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THE ALLIANCE OF CERTAIN RACKETEER AND
COMMUNIST DOMINATED UNIONS IN THE FIELD
OF TRANSPORTATION AS A THREAT TO NATIONAL
SECURITY.

REPORT

BY THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS.

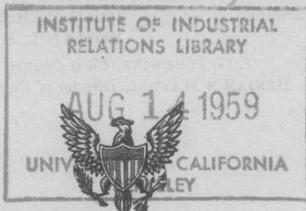
TO THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

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EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS)

SECOND SESSION)



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THE ALLIANCE OF CERTAIN RACKETEER AND COMMUNIST DOMINATED UNIONS IN THE FIELD OF TRANSPORTATION AS A THREAT TO NATIONAL SECURITY

Reports have reached the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee respecting the establishment of an alliance of several unions in the transportation field.

Involved are the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, a nationwide organization, headed by James R. Hoffa; the International Longshoremen's Association, an east coast organization, headed by Capt. William V. Bradley; the National Maritime Union, an east coast organization, headed by Joseph Curran; and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, a west coast organization, headed by Harry Bridges. Robert F. Kennedy, chief counsel of the Senate Rackets Committee, has referred to this move, in a published article,¹ as a "planned alliance," many of the leaders of which are "tainted by corruption or gangsterism and a few by communism."

This memorandum will seek to determine the extent to which this monopolistic alliance endangers our national security in a period of national emergency which President Eisenhower has described² as the Soviet "threat to our safety" which has become increasingly serious as their "expansionist aim has been reinforced by an advancing industrial, military, and scientific establishment." Since these words were uttered, this threat became so acute as to require the actual deployment of American land and naval forces in the Middle East and in the Far East. The danger of war cannot be disregarded.

Developments in the transportation industry vitally involve the actual or potential effectiveness of our Armed Forces. As General Eisenhower once said, "You will not find it difficult to prove that battles, campaigns, and even wars have been won or lost primarily because of logistics." The unions mentioned above control transportation across the length and breadth of the United States from coast to coast, reaching all the way to Hawaii and Canada. The following table illustrates this.

Union	Territory	Membership	Locals or branches
National Maritime Union.....	East coast.....	40,000	30
International Brotherhood of Teamsters.....	National.....	1,600,000	893
International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.	West coast, Hawaii....	70,000	83
International Longshoremen's Association.....	East coast, gulf coast, and Great Lakes.	52,000	286

¹ Reader's Digest, October 1958.

² Address before a joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives, January 9, 1958.

THE LINKS IN THE CHAIN

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee is not in a position to reveal the full nature of the negotiations and understandings arrived at by the parties concerned in this interunion alliance because they have been shrouded in secrecy and because witnesses have refused to divulge information to congressional committees. A chronology of available information is, however, highly impressive, including events that led up to the alliance.

The chronology may well begin with an account of meetings of the Organizational Commission of the New York State Communist Party, held in 1945. This was immediately after the close of World War II, and after the Communist Party, following the removal of Earl Browder as its general secretary, had returned to its militant, anti-American line. The story of Communist designs in the transport field was told by John Lautner, former head of the New York State Control³ (or disciplinary) Commission of the Communist Party, in testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on June 21, 1956. One implication of this testimony is that the Communists through their activity in the various transportation unions constitute the amalgam which draws these organizations together into a working alliance.

Mr. LAUTNER. * * * Right after the reconstruction of the Communist Party in 1945, a three-prong program was developed. This program revolved around the reorganization of the Communist Party in New York State, the reindoctrination of the party membership away from the policies of Earl Browder. And the three prong was the institution of a concentration policy for New York State. The major concentration activity was transport; and I don't mean subway riding or riding on the bus, but transportation, the waterfront, the railway terminals in New York, and longshore. And there was a divisional industrial-concentration activity delegated to the county organization as such, but there were a number of concentration organizations that were supervised directly by the New York State apparatus, by the New York State organization of the Communist Party. Such was the maritime section of the Communist Party, the teamster section of the concentration section of the Communist Party, and the longshore section of the Communist Party. At the head of the maritime section of the Communist Party they had numerous organizers in a short period of time and, finally, George Watt became the party leader on the New York waterfront, pertaining to maritime workers and shipping. The person who was in charge of longshore concentration and under the supervision of the New York State labor commission of the Communist Party, of which I was a member, was a person by the name of * * * George Powers, that is his name. He was in charge of 1947, 1948, and part of 1949, of longshore concentration in New York

³ Now called the Review Commission.

City * * *. In 1947 a commission was set up, the commission was composed of Jim Tormey, Louis Sass, Leonard Levenson, and myself, to make a survey on the party on what are the concentration points in New York County.

We made a survey of all of the teamster sheds beginning from the Battery all the way up to the Fifties and on the East Side. We made a survey of all the railway terminals * * *. We made a survey of all the railway terminals, like the New York Central on the west side in the lower Bronx, and all of the ferrying that is being done by railways through the Erie line and the Lackawanna lines into Long Island and into Brooklyn. A complete survey was made in order to allocate party organizations, neighborhood organizations, community organizations, to give a hand to the industrial sections who were doing concentration work, building the party in these particular concentration points * * *.

Sam Madell worked under George Powers in 1947 and he was on the payroll. He was subsidized by the New York State organization of the Communist Party as one of the waterfront organizers for the Communist Party.

* * * * *

There is one Mitch Baronson, who was the party coordinator of longshore activities in Brooklyn, in Red Hook, or the Brooklyn waterfront. There is another person to get acquainted with. There were a number of concentration branches set up by the Communist Party to cover shapeups on the New York waterfront to distribute leaflets and sell Daily Workers * * *.⁴

On July 12, 1956, when Sam Madell appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee accompanied by a registered agent of the Soviet Union, one Charles Recht, as counsel, Madell invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to answer the following questions, on which our records indicated that the truth required an affirmative reply:

1. "Have you been a member of the Communist Party?"
2. "Are you presently a Communist?"
3. "Have you ever been the editor of Shape-Up, a publication of the Communist Party, waterfront section of New York?"
4. "Have you ever received any money, directly or indirectly, from the Soviet Embassy?" (Ibid., pp. 1652, 1653.)

Abraham J. Bershad also appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on July 12, 1956. Official Government records show that Bershad had applied for a Coast Guard permit as a longshoreman on October 12, 1953, and that his application was denied on loyalty grounds. The records show that he had been active on the Brooklyn waterfront in 1952 and 1953 and had been in contact with Tony Anastasia,⁵ Harry Bridges,⁶ Irving Velson,⁷ and William

⁴ Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States—Communism on the Waterfront, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee hearings, pt. 30, June 21 and July 12, 1956, pp. 1627, 1628, and 1630.

⁵ Head of Brooklyn Local 1814 of the ILA and brother of Albert Anastasia, exposed by the New York State Crime Commission in 1952 as a notorious murderer.

⁶ President, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

⁷ East coast representative of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

Glazier.⁸ When questioned by the subcommittee he invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to answer the following questions:

1. "Do you know Mr. Velson?"
2. "Have you been organizing Brooklyn longshoremen?"
3. At this point the witness was shown a photograph including himself, Irving Velson, and Jeff Kibre.⁹ He refused to identify the photograph or the figures in it.
4. "Had (you) been chairman of the Labor Youth League ¹⁰ at Ann Arbor, Mich., in the 1950's?"
5. "Were you associated with * * * the Ralph Neafus Communist Club in Ann Arbor, Mich., in the year 1948?"
6. "Do you know * * * Glazier?"
7. "Have you done any organizational work for a person named Tony Anastasia?"
8. "Have you applied for registration as a longshoreman with the Waterfront Commission?"
9. "When did you last see Harry Bridges?"
10. "You were a Communist at the University of Michigan; weren't you?"
11. "Are you a Communist now, Mr. Bershad?"

