

TESTIMONY OF J. B. MATTHEWS Former Research Director for Dies Committee

BY MR. HOUSTON:

MR. HOUSTON: Doctor, did you hear the instructions that I gave the witnesses this morning as to procedure in the box? We are recording this and we ask that you answer audibly and not by nods and that you spell unusual names.

DR. MATTHEWS: I did.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Houston, I believe that we will wait for the State Patrol to abate that noise. It is impossible to record the testimony accurately with that noise going on and we'll wait until that is done.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you please state your name?

DR. MATTHEWS: J. B. Matthews. Matthews.

MR. HOUSTON: That's right. That has two t's in it, doesn't it? We usually get it with the one.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, where do you live, doctor?

DR. MATTHEWS: In New York City.

MR. HOUSTON: And, how long have you lived there?

DR. MATTHEWS: Since 1935.

MR. HOUSTON: Where did you go to school, doctor?

DR. MATTHEWS: I went to school at Asbury College in Kentucky, Columbia University, Purdue University, Union Theological Seminary, Vienna University, and several other places.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, what degrees do you have, Doctor?

DR. MATTHEWS: A.B., M.A., B.D., S.T.N., Ph.D.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your business, Doctor?

DR. MATTHEWS: Researching Communism.

MR. HOUSTON: Research in the field of Communism?

DR. MATTHEWS: That is correct.

MR. HOUSTON: And do you have offices and a staff to do that work?

DR. MATTHEWS: I do.

MR. HOUSTON: What is your background in that field, Doctor?

DR. MATTHEWS: From 1938 until 1945 I was the Director of Research for the Special Committee on Un-American Activities at the House of Representatives, popularly known as the Dies Committee.

MR. HOUSTON: You set up that committee and were their first research director and chief investigator, is that correct?

DR. MATTHEWS: No, the United States Congress set it up but I was their Research Director during the entire life of the Committee.

MR. HOUSTON: And you have continued right on doing your research and work in that field?

DR. MATTHEWS: That is correct and for a number of years prior to my association with the Dies Committee I had carried on research in the field of Communism and other subversive organizations such as the Nazi Fronts which existed prior to the World War.

Leading Fellow Traveler in United States

MR. HOUSTON: As a matter of fact you were, from time to time, a member of a good many of the Communist Front Organizations, were you not?

DR. MATTHEWS: For a period, I was perhaps, the leading Fellow Traveler in the United States. I do not say that boastfully, but very regretfully.

MR. HOUSTON: I think I have heard it mentioned that you belonged to some 96 different front organizations, did you not?

DR. MATTHEWS: I have listed them in print. That is approximately correct.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Doctor, are you familiar with the declared objectives of the Communist Party in the field of education?

DR. MATTHEWS: I think I am as a result of extensive research into the literature of the Communist movement.

Communist Party Objectives in Education

MR. HOUSTON: Would you detail for us some of the objectives of the Communist Party in the field of education, how they intend to do it, what they intend to do?

DR. MATTHEWS: By way of a preface I would like to call your attention to one of the very familiar passages in the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels, adoption of which is celebrating its 100th anniversary this year.

The closing paragraph of the Communist Manifesto says the Communist disdains to conceal their views and names. When Marx and Engels wrote that statement they did not anticipate the establishment of organizations which today have come to be known as common stocks. The very essence of a Communist Federal Convention is a concealment of those objectives.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I am going to ask for the State Patrol to take drastic measures, and if the demonstration continues in front of the Armory, I am going to ask for the arrest, disorderly conduct charges of the participants.

We are not going to tolerate a Communist interference with the legislative process, and we are going to see that that decision is upheld, if we have to move in the entire State Patrol.

Do you wish to continue now, until that is definitely settled?

MR. HOUSTON: You were discussing the organization of the front controls and them not having been contemplated by Marx and Engels.

DR. MATTHEWS: Yes, in that their chief characteristic is concealment. Marx and Engels undoubtedly did not foresee their establishment when they said that Communists disdained to conceal. At the same time, it is true that if you survey sufficiently Communist literature, you will find somewhere all of the objectives set forth; and that is true in the field of education as well as in other fields. Somewhere in black and white, the Communists have set down what they are about to do, or trying to do. In "**The Communist**," which is the—or was, the most official Party publication some years ago, in the issue of May, 1937,—

MR. HOUSTON: Doctor, if you wish, I think we have it right downstairs.

DR. MATTHEWS: I have the quotations that I wish to use from the document, but I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that that particular document is of sufficient importance to be incorporated officially in your records. It does set forth the objectives of the Communist Party in the field of education to some extent.

DR. MATTHEWS: Now, that is in the issue of May, 1937. **"A People's Movement around the schools can thus transform the latter into popular forms for progressive social action, ultimately into forms for the revolution."**

Now that is precisely the over-all objective of the Communist Party with reference to the schools of this country, to transform them as rapidly as possible by infiltration into forms which may ultimately be used for the Communist revolution to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In this same article, in **"The Communist"** of May, 1937, we find the following: **"Communist teachers are, therefore, faced with a tremendous social responsibility. They must take advantage of their positions, without exposing themselves."** End of that particular quotation.

And there you have explicitly set forth in an official Communist document, the idea that **teachers who are Communists, must by and large conceal their membership in the Communist Party; and that is the situation as we find it today.**

To quote further from that same article: **"Only when teachers have really mastered Marxism-Leninism will they be able skillfully to inject it into their teachings, at the least risk of exposure."** That's the end of that quotation.

It is sometimes alleged that a teacher of literature, or a teacher of mathematics, or a teacher of history, may be a member of the Communist Party, and at the same time not inject any Communist doctrine into his or her classroom teaching. That may be true in some cases; but at least the **objective of the Party as set forth in this particular document is that every Communist teacher that has mastered Communist doctrine, is skillfully to inject it into their teachings, with no limits set forth as to the field in which the teacher is a professional.**

Demonstrators Are Warned by Chairman

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I suggest that the State Patrol make some arrests out there if this continues. These people are the ones who are supposed to be interested in free speech, and academic freedom, and all the civil rights, and they are giving a typical Communist demonstration of what they really believe.

DR. MATTHEWS: We should not assume that the Communist Party is interested exclusively in the schools of New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles, Seattle, and other great urban centers, where in this article, or the discussion, they have set forth this view: **"As a means of mobilizing the people in the villages and countryside, steps should be taken to try to send Communist teachers into rural communities, where they should become active in all community organizations."**

Stalin's infiltration of American schools, elementary, secondary, higher, private, public, has been so extensive that many volumes could be written on the subject; but **its over-all objective is to undermine the loyalty of American youth to their traditions, their way of life, and their form of government. In other words, the Kremlin's objective calls for our being softened for immoral, intellectual and military Pearl Harbor.** The extent to which Communists have been successful in infiltrating schools is a matter on which there is some latitude of freedom.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The police organizations, the Highway Patrol and the City Police, are in the process of handling the situation in front of the building at the present moment and we will be at ease for about five

minutes to see if that will be—see if the conditions out there will be cleared up before we proceed with our testimony.

(Recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Shall we attempt to proceed? I think the situation is in hand.

MR. MATTHEWS: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Houston has produced a copy of **"The Communist"** for May, 1937, which contains an article by **Richard Frank** entitled **"The Schools and the People's Front"** which is the article from which I have quoted. I would like to continue for a moment with the objectives in the field of education for which have been set forth, in print, by the Communist Party. I have in my hand an official pamphlet of the Communist Party entitled the **"Road to Mass Organization of Proletarian Children."** Several major objectives for educating children are set forth in this pamphlet.

Communist Objectives in Educating Children

On page 16, we find the following: **"The decisive turn toward mass work must be particularly expressed among children in Atheist groups."** That is point one in the educational program for the children and young people.

On Page 19, this pamphlet states **"Our children's leagues must make it their tasks to explain to the masses of children the importance of defending the fatherland of the proletarian children all over the world, the U.S.S.R., the will and significance of the Red Army as an army of the world Proletariat."** That's point two in the educational program of this pamphlet. **The loyalty to the Soviet Union and treason to the United States.**

It has become a commonplace, Mr. Chairman, to point out that the Communist Party in the United States at the present time is only secondarily, if at all, a purely devoted to an economic and social program. **It is primarily, if not exclusively, an arm of the foreign office of the present Soviet government and any man who—or woman who is a member of the Communist Party or supports it in any way whatsoever is either an agent of, or the stooge of agents of, the foreign office of the Soviet government.** I reiterate what has been said so frequently but I think it is part of this record in connection with teachers and schools.

Again in this pamphlet we find the following:

"A special struggle should be waged at home by the children. The children should try to win over the adults. This activity requires also a struggle in the family against backward ideas such as religion, petty bourgeois tendencies. Through the rejection of bourgeois holidays and customs the children can become the exponent of Communist ideas at home."

That sounds fantastic to some Americans but there it is in black and white.

It means simply that ten and twelve year old children, the age group to which this pamphlet is addressed and with which it is concerned, are to give their parents lessons in dialectical materialism, and in monolithic loyalty to Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin. That is an objective in the educational field.

Again, in this same pamphlet. **Point three for young American students, as I put it out, was rejection of parental authority and respect.**

Point four. The finest program for youthful students would organize shooting practice, exercises and military games with the objects of developing the faculties of self-defense among working class children. That's point four. **The training of American children for Civil War.**

The date on this pamphlet was 1929. It is the official decisions of the **fourth International Conference of Leaders of Communist Children's Leagues**, Moscow, September, 1929, and the resolution of the **Enlarged Plenum of the Young Communist International**, Moscow, December, 1929.

The extent to which the Communists have been successful in penetrating schools is to some extent a matter of opinion and **I should like to make it clear that in all that I have to say there is no reflection, direct or implied, upon the vast body of American teachers. That ought to go without saying. Precisely as the overwhelming majority of all Americans are thoroughly loyal, so the overwhelming majority of all teachers are thoroughly loyal to American institutions.**

In my records, which have been compiled over a period of some years, **there are approximately 5,000 teachers, mostly in higher institutions of learning, colleges and universities, who are being affiliated with Communist organizations or Communist club organizations.** Generally speaking, that may be considered a small group, but I should like to point out that if in 1938, '40, and '41 it had been discovered that 5,000 American professors had been affiliated with Nazi led organizations it would have been a national scandal of the greatest proportions. If 500 had been found so affiliated it would have constituted a scandal from coast to coast.

Now, there's some—seems to be still some reluctance on the part of well-meaning Americans to recognize what is becoming daily a more and more obvious fact, that if there were any differences between Naziism and Communism, Communism is the more brutal police state of the two. And that is not said by way of condoning anything in the Nazi program.

Stalin exercises a—an authority in a police state—the like of which Hitler never attained. And the servants of Stalin in the United States, whether in the field of Education or any other field, are the servants of a police state as brutal, if not more brutal than that of Hitler.

Not all of these five thousand academicians to whom I have referred are Party members, by any means. It would be my considered opinion that a relatively small proportion of them actually hold membership cards in the Communist Party. For the most part they are what we call Fellow Travelers, and they are Fellow Travelers in varying degrees. Some of them have traveled with the Communist Party with a full understanding of the nature and consequences of their political behavior. Others are dupes—gullible stooges—who despite their supposed discipline of mind do not comprehend in the slightest degree the fact that they serve the cause of this fifth column.

Attitude of Communist Party Concerning Professors

The Communist Party, itself has understood from the very beginning that professors were a rather dangerous group to have in the Communist Party in too large numbers. One of the witnesses on the stand this morning here, intimated that such was the case at the University of Washington.

Now, Stalin himself once said that "professors were held back because there would have been produced a state of frustration in which the Party would have been inundated with professors and students." The Communist history in the United States is replete with the expulsions of intellectuals—especially professors who made a brave effort to submit themselves to the disciplines of the Communist Party, but who found that they could not click their metal heels fast enough and loud enough to suit the top sergeants of the new social order.

These professors do not stay long in the party. It is, I think, rather the common rule, with the exception, that they're in the party six months to eighteen months. Nevertheless there is a core of membership in the academic world extending over a long period of years. It was significant that the testimony before this Committee this morning brought out the fact that certain members of the Communist Party, who are on the faculty of the University of Washington, have been members of the Communist Party for approximately ten years. That is not an unusual length of period for some of the professors to remain members of the Communist Party.

I say then that the Party very often keeps the professor at arm's length and would prefer to have a Fellow Traveler than a professor who is a member of the Communist Party. That is by way of explanation of the five thousand odd to whom I have referred who have had tens of thousands of individual affiliations with Communist **Front organizations.**

Precisely why a professor would belong to the Communist Party is a question which is asked very frequently and I think it deserves a very careful answer. It certainly deserves the kind of an answer that we're not yet prepared to give. We have research institutions, methods, facilities—which go into the behavior of mice and insects of all kinds, but we have not yet—in the field of psychiatry, for example, tried to find out why a man or a woman becomes a Communist. I think it is largely a matter for the field of psychiatry. Perhaps some of the psychiatrists will get around to researching in that field before long—and I'm not saying this facetiously.

Undoubtedly there are kinds and degrees of frustration which are found in the academic world. I didn't tell you, Mr. Councilor, that for fourteen years I was a member of faculties of institutions of higher education, so that I have not only met the professors but I have been a professor. These frustrations express themselves in various ways, but one of the ways in which they express themselves is to lead professors to say, as **Rexford Guy Tugwell** said in 1932, that when he was a young man he decided to roll up his sleeves and make the world over. A quotation which was used frequently against Mr. Tugwell in the early days of the New Deal. Well, Professor Tugwell is now at the University of Chicago and he's still rolling up his sleeves as a leader in the Wallace for President movement. I think what Professor Tugwell said is true of many academicians. They do not feel that their position in society gives them a responsibility for making the wheels go around. They are not charged with the management of business, economic affairs. They have more time to think up Utopias—to draw blue prints of an ideal world order. They derive a sense of power out of imagining at least, that they are part of a movement to tear down what is, with its injustices and faults and failures and build an ideal new world. I'm sure that many of us have run into, if we haven't been ourselves, precisely people of that mind.

If we were the architects of the New World Order, then it follows that by definition we are more powerful than the people who are in charge of the status quo—and since professors as a rule have no responsibility for managing the status quo, so far as the economic order is concerned they derive their sense of power from the thinking that they are going to build the New Social Order. I don't mean to say, for a minute, that that applies to all professors who join the Communist Party. There undoubtedly are many who have got into the Party in a way that is described in the report of the Canadian Royal Commission, which I know the members of this committee have read.

In that report it is made clear that professors in Canada were originally motivated by commonly accepted ideals of humanity, justice and tolerance. They found themselves unwittingly associated more and more with agents of Moscow who concealed their real objectives—who drew them on. I recall the testimony of **Mr. J. S. Benning** in the report of the **Canadian Royal Commission**. Mr. Benning said that he started out as one stuffing envelopes for some **Spanish Aid Committee** and for the **League Against War and Fascism**. But eventually, after a number of years, he found himself a part of a network of spies trying to steal the atomic bomb for the Soviet government. That is, I think, often the road traveled by the person who gets into the Communist Party in the academic world.

He starts out with a thoroughly proper and noble ideal and is led along the road to espionage by steps which are hardly recognizable even to a trained academic mind, until he finds that he has gone so far that it's too late to turn back without suffering consequences that belong or come to those that do turn back.

