florence Bean James?
- A. Well, yes. She was always raising money and she asked my union for money, and I refused to give it to her, and then she brought Mr. Rapport and Mr. DeLacy to my office and said, "This is a comrade and we expect you to support him."
- Q. You refer to Mrs. Florence Bean James as a comrade and deserving of the support of your union.
- A. That's right. I'd refused to sign the check until they had identified her as a comrade, and then I signed the check.
- Q. They put pressure on you.
- A. That's right.
- Q. Have you ever addressed her as comrade?
- A. Oh, yes, I said, "Here you are, comrade," when I give her the check.
- Q. Did she remonstrate?
- A. No, no. No.
- Q. Did she address you as Comrade Fletcher?
- A. She said, "Thank you, comrade."
- Q. And you have, in addition to that, sat in fraction meetings with her?
- A. In meetings where DeLacy and Rapport and Huff and all the other leaders that's been mentioned here, of all Communists, and discussed policy and political campaigns, the policy of the Party that was handed down from New York. Well, we took the policy as handed down by Rapport or Huff.
- Q. Was there anyone present at these meetings except members of the Communist Party?
- A. There was not.
- Q. Your testimony is then, as a Communist she sat in Communist Party meetings with you.
 - A. That's right.