The record clearly indicates that Bershad was a Communist, and a college man who threw in his lot with the longshoremen not to earn a livelihood, but to further Communist Party purposes.

In August 1950, the CIO executive board expelled the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, headed by Harry Bridges, on the ground that "the policies of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union are consistently directed toward the achievement of the program and purposes of the Communist Party rather than the objectives and policies set forth in the CIO constitution." The ILWU was expelled from the CIO along with seven other Communist-controlled unions.

Speaking before the plenary session of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., held on September 19, 20, 1950, John Williamson, head of its trade union department, called upon party members to "keep before us as a central objective * * * our trade-union resolution of last March," stating:

Our party must at all times be guided in its trade-union work by the objective of maintaining contact with and influencing the main body of workers in the organized labor movement * * * the main attention of the party must be concentrated on the main body of workers and trade unions * * *.

On November 28, 1950, 800 delegates representing the expelled Communist-controlled organizations in 18 States met in Washington, D. C., to form a "working alliance." The meeting was addressed by Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, who stressed the need of continuing "to work for labor unity." Since that time every effort has been made by

⁸ Former Washington representative of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

⁹ Washington representative of the ILWU.

¹⁰ This organization is a successor to the Young Communist League, according to a statement of Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, August 30, 1950, to Loyalty Review Board.

Communists as individuals and through their controlled unions to join the mainstream of the labor movement in the AFL-CIO.¹¹

The Communist forces in the new transportation union alliance have for years apparently been fully aware of the nature of their present partners.¹²

In 1953, immediately after the ouster of the International Longshoremen's Association from the AFL, the ILA conducted an organizing drive on the east and gulf coasts. During this period a Communist publication known as *The Docker's News* appeared in these areas supporting the drive.

At this point the Communists, through the instrumentality of Bridges' ILWU, intensified their overtures toward the ILA. Irving Charles Velson testified¹³ that he had been hired as a representative of the ILWU in New York in September 1954, that he had been "many times" in contact with Thomas (Teddy) Gleason, general organizer of the ILA, as well as Anthony Anastasia, the head of Local 1814, ILA. *The Dispatcher*¹⁴ of September 2, 1955, reported Velson meeting regularly with Gleason. When Mr. Gleason appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee¹⁵ he corroborated Mr. Velson's statement admitting that he had met Velson "in the period from 1955 to the present * * * maybe 30 or 40 times." Gleason, it should be noted, refused on constitutional grounds to testify before the New York State Crime Commission about alleged operation of gambling from the office of his own local. He is alleged¹⁶ to be seeking to gain control of the International Longshoremen's Association.

When Gleason testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on July 30, 1957, he admitted having met together with Harry Bridges, Louis Goldblatt of the ILWU, and Captain Bradley of the ILA, when they were all witnesses before the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries (Bonner) Committee. Mr. Gleason was asked, "Did Velson help you prepare your statement that you gave to the (Bonner) committee?" He replied, "Well, he did. He did do some of that. But it was our own thoughts. He did not help me alone. But he prepared many releases that day; yes, sir."

The Dispatcher (ILWU) of May 14, 1954, page 3, announced that Local 10, ILWU, had adopted a resolution to donate \$1,500 to the ILA Rank and File. Louis Goldblatt, secretary-treasurer of the ILWU, was on the platform when the resolution was introduced. According to the ILWU convention proceedings of April 4-8, 1955, interlocking relations were described as follows:

In the spring of the year a delegation from the ILA, Brooklyn division, visited many ILWU locals. They were

¹¹ For example, the International Fur and Leather Workers Union, for many years led by Ben Gold, a notorious Communist, and expelled by the CIO in 1950, entered into negotiations with the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America (AFL) in October 1954, which were successfully consummated in 1955. To facilitate these negotiations Gold conveniently stepped out of the presidency of the Fur Workers Union. This is a well-known Communist procedure.

It is interesting to note that the Meat Cutters Union voted against the expulsion of the Teamsters at the AFL-CIO convention and Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Meat Cutters, spoke against it (the International Teamster, January-February, 1958, pp. 6 and 9).

¹² For example, the World Trade Union Movement, official organ of the Communist-controlled World Federation of Trade Unions, carried in its issue of January 16-31, pp. 11 to 14, an article by John Wolfard dealing with the International Longshoremen's Association and reading in part as follows: "New York Longshoremen Versus Their Gangster Leaders" stating that "The Anastasia Gangster Mob Controlled the Piers in South Brooklyn." The reference was to Anthony Anastasia, previously identified.

¹³ On July 12, 1956, before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

¹⁴ Official organ of the ILWU.

¹⁵ On July 30, 1957.

¹⁶ Wall Street Journal, September 21, 1953, p. 2.

well received, and, having given the members a firsthand picture of what was going on in the east coast, they wanted support and financial assistance.

Jeff Kibre, who identified himself as the Washington representative of the ILWU, offered ¹⁷ the following corroborative information:

Some years ago, during the winter of 1953 and 1954, when there were a series of strikes in New York involving the International Longshoremen's Association, I was asked by the officers to observe the development, keep in contact with the development, and keep the officers informed what was taking place.

It is known ¹⁸ that during the period of 1953-54, Kibre was in contact with Patrick J. Connolly, executive vice president of the ILA, William Bradley, international president, Thomas Gleason, general organizer, Anthony Anastasia, and Fred Fields, president of the New York Council of the ILA, with reference to soliciting financial aid from the ILWU for the ILA. The subcommittee is in possession of photostats of checks of some of these payments.

At this point it might be well to inquire into the background and record of Irving Charles Velson and Jeff Kibre, who seem to have served as spearheads for the ILWU and the Communist Party among the east coast longshoremen in furtherance of the Communist design to penetrate and influence a giant combination controlling the bulk of American labor in the transportation industry.

Irving Charles Velson was born as Irving Charles Shavelson, being the son of Clara Shavelson, a veteran Communist. He has assumed a host of aliases, notably: Charles Wilson, Shavey Wilson, Israel Shavelson, Charles Jackson, Irving Belson, and Israel Wilson. He was employed as an apprentice shipfitter at the Brooklyn Navy Yard in 1940, when he was simultaneously military director of the Young Communist League and leader of the Communist-dominated Apprentice Association at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. He was fired by the Navy Yard on January 12, 1940. As Velson put it in his testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on July 12, 1956, he "got in the hair of the officials, the Navy Yard officials."

In September 1943, Velson was fired as president of Local 13 of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, CIO, on the ground that he was a Communist.¹⁹

Velson was identified under oath as a member of the Communist Party by two former Communists, Louis F. Budenz and Robert Gladnick.²⁰ Mr. Budenz testified that Velson "communicated with Peters and was under his direction for a period of time." Peters was identified by the witness as the man who—

controlled the underground section of the Communist Party * * * the liaison officer between the Communist international apparatus in this country and the Soviet Secret Police. In other words, he was the channel of clearance for espionage activities.

¹⁷ In testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on June 21, 1956.