Why anyone who is situated, as the majority of American college professors are situated should be a part of Stalin's fifth column in the United States will remain a shocking thing despite all the explanations that can be set forth for it. And certainly, with a campus as beautiful as that of the University of Washington; with associations which are available there; with incomes that are certainly above a subsistence level—that any member of the faculty of the University of Washington should be a member of the Communist Party is a shocking thing, particularly in the year 1948. And I think it will be recognized by this Committee that it is a different thing to some degree, to be a member of the Communist Party in 1948 than it was in 1936 or in 1926.

Those who studied the objectives of the Communist Party in 1926 with sufficient thoroughness knew then precisely what we all know today—the nature of Communism. There was no real excuse for ignorance in 1926, but the leaders of the Soviet government have made it practically impossible for anybody anywhere in the world to misunderstand the objectives of world Communism, today. So that those who continue in their membership in the Communist Party in 1948, it seems to me, have a different degree of responsibility than those who were members in 1936.

I have made a tabulation of the leading Fellow Travelers in the United States. This tabulation covers approximately one thousand Communist-Front organizations and it was derived in this fashion. Any person who has sponsored or been affiliated with twenty or more of those Communist front organizations is by definition set down as a Fellow Traveler.

I find that the top one hundred Fellow Travelers in the United States, today, include twenty-three college professors and only six officials of labor unions. And that, I think is significant. Twenty-three college professors, by far the largest number in any category, among the one-hundred top Fellow Travelers in the United States.

I pointed that out recently to a distinguished refugee from Czechoslovakia, who called my attention to the fact that precisely that situation had existed in Czechoslovakia, and when it came time for the **Fifth Column in Czechoslovakia to take over that unfortunate state and place it under the heel of the Russian despotism, the professors led the list of those who were in the Fifth Column of Stalin.**

By way of another illustration, in April of this year another revolution took place, or a riot, in the City of Bogota in Colombia. **The leader of the mob that**

harangued the multitude and led to the killing of more than ten thousand people on the streets of Bogota, was the President of the University of Bogota, and his leading agitators were from the student body and faculty of the University of Bogota.

I point these illustrations out to show that it is not a meaningless stand to support twenty front organizations of the Communist Party in the year 1948; that other professions in that list of a hundred top Fellow Travelers in the United States include twelve clergymen, and the clergymen rank next to the professors as top fellow-travelers. Well, it's been known for some time that some of the most influential Communist Party members in the United States are members of the clergy. I examined **Mr. Earl Browder** on the witness stand myself some years ago, and Mr. Browder testified under oath that the Communist Party had a number of clergymen who were members in its ranks.

There are a half a dozen lawyers in that list of fellow-travelers. There are at least five members of what we sometimes call the "idle rich," the people who do not work for a living in the sense that most of us do, but who have rather larger than normal incomes and for some strange reasons, I think in all the four cases, the psychiatric, are leaders in the Communist movement in the United States.

Certainly two of the most distinguished such fellow-travelers are **Corliss Lamont**, whose late father was the head of the house of J. P. Morgan, and who is himself a professor at Columbia University—I beg your pardon, he is an instructor at Columbia University and has the status of an instructor for approximately twenty years, and while he has supported with his money and time and influence, the communist movement.

Now **Frederick Vanderbilt Field**, who is certainly one of the leading Communists among the rich, was the head of the **American Peace Mobilization** just prior to the entrance of Russia into the recent World War. Now Frederick Vanderbilt Field gets his millions from the Vanderbilt fortune, as well as from the Field fortune.

I say there are three from the idle rich who are in this category of top fellow-travelers in the United States.

Attorney General Lists Subversive Organizations

Recently the Attorney General of the United States, Mr. Tom Clark, published two lists of subversive organizations. One of those lists appeared in December—on December the 4th, 1947; the other appeared this spring. One of the organizations found to be subversive by the Attorney General, whose opinion was based upon extensive investigations by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was the **National Council of American-Soviet Friendship**. Among the sponsors of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship are forty-five leading educators in the United States; and I say they are leading because I found that every one of the forty-five is listed in Who's Who in America. They are not small fry in the academic world.

On December the 4th, the Attorney General of the United States pronounced this organization subversive. In June of this year there were still forty-one of those outstanding academicians on this letterhead of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. What happened to the other four? Well, one of the four, the President of the University of Delaware, died four and a half years ago, and yet there's his name on the new letterhead. Another was the President of the University of Toledo; he died three years ago. Another was a distinguished professor at the University of California; he died

two years ago. Another was the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of St. Lawrence University in New York State; he died two years ago. That's leaving only forty-one. I can't vouch for the statement that all forty-one are still alive. They are certainly not alive to their—the interests of their country, but there they are.

There are only about a hundred and fifty sponsors of this subversive organization. Forty-five of the names on the list are of distinguished educators.

That brings up a point which I should like to emphasize, because it goes to the heart of this business of why the Communist Party wants to have such a large percentage of Fellow-Travelers among distinguished educators. You see, obviously the subversive front, the **National Council of American-Soviet Friendship**, had not communicated with those four deceased gentlemen for at least a period of two years, and in the case of one for four and a half years.

There is little or no connection between the sponsor of a Communist front organization and the organization itself subsequent to the time the sponsor agreed to lend his name. That is the beginning and end of the relationship. It is obvious, therefore, that the Communist Party desires primarily to use the prestige of the academic world to further its subversive purposes; and probably avoids communicating with its sponsors subsequent to the time they lend their names, lest some of the sponsors should find out what the organization is up to. That will exculpate to some degree many of the sponsors of these organizations unless you consider it a grave responsibility for any person to lend his name to an organization in this period when it has become a matter of public knowledge that hundreds of Communist fronts are working throughout the length and breadth of the land. Since that is true, there would seem to be some degree of real responsibility attached to the lending of one's name to an organization.

I reiterate that if distinguished citizens were as careless about lending their names to Nazi organizations, well, they would hear from the matter and hear from it in the strongest fashion from many quarters.

Educators Support Party Objectives

Behind this widespread use of professors' names to support the interest and objectives of the Communist Party, there is a false notion that scholarship in one particular field carries with it extraordinary political wisdom in all fields. Thus a mathematician, an astronomer, a nuclear physicist, an historian or a geologist, is heard with respect, unfortunately, when he pontificates upon political questions, though his competence in the field of politics may be less worthwhile than the young man who sits there in the front.

We have some very distinguished examples of this. **Albert Einstein**, who certainly has earned the right to the greatest distinction in his particular scientific field, rarely lets the month go by that he does not sound off on some political question. His name leads all the rest in these lists of sponsors.

Last year Moscow's "**Pravda**" published an honor roll of eleven Americans who were alleged to be outstanding in their "sincere friendship for the Soviet Union." The name of Albert Einstein of Princeton, and the name of **Ralph Barton Perry** of Harvard, were on this list of very dubious honor.

To take one more example of a professor who writes a great deal on political subjects, we have the case of **Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.**, of Harvard University. Now Professor Schlesinger writes in "Life" magazine, "The faults and injustices in our present system make

freedom-loving Americans look wistfully at Russia." That's in an issue of "Life" magazine. It's a publication of Mr. Henry R. Luce. Just last year. Such an observation is worthy of as much intellectual respect as we pay to the baby prattle of the infants who used to appear on a radio program called Juvenile Jury.

Just who are the freedom-loving Americans who look wistfully towards Russia? Of course the Harvard professor's observation was utterly false, and totally devoid of political wisdom, despite the fact that it was dignified by publication in Mr. Luce's magazine.

I think in connection with these professors who play with the experts in politics because they are good at something else, we might very well recognize that Nero may have been the best violinist in Rome, but that is an irrelevant consideration when we come to evaluate his place in history, and I dare say that the same may be said of many of these professors, such as the distinguished **Albert Einstein**, when we come to evaluate his position in the world of tomorrow. He devises his mathematical formulae while the world burns.

Guilt by Association

Communists and their supporters argue that there is no such thing as guilt by association. Numerous radio commentators derive the notion that there could be any indiscretion of any kind in associating with other people. The association of these Fellow-Travelers in the academic world with the front organizations of the Communist Party is, I think, under the ban of the following quotations from an authoritative source.

The Attorney General of the United States in the government's brief for the deportation of **Harry Bridges** in 1942 said: "Testimony of some organizations showed that they were represented to the public for some legitimate, refined objective, but actually used by the Communist Party to carry out its activities pending the time when the Communists believe they can seize power through revolution."

The overwhelming evidence available on the subjects supports to the hilt that particular statement of the Attorney General of the United States. Front organizations are a half-way station between the status quo and the Communist Revolution. They are used by the Communist Party hypocritically pending the time when they think they can seize power through a revolution. If that definition is correct it certainly means that professors who associate with those organizations have some degree of guilt by virtue of association.

The professors, it appears, have a penchant for signing their names to manifestos. This last type of behavior may be varied.

Some of them probably like to see their names in print as many other citizens do, including politicians.

At any rate the singular manifestation of the inferiority complex is high in the teaching profession. Not every signer may be considered a Communist, or even a Communist sympathizer, but each to some degree aids and abets the Communist cause.

The Communist Party affords the amplest opportunities for those who like to sign their names. Hardly a week passes that the party does not issue some manifesto, print some letterhead, call some conference of Congress, send some telegram or circulate some petition. A student of Communism soon learns to spot the Communist words in these documents, partly by the names

which appear on them and that's why the professors help us out. By association they lead us to the origins of the document of the front organizations.

There are many academic administrators are call—callously indifferent to the fact that Russia and the United States are now engaged in a so-called "cold" war which threatens to become a "hot" war, or at least it would appear that they are insensitive to this fact in view of what they permit on their campuses. I could give many illustrations of this but I cite only one.

Several months ago the Secretary of State, **General George Caplan Marshall**, made one of his principal-policy addresses at the University of California, Los Angeles. The University authorities invited the **Reverend Stephen H. Fritchman** to deliver the invocation on this important occasion. Fritchman is now a Unitarian clergyman in Los Angeles but a few months ago he was forced out of his position as editor of the "**Christian Register**." For a number of years, many members of the Unitarian Church have been making strenuous protests against the Communist activities of editor Fritchman. The controversy within the church came to a head when Fritchman prepared an editorial which was sharply critical of present-day United States Foreign Policy and which followed closely the line of the Communist Party.

Editor Fritchman wrote: "Our occupation of bases in the Pacific, the continued presence of our military advisors and military equipment in China, the fortification of the frozen wastes of Northern Canada; these things make our protests at Soviet expansionism less than impressive in the eyes of world citizens."

The entire editorial which resulted in the ousting of Fritchman from his editorship was a direct slap at the Foreign Policy of General Marshall. And yet, the authorities of the University of California invite that very man to deliver the invocation upon an occasion which was conceded to have world-wide significance because it was the occasion for delivery of a speech of major significance in the field of foreign policy.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I will not tolerate any demonstration in the rear of the room.

DR. MATTHEWS: There are approximately 125,000 clergymen in the United States but the one most inappropriate selection for the occasion was the Reverend Stephen H. Fritchman. To say that many residents of the West Coast were shocked is to put it mildly. When the matter was called to the attention of the **U.C.L.A.** authorities, some of them, at least, simply shrugged their indifference, an attitude not uncommon to academic administrators when efforts are made to alert them to the fact that some 5,000 Communists and fellow-travelers are members of their faculties.

A Puppet Government Endows a University

Very early in his administration at **Columbia University**, **President Dwight D. Eisenhower** has been confronted with this problem of Communism on the Columbia University Campus. I don't know what President Eisenhower is going to do about the fact that one of the Communists from the University of Washington is on his summer school faculty this summer, a **Professor Herbert Phillips**, but if he does no more than he did in the case a week ago he will not do anything.

Recently the Polish government, a subservient puppet government if there ever was one in the world, completely subservient to the Soviet government offered the sum of \$30,000 to Columbia University to establish a chair of

Polish language and literature. The first \$10,000 installment was paid at a cocktail party by the Polish Ambassador, a cocktail party given in the apartment of **Professor Ernest J. Simmons** of Columbia University. Now, Professor Simmons was for many years at Cornell University and was exposed as the leading academic propagandist for Soviet Russia many years ago. He has recently transferred to **Columbia University** where he is now the head of the Slovak department.

But to get on with the story. The money—the first \$10,000 was paid down. Columbia University accepted the gift from this Communist government to establish a chair.

Professor Resigns in Protest

Whereupon a patriotic professor by the name of **Arthur P. Coleman**, Coleman, who had been a professor at Columbia University in the field of Polish language and literature for 20 years offered his resignation to President Eisenhower in protest against the acceptance of such a gift. President Eisenhower accepted the resignation and in doing so completely and shamefully evaded the issue which the professor had raised. The sole issue being that Columbia University was accepting a monetary gift from the Polish government. President Eisenhower replied that it was in line with the policy of Columbia University to establish chairs which would train students in the culture of other countries and that's all he said. He didn't say it was in line with the policy of Columbia University to accept monies from Nazi, Fascists and Communist governments to establish such chairs which was the only issue involved.

Now it is a matter of reliable report, based upon investigations which will eventually be disclosed, that **this is the beginning of an effort on the part of countries behind the iron curtain to establish chairs of culture in leading American universities**. They have simply started off with Columbia University. **By filling these chairs with academicians sympathetic to the countries whose culture they are supposed to teach, those countries will acquire in the academic world in the United States a representative who will not be required to register with the state department as a foreign agent because he is being paid indirectly by the foreign government—by the good offices of Columbia University with the approval of President Eisenhower.**

Now that is one of the newest tricks that the Communists are up to in the academic world and when you read the report of the **Royal Canadian Commission** you will see similar tricks performed years ago. This is simply the newest one.

The people of America owe a debt of credit to a professor who gives up the 20-year position with a good income to stand for the principle of Americanism against the encroachments of the Communists.

New Front Organization

The latest front organization which has achieved a national significance and organization is the **National Wallace for President Committee** and I say that advisedly, Mr. Chairman, that the National Wallace for President Committee is a Communist Front organization. The complete Communist control of the National Wallace for President Committee is as clear as the rising sun on a cloudless day.

I have in my hands a photostatic copy of a letter on the letterhead of the **National Wallace for President Committee** dated June 18th, 1948. It is signed by eight college and university professors. They are: **Theodore Brameld**, Brameld, professor at the New York University; **Frank S. Freeman**, Freeman, a professor at Cornell University; **Philip Klein**, Klein, a professor at the New York School of Social Work; **Professor F. O. Matthiessen**, Matthiessen, professor at Harvard University; **Frederick L. Schuman**, Schuman, a professor at Woodland College in Massachusetts; **Colston Warne**, Warne, a professor at Amherst College in Massachusetts; and **Goodwin Watson**, a professor at Columbia University in New York City. These eight prominent men in the academic world, in this letter, are inviting the professors from all over the United States to join a national sponsoring group of distinguished educators supporting **Wallace** for President. That's a quotation.

I should like to read a few of the sentences from this letter because they point out some important matters. "We educate not only in classrooms but in our own political action." That bears upon the question as to whether or not a professor who does not inject Communist doctrine into his classroom is responsible within a degree for his outside or extramural political activity. Well, according to these professors, they claim responsibility for their extramural political activity, as well as for their education in the classrooms. Because—"Because we believe that the platform's main points will meet with your approval and that you share with us the concern to play a role commensurate with our place in our democracy, we herewith ask you to join us as a sponsor of a nation-wide movement on the part of educators to elect Mr. Wallace."

This letter was received by a member of the faculty at the University of Washington.

It is my information from inside the National Wallace for President Committee that some two thousand professors across the United States have already responded to this letter, appealing for support of one of the newest of the Communist front organizations.