¹⁸ Staff conference, June 14, 1956, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, with Jeff Kibre.

¹⁹ New York Times, September 25, 1943.

²⁰ Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States, pt. 30, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, July 12th 1956, p. 1644, and House Un-American Activities Committee Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York City Area, pt. 3, pp. 1385, 1386.

Mr. Gladnick added some details regarding Velson's activity:

I came to New York, and I contacted Velson * * * he also worked in the Brooklyn Navy Yard * * * and we put out a third edition of this paper (Shipmates' Voice) * * * There was also a mobilization of the female members of the Young Communist League in New York, and they also went aboard the various ships and distributed in New York City. This was around Decoration Day of 1934 * * * he was in charge (of the military apparatus of the Young Communist League) under Peters.

The record shows that Velson was in frequent contact with Roy Hudson, one-time Communist commissar of the maritime industry.²¹ Velson's former wife was Ruth Young, a well-known Communist, with whom he had spent some time in Moscow.²²

Mr. Velson has had an opportunity to appear before both the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and the House Un-American Activities Committee with reference to these allegations. He has resorted to the fifth amendment in refusing to answer the following questions:

1. "Have you ever gone under the name of Charles Wilson, Shavey Wilson?"²³
2. "Did you know Roy Hudson, J. Peters, Gladnick?"²⁴
3. "Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?"²⁵
4. "In the 1930's were you the national military director of the Young Communist League?"²⁶
5. "Were you a member of the Communist Party when you were organizing workers at the Brooklyn Navy Yard?"²⁷
6. "Were you secretary of the American Committee to Survey Trade Union Conditions in Europe, located at 799 Broadway, New York City, which sent a delegation of American trade unionists to the Soviet Union?"²⁸

Jeff Kibre, alias Barry Wood, has been identified as a member of the Communist Party by five former members of that organization: Charlotte Darling Adams,²⁹ Harold J. Ashe,³⁰ Mrs. Mildred Ashe,³¹ Martin Berkeley,³² and George Oliver Berthelon.³³ When questioned by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on June 21, 1956, Kibre invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to answer the following questions:

1. "Are you now a member of the Communist Party?"
2. "Have you attended meetings of the Communist Party at which were discussed plans for Communist activity on the waterfront?"
3. "Were you a Communist at that time" (1936, 1937)?"
4. "Were you a Communist when you came to Washington to take up your job as a Washington representative of the ILWU?"

²¹ Confidential information in subcommittee files.

²² Confidential information in subcommittee files.

²³ Scope of Soviet Activity, SIFSS, pt. 30, pp. 1636-1645.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ HUAC, June 2, 1953, Annual Report for 1953, p. 39.

³⁰ HUAC, September 17, 1951, Annual Report for 1952, p. 61.

³¹ Ibid.

³² HUAC, September 19, 1951, Annual Report for 1952, p. 61.

³³ HUAC, July 19, 1940, vol. 3, executive hearings, p. 1160.

5. "Did you use the alias 'Barry Wood' at that time" (1941, 1942)? According to public hearings on a Code of Labor Relations for New York City employees held on March 25 and April 18, 1955, certain Communist elements at that time had penetrated the New York Teamsters Union. Quoting from the testimony of Mr. Eugene Calamari, president of the Sanitationmen's Local 111-A of the Building Service Employees, International Union, in these proceedings:

Mr. CALAMARI. * * * And I charge, gentlemen, that this city of New York, while patting itself on the back for the establishment of the department of labor, is actually allowing this very department to be undermined, as the city, in violation of the preliminary report, and interim order, presently recognizes a union which now uses the services of an accused Communist. This man, Jack Bigel, was refused recognition, together with his United Public Workers Union, by the city of New York in 1949; all New York newspapers carried the story. He, and his union at that time, was expelled from the CIO "for slavish adherence to the Communist line." He was accused before the United States Judiciary Committee, December 14, 1951, as a Communist while with the now-defunct United Public Workers Union. That man, however, is now an active functionary of Local 237 and 831 of the Teamsters in the department of sanitation. This man is fully endorsed by the president of that local union and, the records will show, has initiated, with the cooperation of the officials of Local 831, the disruptive and wrecking tactics that are fully associated with the Communist line.³⁴

Mr. CALAMARI. * * * And here is the salient matter. A New York daily newspaper said the following about a man called Jack Bigel who, in May of 1953, was representing a local union of city employees. The welfare commissioner at that time warned AFL City Employees Local 237 that Bigel be cleared of pro-Communist leanings or fire the paid union organizer. The commissioner said he had issued his ultimatum after the newspaper had exposed Bigel, publicly branded as a Communist, whose former union was ousted from the CIO for "slavish adherence to the Communist line." At that time, too, Henry Feinstein, local president, and John J. Delury, president of a sister Teamster local, promised a thorough probe of Bigel's background and to take proper action if charges were found to be true.

From the CIO came word, too. Morris Iushewitz, secretary-treasurer of New York CIO Council, said to the newspapers, "The AFL is certainly welcome to Bigel. Taking him into a union is like a man voluntarily taking a cancer unto himself. Bigel has never repudiated the charge he is a Communist. It's disgraceful having a man like Bigel organizing City employees." End of quote.

Well, gentlemen, as the past pattern of unwarranted disruptive tactics against the city and other unions by Teamsters Locals 237 and 831 should bear out, this man Jack Bigel is still a hired functionary of these locals which allegedly represent

³⁴ Department of Labor: City of New York—Public Hearings on a Code of Labor Relations for New York City Employees. Council Chambers, City Hall, March 25, 1955, 11 a. m., pp. 65, 66.

city employees. He is also a close adviser of the president, the same John J. Delury * * *³⁵

On January 19, 1956, Harry Bridges, president, and Louis Goldblatt, secretary-treasurer of the ILWU, testified before the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and urged a joint termination date on all new contracts on the west, east, and gulf coasts. If this proposal should be effectuated it would make possible a general strike of all American coasts, as part of the proposed transportation alliance.

It should be noted that despite the shocking evidence of corruption and racketeering in the Teamsters Union, brought out before the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor and Management Field, the ILWU remained hostile to the Senate committee and friendly to the Teamsters Union.³⁶

The path to cordial relations between the ILWU and the ILA was paved through an exchange visit by a delegation of ILWU clerks to ILA headquarters in New York, arranged through the good offices of the ever-active "Teddy" Gleason. A pertinent letter from Gleason to William Piercy, secretary of the ILWU Clerks Negotiating Committee, as published in the ILWU Dispatcher of June 7, 1957, reads as follows:

Regarding our phone conversation, President Bradley and myself will be glad to assist you. I will meet you and your associates Thursday morning, May 9, at 265 West 14th Street, New York City. Please advise undersigned if this is satisfactory and names and locals of your committee.

The occasion was immediately utilized to browbeat, with the implied threat of west coast cooperative union action, the east coast employers with whom the ILA was then negotiating. The Dispatcher declared:

The very first day they were there Gleason took them to a session on a labor relations dispute that the ILA was trying to settle with the New York Shipping Association. When the head of the NYSA, Alexander Chopin, saw the ILWU representatives he said, "What's this? What's going on here?"

"It was pretty clear to me, 'one of the delegates reported,' that the employers were not very comfortable about seeing us back there * * * Chopin was quite surprised * * * he seemed a little shocked to see us." * * *

The west coast clerks emphasized that both Bradley and Gleason kept stressing the whole time that this was an official visit and both ILA leaders said that they were very happy that it was being done in this sort of way. * * *

"They all promised us, Captain Bradley, Gleason and other leaders, that there is a possibility that a committee might visit us on the west coast eventually."