If you should like to have this in your record as an exhibit, I will be delighted to hand it to you.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit this as an exhibit.
CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted in the record as **Exhibit No. 4.**

(WHEREUPON the letter of the National Wallace for President Committee, dated June 18, 1948, was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 4.)

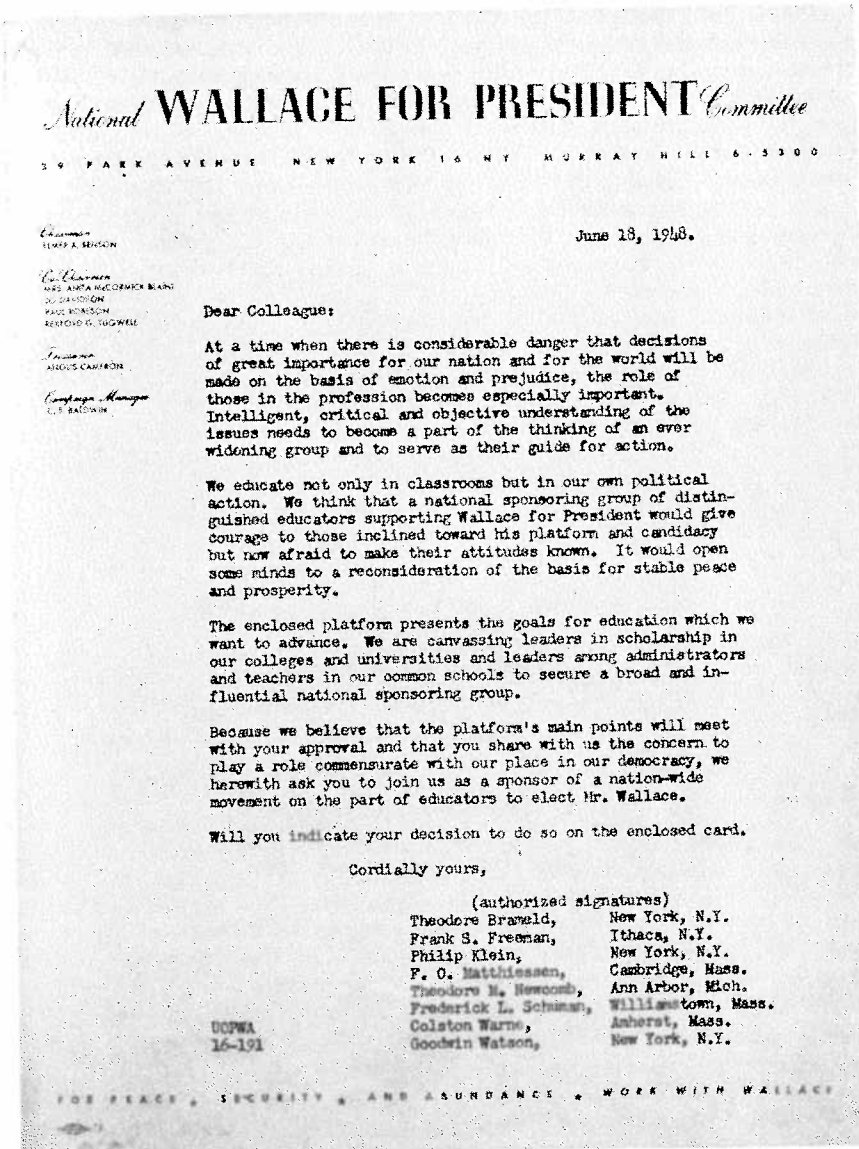


EXHIBIT 4.

DR. MATTHEWS: Another of the very recent Communist front organizations is known as the **National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions.**

This organization was also set up in June of 1948. I have before me a letter dated June the 7th, 1948, announcing the organization of this particular group. The letter is signed by **Professor Harlow Shapley**, S-h-a-p-l-e-y, Director of the Harvard University Observatory, a distinguished scientist as scientists go, but one of the most prominent fellow-travelers in the entire United States.

This National Council of the Arts and Sciences and Professions has a name which completely belies its purpose; its interest in arts, sciences and professions, according to its own letter, is limited to the election of Henry Wallace as President of the United States. Among the prominent supporters of this front, we find in addition to Professor Harlow Shapley, who is chairman, Professor Linus Pauling of California, and I shall have more to say about him presently. Pauling. The first name is Linus. Linus Pauling.

Also on this list is Professor Maud, Maud Slye, Slye, a professor at the University of Chicago; also Professor Albert Einstein of Princeton University; also Melville J. Herskovits, Herskovits, from Northwestern University; Professor Frederick L. Schuman of Williams College; Professor Curtis D. MacDougal, MacDougal, of the University of Chicago; and Professor Goodwin Watson of Columbia University Teachers College. Professor Goodwin Watson's record of Communist affiliations was some years ago the matter of a cause celebre, despite the fact that he had been affiliated with some two-score Communist organizations and enterprises. Professor Watson was placed in charge of the monitoring division of the Foreign Broadcast Intelligence Division of the Federal Communications Commission of the Federal Government; but when his Communist record was disclosed the House of Representatives voted that no part of the appropriations of the Federal Communications Commission should be used to pay the salary of Professor Watson.

After considerable debate, which required more than a year's time, the Senate concurred in that vote, because the House was prepared to abolish the Federal Communications Commission before it would permit with its consent, one penny of this money to go to the payment of this Professor's salary. The Supreme Court, as you probably know, finally held that the bill constituted a bill of attainder, and Professor Watson received his back salary, but not his back position.

He is back at Columbia University where President Eisenhower's large group of fellow-travelers, there are several hundred on the campus—

President Eisenhower Blameless

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I—Doctor, I would like to have you rephrase that. I would not wish the testimony here to be a personal indictment of Eisenhower to the extent of saying "his" group of fellow-travelers, in that he has just recently—he is a recent—

(Laughter and Applause.)

THE WITNESS: Yes, I would be glad to rephrase it any way that accords with the facts.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Yes, I do not wish to indicate that we are endowing him with a responsibility or that he—strike that. That the responsibility of his is greater than would accrue for the time that he has been there. I just want to have the record here appear that we are being as fair with him as possible.

THE WITNESS: I think your explanation covers the point, does it not, Mr. Chairman? But, I am wholly in accord with your explanation, and I do not personally—I had not thought personally of holding President Eisenhower personally responsible for the past of Columbia University. What he does in the future will be entirely a matter of record.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Yes, I would want it to be on that basis.

THE WITNESS: And judgment will be based—will be based upon that. I also offer as an exhibit, this letterhead of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit this as an exhibit. CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted as Exhibit No. 5, and so marked.

(WHEREUPON the letter of the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, dated June 7, 1948, was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 5.)

DR. MATTHEWS: Among the organizations which the Attorney General, Mr. Tom Clark, listed as subversive on December the 4th, 1947, was the Jefferson School of Social Science, which is the Communist Party's training school in New York City. When this listing was publicized, a group of one hundred and fifty-three professors from various parts of the United States signed a manifesto in defense of the Jefferson School of Social Science against the finding of the Attorney General.

I have here the names and institutions which these professors represent, one hundred and fifty-three of them. They come from Stanford, Iowa State, Albion, Southern Illinois, Cornell, University of California at L. A., Yale, DePauw, New York University, Brooklyn, Columbia, City College of New York, Harvard, St. Lawrence University, Rollins College, Sarah Lawrence University, Connecticut College, University of Colorado, Tuskegee Institute, Western Reserve University, Hebrew Union College, University of Missouri, University of Illinois, University of Akron, Swarthmore College, Bard College, Northwestern University, Vassar College, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Amherst College, Hunter College, University of Pennsylvania, University of Washington which is represented by Professor Ralph H. Gundlach, Simmons College, New Haven State Teachers College, University of North Carolina, Heidelberg College—that's in Ohio—Duke University, Tulane University, Princeton, Mills College, University of Michigan, Oberlin, Pomona College, the California Labor School, Williams College, Linfield College, Roosevelt College of Chicago, University of Cincinnati, Syracuse University, Alabama State Teachers College, Wilberforce University, Rutgers University, and the University of Pennsylvania Medical School.

Mr. Chairman, I think it's a surprising thing that this group of a hundred and three—a hundred and fifty-three professors representing more than half the states of the union, from a list of such distinguished universities, are rallied to the defense of the Communist Party's Training School against the Attorney General of the United States.

I offer, in case you do not already have the list,—

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I submit this as another exhibit, and ask that it be admitted into the record.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be included in the record, and admitted as Exhibit No. 6.

(WHEREUPON a list of the signers of the Statement of American Educators, was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 6.)

Communist Front Affiliations of Prof. Ralph H. Gundlach

DR. MATTHEWS: Since I have called attention to the fact that the name of Professor Ralph H. Gundlach appears on that particular list, I wish to offer a list of the Communist front organizations with which Professor Gundlach

of the University of Washington has been publicly affiliated, according to public records: **The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born**, an organization which Attorney General Clark has recently called a subversive organization;

The Citizens' Committee for Harry Bridges; Committee for Citizenship Rights; Committee for Democratic Far-Eastern Policy, another organization which Attorney General Tom Clark has pronounced subversive; **Consumers' Union; The National Emergency Conference; The Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo; The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties**, another organization found to be subversive by the Attorney General; **"Science and Society,"** a publication of the Communists for which **Professor Gundlach** has written; **The Spanish Refugee Appeal; The United-American Spanish Aid Committee; The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; The Win-the-Peace Conference;** and a statement defending the Communist Party, about which a word may be in order.

The Daily Worker on March the 5th, 1941, published a manifesto described in a banner headline as a statement defending the Communist Party. You will recall, Mr. Chairman, that that was the time when a wave of sabotage strikes under Communist leadership and control swept this country from coast to coast. The President who—**President Roosevelt** denounced these strikes as Communist controlled, and in the case of the **North American Aviation** strike in California, called out the United States Army to take over that plant and put a stop to the strike. There were other equally disastrous strikes led by the Communists in that period—in March of 1941. So that the significance of this statement defending the Communist Party is better understood when we call attention to the fact that it was issued at a time when the Communists were doing everything within their power in the United States to guarantee a victory of Hitler, which was the only significance the strikes had at that particular time. That was when they were working on the side of Hitler against Britain and France, as well as the ultimate interests of the United States.

MR. HOUSTON. Now, doctor, each one of those organizations you listed there has been declared a subversive organization by the Congressional Committee of Congress in a report submitted to and accepted by the House of Representatives of the United States of America, have they not?

DR. MATTHEWS: That's correct. And furthermore—

MR. HOUSTON: And this Consumers' Union, brought clear here has been declared also a subversive organization, organized and controlled by the Communists, has it not, by this same group of authorities?

DR. MATTHEWS: It has, and by other government agencies and official bodies, as well.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit this as an exhibit into the record. Let it be incorporated into the record as—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Be admitted as **Exhibit No. 7**—it becomes part of the record.

(WHEREUPON document was received and made a part hereof.)

	<u>RALPH H. GUNDLACH</u>	
American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born	Sponsor, Cleveland Conference, 1947	Official Program and Call
Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges	Member	Letterhead, Sept. 11, 1941
Committee for Citizenship Rights	Endorser	Letterhead, Jan. 10, 1942
Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy	Sponsor	Program, Jan. 23, 1948
Consumers Union	Member, Western section	CU Reports, August, 1939
Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo	Representative individual	Official booklet
Defense of Communist Schools	Signer of petition	April 7, 1948
National Emergency Conference	Sponsor	Letterhead, May 19, 1939
National Emergency Conference	Sponsor	Program, May 13, 1939
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties	Signer of petition for Bridges	Booklet, Sept. 11, 1942
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties	Signer of petition	January, 1943
Open Letter on Harry Bridges	Signer	Daily Worker, July 19, 1942, p. 4
Science and Society	Book reviewer	Summer, 1946, p.308
Spanish Refugee Appeal	Sponsor	Folder
Statement Defending the Communist Party	Signer	DW, March 5, 1941
United American Spanish Aid Committee	Member, executive board	Letterhead, undated
Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade	Signer of protest	Daily Worker, Feb. 21, 1940
Win-the-Peace Conference	Sponsor	Program, April 5, 1946, Washington, D. C.

MR. HOUSTON: Dr. Matthews, if you're at a good breaking-off point, I think it would be in order to take a little recess. Now, are you at a breaking-off point?

DR. MATTHEWS: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, may we have a little recess for a short period?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: There will be a recess for approximately fifteen minutes.

(Recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing will resume.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, if you'll proceed, Doctor.

Professor Denied Admission to United States

THE WITNESS: I wish to revert to the report of the **Canadian Royal Commission** on the spy cases of two years ago. It will be recalled that one of the objectives of the Soviet spy ring in Canada was to obtain information concerning the atomic bomb. One of the results of the uncovering of this spy ring in Canada was the conviction and imprisonment of a British professor, **Allan Nunn May**, Allan Nunn May.

Professor May was a scientist in the field of nuclear fission. He pleaded guilty to the charge of attempting to turn over confidential scientific information to the Soviet government and received a ten-year prison sentence, which he is now serving. Prior to his apprehension, trial and conviction, Professor May was known to have had indiscreet associations with Communists and Communist front organizations. If he had been apprehended or criticized on the ground of his indiscreet associations, I think there can hardly be any doubt that a very large group of British scientists and professors would have sprung to his defense—charging that a man could not be guilty of any serious indiscretion by reason of associations.

Be that as it may. We know that Professor May visited the United States while the **Manhattan Project** was still a top secret. He visited the laboratories at the University of Chicago and had the most intimate contacts with the American scientists who were working on the Manhattan Project at the University of Chicago.

When he applied for a third admission to the United States to visit the laboratories at the University of Chicago, **General Leslie Groves** became suspicious. General Groves reasoned that all Professor May needed properly to learn he could have learned or ought to have learned on two visits. He was therefore denied permission to make a third visit. He went back to Canada and when he received the sample of the uranium, which is the essential ingredient of the atomic bomb, and attempted to pass it to Soviet agents he was caught in the act and his prison term is the result.

What was not brought out at the trial of Professor May in London was vastly more significant than anything that was brought out. As a matter of fact, very little evidence was introduced because Professor May pleaded guilty. A statement that the government was not therefore required to introduce evidence to prove his guilt. But the story will be told eventually, when the cords of politics are cut and the information which belongs to the American people, as well as to the British people, is released—there will be a story.

The uranium sample was delivered to Professor May, who in turn attempted to deliver it to the Soviet agents through the intercession of men high in

American government affairs—almost as high as it's possible to go in government. Those men have to this point been protected for political reasons. I think there's no secret about the fact that in New York City for more than a year, a special grand jury has been sitting—receiving evidence and sifting evidence on the spy ring which operated in the United States—at the same time the Canadian spy ring was in operation under the direction of the Soviet Embassy.

The number of American scientists involved, and other Americans in addition to scientists, was so shocking that when the evidence came into the hands of **Prime Minister McKenzie King** of Canada he would not entrust that evidence to any other living human being. He put it in his own pocket and boarded a plane and went straight to the White House and placed it in the hands of **President Truman**. That's all that the American people know today about the spy ring which operated in the United States. But that story will be told—perhaps after election day—or perhaps before, I do not know. It has yet to be told.

Scientists as Security Risks

Recently, the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives, whose chairman is the Honorable J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey, published a brief report in which the committee charged that the director of the Federal Bureau of Standards, which is in the Department of Commerce, a **Dr. Edward U. Condon**, had been guilty of indiscretion by reason of his associations.

Dr. Condon, Condon, is a scientist who worked on the **Manhattan Project** prior to his assumption of the office of Director of the Federal Bureau of Standards. Before that he was a scientist with Westinghouse. The evidence for the charge made by the Committee on Un-American Activities of The House of Representatives was documentary. The committee charged that Dr. Condon had solicited from fellow scientists membership in subversive organizations. That he certainly did do. The record is not open to dispute. Dr. Condon has not denied it. His fellow scientists have not denied it. That is all the committee charged him with.

I'm not here as advocate for the so-called Thomas committee, but this is a part of the picture that we face with respect to the questions of discretion in the field of our topmost scientific secrets.

Dr. Condon had solicited membership in the **American-Soviet Science Society**, which was established by **The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship**. The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, the parent body of the American-Soviet Science Society, was described as subversive by Attorney General Tom Clark, as I have told you.

Shortly after Dr. Condon solicited membership from fellow-scientists in the American-Soviet Science Society, the organization was transferred to the headquarters of the **American-Russian Institute**. When the leaders of the American-Soviet Science Society, particularly **Professor Leslie C. Dunn** of Columbia University, were confronted with the evidence that their organization was subversive they replied that it had transferred from the allegedly subversive organizations to the American-Russian Institute which the Attorney General had not described as subversive. Whereupon the Attorney General a few weeks later proceeded to describe the American-Russian Institute as subversive, also.

So in going from one organization to the other, **The American-Soviet Science Society** did not go from a subversive to a non-subversive organization. That is not the only subversive organization with which **Dr. Condon** is associated. Now the House Committee on Un-American Activities did not charge that Dr. Condon was a member of a spy ring. It did say, and for many Americans at least quite properly, that a scientist engaged in the field of nuclear fission with access to the topmost military secrets of this government has no business soliciting membership in subversive organizations.

But as soon as the House Committee on Un-American Activities made that statement many prominent scientists, particularly academic scientists, as the record shows, sprang to Dr. Condon's defense. They put out the letterhead called "**Dinner to Edward U. Condon**" as a testimony of confidence by his scientific colleagues. Dated March the 23rd, 1948. The letter is signed by **Harold C. Urey**, chairman of the dinner committee.

Now, Dr. Urey is a distinguished scientist. He's the discoverer of "heavy water," and as the discoverer of heavy water was awarded a Nobel Prize. No one questions the scientific competence of Professor Urey, who, when he made his discovery was a professor at Columbia University and is now a professor at the University of Chicago.

Professor Urey's connections with Communist front organizations has been very extensive over a period of more than ten years. Professor Urey was in a top position in the **Manhattan Project**. I don't know that Professor Urey knows that he was removed from access to the innermost secrets of the atomic bomb, but if he doesn't, he is now, on this day, being informed that because of his extensive connections with Communist front organizations he was so removed. Now that again is no charge that Professor Urey was ever engaged in espionage; it is no charge that he was a member of any spy ring or that he ever divulged improperly any information which came into his hands through agents of the Soviet or any other government. The records show simply that here is a distinguished scientist entitled to every respect and has received the respect of a good part of the civilized world for his scientific achievements but whose political wisdom is nil, and whose associations are matters which do indeed constitute a risk of security. That is a phrase which is properly used by the government agencies. Not that they have betrayed security but that they have risked security.

If men like Professor Urey and Dr. Condon would only read the report of the **Royal Canadian Commission** they would discover, if they ponder the matter carefully, that they have been guilty of the indiscretions with which they have been charged.

Universities on Sponsor List

On this letterhead of the—of the "Dinner to Edward U. Condon," signed by Professor Urey, are the names of more than a hundred distinguished scientists practically all of whom are academicians from the **University of Chicago, California Institute of Technology, Harvard, Cornell, Yale, Pennsylvania State, University of Michigan, Columbia University, Princeton University, Duke University, University of Nebraska, Catholic University in Washington, the Brook-Haven National Laboratory**, now our chief center of Atomic Research, **Johns Hopkins University, Washington University** (that's in St. Louis and not the University of Washington), the **University of Illinois, New York University, the Rockefeller Institute, the University of Rochester, the Federation of American Scientists, the Smithsonian Institute, Ohio State Uni-**

versity, North Dakota State Agricultural College, Brooklyn College, Union College, Hamilton College. I pause between the reading of the Universities to avoid repetition of the Universities from which two or more professors are listed in this "**Dinner to Edward U. Condon.**"

Sponsors Have Communist Front History

As I said before there are more than a hundred names of distinguished academic scientists on this particular dinner list. If Dr. Condon is wholly and utterly innocent in his own mind of any improper conduct as he may well be, I think he will not be flattered to read the Communist records of the majority of the men who gave this testimonial dinner to him and that would obviously require many hours—it would require several days, Mr. Chairman, but I have them tabulated.

The majority of these hundred professors have had thousands, in the total, of affiliations with Communist front organizations. There are a few scientists here who have never been connected, so far as any public record to which I have had access is concerned, with any single Communist front organization but that is not true of the list as a whole.

Now in view of what we know of the espionage methods of the Russian Soviet government I think the least we can say about such a list as this is that it is disquieting to know that through their front organizations the Communists of the United States, and the visiting scientists from the Soviet Union, have close personal access to such a large number of the most distinguished scientists in America is a disquieting matter and I assure you that there are government agencies that believe that that is true. It is not, however, always the simplest matter for government agencies to handle a case like that until it is too late as was shown in the case of the Canadian Spy Ring.

Before the recess I called attention to the fact that **Dr. Linus C. Pauling**, who is on the faculty of the California Institute of Technology, and who was a member of the Los Alamos Project of the Atomic Bomb, is now one of the leaders in the "Wallace for President" movement. I don't know how you explain Dr. Pauling but there is the record. His association with the **National Wallace for President Committee** is not his first association with a Communist Front organization by any means as the records of the Tenney Committee in the State of California will show and as other records in government agencies of Washington will likewise establish.

Professor Einstein in Forty Front Organizations

I made a number of references to **Professor Albert Einstein** before the recess. Professor Einstein is a refugee in the United States from the tyranny of the Nazi but aside from his eminent scientific work in which he has engaged since he came to the United States as a refugee he has devoted 90% of his political activities to the support of an equally brutal tyranny, that of the Soviet Government.

I wish to offer for your records what I think is a fairly complete list of the forty-odd Communist organizations with which Professor Einstein has been affiliated since he came to the United States as a refugee from Hitler.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit this as an exhibit and incorporate it into the records.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted in the records as Exhibit No. 8 and so marked.

(WHEREUPON the list referred to was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 8.)

ALBERT EINSTEIN

Ambijan	Sent message to	Folder, August, 1945
Ambijan	Honorary President	Letterhead, October 8, 1946
American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born	Sponsor	Daily Worker, Feb. 26, 1942, p. 4
American Friends of the Chinese People	Signer of letter for	Daily Worker, July 6, 1940, p. 4
American Pushkin Committee	Sponsor	Letterhead, undated
Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade	Sponsor	Daily Worker, March 22, 1939
Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions	Initiating Sponsor	The Worker, Dec. 24, 1944, p. 14
Jewish Black Book Committee	Sponsor	Pamphlet, "Let the World Know"
Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee	Sponsor	Program, October, 1943
Medical Bureau and Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy	Sponsor	Letterhead, February 2, 1939
Motion Picture Artists Committee	Sponsor	Folder
Musicians Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy	Sponsor	Program
National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism	International Honorary chairman	Letterhead, July 3, 1934
National Committee on Atomic Information	Consultants Panel	Letterhead, Nov. 15, 1946
American Committee of Jewish, Writers, Artists and Scientists presentation of the Black Book Jewish Case against the Nazis	Honorary chairman and one of principal speakers	The Worker, March 17, 1946, p. 13
Dinner to Edward U. Condon	Sponsor	Letterhead, April 6, 1948

EXHIBIT 8.

ALBERT EINSTEIN -- continued

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee	Sponsor	Folder, Survey of the Work of the JAFRC, March 11, 1942-June, 1944
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship	Sponsor	Letterhead, May 4, 1948
Nation Associates	Sponsor	Program, Oct. 13, 1947
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship	Sponsor	Letterhead, Jan. 7, 1948, reverse side
National Arts, Sciences and Professions Council	Member	Policy and Program 1948
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship	Sponsor	Soviet Russia Today, March, 1947, p. 2
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship	Sponsor	Folder
National Citizens Political Action Committee	Vice-Chairmen, Dinner Committee	Folder
National Conference on the German Problem	Sponsor	Official release, March 6, 1947
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties	Signer of letter for	Press release, January, 1943
National Reception Committee to the Russian Delegation	Honorary national chairman	Leaflet
Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee	Member	New York Times, Dec. 22, 1943, p. 40
Soviet Russia Today	Sponsor of the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Red Army	Program, Feb. 22, 1942
Soviet Russia Today	Contributor	Soviet Russia Today, June, 1942, p. 6
Spanish Refugee Appeal	Sponsor	Folder
United States-Soviet Friendship Congress	Sponsor	Daily Worker, Sept. 29, 1943, p. 5

EXHIBIT 8--Continued.

DR. MATTHEWS: And may I point out that according to the records it was Professor Einstein who first completely conceived the possibility of the atomic bomb and sent a direct report to President Roosevelt suggesting setting aside—setting aside of some two billion dollars in an attempt to build an atomic bomb. That is some indication of the importance of Professor Einstein in this whole field of nuclear fission, the atomic bomb and our topmost military secrets.

For a number of years since the close of the World War as well as before few visiting scientists from Soviet Russia have come to the United States without making one of their first stops Princeton, New Jersey, where they have conferred with Professor Einstein. I know it's possible for Professor Einstein to confer with the Soviet scientists and not disclose important secrets, I said possible, I'm not sure that any man should be entrusted with a responsibility for deciding whether or not he should disclose such secrets or whether or not he would know when he had or had not disclosed.

Here, again, we are confronted, I think, with this minimum charge against Professor Einstein, but by his prolonged association with the Communist movement in the United States he has abused the land which honors him so greatly for his scientific achievements and has granted him citizenship.

Fellow Travelers and the Atomic Bomb

The fellow-travelers have not been slow since the very day that the first atomic bomb fell on Hiroshimo to set up organizations dealing with the atomic bomb and nuclear fission.

There are at least a dozen front organizations or tabulary organizations if you choose to call them that which have been set up in the past three years which deal exclusively with this question of the atomic bomb.

One of the first to enter the field was the **Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences, and Professions**.

Ickes Denounces Front Organization

This organization once had as its director the **Honorable Harold L. Ickes**. Now, don't misjudge me, I'm going to give Mr. Ickes a break.

Mr. Ickes after a year and a half as director of this organization discovered it was a Communist organization and wrote a letter denouncing it in terms which he alone is capable of denouncing it. I have a copy of Mr. Icke's letter here denouncing this outfit and one with which he is no longer willing to associate.

I'll read the last paragraph of his letter which has not hitherto been made public, Mr. Chairman.

"In view of all of the circumstances I have no other course except to resign and that I am doing with this letter. You will understand that my resignation is to take effect immediately and that it terminates not only our relationship, which has been pleasant so far as some of you are concerned, but that it will be understood that I am to be relieved of any obligation to make any of the speeches that I set out to undertake during September and October.

Aside from all these considerations, I do not care to have any part or parcel with an organization from which one is not immune from dastardly and underhand attacks. I do not play that game myself and I do not care to be associated with those who do. Of course, I know full well that you had

nothing to do with this tip, but someone in your organization was responsible and I do not care to have any connection with an organization that has such irresponsible and malicious people on its staff . . ." and so on.

This letter is addressed to the Secretary, Miss Dorner, if you would like to have that for your records.

MR. HOUSTON: I would like to have this, and submit this to the Committee with the request that they consider the advisability of entering it into the record as an exhibit. I don't know the full contents of it. If it will be agreeable to—

THE WITNESS: The whole letter, I didn't want to take the time to read it, charges the Communist control of the organization; and not only the Communist control but the underhand personal attacks on Mr. Ickes, when it was circulating among the staff members, of the organization.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted in the record as **Exhibit No. 8**, and so identified.

(WHEREUPON the letter from **Harold L. Ickes**, dated August 8, 1946, was admitted into the record as **Exhibit No. 9**.)

DR. MATTHEWS: Now this organization from which Mr. Ickes resigned, was one of the first to stage a Madison Square Garden meeting on the atomic bomb. The chairman of the Madison Square Garden meeting on the atomic bomb was **Dr. Harlow Shapley**. I think I've said enough about him.

The—one of the main speakers was Professor **Harold C. Urey**, whom we have already discussed. Brought in from England, by air, according to the program, was Professor **Julian Huxley**. I'm not going to go into the record of Julian Huxley at any length, because he's a Britisher and I don't want to take the time; but Professor Julian Huxley is from every standpoint except the possible standpoint of holding a card in the Party, a Communist. Precisely why he is the man brought here for this particular meeting, perhaps is explained in Mr. Ickes' resignation from the organization.

Now Senator **Charles W. Tobey** was a speaker on the occasion, and actor **Frederick March** was also a speaker. That you may have as an exhibit.

MR. HOUSTON: I would like to admit this into the record as an exhibit and incorporate it in the record.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted as **Exhibit No. 10**.

(WHEREUPON the poster on the atomic bomb meeting at Madison Square Garden was admitted into the record as **Exhibit No. 10**.)

CRISIS MEETING

ATOM BOMB - For War or Peace?

TUES., DEC. 4 at 8 p. m.

PROGRAM

DR. HARLOW SHAPLEY, Chairman

JULIAN HUXLEY, F.R.S. (Flying from England)

SENATOR CHARLES W. TOBEY

R. J. THOMAS

COL. EVANS CARLSON, U.S.M.C.
(Of Carlson's Raiders)

DR. HAROLD C. UREY

HELEN KELLER

DANNY KAYE • JO DAVIDSON • FREDRIC MARCH

also

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auspices of the

INDEPENDENT CITIZENS COMMITTEE of the
ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS

PLEASE POST

EXHIBIT 10.

DR. MATTHEWS: The vice-chairman of the organization denounced by Mr. Ickes as a Communist Front, and so found by many official agencies of the Government, was **Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer**.

Now here again, Mr. Chairman, I am not accusing Dr. Oppenheimer of espionage; so far as I know, he may be as free from any desire to commit espionage as any living American; but nevertheless, here is the top American scientist in the field of nuclear fission, the absolute top, the man who was director of the most honorable project which produced the bomb, now in Princeton University, the Director of the **Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University**, and he is a vice-chairman of the **Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions**; and right under his name, as a co-vice-chairman is the name of **Paul Robeson**.

Here again is indiscretion of association such as ought to be disquieting; the people who understand the methods of espionage, the people who understand how Russian Soviet agents have more than once used the innocent and gullible as well as the knowing and guilty in their purposes.

MR. HOUSTON: I would like to introduce this into the record as an exhibit.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be accepted into the record as **Exhibit No. 11**.

(WHEREUPON the pamphlet referred to was admitted into the record as **Exhibit No. 11**.)

DR. MATTHEWS: On the Board of Directors of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, were two men who were engaged in the work of producing the atomic bomb. They were **Professors Thorfin, Thorfin, R. Hogness, Hogness**; and **Professor Linus Pauling**, so that together with Professor Oppenheimer, three of our topmost scientists were officers in a Communist front organization of record.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I ask that this be admitted as evidence into the record and incorporated into the record.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted as **Exhibit No. 12**.