³⁵ Department of Labor: City of New York—Public Hearings on a Code of Labor Relations for New York City Employees. Council Chambers, City Hall, April 18, 1955, 11 a. m., pp. 148, 149.

³⁶ The Daily Worker of April 8, 1957, p. 3, gives the following authoritative report from the proceedings of the 12th biennial convention of the ILWU held in San Francisco: "The dilemma the ILWU faces," said Harry Bridges, "is whether to attack Beck and other Teamster leaders or whether the ILWU can afford to close its eyes to the terrible danger to all of labor from the kind of legislative straitjacket the Senate committee could develop on the pretext of helping the rank and file."

Another link in the developing chain is the fact that the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the National Maritime Union supported the International Longshoremen's Association in NLRB elections held in October 1956.

There are indications that there are economic factors in the transportation industry which favor the formation of some sort of alliance of the unions involved and that these considerations may affect certain unions, shipping firms, and even officials of the Federal Government, although these considerations can by no means obliterate the significance of the fact that Communist-led unions are included in the combination. The Wall Street Journal of July 9, 1957, carried the following informative item:

The Federal Labor Department is seeking to bring Government, management, and union representatives into a joint committee as the first step toward eliminating costly maritime labor disputes that in the past have cost the shipping industry staggering losses because of work stoppages.

* * * * *

The Labor Secretary (James Mitchell) has held conferences in New York with Paul Hall, Seafarer's International Union president, Joseph Curran, National Maritime Union leader, and with Ralph Casey, American Merchant Marine Institute president, and Capt. William V. Bradley, International Longshoremen's Association president.

He will later meet with Harry Bridges, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, in San Francisco, and Paul St. Sure, president, Pacific Maritime Association, representing west coast shipping interests.

On November 21, 1957, the (Communist) Daily Worker carried an announcement of another cordial tie between the ILWU on the west coast and the ILA on the east coast, to wit:

The delegation of top-level leaders of the International Longshoremen's Association to California to study the Pacific coast union's hiring system and contract has returned after a tour, and the first word from its head, Thomas (Teddy) Gleason, ILA organization director, indicated a favorable impression.

It may be surprising to some that despite current blandishments between Harry Bridges and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the latter organization as late as 1956 was fully aware of Bridges' designs on the waterfront and so stated in an editorial appearing in its official organ:³⁷

* * * When the ILA was exerting its economic weapon in its geographic areas, along comes Harry Bridges on the west coast and—what should have been to the surprise of no one—offers "sympathetically" to hold a 1-day work cessation in his area in order to help the ILA.

* * * * *

³⁷ The International Teamster, December 1956.

To those of us who know the score of labor relations in the docking industry, and particularly in the ways and means of the west-coast industry, the Bridges action should have been a red flag to employers and labor alike in every labor union in the United States. Bridges is not a man who looks at only the immediate effects of his political, tactical, or economic actions. He has the long view and let no one underestimate him!

* * * * *

* * * We are witnessing a new step by Bridges—a step that could conceivably lead to his becoming the dominant force in the longshore industry in America with a real stranglehold on both coasts. Those who know Bridges and are familiar with his conduct in the past, which has too often appeared to parallel the party line, know what this could mean. And if any interested observers do any hard thinking, what this means should keep them awake at night.

Nevertheless in 1958 when Hoffa was asked by reporters for his opinion regarding “left winger Harry Bridges” as a participant in his transport unity conference, he is quoted as replying, “Look, as far as I know, Bridges has been cleared by the Supreme Court.”³⁸

When Hoffa appeared before the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor and Management Field on September 16, 1958, he admitted having known Irving Velson for about a year and having had conferences with him. He was asked whether he knew that Velson had been questioned by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on the following points, on all of which he had invoked the fifth amendment:

whether he had been or whether he was presently a member of the Communist Party * * * And whether he was a military director of the Young Communist League * * * whether he was in frequent contact in 1943 and 1944 with Roy Hudson, a top Communist functionary; whether or not he worked in the underground section of the Communist Party with Alexander Stevens, who is also known as J. Peters.

Mr. Hoffa replied, “I don’t know anything about it.”

Within the ranks of the officialdom of the International Longshoremen’s Association, there is evidence of a growing respect for the technical accomplishments of the ILWU and a growing tendency to minimize and ignore its Communist ties, which lays a convenient basis for cooperation between the ILA and the ILWU. This is illustrated by the statement of Fred R. Field, president of the New York Port Council of the International Longshoremen’s Association, as quoted from the Worker of December 1, 1957, page 12:

He (Field) was referring to a trip made by an official ILA delegation to investigate the rotation hiring hall system used successfully by Harry Bridges’ International Longshore and Warehouse Workers Union, likewise independent * * *. “I found that those guys, so hated by the Government—I don’t hate ’em—have been able to get all those amazing safety codes even from the Federal Government,” he told the com-

³⁸ Worker, October 5, 1958, p. 13.

mittee (New York State's Joint Legislative Committee on Labor and Industry.) * * * "Why is it," he wanted to know, "that we who have always been considered loyal Americans can't get codes like that here?" And then repeating with a note of wonder in his voice: "They're tainted with the Red brush and get all those amazing benefits."

It will be remembered that in 1953 the AFL ousted the International Longshoremen's Association for corrupt practices. At its Second Constitutional Convention³⁹ the AFL-CIO took similar action against the International Brotherhood of Teamsters with a membership of 1,400,000 at the time. The existence of these two large unaffiliated, independent unions laid the basis for the setting up of the new alliance with which this memorandum deals. An excerpt from the convention resolutions offers an insight into the nature of the most powerful organization participating in the new alliance:

On September 25, 1957, the executive council of the AFL-CIO, having given full consideration to the report of the ethical practices committee regarding the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, found and concluded that the international brotherhood is dominated, controlled, and substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by corrupt influences, in violation of the constitution of the AFL-CIO. The council, in accordance with the powers vested in it in such cases by article VIII, section 7, of the AFL-CIO constitution, directed the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to correct the abuses set forth in the report of the ethical practices committee, to eliminate corrupt influences from the union, and to remove and bar from any position or office, either appointive or elective in the international union, or any of its subordinate bodies, those who are responsible for these abuses * * *

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters held a convention in the week of September 30, 1957, at Miami Beach * * *

* * * no investigation and no proceedings were begun with respect to officials of the Teamsters Union, including President Dave Beck and Vice Presidents Sidney Brennan and Frank Brewster, who were found by the ethical practices committee to have engaged in corrupt practices.

Other officials of the Teamsters Union who were involved in the matters set forth in the report of the ethical practices committee were not only retained in office but were promoted. Among these were Vice President James Hoffa, who was found by the ethical practices committee to have engaged in corrupt activities and was elected president of the International Brotherhood * * *

In accordance with the power vested in it by article VIII, section 7 of the constitution the executive council therefore directs that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America shall stand immediately suspended from the AFL-CIO * * *

³⁹ Atlantic City, December 5-12, 1957.