(WHEREUPON the exhibit referred to was admitted into the record as **Exhibit No. 12**, and made a part hereof.)

INDEPENDENT CITIZENS' COMMITTEE OF THE
ARTS, SCIENCES and PROFESSIONS, INC.

HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK 19, N. Y. CIRCLE 6-5412

October 8, 1946

JO DAVINSON
Chairman
HAROLD L. JONES
Executive Chairman
FRIDERIC MARCHEL
President
HERMAN SHUMLIN
Secretary
HANNAH BOKNER
Executive Director

Dear Member:

ARE YOU SATISFIED with the functioning of the Literature Division during the past year? WITH ITS ACTIVITIES? ITS PROGRAM? The extent of your own PARTICIPATION?

Express your approval or disapproval.
Register criticisms and suggestions.
Insure your personal participation.
Assume the privileges and duties of membership.

at the

GENERAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING
of the Literature Division
Wednesday, October 16 (8:00 p.m.)
Henry Hudson Hotel (383 West 57 Street)

CHAIRMAN: Richard Lauterbach

- AGENDA:
1. Report of work of last year by James O. Brown
 2. Projected program of 1946-1947 by Howard Fast
 3. Election of new officers and new Executive Board

ONLY PAID UP MEMBERS WILL BE ENTITLED TO A BALLOT. PAY UP YOUR MEMBERSHIP DUES AT THE MEETING AND BRING ALONG PROSPECTIVE MEMBERS TO ENROLL AND VOTE.

It is time for the Literature Division to shed its swaddling clothes and emerge as a mature and effective unit of the ICGASP. The challenge of the present political situation demands it - the critical November elections require our all-out effort.

Let's roll up our sleeves - together - October 16! Reserve the date!

Sincerely yours,

Howard Fast

hfr:rv
ucps - 16/142

Howard Fast, Chairman
Literature Division - ICGASP

EXHIBIT 11.

INDEPENDENT CITIZENS COMMITTEE OF THE
ARTS, SCIENCES and PROFESSIONS, INC.
HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK 19, N. Y. CIRCLE 6-5412

VICE CHAIRMEN

Joseph E. Davies, *Honorary*

Brig. Gen. Evans F. Carlson
Norman Corwin
Reuben G. Gustavson
Fiorello H. LaGuardia

J. Robert Oppenheimer
Paul Robeson
Harlow Shapley
Frank Sinatra

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Walter Bernstein
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John Cromwell
Bosley Crowther
Duke Ellington
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J. Allen Hekerson
Thorin R. Hogues
Walter Huston
Crockett Johnson
Gene Kelly
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Florence Eldridge March
Dorothy Maynor
Stanley Moss
Ernest Pascal
Robert Patterson
Linus Pauling
Virginia Payne
Dr. John P. Peters
Walter Rautenstrauch
Quentin Reynolds
Hazel Scott
A. C. Spector
Carl Vafi Doren
Orson Welles
Carl Ziggrosser

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Michigan: 327 South Division Street, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Minnesota: 1200 Fourth Street, S. E., Minneapolis, Minn.
New Hampshire: P. O. Box 661, Hanover, New Hampshire
Ohio: 1007 Amherst Place, Dayton 6, Ohio
Pennsylvania: 1831 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Rhode Island: 134 Congden Street, Providence, R. I.
Washington: 4719 University Way, Seattle 5, Wash.
Washington, D.C.: 1018 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Wash., D.C.

EXHIBIT 12.

Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists

DR. MATTHEWS: One of the organizations set up dealing exclusively with the field of atomic energy was known as the **Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists**, with headquarters in Princeton, New Jersey.

I have here a letter signed by **Albert Einstein**, dated March the 20th, 1947. The trustees of this Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists included Albert Einstein, **Harold C. Urey** as Vice-Chairman, **Hans A. Bethe**, Bethe of Cornell University, **Philip M. Morse**, Morse, also of Cornell University, **T. R. Hogness**, **Linus Pauling**, **Leo Szilard**, Szilard, of the University of Chicago, and **V. F. Weisskopf**, Weisskopf, eight men prominent in the field of nuclear fission in the production of the atomic bomb.

I wish to read one sentence from this letter in which these men ask for a million dollars to tell the world the story of atomic energy. Here is the sentence: "**This basic power of the universe cannot be fitted into the outmoded concept of narrow nationalism.**"

Now I don't know precisely what these professors mean by "narrow nationalism"; I don't know anything but nationalism, whether it is broad or narrow, or middle-of-the-road, or what it is; but I think so far as most Americans are concerned, it is not an outmoded conception.

MR. HOUSTON: I would like to ask that this be incorporated and entered into the record as an exhibit.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted as Exhibit No. 13.

(WHEREUPON the letter referred to was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 13.)

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE of ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

INCORPORATED

ROOM 28, 90 NASSAU STREET
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Trustees
ALBERT EINSTEIN
Chairman
HAROLD C. UREY
Vice-Chairman
HANS A. BETHE
T. R. HOGNESS
PHILIP M. MORSE
LINUS PAULING
LEO SZILARD
V. F. WEISSKOPF

March 20, 1947

Dear Friend:

I write to you for help at the suggestion of a friend.

Through the release of atomic energy, our generation has brought into the world the most revolutionary force since prehistoric man's discovery of fire. This basic power of the universe cannot be fitted into the outmoded concept of narrow nationalism. For there is no secret and there is no defense; there is no possibility of control except through the aroused understanding and insistence of the peoples of the world.

We scientists recognize our inescapable responsibility to carry to our fellow citizens an understanding of the simple facts of atomic energy and its implications for society. In this lies our only security and our only hope - we believe that an informed citizenry will act for life and not for death.

We need \$1,000,000 for this great educational task. Sustained by faith in man's ability to control his destiny through the exercise of reason, we have pledged all our strength and our knowledge to this work. I do not hesitate to call upon you to help.

Faithfully yours,

A. Einstein

AB/ef

EXHIBIT 13.

National Committee on Atomic Information

DR. MATTHEWS: One of the most active of the organizations in the field of atomic information is known as the **National Committee on Atomic Information**, with headquarters in Washington, D. C. It claimed as scientific consultants, **Edward U. Condon, Albert Einstein, J. Robert Oppenheimer, Leo Szilard, and Harold C. Urey**; and then the committee itself was composed of such persons as **Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune**, that's McLeod Bethune. Mrs. Bethune is an elderly Negro woman, President of **Bethune-Cookman College in Florida**, a college for destitute Negro girls—a woman who has either reached her eighties already, or is very close thereto, and who is known nationally and has been so known nationally for a decade, as one of the leading fellow-travelers, Communist fellow-travelers, in the United States; and to make that clear, Mr. Chairman, I should like to offer the Communist record of some sixty affiliations of Mrs. Bethune, for your files.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I move that that be incorporated into the record as an exhibit.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be considered as **Exhibit No. 14**.

(WHEREUPON the Communist record of Mrs. Bethune, referred to, was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 14.)

DR. MATTHEWS: Here again, one, I think, probably pauses to pay tribute to the work Mrs. Bethune has done in the relief of destitute Negro girls of the South. She has been honored for that work for a half a century; but in the field of politics she has been pretty consistently a fellow-traveler of the Communists. She is a social worker, she has never made any pretense in her life to any scientific achievement, or to any scientific interest, so far as the record shows; nor why Doctors Condon, Einstein, Oppenheimer, Urey, has allowed her to serve on a National Committee on Atomic Information, with persons like that constituting the committee, I do not know; but I'm not through yet.

Here is **Robert K. Lamb**, Lamb. Professor Lamb has devoted a great deal of his time to serving Congressional committees, both of the House and of the United States Senate during the past ten years. Now when his Communist record finally caught up with him, thanks primarily to the reorganization work in the Senate by former Senator Robert W. LaFollette, Jr., Mr. Lamb left the work of Congress and became research director for the **United Steelworkers of America**. He hadn't been there long till his Communist record caught up with him, and he left that. I don't know where he is now.

There is only one alleged scientist on this National Committee on Atomic Information, and that is **John A. Simpson, Federation of Atomic Scientists**; as I have been unable to place Mr. Simpson, so that I do not know whether he has a scientific record or not.

MR. HOUSTON: May this be admitted as an exhibit into the record, Mr. Chairman?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted as **Exhibit No. 15**.

(WHEREUPON the letter of the National Committee on Atomic Information, referred to, was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 15.)

Chairman: RALPH McDONALD, National Education Association
 Vice-Chairman: HELEN DWIGHT REED, Amer. Assoc. of Univ. Women
 Secretary: MRS. JOY FALK, United Council of Church Women
 Treasurer: REV. E. A. CONWAY, S. J., Catholic Assoc. for International Peace

National Committee on ATOMIC INFORMATION

1749 L STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

National 5280

Scientific Consultants' Panel

EDWARD U. CONDON
 ALBERT EINSTEIN
 J. R. OPPENHEIMER
 H. D. SELLER
 LEO SZILARD
 HAROLD C. UREY
 MARY McLEOD BETHUNE

November 15, 1946

Dear Librarian:

With the cooperation of the Government Information Service, we are making available to you a sample copy of our monthly bulletin, "Atomic Information".

We want to provide this information regularly for those who use the facilities of your library. However, it costs us \$2.00 per year for each subscription and we hope you will feel able to cover the cost of the publication, if you wish to continue to receive it. If you are among the many libraries already subscribing, we hope you have found our material both interesting and helpful.

The work of this organization is entirely dependent upon contributions from those who believe in the vital importance of accurate and up-to-date information on the scientific facts of atomic energy and their implications for society.

Sincerely yours,

A. E. Casgrain
 A. E. Casgrain
 Acting Director

"A clearing house established by sixty national organizations to provide a medium through which they can cooperate with the atomic scientists and their colleagues for public understanding of the scientific facts of atomic energy and their implications for society."

EXHIBIT 15.

Institute on World Control of Atomic Energy

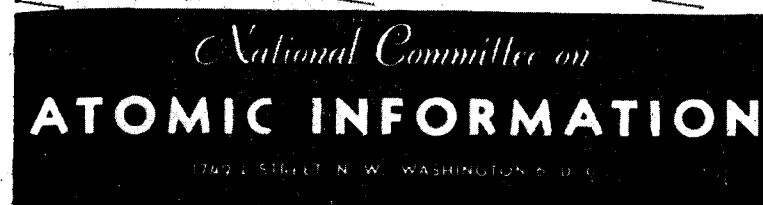
DR. MATTHEWS: This National Committee on Atomic Information held an Institute on World Control of Atomic Energy, on July the 15th and 16th, in the Department of Interior Auditorium in Washington, D. C. Here is a program of that institute, dated July the 8th, 1946. This is the organization, remember, that is composed of persons like Mrs. Mary McLeod, Robert T. Lamb, others who have like Communist records.

The speakers at this Institute on War Control of Atomic Energy were Secretary of Commerce Wallace, Harlow Shapley, to whom we have already made reference, Carroll Wilson, whose name probably means something to most of you. (Carroll Wilson is the director of the Atomic Energy Commission of the United States.) William Higinbotham, Chairman of the Federation of American Scientists, a Communist front organization, and Frederic Joliot-Curie. That's Joliot—Curie.

Professor Joliot Curie

Professor Joliot-Curie is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Committee of France, publicly so. He is so the French member of the Atomic Energy Commission of the United Nations. He is in the United States in recent years about as much as he has been in France. I have not an exact tabulation on that but that is approximately correct. And as a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France he has written extensively on the subject of Atomic Energy and his determination to give the secret as fast as he gets hold of any of it to the entire world, meaning primarily the Soviet Union—by definition as a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party that must be his view; that is his view. And yet he appears as a speaker of this front organization with the men I have mentioned and during his periods of stay in the United States he moves freely from coast to coast associating with our Atomic scientists.

MR. HOUSTON: I'd like to admit this into the record as an exhibit.
CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted as Exhibit No. 16.



"A clearing house established by sixty national organizations to provide a medium through which they can cooperate with the atomic scientists and their colleagues for public understanding of the scientific facts of atomic energy and their implications for society."

Latest News . . .

July 8, 1946

INSTITUTE ON WORLD CONTROL OF ATOMIC ENERGY

July 15 and 16, Department of Interior, Washington, D. C.

10 A.M., Monday, July 15 - Topic: "Posing the Problem of World Control"

Chairman: Dr. Ralph McDonald, Chairman of the NCAI

Speakers: Secretary of Commerce Wallace
Dr. Philip Morrison, Atomic Scientist on Los Alamos project
Dr. Norman Dewes, Professor of Social Studies
Dr. Waldemar Nielsen, Psychologist and Public Opinion Analyst

2 P.M., Monday, July 15 - Topic: "Proposals for World Control"

Chairman: Dr. Harlow Shapley, Director of the Harvard Observatory

Speakers: Carroll Wilson, Secretary to the Lilienthal Board
John Hancock, Consultant to the Baruch Committee
Thomas Finletter, International Lawyer
Clark Eichelberger, Director of American Association for United Nations

7:30 P.M., Monday, July 15 - Banquet* - Topic: "As Others See Us"

Speakers: Frederic Joliot-Curie, French Scientist } Consultants to United
Dr. Marcus Oliphant, Australian Scientist } Nations Atomic Energy
Dr. Heich-Ren Wei, Chinese Scientist } Commission

10 A.M., Tuesday, July 16 - Topic: "What Policy for the U.S.?"

Chairman: Senator Brien McMahon, Chairman Senate Committee on Atomic Energy

Speakers: William Higinbotham, Chairman Federation of American Scientists
Major George Fielding Elliot
Senator Charles Tobey

2 P.M., Tuesday, July 16 - Workshop Session "The People's Role"

Speakers: Edward L. Bernays, Public Relations expert. Reports from members.

* Banquet at "Hotel 2400", 2400 16th St., N.W. Tickets \$3.50. Make checks payable to National Committee on Atomic Information, 1749 L St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

EXHIBIT 16.

DR. MATTHEWS: Mr. Chairman, I have a few score or more of these exhibits but cumulatively they tell the same story, mainly that we have a disquieting situation in that so many of our most prominent scientists, particularly those in the academic world, are so closely associated in one way or another with the Communist front.

Objectives of Communist Front Organizations

The Communist Front movement has been set up for a variety of purposes. One of them is a halfway station to membership in the Communist Party. Another is to raise money for the Communist Party.

Another is to provide jobs for Party members.

And still another is to gain contacts with non-Communists so as to carry on the work of espionage. Now that has been established by the record long ago that one of the purposes of the front organization is precisely that.

I have had the unpleasant experience of examining a man convicted of espionage, American citizens convicted of espionage in foreign countries. Now when they have served their terms they have returned to the United States and have been willing to tell the process by which they became spies for the Russian Government and in every case in which I have examined the witness the process began with a Communist front organization and a person who was a simple fellow-traveler in what most Americans, I am afraid, still consider a rather innocent role to play.

I should like to proceed with the matters pertaining to the Grand Jury at the morning session if that is agreeable to the committee.

MR. HOUSTON: Just one thing in qualifying you, Doctor, I failed to bring out you have visited Russia, have you not, in your travels?

DR. MATTHEWS: I have visited Russia five different times.

MR. HOUSTON: Five different times you have been to Russia and that was during the period of your close work with the front organizations.

DR. MATTHEWS: Those—Those years were from 1928 until 1932.