Harry Bridges and his group overlooked no forces in the maritime industry essential to their design for a nationwide transportation monopoly. In the winter of 1957, the New York-New Jersey Waterfront Commission disclosed that Bridges' union had sent a gift of \$3,000 to aid in the formation of an independent union of pier hiring bosses in the port of New York.⁴⁰ The commission disclosed that the organizer and business manager of the new union was Edward T. Fitzpatrick, brother-in-law of Albert Ackalitis, a widely feared waterfront hoodlum who was ruled off the piers in 1954.⁴¹ The disclosure of Harry Bridges' aid was made in Fitzpatrick's testimony before the commission. Mr. Fitzpatrick met from time to time with Irving Velson. Counsel for Mr. Fitzpatrick was Edward J. Malament of the firm of Standard, Weisberg, Harolds & Malament.⁴² Velson was charged with contempt in a citation before Supreme Court Justice Thomas A. Aurelio for refusing to answer questions before the Waterfront Commission regarding the \$3,000 donation from the ILWU.⁴³

Indicating that there are forces within the ILA opposed to Gleason's active maneuvers, the executive council of the ILA, meeting in Miami on February 1, 1958, restated a resolution adopted at the union's Chicago convention in July 1957 to the effect that there would be no negotiations with any other union without the prior approval of the council. Referring to the \$3,000 sent by Bridges to the new union of pier hiring bosses, President William V. Bradley declared, "We resent very much a union sending money to anyone in the port of New York for organizing."⁴⁴

It is necessary at this point to call attention to the law firm of Standard, Weisberg, Harolds & Malament,⁴⁵ whose legal advice may be an important factor in the operation under consideration. Regarding William L. Standard, senior member of the firm, testimony of William C. McCuiston, a former Communist and member of the National Maritime Union, and Frederick C. Phillips, a seaman, disclosed the following data:

He was the attorney for the National Maritime Union when it was under Communist domination. He worked closely with its Communist leaders. He was a member of the waterfront section of the Communist Party. He contributed kickbacks to the Communist Party from industrial accident cases received through the union. He attended the graduation exercises of the marine training school conducted by the Communist Party. He helped to prepare the constitution of the National Maritime Union together with other Communist leaders, in order to insure Communist control of the organization.⁴⁶

Standard was a member of the executive board of the National Lawyers Guild.⁴⁷ In its behalf he attended the fourth congress of the Communist-controlled International Association of Democratic Lawyers held in Rome in October-November 1949.⁴⁸ He has honored or

⁴⁰ New York Times, June 27, 1958, p. 14.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² New York Times, February 14, 1958, p. 39.

⁴³ New York Times, May 2, 1958, p. 48.

⁴⁴ New York Times, March 1, 1958, p. 36.

⁴⁵ The name of Edward J. Malament, who was attorney for Irving Charles Velson before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on July 12, 1956, had been appended to a statement defending the Communist Party which appeared in the Daily Worker of March 5, 1941, p. 2, during the period of the infamous Stalin-Hitler Pact.

⁴⁶ Hearings, HUAC, October, November, December, 1939, vol. 11.

⁴⁷ Cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as the "legal bulwark of the Communist Party."

⁴⁸ The Guild Lawyer, autumn, 1949.

defended the following well-known Communists: Joseph R. Brodsky, Irving Potash, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, John Williamson, and William L. Patterson.

Standard, an authority on maritime law, is the author of Merchant Seamen, published by the International Publishers, a Communist publishing house. The book is an apologia for Harry Bridges and Communist policy in the maritime industry.

The Dispatcher (ILWU) of January 3, 1958, contains an overall review of the union's activities for 1957. The following excerpts deal with negotiations and cooperation with other unions in the transportation field:

January 1957 began with the ILWU executive board meeting and looking forward to a year in which this union and the east coast longshoremen could come to closer understanding and working relations. This prediction became a reality as the year went on.

ILWU congratulated the ILA on the east coast for the unity and solidarity demonstrated in the recent strike—a strike which saw, for the first time in the history of waterfront unionism, every longshoreman from Maine to Texas on the bricks with a common set of industrywide demands. * * * ILWU pledged to give every support to the east coast dockers to win conditions and security. * * *

In February the union paid the closest attention to the east coast where 45,000 longshoremen resumed their strike * * * ILWU announced it was this union's policy not to work any ships on the west coast loaded by east coast strikebreakers. * * *

The 12th Biennial ILWU Convention convened in San Francisco in the month of April. 217 delegates representing 55 locals on the mainland, Canada, Alaska, and Hawaii spoke out boldly. * * *

For the first time in the history of the two unions, ILWU representatives, ship clerks from Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, visited and viewed ILA operations on the east coast. The ILWU clerks were cordially received and personally shown around the docks of the Greater New York area by top ILA officials. * * *

In November, a committee of eight representatives of the International Longshoremen's Association, appointed by ILA President Capt. William Bradley, and headed by Thomas W. Gleason, vice president and general organizer, came to the west coast for a historic first "look see" at ILWU operations on the waterfront * * * In a report to the New York District Council of the ILA, adopted unanimously, Gleason told of ILWU's cooperation during their trip and of their favorable impression of the joint control of hiring by employers and the union with the low-man-out system. Captain Bradley, president of ILA, thanked Gleason and the committee and called for a unanimous vote of thanks.

In December, a further comment on the increased liaison and cooperation between the west and east coasts was seen in the meeting of union representatives of cane sugar refineries from all over the United States which met in New

York City. The ILWU was represented, and met with other independents such as ILA. * * *

Resulting from a trip to the west coast headquarters of the ILWU made in November 1957 by Thomas (Teddy) Gleason and other ILA officials, a 10-point program for cooperation between the 2 organizations was recommended by Mr. Gleason to the Miami meeting of the executive board of the ILA. It read in part:

"We believe there are mutual advantages to our respective memberships, and to the industry in general, in cooperation and consultation between the two unions."

Some of the points were:

"We should immediately start exchanging data on the question of safety."

The West Coast hiring system merits further study, the report noted. It added that "some of these methods properly adapted to our conditions can be effected within the existing legislation and result in hiring returning to control of labor and management where it belongs." The Waterfront Commission now regulates hiring in New York and New Jersey.

"Technical assistance from the coast" should be used for the establishment of a research department and library.

The two unions should work jointly on the problem of "the Army and Navy attempting to perform longshore work with civil service employees and infringing upon the jurisdiction of longshoremen."

"We might as well work together" on a Washington, D. C., office to watch for antilabor bills and to push for beneficial legislation.

"We should explore the possibility of a national agreement with the United Fruit Co." in order to have uniform wage rates and manning on the east, gulf, and Pacific coasts.

"Our visit has shown the need for national bargaining and that full coordination of bargaining demands is a good sound policy and essential to the well-being of all our members."⁴⁹

James R. Hoffa, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, was named to be a guest of honor at the ILA executive board meeting.⁵⁰

The February 14, 1958, issue of the Dispatcher (ILWU) announced that an "agreement had been reached between representatives of the ILA and the ILWU for joint legislative action in winning congressional approval for a Federal safety program affecting longshoremen throughout the country." Officials met in Washington, D. C., on January 26-27, 1958. The joint committee was to include Patrick Connelly, executive vice president of the ILA, and Jeff Kibre, who was to be its secretary. Charles Velson attended the conference for the ILWU.

As another step in the developing alliance, Irving Velson announced that Harry Bridges had authorized him to say that the west coast counterparts of hiring bosses in New York would not work the ships of any lines engaged in a contract dispute with the hiring boss union.⁵¹

⁴⁹ New York Times, February 25, 1958, p. 46M.

⁵⁰ New York Times, February 27, 1958, p. 54.