MR. HOUSTON: And much of the information that you have been testifying to is not only the result of your research work but is personal knowledge that you have acquired?

DR. MATTHEWS: That is correct, though I have not made any effort to distinguish which is which.

I may say for your information that I was the first national chairman of the largest Communist front organization ever set up in this country, "The American League Against War and Fascism."

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I suggest that we adjourn until tomorrow morning or time convenient to the committee or members of the staff, I'd say 9:30, and I would like the record to show at this time that Mrs. Bernice Steele is and has been in the room for some period of time even though she did not respond to the subpoena this morning she is here now, and has responded to the subpoena, and I want the records to show it.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The record will show that Mrs. Bernice Steele is in attendance.

MR. HOUSTON: I believe that just leaves us one that isn't out.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I believe that is correct.

Witnesses under subpoena unless having made other arrangements with the committee will remain in attendance until called in order.

We will now be in recess until 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning.

(Recess)

TUESDAY, JULY 20, 1948

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing is now in session.

DR. JAMES B. MATTHEWS, resumed the stand for further examination, and testified as follows:

Win the Peace Conference

BY MR. HOUSTON:

MR. HOUSTON: Dr. Matthews will resume the stand, Mr. Chairman.

DR. MATTHEWS: Mr. Chairman, yesterday I referred briefly in passing, to the **Federation of Atomic Scientists** which was one of the several Communist Front organizations set up, shortly after the dropping of the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima. The leaders of the Federation of Atomic Scientists were two professors, the one named **Melber Phillips**, Melber Phillips, and the other **W. A. Higinbotham**, Higinbotham.

Professors Phillips and Higinbotham were also among the leaders of the **Win the Peace Conference** which was set up by the Communist Party in the spring of 1946, at a gathering in Washington, D. C. on April the 5th, 6th and 7th; and steadily this Communist front organization known as the Win the Peace Conference held its sessions in Federal Government buildings, in the Department of the Interior.

The actual launching of the Win the Peace Conference was done in the rooms of the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives, by the Chairman of the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives, the **Honorable Adolph Sabath** of Illinois.

To the best of my knowledge, that is the only time in American history that an out-and-out Communist Front organization so designated by a number of official investigations and government agencies, including the Attorney General of the United States, was launched in the Congress of the United States by a high officer of the Congress of the United States, a man whose position certainly places him next to that of Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the majority and minority leaders of the House; but there is the record. As I say, the Attorney General of the United States has himself designated this Win the Peace Conference as a subversive organization. It was publicly launched by a Congressman, the Honorable Adolph Sabath of Illinois.

Federation of Atomic Scientists

Two of the leaders of this Win the Peace Conference were these leaders of the Federation of Atomic Scientists, Professors Phillips and Melber— ah, Phillips and Higinbotham.

On March the 5th, 1947, the Federation of Atomic Scientists petitioned **President Truman** to demand that the War Department send back to Germany as soon as possible, all German scientists brought to this country since the close of the World War. It is a matter of public record that the War Department has availed itself of the scientific services of many German nationals since the close of the war. Other countries have done likewise. Large numbers of German scientists, regardless of their ideological attachments to Hitler, or otherwise, have been taken to Russia.

The Federation of Atomic Scientists, and the other Front organizations in the United States, have not made any protest against the transportation of

German scientists to Russia; but many of them, including the **Federation of Atomic Scientists**, have protested against the utilization of the scientific work of these German scientists in the United States.

At the beginning of the history of the Federation of Atomic Scientists, its Public Relations Director was one **Michael Amrine**, Amrine. There was no excuse for Mr. Amrine's not knowing that the Federation of Atomic Scientists was a Communist Front organization. Now whether he knew it or not I am not in a position to state. I wish only to have the fact recorded that he was the Public Relations Director of this rather important Communist Front organization.

Two weeks ago, Mr. Amrine was appointed Public Relations Director of the **Brookhaven Laboratory**, the center of the development of atomic energy of the United States Government at the present time. That is an old story. The way in which men pass from high positions in Communist Front organizations into still higher positions in the Federal Government and vice versa.

Civilian vs. Military Control of Atomic Energy

One of the most intensive campaigns ever put on by the Communists and the Communist Front organizations in the United States, throughout the entire history of Communism in this country, was the campaign to take the control of atomic energy out of the hands of the military and place it in the hands of a civilian commission. I do not know to what extent **Senator Bryan McMahon**, the author of the bill which effected that transfer was or is conscious of the fact that his bill received vastly more support from Communists than from any other section or segment of the American people. Practically every Communist Front organization devoted months and hundreds of thousands of dollars to discredit the military, which had just played a rather important role in the winning of the world war, for the express purpose of taking the control of atomic energy from the military and placing it in the hands of civilians. That campaign was successful and the so-called **Lilienthal Commission** was set up as a result of that move supported far more largely I repeat, by the Communists and Communist Front organizations than by any other groups in the American population.

We get another view of the **Federation of American Scientists** in the story which appeared in the newspaper **P. M.** in March, 1946. The **P. M.** reported that the members of the Federation of Atomic Scientists under the leadership of **Professor W. A. Higinbotham** was solidly behind this endeavor to discredit the military.

Professors Charge Spy Scare

They also charged that investigations of Communism and particularly investigations into the American spy ring, which attempted to steal the secrets of the atomic bomb, were nothing but a spy scare designed to curtail and to eventually to destroy the civil liberties of the American people.

Whenever you see charges made like that you know immediately if you are a student of these matters that you are reading a Communist charge.

The Communist controlled units of the **American Newspaper Guild**, particularly those in Los Angeles and New York City, have joined in this campaign to smear the military and to demand that the control of atomic energy be placed in the hands of civilians. In March, 1946, **Dr. Richard Noyas**, one of the atomic bomb scientists, addressed the meeting of the **Los Angeles News**

paper Guild and expounded the Communist Party line with reference to this matter.

According to the New York Times of July 16, 1947, the **Federation of Atomic Scientists** was again in the news.

There the organization used the prestige and name of **Professor Albert Einstein** as Communist Front organizations have done so often in the past and since. In this particular news item the Federation of Atomic Scientists was often endeavoring to propagate the idea that the United Nations should take complete control of atomic energy and distribute the secrets thereof to the nations of the world. When Communist Front organizations make pronouncements of that kind they have one particular country in mind, namely the Soviet Union which they have, from the beginning of Communism, recognized as the fatherland of all Communists regardless of their citizenship.

U. S. Scientists Visit Russia. Condon Stopped

Immediately after V. J. Day in August, 1945, the Soviet government invited leading scientists, including atomic scientists, to fly to Russia. A number of the most important of such American scientists accepted the invitation and went to Russia. However, one of the members of that delegation who had been invited to go to Russia arrived at LaGuardia Field aboard his plane.

The Army stepped in and saw to it that **Dr. Edward Condon** did not board that plane.

The Army had reasons as good, if not better, than those which the so-called Thomas committee had published in recent months or it would never have taken such drastic action as to remove an American scientist from a plane when he was bound for Russia. Certainly the Army considered that there was some element of the risk of security in the proposed flight of Dr. Condon to the Soviet Union.

Among the scientists who actually went to Russia on that occasion was **Dr. Irving Langmuir**, the famous—the scientist of the laboratories of the General Electric Company. Langmuir. Also in the delegation was **Professor Harlow Shapley** of Harvard University, to whom I made extended reference, yesterday.

When these scientists returned from the Soviet Union their reports were featured in the **Daily Worker** more than in any other of the papers of this country. Doctor Langmuir stated as follows: "In contrast with the profit motive prevailing in the United States, the Soviet government has devised stronger incentives for a continuous improvement in the standard of living over a long period of years." Now, that again is a disquieting fact. I do not accuse Dr. Langmuir of espionage or of any tendencies toward disloyalty, but it is a disquieting fact that so noted a scientist, also a recipient of a Nobel prize, can look upon the political scene in the Soviet Union and contrast the United States, unfavorably with the Soviet Union.

Another of the members of the delegation to the Soviet Union was **Doctor Arpad—Arpad—Nadai—Nadai**, of the Westinghouse laboratory. Still another member of the delegation was **Professor Arthur Upham Pope**. The middle name is Upham, who is the director of the Iranian Institute.

In March of 1947, **Professor Linus Pauling** of the California Institute of Technology addressed a meeting of **The Progressive Citizens of America**, of which he was a leader on the subject of atomic energy. I pointed out yesterday that Professor Pauling was a member of the **Los Alamos project** which produced the atomic bomb. Professor Pauling's pro-communist activities are a matter of public record.

In April, 1947, **Professor Harlow Shapley** called together the top scientists of the United States to map a program for the control of atomic energy. That meeting was held under the auspices of the **Progressive Citizens of America**, the body which nominated **Henry Wallace** for the Presidency of the United States, and which has now become somewhat dormant in favor of the **National "Wallace for President" Committee**.

Communist Espionage Unit Formed in Washington

In the year 1934, an espionage unit of the Communist Party was formed in the Federal Government in Washington. The formation of that unit of the Communist Party has been the major subject of investigation by the Federal Grand Jury, which has been sitting in New York City for the past year. The leader of that Communist Party Unit in the Federal Government was one Harold Ware—Ware.

Harold Ware was a son of **Ella Reid Bloor**, popularly known in Communist circles as "**Mother Bloor**." The details of the formation of that Communist Party Unit are known to the grand jury, as they have been known for some time to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other investigative agencies of the Federal Government.

Most of the members of that Communist Party Unit in the Federal Government were sponsored for their Federal positions by some of the professors who went to Washington in 1933. Notably, **Professor Rexford Guy Tugwell**, then of Columbia University and now of the University of Chicago, and a prominent national leader in the "Wallace for President" movement.

One of the members of that Communist Party unit in the Federal Government was **Lee Pressman**. **Lee Pressman**, eventually, became General Counsel of the C. I. O., a position which he occupied until quite recently, when anti-Communist stirrings began to make a change in the policies of the national headquarters of the C. I. O., as well as in some of the international unions of the C. I. O.

Pressman is also a prominent national leader in the "Wallace for President" movement at the present time.

Another of the secret Communist Party members working in this espionage ring in the Federal Government was **John Apt**, Apt. John Apt is likewise now a national leader of the Wallace for President Committee. Pressman and Apt were in the Department of Agriculture at the time they joined this espionage ring.

There were many Federal employees eventually recruited into this unit of the Communist Party, whose main objective was to obtain confidential information from Government files to which they had access, for the purpose of transmitting them to the Soviet Government.

I understand that a witness who will appear on the stand tomorrow will go further into details of the organization of this espionage ring.

The conspiratorial character of the Communist Party is well illustrated by the fact that many of the prominent members of the Party, such as those in the academic world, have taken aliases. They do not operate in the Communist Party under their own names.

Professors Use Aliases

I wish to give you a few examples of this. Some years ago a professor at the University of Pennsylvania, by the name of **Sol Auerbach**, Auerbach, a Communist Party member, used the alias **James S. Allen**, Allen.

Auerbach was eventually deprived of his position in the University, and went into the Communist movement as a full-time occupation, where he still works under the name of **James S. Allen**. You will find his articles regularly in the "New World," published in Seattle, in the "**People's Daily World**," published in San Francisco, and the "**Daily Worker**," published in New York, and in all other publications of the Communist Party. A college professor.

Morris U. Schappes, Schappes, was a professor at the City College of New York. As the result of the investigations of a State Legislative Committee in New York, Professor Schappes was ousted from City College for being a Communist Party member; inasmuch as he was proven to have committed perjury while on the witness stand, he served a prison term for perjury.

While he was operating in the Communist Party as a professor at the City College of New York, he used the name **Alan Horton**, Alan Horton, and as Alan Horton he was the head of the Communist Party's commission on education.

An old-timer in the Communist Party, he taught in the New York schools under his real name, **Dale Zysman**, Zysman; but in his Communist Party work he used the alias of **Jack Hardy**. When the war broke out, Dale Zysman, alias Jack Hardy, even though he had been removed from the New York public system—school system, for being a member of the Communist Party, obtained a position of the highest importance in the United States Navy. However, his record eventually caught up with him there, and he was removed from his position in the Navy.

At Columbia University today, there is a professor, an instructor in sociology, his name is **Bernhard J. Stern**, Bernhard, who has operated as a Communist for many years under the name of **Bennett Stevens**. He has written books under the name of Bennett Stevens, and has taught in the Communist Party's workers schools under that name.

Another professor at the City College of New York was **Herbert Morais**, Morais; when he was on the faculty of City College, he used the Communist Party alias **Herbert Enmale**, Enmale. It was later explained before the Legislative Committee of the State of New York, that he compounded his alias Enmale by taking the first syllables of the names of Engels, Marx, and Lenin.

A professor at Brooklyn College by the name of **Howard Selsam**, Selsam, used the Communist Party alias, **Hill**, while he filled his faculty position as well as working for the Communist Party. Selsam is now the Director of the Communist Party's training school in New York City, the **Jefferson School of Social Science**.

Mr. Chairman, I could go on indefinitely giving names of outstanding educators, in the sense that these men are outstanding, who have been members of the Communist Party and have used aliases to conceal their identity as far as possible. This is one of the small indications of the conspiratorial character of the Communist Party.

At this time, Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce a list of the Communist Front organizations which have been operating more or less currently in the United States. It is a matter of record that since the inception of the Communist Party several thousand national and local front organizations have been set up by the Communists.

At any given time or during the history of the Communist Party there have been some two hundred fifty to three hundred such organizations operated. The Department of Justice has begun to list these organizations

piecemeal. Already two such lists have appeared and I presume that those two lists will go into the records of this Committee for the enlightenment of those in this state and elsewhere who use the records of your hearings.

Communist Schools

On this list which I wish to submit to you you will find the names of schools, as well as Communist Front organizations, because it has become a practice of the Communist to attempt to conceal the Communist Party character of the school or particularly by taking the name of some great American patriot. In New York City the present Communist Party school is the **Jefferson School of Social Science**. In Boston it is the **Samuel Adams School for Social Study**. In Chicago it is the **Abraham Lincoln School**, and so on. I don't know why they haven't taken the name of some patriot in Seattle. They have contented themselves with the simple designation at the present time of the **Pacific Northwest Labor School**, I believe.

But because they have attempted to conceal the Communist control I have included the names of those schools in this list.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I herewith submit this as an exhibit and ask that be given a number and incorporated in the record in full.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted as Committee's **Exhibit No. 17** and so designated.

COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

Abraham Lincoln School
 Action Conference on Indonesia
 All-Arts Action Meeting
 Ambijan
 American Association of Scientific Workers
 American Business Congress
 American Committee for Armenian Rights
 American Committee for Indonesian Independence
 American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists
 American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born
 American Committee for Settlement of Jews in Birobidjan
 American Committee for Spanish Freedom
 American Committee for Yugoslav Relief
 American Council for a Democratic Greece
 American Crusade to End Lynching
 American Friends of India
 American Institute of Pacific Relations
 American Investors Union
 American Jewish Labor Council
 American People's Fund
 American Polish Labor Council
 American Relief for Greek Democracy
 American Review of Soviet Medicine
 American Russian Institute
 American Slav Congress
 American Society for Cultural Relations with Italy
 American Society for Russian Relations
 American-Soviet Medical Society
 American-Soviet Music Society
 American-Soviet Science Society
 American University Women's League
 American Youth for Democracy
 Association Democratique Haitienne
 Association of Young Writers and Artists
 Austro-American Tribune
 Authors League of America
 American Youth for a Free World
 Americas, The
 Artists League of America
 Associated Blind
 Association of the Greek Community
 Association of Scientists for Atomic Education

 Book Find Club
 Brooklyn Professional Committee for Democratic China
 Brooklyn Women's Conference for Security and Peace

 California Labor School
 Camp Beacon
 Camp Unity
 Camp Wo-Chi-Ca
 Challenger, The
 Chicago Star, The
 China Daily News
 Citizens Committee for Children
 Citizens Committee to Defend Representative Government
 Citizens Committee of the Upper West Side
 Citizens Committee for William E. Harrison (Boston)
 Citizens Legislative Conference of New York State
 Citizens Non-Partisan Committee to Elect a Negro to the State Senate
 Citizens Social Research Council
 Civil Rights Congress
 Civil Rights Federation (Michigan)
 EXHIBIT 17—A Partial List of Communist Front Organizations.