⁵¹ New York Times, February 27, 1958, p. 54.

The Los Angeles press announced that on June 19 and 20, 1958, the policy committee of the national warehouse division of the Teamsters Union was scheduled to hold a meeting at the Statler Hilton Hotel to discuss the question of a merger between the Teamsters Union and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. A joint announcement regarding the conference was issued by Joseph Dillon, director of the warehouse division of the Western Conference of Teamsters, and Louis Goldblatt, ILWU secretary-treasurer. While the exact nature of the commitments has not yet been publicly disclosed, a participant is quoted as summarizing them as follows:

1. If one union strikes, the other will.
2. Neither union will reach any agreement with an employer unless it is acceptable to the other union.
3. Negotiators for the two unions will coordinate their bargaining strategy against employers.

Another participant was quoted as saying:

This is the beginning for things to come. There will be open cooperation and in time—when, I don't know—a merger.⁵²

On the following day Joseph Dillon of the Teamsters hastened to minimize the significance of the proceedings, declaring, "There is no idea of merging unions—it was never discussed. The results of the conference in San Francisco a week ago were specifically an understanding of the warehousing problems in the San Francisco area." Lawrence N. Steinberg, personal representative of Teamster President James R. Hoffa, declared, "Our local unions have the necessary autonomy to enter agreements and organize common fronts with whomever they choose," thus giving official sanction to the proceedings.⁵³

The July 4, 1958, issue of the Dispatcher (ILWU) hailed the "unity of purpose and common determination of the ILWU and the northern California Teamster warehouse local" in publicizing a joint statement in support of a contract settlement between the ILWU and the Distributors Association of Northern California, calling the settlement "a real victory for all warehouse workers in northern California and on the Pacific coast."

In July 1958, a six-man delegation from the Teamsters Union, including Edward Cheyfitz, a former member of the Communist Party,⁵⁴ and presently a member of the law firm of Edward Bennett Williams, attorney for James R. Hoffa, attended a meeting of the International Transport Workers Federation in Amsterdam. In describing this conference, James R. Hoffa declared:

We pledged that America's new Conference on Transportation Unity would be a strong force in this fight for freedom. Assuring powerful anti-Communist strength and leadership in America's transport industry, we promised the ITF that one of our main objectives would be to lend the free trade unions of the world a helping hand in our ports and on our docks. If Communist unions ever gain the posi-

⁵² Los Angeles Times, June 18, 1958, pp. 1 and 7, pt. 1.

⁵³ Los Angeles Times, June 19, 1958, pp. 1 and 16.

⁵⁴ Vol. 14 HUAC, p. 8637.

tion to exercise influence in the transport lanes of the world, the free world will have suffered a staggering blow * * *. Several months ago, we contributed \$5,000 to the ITF to support a strike of London bus workers.⁵⁵

Writing in the (Communist) Worker of August 3, 1958, page 4, William Allan discloses how the Communist-racketeer-controlled transport octopus plans to spread its tentacles to Canada and the St. Lawrence seaway:

Reports have it that an organizing meeting of Canadian and American unionists will soon be held jointly, in Windsor, Canada, on the Detroit River, which separates the United States and Canada, to map the beginning of a huge union drive, set to go fall and winter, to prepare for the opening of the St. Lawrence seaway in 1959 * * *

Thousands of new members that James Hoffa hopes to get into the Teamsters, including dockers, seamen, clerks * * * will get jobs on the St. Lawrence seaway.

Heading the drive will be Hoffa, president of the Teamsters Union, in conjunction with * * * Joe Curran, NMU; William Bradley, of the Longshoremen's union * * *

Shippers in 16 States will get their freight through the port of Detroit, from which flow out 11 main railroad lines, 122 common motor carriers, and 61 local cartage companies. Currently 27 foreign steamship lines under 10 foreign flags service the port of Detroit.

The Communists have taken pains to demonstrate to James R. Hoffa how far-reaching can be their influence, and that it pays to play ball with them. In the course of a hearing held on September 18, 1958, before the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field, Richard Pastor, editor of Local 1-S of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (AFL-CIO) was heard. He took the fifth amendment with regard to questions about his past or present membership in the Communist Party. Information had reached the committee that at the inspiration of Irving Velson, a phone call had been made by Pastor to Miss Katherine Barry, a Macy department store employee and a member of the jury which had handled a wire-tap indictment against Hoffa early in 1957. Miss Barry is alleged to have told the judge that she had been contacted by the editor of a labor paper, and was dropped from the jury. When Pastor was asked whether he had phoned Miss Barry at Velson's request, he refused to answer.

Hoffa himself, in a publication of the Teamsters Union, gives an inkling of negotiations being carried on, as follows:

We have met with representatives of the AFL-CIO Maritime Division jointly with the Seafarers International Union and the International Longshoremen's Association, to work out our mutual problems on the docks of the eastern and southern coasts. We have helped other international unions in countless strike and organizing situations in the past few months.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ The International Teamster, August 1958, p. 2.

⁵⁶ The International Teamster, June 1958, p. 2.

On August 1, 1958, the Dispatcher (ILWU) carried the following important announcement:

The ILWU on July 23 received and accepted an invitation from James R. Hoffa, general president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, to attend a joint meeting of representatives of the Teamsters union, the ILWU, and the ILA. The meeting is scheduled for 2 p. m. on August 14, 1948, at the international office of the Teamsters in Washington, D. C.

In his published reply promising to be present "with a small group of ILWU officials," Harry Bridges declared:

The ILWU, along with the Pacific Maritime Association, the ILA, and the New York Shipping Association * * * are committed to Chairman Herbert C. Bonner (of the House Merchant Marine Committee) to work toward a common expiration date for all longshore contracts.⁵⁷

The mutual friendship and cooperation which exists between the Teamsters Union and the ILWU is demonstrated by a recent incident in Honolulu, where Bridges has practically a labor monopoly. Quoting from the New York Times:⁵⁸

Mike Singer, Los Angeles Teamster organizer, spent only 12 days in Hawaii, but no labor leader made such an impact on the islands * * *.

Mr. Singer started a picketing campaign against nonunion wholesale meat dealers. When the pickets marched at dockside, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union workers refused to cross the line, thus halting the unloading of a merchantman. * * *

"Hoffa henchmen have entered the scene with threats and bullying," Dwight C. Steel, president of the Employers Council, charged. * * * He charged that Mr. Singer had demanded on-the-spot contracts with employers without waiting for elections endorsed by the National Labor Relations Board. "They scoff at NLRB elections," he said.

The July 3, 1958, issue of the NMU Pilot carried the following announcement of the union's meeting with representatives of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the International Association of Longshoremen:

WASHINGTON, July 3.—NMU President Joseph Curran and Secretary-Treasurer John B. McDougall met today with leaders of International Brotherhood of Teamsters and International Association of Longshoremen. The meeting issued a call to all unions in the transportation industry to join in a permanent Conference on Transportation Unity.

The text of the conference call follows:

"In order to resolve to the fullest possible extent jurisdictional differences, provide mutual assistance, and promote stability in the transportation industry, it is agreed by and between the signatories hereto to the following:

⁵⁷ Dispatcher, August 1, 1958.

⁵⁸ September 14, 1958, p. 64.

"That each international and national union shall designate three members as its representatives to a continuous and permanent Conference on Transportation Unity for the purpose of discussing and settling jurisdictional disputes, matters of mutual concern, and matters affecting progress and stability in the transportation industry.

"It is the intent and purpose of the signatories hereto that this conference shall be open to all unions in the transportation industry."

International Brotherhood of Teamsters:

JAMES R. HOFFA,
JOHN O'ROURKE.

National Maritime Union:

JOSEPH CURRAN,
JOHN B. McDOUGALL.

International Longshoremen's Association:

Capt. WM. V. BRADLEY,
PATRICK CONNELLY.

While no documented and detailed statement regarding the terms and nature of the alliance have been made public, some information has reached the press which is quoted in part:

Last week he (Hoffa) worked out a no-raiding pact with Harry Bridges' Longshoremen's Union on the west coast docks * * * Mr. Hoffa in the past has talked of setting up some form of federation in the shipping industry, and Mr. Bridges has encouraged the idea.⁵⁹

Hoffa disclosed he had invited Harry Bridges, president of the West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union to an August 14 meeting here with leaders of the East Coast International Longshoremen's Association.⁶⁰

In a measure Harry Bridges has revealed the motive behind his ambitious designs in an interview which appeared in the Wall Street Journal and the Washington Daily News. "There's one thing I know," he is quoted as saying, "if the Teamsters and the two dock unions got together they'd represent more economic power than the combined AFL-CIO." He added, "They are so concentrated, an economic squeeze and pressure can be exerted that puts any employer in a very tough spot—and furthermore puts the United States Government on a tough spot."⁶¹

In the face of his dealings with Harry Bridges et al., Mr. Hoffa does not hesitate to criticize the Communists publicly. His signed statement⁶² reads:

The position of your officers on the Communist question is well-known. We stand militantly opposed to communism as the most reactionary force ever to mislead the worker * * *. If Communist unions ever gain the position to exercise influence in the transport lanes of the world, the free

⁵⁹ U. S. News & World Report, June 27, 1958, p. 67.

⁶⁰ Washington Post, July 22, 1958, p. A2.

⁶¹ Washington Daily News, August 2, 1957, p. 24.

⁶² The International Teamster, August 1958, p. 2.

world will have suffered a staggering blow. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters stands prepared to fight this eventuality to the fullest.

The same issue of The International Teamster (p. 3) described the forthcoming "historic Conference on Transportation Unity" to meet in Washington and declared that "the conference was formalized in July when representatives of the Teamsters, the National Maritime Union, and the International Longshoremen's Association signed a pact calling for a 'continuous and permanent' organization in the transportation field." The pact stipulated that the conference "shall be open to all unions in the transportation industry." The ILWU was thus not specifically excluded. This issue of the union's magazine also declared that the Canadian Labour Congress had given assurances of support to the "mid-July meeting of representatives of the Teamsters, ILA and NMU in Montreal" (p. 4).

The September 12, 1958, issue of the Dispatcher (ILWU) boasted that the Teamsters Union of British Columbia had offered to cooperate with the striking longshore locals of British Columbia. The August 29, 1958, issue of the Dispatcher announced that the Teamsters Union had distributed 30,000 leaflets in support of the strike headed with the pledge: "We do not cross picket lines."

The executive council of the AFL-CIO demonstrated at its meeting in August 1958 that it was keenly aware of the issues involved in the Conference on Transportation Unity, when it adopted (with the one dissenting vote of Joseph Curran) a resolution reading in part as follows:

The question which now confronts this executive council is the fact that there are in existence alliances or agreements between AFL-CIO affiliates and the expelled and corruptly dominated International Brotherhood of Teamsters * * *

It is quite clear that the maintenance of an agreement between a corruptly dominated labor organization and an AFL-CIO affiliate which is of such a nature as to add to the prestige of the corrupt leadership, or would be of assistance to the leadership to retain control or lessen the desire of union members to rid themselves of such corrupt leadership is in direct contradiction to both the spirit and the letter of our constitution * * *

Therefore, this executive council declares it to be the policy of the AFL-CIO that any alliance or agreement, formal or informal, between an affiliate or the AFL-CIO and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters be canceled (NMU Pilot, August 28, 1958, p. 5).

Joseph Curran assured his members that he would "of course, abide by the policy resolution adopted by the executive council."

Joseph Curran heads one of the announced participants in the Bridges-Hoffa combine, the National Maritime Union. It should be remembered that the House Committee on Un-American Activities in a report dated March 29, 1944, listed that union as among those in which "Communist leadership is strongly entrenched." Included in this group was the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, which the NMU delegates to the CIO convention voted to expel from the CIO in August 1950. Despite this earlier parting

of the ways, the NMU leaders seem to have decided that they could once again play ball with the Communists in the ILWU, but there has been no public explanation of the reason for the change. Meeting in New York on October 8, 1958, the national council of the NMU decided to continue its attempts to bring peace to the waterfront through a closer liaison with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the International Longshoremen's Association in their plans to establish a permanent "Conference on Transportation Unity."⁶³

As the most aggressive factor in the alliance, the leadership of the ILWU deserves some added attention. Harry Bridges, president of the ILWU, has been identified by numerous witnesses as a member of the Communist Party: J. P. Hentschel (September 10, 1937); John E. Ferguson (December 7, 1938); Joseph Kornfeder, also known as Joseph Zack (September 30, 1939); Arthur Kent (December 22, 1937); Irving N. Markheim (February 15, 1938); and by many others in the course of numerous court proceedings. The Daily Worker⁶⁴ has referred to him as the "west coast Communist leader." His relations with the Communist Party are voluminously dealt with in the House Committee on Un-American Activities Report on the CIO Political Action Committee, pages 90 to 97. Bridges has denied or evaded these accusations.

Louis Goldblatt, secretary-treasurer of the ILWU, is reputed to be the "brain trust" of the organization, whose power will be unchallenged when Bridges' predicted early retirement takes place to further facilitate the merger. Goldblatt's membership in the Communist Party has been the subject of testimony by at least three witnesses: Hugh Inzer,⁶⁵ William P. Branchove,⁶⁶ and Louis Rosser.⁶⁷ When Goldblatt appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on July 30, 1957, he said, "I am not a member of the Communist Party," but he refused to answer when asked, "Have you in the past been a member of the Communist Party?" Goldblatt's continued allegiance to the Communist Party line would indicate that he may have executed a strategic withdrawal from actual and formal membership. Back of these two leading officials of the ILWU (Bridges and Goldblatt) is a reserve force of many others with significant Communist records.⁶⁸

MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ILWU

In the light of the active initiative displayed by ILWU representatives in furthering the transport alliance, it must be emphasized that this organization is not a union devoting itself primarily to questions of wages, hours, and working conditions of its members. These

⁶³ New York Times, October 9, 1958, p. 73.

⁶⁴ March 13, 1943, p. 6.

⁶⁵ HUAC hearings, May 29, 1941, p. 8555.

⁶⁶ Report of the California Committee on Un-American Activities, 1947, pp. 145-167.

⁶⁷ San Francisco Examiner, December 2, 1953, pp. 1 and 14.

⁶⁸ ILWU officials identified as members of the Communist Party by witnesses according to the 1953 Report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities: Richard Lynden, secretary-treasurer, Local 6 (p. 119); Charles Alfred Duarte, president, Local 6 (p. 114), executive board, ILWU; Jack Olsen, official, Local 6 (p. 121).