Committee to Aid the Fighting South
 Committee of Catholics for Human Rights
 Committee to Defend and Obtain Citizenship for Michael J. Obermeier
 Committee for A Democratic Far Eastern Policy
 Committee for Democratic Rights
 Committee for the First Amendment
 Committee of One Thousand, The
 Committee of Women of the National Council of American-Soviet
 Friendship
 Congress of American Women
 Consumer-Farmer Milk Cooperative
 Consumers Union
 Contemporary Writers
 Council Against Intolerance in America
 Council on African Affairs
 Council for Pan American Democracy

Daily Worker
 Direction
 Downtown Community School

East and West Association
 Eisler Defense Committee
 Emergency Committee of Artists, Scientists, and Educators
 Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists
 Emergency Committee on Rent and Housing
 End Jim Crow in Baseball Committee
 Eteenpain

Facts for Farmers
 Far Eastern Survey
 Federation of Atomic Scientists
 Fraternal Committee for Political Action
 Fraternal Outlook
 Free Italy-American Labor Council
 Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade
 Friends of Italian Democracy

George Washington Carver School
 German-American, The
 G'os Ludowy
 Greek-American Tribune
 Greek-American Committee for National Unity

Hollywood Committee to Aid Spanish Refugees
 Hollywood Writers Mobilization
 Hungarian-American Council for Democracy

ICOR
 In Fact
 Institute for International Democracy
 Interdenominational Ministers' Alliance
 International Juridical Association
 International Publishers
 International Workers Order
 Italy Today
 International Women's Day

Japanese American Committee for Democracy
 Jefferson School of Social Science
 Jewish Black Book Committee
 Jewish Council for Russian War Relief
 Jewish Life

Jewish People's Committee
 Jewish People's Fraternal Order
 Johannes Steel Report on World Affairs
 Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee
 Joint Conference Against Intervention In Greece and Turkey

Karpatska Rus
 Laisve
 League for Fair Play
 League for Mutual Aid
 League of Women Shoppers
 League of Young Southerners
 L'Unita del Popolo
 Lraper
 Ludowy Dennik
 Magyar Jovo
 Masses and Mainstream
 Methodist Federation for Social Action
 Metropolitan Broadcasting Company
 Metropolitan Interfaith and Interracial Coordinating Council
 Metropolitan Music School
 Michigan Herald
 Milk Consumers Protective Committee
 Mobilization for Democracy
 Morning Freiheit
 Morning Freiheit Association

Nallebn
 Narodni Glasnik
 Narodna Volya
 National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax
 National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism
 National Committee for Radio Freedom (California)
 National Committee of Sponsors to Help Settle Jewish War
 Orphans in Birobidjan
 National Committee to Win the Peace
 National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East
 National Council of American-Soviet Friendship
 National Council of Hungarian Trade Unionists
 National Emergency Committee to Aid Strikers' Families
 National Emergency Committee for Price Control
 National Equal Rights League
 National Film and Photo League
 National Negro Congress
 National Wallace for President Committee
 National Youth Assembly against Universal Military Training
 Negro Labor Victory Committee
 New Africa
 New Century Publishers
 New Currents
 New Foundations
 New World
 New Writing Foundation
 New York Citizens Emergency Committee to Aid Strikers Families
 New York Committee against War Propaganda
 New York Committee for Justice in Freeport
 New York Committee to Win the Peace
 New York Consumer Council
 New York Interracial Singers
 New York Youth Council
 Nova Doba

Peoples Artists, Inc.
 Peoples Culture Union of America
 Peoples Institute of Applied Religion

People's Radio Foundation
 People's Songs
 People's World
 Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art
 Philippines Today
 Physicians' Forum
 Political Affairs
 Portuguese-American Committee for Democracy
 Progressive Citizens of America
 Prompt Press
 Protestant, The
 Provisional Committee for Democracy in America
 Pueblos Hispanos

Readers Scope
 Robert Marshall Foundation
 Romanul American
 Russky Golos

Samuel Adams School of Social Science
 School of Jewish Studies
 Science and Society
 Seattle Labor School
 Slavic-American, The
 Society for the Prevention of World War III
 Sound View Foundation
 Southern Conference for Human Welfare
 Southern Negro Youth Congress
 Southern Patriot
 Soviet Russia Today
 Sponsors Committee for South African Famine Relief
 Stage for Action
 Strike Strategy Committee for Hollywood Strikers
 Students for Wallace
 Trade Union Committee for Jewish Unity
 Trade Union Service, Inc.
 Trends and Tides
 Tyomies

Ukrainian Daily News
 United Christian Council for Democracy
 United Committee to Save the Jewish State and the United Nations
 United Committee of South-Slavic Americans
 United Negro and Allied Veterans of America
 United States Arrangement Committee of the World Youth Congress
 Ussim
 Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade
 Veterans Committee against Discrimination
 Veterans Justice Committee
 Viinis
 Voice of Freedom Committee
 Walt Whitman School of Social Science
 Win-the-Peace Conference
 Women's International Democratic Federation
 World Federation of Democratic Youth
 World Federation of Trade Unions
 World Youth Festival
 Young Progressive Citizens of America
 Youth (magazine)

EXHIBIT 17—Continued.

DR. MATTHEWS: On that list you will find the name of the Communist Party School in Seattle, you will also find the name of the Communist's Party Publication in Seattle, **The New World**; you will also find the name of the **Me—Methodist Federation for Social Action**.

Methodist Federation for Social Action

I have noted in press reports that the North—Pacific Northwest annual conference of the Methodist Church last month adopted a resolution, dealing with the work of this Committee. Now that resolution is being circulated by the **Methodist Federation for Social Action**, a copy of which I have and I presume you also have.

The Communist controlling character of the Methodist Federation for Social Action is a matter of overwhelming evidence. The director of the Methodist Federation for Social Action is the **Reverend Jack McMichael**, McMichael. Jack McMichael was at one time the head of the **American Youth Congress**. He was also a vice-chairman of the **American Peace Mobilization**. He has occupied important positions in several score Communist Front organizations. There isn't the slightest doubt about the attachment of Jack McMichael to the causes and enterprises of the Communist Party. He is the director of this organization which uses the Methodist Church of the Pacific Northwest to attack the procedures and work of this committee.

Washington Committee for Academic Freedom a Communist Front Organization

In addition to the names on the list which I have submitted you have operating locally in Seattle a new Communist Front organization known as the "**Washington Committee for Academic Freedom**." Presently I shall go into the matter of academic freedom in somewhat—more detailed and what I have to say will, I hope, bear upon the work of this Washington Committee for Academic Freedom.

Yesterday I took up the question of how the Communists themselves in their own printed statements declared their intention to infiltrate the schools of this country and to inject Communist doctrines into the teachings of Communist teachers in our schools. I should like to proceed briefly with that subject because we have some additional authoritative sources from which to throw light upon it.

Language & Literature

One of the leading Communist documents which dealt with this matter some time ago—some years ago was by a **Doctor Langford**, Langford. With respect to the study of literature and language, Doctor Langford wrote as follows: "This passage indicates the possible role of the teacher of literature and the collective role of groups of such teachers in interpreting the literary products of the past and of the present in terms of the workers' needs. Their field of study is by no means limited to works deliberately and completely favorable to the workers. It is potentially as wide as the literature of the whole world. But the particular poem or novel or drama is no longer thought of as an expression of universal human thought and emotion. It is studied against the background of the historical period and of the class which produced it and its meaning for the contemporary student is clarified accordingly—and here follows an example. This writer was impressed with the possibilities of this kind of study through the observation of a book review contest arranged for the children of the cooperative department referred to in earlier pages. The books chosen by those who took part in the contest might have been found in most children's libraries, but the review

for which one child was awarded a prize went far more deeply and critically into the contents and bearing of the book than is usual in most classes in oral English. Such reviews are usually criticized by the teacher mainly from the literary and dramatical points of view. In this contest the reviews were sharply analyzed from the literary and language angles to be sure that the specialty as vehicles for clarifying the issues between the workers and the ruling class, as reflected in the book's review."

History

The same method is employed in the teaching of history. "History, when studied in the same dialectical manner, ceases to be merely a medium for the glorification of national heroes or of a national tradition—democratic or otherwise, or a catalogue of disconnected events and characters to be assimilated for examination purposes. It becomes in a new sense a science of human societies and especially of the forms assumed by the class conflict in successful historical epochs, including our own.

History so taught enables the workers, both children and grownups, to be not merely interested spectators of the course of events, but decisive participators in shaping events."

Geography

Again, the quotation which deals with geography. "Geography, inseparably connected with history, reminds the writer of a series of illustrated wall maps showing the rich and varied products of the world—animal, vegetable, and mineral—and the means devised by men for increasing and disseminating this national wealth. Its producers are sometimes sketched in, picturesquely attired in their native costumes.

Such maps rarely show the worn faces—the bodies, prematurely old—the grinding poverty of these millions of men, women and children; peasants laboriously planting their rice in China or harvesting their rye in Poland; Cubans living on next to nothing amid endless fields of sugar cane for American tables and American pockets; Alabama share-croppers, Pennsylvania miners, New Jersey fruit and vegetable pickers, makers of cheap garments in New York sweat shops—these, the real makers of human geography supply the informed teacher with an inexhaustible source of data for the reinterpretation of present course of study and text-book material."

All of these are illustrations of how to apply Marxism to the content of teaching, regardless of the field in which the teacher is working.

Science & Mathematics

Another illustration which has to do with the natural sciences and mathematics. It was often averred by the Nazis that Einstein's mathematics were Communist mathematics. Precisely how Professor Einstein got Communism into mathematics I do not profess to know, but the Nazis thought so. At any rate the Communists claimed the ability to get the teaching of Communism into the teaching of mathematics, and this is the matter in which it is so stated.

"Science teaching on all levels from the point of view of teacher and student is too largely descriptive—concerned with merely describing the world and only incidentally affected—concerned with transforming it. Technological change is apparently held to be the prerogative of the business or industrial

executive. The workers need to know, not simply the classifications of plants and animals, but their social significance—their role in human life, past and present and in the building of socialism. They need to know not simply the design and operation of the dynamo, the telephone, the airplane and the radio tube as separate pieces of mechanism, but the role of electrification in transforming factory production and the economy of the home and the role of the instruments of communication and transportation in uniting the workers within each country and throughout the world. They need to know mathematics not simply as a subject to study in school, but as an ever-present and essential part of production, in all its technical processes and in social planning.

In our economy of capitalism in decay, social statistics become more significant to the teacher of mathematics than personal budgets. In the socialized economy the whole country becomes one vast mathematical laboratory, just as it becomes a scientific laboratory and a cultural laboratory."

DR. MATTHEWS: Mr. Chairman, there is a great deal more of this, but I think these quotations suffice to show that the Communists have a fanatical determination to apply their dogmas of Marxism-Leninism to the teachings of all subjects no matter of what character in any schools where Communists have been able to penetrate as teachers.

Prominent Communist Professors Formerly on "U" of "W" Faculty

Former members of the faculty of the University of Washington should certainly not be charged to the university as it is at present administered. I should like to call attention to at least two men, who formerly occupied positions as instructors at the University of Washington, who have been prominent in Communist activities in this and other parts of the country, simply to show how professors who get into the Communist movement even though they are eventually divorced from their academic positions they continue with their Communist activities.

One of the most notorious individuals in the Northwest is former Professor Hugh DeLacy who was at one time an instructor at the University of Washington. I do not need to remind the Committee that Mr. DeLacy was also a member of the Congress of the United States from the State of Washington.

Hugh DeLacy's Communist affiliations are very extensive, documentary evidence shows that he has attended conventions of the Communist Party in New York City as a member of the Party.

Another former instructor at the University of Washington, Selden Menefee, Selden Menefee, has a very substantial Communist record as numerous witnesses are in a position to testify, even though one witness on the stand was unable to do so yesterday. There are numerous witnesses and an overwhelming body of evidence to support the fact that Selden Menefee, while at the University of Washington, was a member of the Communist Party.

Jerry O'Connell's Record Cited

In connection with these hearings, Mr. Chairman, a certain individual has achieved considerable publicity; I refer to former Congressman from Montana, Jerry O'Connell.

Jerry O'Connell's record of Communist activities is an open book. I am not in a position to state of my own firsthand knowledge that Jerry O'Connell

is or ever was a member of the Communist Party. I do know of his substantial aid to the organizations of the Communist movement. Jerry O'Connell was, and so far as I know may still be, an official of the Robert Marshall Foundation.

The Robert Marshall Foundation was a sum of some two million dollars bequeathed by the late Robert Marshall to a group of trustees, including Jerry O'Connell, for the purpose of disseminating and propagating the idea of production for use instead of profit. That is a slogan familiar in Communist literature, "Production for use instead of profit."

A good part of the two million dollars thus bequeathed by Robert Marshall has been expended already. For the most part the funds of the Robert Marshall Foundation have gone to support the front organizations of the Communist Party such as the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, The National Negro Congress, and others.

That is a very substantial aid to render to the Communist movement. To be in the position of Jerry O'Connell to supply such large funds for the support of the Communist movement.

Communist Front Student Organizations

The Communist Party has never been without organizations, the setup specifically for the purpose of enrolling the students of our schools.

One of the earliest of the Communist front organizations for students was known as the "National Student League." It was hardly a front organization in the sense that its control was concealed. Nevertheless it did not admit that it was an auxiliary of the Communist Party. The National Student League was eventually merged with the Student League for Industrial Democracy, a Socialists' student organization, to become the American Student Union.

The American Student Union operated from the year 1935 until within recent years. There never was any doubt about the Communist control of the American Student Union. Even though the Socialists collaborated in setting it up the Communists speedily took it over as Communists have a way of doing when they are permitted to enter into united front organizations with Socialists and others.

The American Youth Congress also operated on the campuses of many of our schools during its lifetime. It was a Communist front organization and had been officially so designated by Attorney General Tom Clark.

At the present time the leading Communist front organizations working among students are The American Youth for Democracy, American Youth for a Free World, Students for Wallace, and the Young Progressive Citizens of America. All four of these organizations have at the core of their leadership and control a group of Communists regardless of the fact that there may be thousands of students who have innocently affiliated with them not understanding their Communist nature.

Important Fallacies Concerning Communism

There are many fallacies widely held regarding the Communist Party and its operations. I should like to go into some of these fallacies in some detail, Mr. Chairman, as a part of this record.

First and perhaps of greatest importance is the fallacy widely held that the Communist Party is a political party in the ordinary sense of that term as Americans commonly understand the term. While it is true that the so-called Communist Party enjoys legal status in most of the states of the

Union, it is nevertheless a fact that the Communist Party is not, in any real sense of the word, a political party. The differences between it and a political party are of the greatest importance.

Not a Political Party

Time and again in the literature of the Communist Party it has been explicitly stated that political campaigns are entered into not so much for the purpose of electing officials to office as for the purpose of propagating the ideas of the Party. The literature of the Communist Party has also stated that when and if a Communist is elected to public office he is not to use his office as a means of participating in the usual legislative processes; he is to use his political office as a sounding board, as a forum from which to attack the very system under which he has been elected to office. That appears over and over again in the literature of the Communist Party during the past twenty-five or thirty years.

The fact is that the Communist Party is an arm of the foreign office of the Soviet government. That is its chief characteristic, that is the function which it serves and intends to serve above all else.

There is also a fallacy that Communism today is simply one among many radical doctrines. I take it that there are many people in the United States who are actively opposing the spread of Communism who would not do so if there were any truth in that fallacy. That is, they recognize the right of American citizens to propagate radical doctrines even though they, themselves, reject them.

Is a Foreign Controlled Conspiracy

Communism is not simply one among many radical doctrines. It may be debated whether or not in the Soviet Union itself, Communism, as a radical doctrine, has any significance today.

Communism, instead of being a radical doctrine for the reorganization of our social and economic relationships is a foreign controlled conspiracy to destroy the American system of government and society.

There is also a fallacy that Communists are liberals. In fact, so often has the word "liberal" been attached to Communists who often have Communists themselves claimed to be mere liberals or progressives, that the very word of liberalism has fallen into a disrepute from which it is difficult to see any rehabilitation for it.

Nothing Liberal About Communism

The most illiberal, unprogressive movement in the world today is the International Communist Movement. It is a throwback to the dark ages; it is the denial of every principle of liberalism and progressivism. It has nothing in common with either one. If Communism spreads throughout the world, if the Communists achieve their objective of world domination, there is an absolute certainty that a slave society, the like of which the world has never known, even in the most primitive times, would be established.

There is another fallacy that I should like to discuss, namely, that men and countries go Communist because of hunger or extreme destitution; and I think that particular fallacy ought to be exploded in the interests of a better understanding of the foreign relations of the United States at the present time.

Communism Is Not the Result of Economic Depression

The arguments which were brought forward in support of the adoption of the Marshall Plan were largely based upon the fallacy that men and countries go Communist because of hunger. A thousand times over it was said inside and outside of Congress that if the American people did not feed Western Europe, Western Europe would go Communist. I wish to assert that there is not a scintilla of validity in any such viewpoint, and the record is clear beyond dispute on that matter. There has never been a country in the history of the world that went Communist by the choice of its population as a whole. The smallest minority executing a coup d'etat, brought Communism to the Soviet Union. It was not hunger and destitution on the part of the population that led any significant portion of the population to choose Communism, as opposed to any other form of government of society.

There is not a single country behind the Iron Curtain today that has gone Communist by any deliberate choice of a majority of its population, whether hungry or well-fed; neither has had the slightest thing to do with any of those countries being behind the Iron Curtain today. Those countries have become Communist, or Communist-controlled for one of two reasons; either because they were occupied by the Red Army and have been subjected to the dictatorship of Moscow by military might. The population in those countries might have been the best fed, clothed and housed in the world, and it would not have made the slightest difference with their being behind the Iron Curtain today.

Some of them have gone Communist or have been brought under the dictatorship of the Communists in Moscow, through the work of a Fifth Column—insignificant minorities, numerically speaking, working in conjunction with Soviet agents dispatched to those countries for that purpose, as in the case of Czechoslovakia. The people of Czechoslovakia did not go Communist by any choice of the population. Hunger, or the lack of hunger, had absolutely nothing to do with the fact that Czechoslovakia today is in the iron grip of Russia.

If hunger were a factor in this question, then Italy would have voted Communist and Czechoslovakia would not be Communist. I think there will be no dispute—disputing the fact, that the people of Italy were more hungry than the people of Czechoslovakia. One came under the dictatorship of the Communists because of a Fifth Column supported by Soviet agents; the other escaped coming under the dictatorship of Moscow because it was geographically removed from the reach of the military forces of Moscow. If Italy had been contiguous to the territories of the Soviet Union, there would have been a different story in all probability, but hunger would have had nothing to do with it. So, I say, there is no evidence whatsoever to support the fallacy used to promulgate the Marshall Plan, namely, the fallacy that if we didn't feed Europe, Western Europe, they would go Communist.

If hunger had anything to do with countries going Communist, India would undoubtedly have been the first Communist country in the world, for more millions have starved to death in India than in any other country in the world, in our times; yet India has never gone Communist.

If you go into a meeting of the Communists in Madison Square Garden in New York City, where they frequently assemble some twenty-two thousand people inside and another twenty or thirty thousand outside, you will find it very difficult to believe that hunger has anything to do with persons being Communist, whether as countries or as individuals.

Are Communists Super Intellectuals?

The Communists arrogate to themselves the belief that they have super intellects. You will find that notion again and again in Communist literature. They are the possessors of a doctrine of dialectical or historical materialism, which explains all history, which explains all human relationships, and once you have mastered Marxism-Leninism dialectical and historical materialism, you become a superintellect, you understand everything that's going on. They arrogate to themselves the super intelligence; and so I should like to make this observation, that the American Communist instead of being a hungry superintellect, is far more likely to have an empty head and a full stomach; and that accounts for far more of them becoming Communists than the other way around.

Socialism Not a Defense Against Communism

There is a fallacy, widely held, that Socialists are a bulwark against Communists. I think a more accurate way of describing Socialists and Communists is to say that they are rival sects, holding in common many items of isostatic doctrine. They're rival churches, and as such they have their antagonisms; but the history of the Socialist parties of Europe makes it very clear that when the Communist Fifth Column has reached the point of success, it has been joined in every instance by the Socialist groups of those countries.

There is not a Socialist party in Europe which has not gone over easily without any fundamental objection to the Communist Fifth Column when the Communist Fifth Column has shown its ability to bring about a coup d'etat. That was true in Poland; it was true in Hungary and Bulgaria, Roumania, Czechoslovakia. The Socialists of Italy are today in affront with the Communists of Italy.

It seems to me, therefore, a great mistake for us to place any reliance upon the Socialist parties of the world as bulwarks against the encroachments of Communism throughout the world.

Whose Civil Liberties Violated?

The individuals in the United States who have maintained vociferously in recent years, that legislative investigating committees proceed irregularly without due regard for the constitutional rights of citizens, are either abysmally ignorant of the history of this country, or else they have a special ax to grind.

Time and again self-styled liberal and progressive groups who are usually the victims of the underhanded manipulation of the Communists, have conformed resolutions demanding that such committees as yours, Mr. Chairman, shall grant the right of counsel and cross-examination to your witnesses. The legislative procedures, both in the Federal Government and in the respective states, that are followed today, have been followed for more than a hundred years, and the intelligent citizen knows that. He is either ignorant or sinister if he denies it.

The Supreme Court in innumerable cases, over a period of more than a hundred years, has upheld the procedure of legislative investigations which did not utilize counsel for witnesses or permit cross-examination of witnesses.

Now I know that you've said that, but I should like to make it a part of the record, from my own standpoint.

There is no denial of the civil rights of any witness before a legislative investigation. That is partly due to the fact that a witness before a legislative investigation is not under prosecution and is not subject to prosecution for any testimony which he may give, or fail to give, at a legislative inquiry, unless he commits contempt or perjury.

There is a fallacy widely held, particularly in the academic world, that academic freedom is infringed by legislative investigations such as this. It may be that somewhere in the many statements made by the American Association of University Professors, a definition of academic freedom has been set down which includes more than the right of a Communist to hold a teaching position, or which includes more than the rights of teachers in the academic world. It seems to me that it ought to be clear that there are three parties involved in the academic world and have rights—and that all have rights and that academic freedom applies to all.

Academic Freedom

Academic freedom should certainly include the freedom of parents to dissent upon being compelled to subject their children to subversive teachings in the public and state schools. Have parents no freedom? No rights in the academic world? I think they have rights equal to, if not superior to, those of the teaching profession. And certainly the duly constituted authorities of our state and federal governments have not only freedoms and rights but obligations in the academic field to see to it that subversive Fifth Column agents and activities are not carried on under the guise of academic freedom.

I hope the American Association of University Professors will get around to reviewing this whole question of academic freedom in a larger light. It involves far more than saying that the hungry should be fed, the naked clothed and the ill-housed have better homes, the slums should be abolished. I am sure that there is no legislative body in America that wants to curtail the rights of teachers to speak their minds on issues of that sort, but when it comes to a teacher concealing his identity under the conspiratorial cloak of an alias and serving the agent or the stooge of an agent of a foreign power, if legislatures have no rights in that matter then we have abdicated the obligation to make this country secure; and if parents have no rights and obligations in that situation then we have reached a pass where we must surrender to the most brutal force who threatens to override the world.

Quotes Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes

There is a corollary fallacy abroad in the country today to the effect that free societies have no right within the best interpretation of civil liberties to defend themselves against the Fifth Column of a foreign power.

That subject is dealt with by a very reactionary old Supreme Court judge, if I may descend from the proceedings for just a moment, Mr. Chairman.

This old reactionary on the Supreme Court was Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes and I think no more widely recognized liberal ever sat on the bench. In a well-known case, Justice Holmes wrote in 1892 the following:

"The petitioner may have a constitutional right to talk politics but he has no constitutional right to be a policeman. There are few employments for hire in which the servant does not agree to suspend his constitutional right of free speech as well as idleness by the implied terms of his contract. The

servant cannot complain as he takes the employment on the terms which are offered him.

On the same principle the city may impose any reasonable condition upon holding offices within its control."

I think, Mr. Chairman, it would be a very wholesome thing if a thousand citizens of Seattle painted that on placards and marched around your hearings, but, unfortunately, citizens who believe in the American way of life are not always as active as those who would like to destroy it.

To paraphrase the great Justice, the teacher in any American school has a constitutional right to talk politics, any kind of politics, but he has no constitutional right to be a teacher. He has no constitutional right to be employed privately or publicly as a teacher, and that is established by the Constitution of the United States in such opinions as this of the great Justice.

If the terms of contract at Columbia University, University of Chicago, University of Washington, California School of Technology, do not give to the authorities of those institutions the right to set down the conditions that no member of a faculty shall be an agent of a foreign government whose purpose is to destroy the government and the society of the United States, then we are silly beyond the powers of human language to state our situation.

Communism as an Adventure

There is a fallacy which I fear is held too widely among Communists in this country, young and old, and I think it is particularly regrettable that that fallacy is held by young people in our schools. Undoubtedly to some of them their Communism is a lark. It's a form of adventure, a form of excitement. Marching in a picket line or chanting some silly phrase interests some young people. The exuberance of youth has an outlet in that kind of activity but there is one of the most dangerous fallacies possible to hold in that view if young people hold it. The fallacy rests upon this stern fact that the hour is getting late and these young people who find adventure and excitement in Communism today may shortly find themselves standing in front of firing squads having been drawn more or less unwittingly into acts of sabotage and treason if their country gets into war and let no one make any mistake about it, the United States will defend itself if it has to go to war. In the coming years of the coming decade young people are to be the specialty who do not know that they are headed straight for acts of sabotage and treason by virtue of their participation in the Communist movement ought to sit down and ponder the meaning of what they are doing.

Can Communism and Free Societies Live Side by Side?

The final fallacy to which I should like to draw attention is the one that Communism and free societies can live side by side, at peace and indefinitely in the world of today. Now this is not a matter of my personal opinion. It is a matter of study of the Communist records. **It has been declared over and over again not only by the task leaders of the Communist leaders of the world, but by Joseph Stalin himself, that war between the Communist world and the so-called Capitalist world is inevitable** and we may write it down that it is inevitable. I do not ask that the responsible administrators of our foreign policy announce that fact on any and every occasion. I know that while diplomacy often requires a slurring over of some of the stern facts of life—I know that—but I know, and I think the American people ought to

begin to know, that war is absolutely inevitable between the Soviet Union and the United States. There is no more denying that fact than it is possible to deny that Lenin and Stalin wrote hundreds of books and pamphlets and as their every action from the time of the founding of the Soviet government has been in line with precisely that ultimate aim. I am not here to say that it will be tomorrow, or next year, or within the decade, but I know that American policy based upon any other assumption is based upon a fallacy and I'm glad to believe that the responsible administrators of our foreign policy know that and the policy is fixed upon that regardless of public expression. War is inevitable and the consequences for Communists in the United States must be understood by them in that light. Sabotage, espionage and treason will no more be tolerated from American citizens, who owe their sole allegiance to the Kremlin, than it was tolerated by those young Americans who landed on the shores of this country from Nazi Germany and went straight to the electric chair in the city of Washington. Their positions were absolutely identical in principle and if the country goes to war and when it goes to war their positions will, in all likelihood be identical, they promise.

MR. HOUSTON: Doctor, I certainly want to thank you for the sacrifice you've made in leaving your busy position and coming this far, 3,000 miles from home to assist us in better understanding this problem and laying down for us the pattern of the Communist Party in the field of education. Just one or two things that were not made clear yesterday came to me.

MR. HOUSTON: Were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

DR. MATTHEWS: No, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: You made five trips to Russia?

DR. MATTHEWS: I did.

MR. HOUSTON: And you have engaged in the teaching profession for some fourteen years?

DR. MATTHEWS: That is correct.

MR. HOUSTON: And you have spent practically your lifetime in study of research on the subject you've discussed today.

DR. MATTHEWS: The largest part of my adult years.

MR. HOUSTON: Your adult years.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I have been told by the witness if the chairman or the Committee have any questions—if not, we ask that he be excused.

DR. MATTHEWS: Thanks.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We thank you sincerely, Dr. Matthews, for your contribution to our hearing and hope we may see you again.

Now, if this meets with your program I would like to call a recess for about ten minutes.

MR. HOUSTON: Would you make it very short?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will be in recess for approximately ten minutes.

(Recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing will now be in session.

TESTIMONY OF H. C. ARMSTRONG Member House of Representatives

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

BY MR. HOUSTON:

MR. HOUSTON: I believe, Mr. Armstrong that you were here, were you not, yesterday when we instructed the witnesses that this is being recorded and to answer audibly and not with nods, and to speak quite distinctly and to spell unusual names.

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Please state your name.

MR. ARMSTRONG: H. C. Armstrong.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you live in the city of Seattle—

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON:—Mr. Armstrong—How long have you been a resident of Seattle?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Forty odd years.

MR. HOUSTON: Forty odd years. What is your occupation, Mr. Armstrong?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Appraiser.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you, or have you been a member of the Legislature of the State of Washington?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I am.

MR. HOUSTON: And have been for a number of years, have you not?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Going on twelve years.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Armstrong, just for the records sake, I will ask you are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I have been.

MR. HOUSTON: During what period of time?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Spring of 1936 till the summer of 1940. A little over four years.

MR. HOUSTON: And during that period of time you attended meetings of the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall to what unit you belonged?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I belonged to, as far as I can recall, three different units during that time.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall those different units?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you name them for us?

MR. ARMSTRONG: The first unit I belonged to was the so called Clandestine or Professional Unit, I believe the number was fifty—composed mostly of the intelligentsia connected with the University of Washington, the professors and students—some of them graduates of the University of Washington. The second unit I belonged to was composed of the employees of King County Road district No. 3. The third unit I belonged to was the unit of my legislative district No. 33.