From Hearings Regarding Communist Activities in the Territory of Hawaii, pt. 4: Jack Hall, regional director, ILWU, Hawaii (p. 38); Robert McElrath, public relations director, ILWU, Hawaii (p. 44); David Thompson, Territorial educational director, ILWU, Hawaii, member, ILWU executive board (p. 44); J. R. Robertson, vice president, ILWU (p. 44).

From Hearings on Communist Activities in the Territory of Hawaii, pt. 1: Joseph (Blurr) Kealialo, international representative, ILWU in Hawaii (p. 1425); Ernest Arena, business agent, Oahu division, ILWU, executive board, ILWU (p. 1402); Frank G. Silva, business agent, Kauai division, ILWU (p. 1427).

questions merely serve as a means whereby a Communist bureaucracy has established a stranglehold over its membership to be utilized for revolutionary political aims. For its immediate purposes this memorandum will omit instances of ILWU support of day-to-day Communist causes and will be restricted to instances in which the ILWU has acted on questions which have military significance in support of the warlike aims of the Soviet Union and the international Communist conspiracy directed primarily against the United States. Instances are cited from official publications of the ILWU and the Communist press:

(1) "In 1919, the Seattle longshoremen, backed up by the Pacific coast district of the ILA and AFL State Federation of Labor in Washington, refused to handle arms for the Allied Expeditionary Forces fighting in Siberia. Consistent with their trade union policy of the autonomous right of union organizations to run their own affairs, the Seattle longshoremen pointed out that—

. . . the settlement of all Russia's affairs, including her form of government, should be left entirely to the Russian people themselves, without interference from any source."⁶⁹

(2) "During the collective-security or 'popular front' period (of the Communist Party) ILWU strongly supported Roosevelt's antiaggression program * * *. With the signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, the ILWU suddenly discovered that the war in Europe was of no concern to it. It attacked President Roosevelt and his policy of giving aid to the Allies * * *. Following the opening of hostilities between Germany and Russia in June 1941 the ILWU leadership suddenly discovered that the war in Europe was, after all, a matter of vital concern to the labor movement * * *. In the summer of 1944 Bridges and the ILWU executive board urged that the no-strike pledge be extended into peacetime * * *. With the end of the war in Europe and the collapse of the wartime collaboration between the Soviet Union and the democratic nations, the position of the ILWU, like that of the Communist Party, underwent another change * * *. The no-strike pledge was forgotten * * *. When the Truman plan for Greece and Turkey was announced in the spring of 1947, it was bitterly attacked by the Dispatcher in a front-page editorial which compared it with the 'international gangsterism of Hitler.' * * *. When the Marshall plan was enunciated, it too was condemned by the ILWU * * *. ILWU has demanded that the United States end stockpiling of the atomic bomb without calling for international inspection of the Soviet's production of atomic weapons. ILWU has also opposed the North Atlantic alliance * * *. The June 1949 Dispatcher hailed 'the Chinese liberation,' comparing it with the United States, French, and Soviet Revolutions."⁷⁰

(3) "High Communist Party agents planned and provoked a 1949 dock strike that paralyzed the port of London for nearly 7 months and almost wrecked the Marshall aid plan, a former Red organizer told a House Un-American Activities subcommittee today.

⁶⁹ P. 86, *The ILWU Story—Two Decades of Militant Unionism*, copyright 1955, by International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

⁷⁰ From an analysis by the CIO Executive Board committee to investigate charges against the ILWU approved by the CIO convention in August 1950.

"Pat Walsh, 37-year-old Quebec city seaman, was the first witness called by Representative Bernard W. Kearney in a congressional investigation of communism in upstate New York.

* * * * *

"The witness said * * * Goldblatt, Harry Bridges' right-hand man and secretary-treasurer of the Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, attended the meeting." ⁷¹

British Government deports Goldblatt because of his Communist affiliations, in connection with a London dockers' wildcat strike that paralyzed the port for 25 days and forced the Government to place the waterfront under virtual martial law.⁷²

"Louis Goldblatt, San Francisco labor leader deported from Britain as a 'Communist agitator,' said today his union is planning 'concerted action' in retaliation. He refused to say what this action would be.

"Goldblatt came to Paris to attend the Trade Unions International of Seamen and Dockers, an affiliate of the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions. The administrative committee sent him to London to investigate the dock strike."⁷³

(4) "The CGT, the French Confederation of Labor, has thrown its support behind dockworkers refusing to unload arms from America."⁷⁴

(5) Ray Keenan, secretary, ILWU Columbia River District Council, authorized a series of articles attacking the Coast Guard screening program.⁷⁵

(6) Harry Bridges, president of the ILWU, declared at a mass meeting of his organization that stopping another war was a trade union job.⁷⁶

(7) The Seattle and Everett locals of the ILWU adopted a resolution demanding that the Korean war be stopped and that all American troops be withdrawn.⁷⁷

(8) The Dispatcher (ILWU) of August 29, 1952, page 8, demanded the immediate halt of the Korean war as did the ILWU executive board.⁷⁸

(9) The Dispatcher of November 21, 1952, page 2, carries an attack on "U. S.-Spanish Deal as Franco Grants Bases."

(10) The Dispatcher of January 2, 1953, page 4, urges mercy for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, convicted atomic spies.

(11) The Dispatcher of February 15, 1957, page 2, contained an editorial and a cartoon urging trade with Communist China.

(12) "Officials of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, unaffiliated, have criticized the procedures of the Navy as probably illegal. The union is headed by Harry Bridges.

"The Navy had given locals of the ILWU until yesterday to agree to the new security clearance system. Longshore Local 10 voted against cooperating with it."⁷⁹

(13) In July 1958, the ILWU executive board protested against the alleged "bombing and strafing of 'peaceful merchant ships of various

⁷¹ Washington Post, July 14, 1953, p. 11.

⁷² San Francisco Call Bulletin, July 22, 1949.

⁷³ Oakland, Calif., Tribune, July 24, 1949.

⁷⁴ The Dispatcher of February 3, 1950, p. 2.

⁷⁵ Announced in the Dispatcher of March 28, 1952, p. 8.

⁷⁶ Daily Worker, July 15, 1952, p. 2.

⁷⁷ Daily Worker, June 15, 1951.

⁷⁸ Dispatcher, November 21, 1952, p. 4.

⁷⁹ New York Times, August 9, 1957, p. 32M.

countries (including Britain and Italy) in Indonesian waters' by 'American-Chiang planes.'"⁸⁰

(14) Local 6, ILWU executive board adopted a resolution in August 1958 urging the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from the Middle East, branding the move as "interfering in the internal affairs" of another country, which is "discrediting the reputation" of the U. S.⁸¹

INTERNATIONAL TIES OF THE ILWU

It cannot be said of the ILWU that its basic ties and policies are rooted in the United States; that it is a truly independent, American trade union. Over the years it has displayed connections with Communist-controlled international organizations which give good grounds for the conclusion that the ILWU responds to some sort of international obligation or discipline. That the ILWU takes considerable pride in these international ties is disclosed by its official history called *The ILWU Story—Two Decades of Militant Unionism*,⁸² from which the following is quoted:

Thus it was not surprising that when the newly formed World Federation of Trade Unions met in San Francisco, at the time of the founding session of the United Nations, the ILWU was recognized as the host union for the affair—and deservedly so.

In the first major postwar maritime struggle, that of the Committee for Maritime Unity in 1946, these international fraternal bonds paid off well. When President Truman threatened to smash the projected maritime strike with Navy-manned vessels and Army longshoremen, the call for help from the ILWU produced a worldwide wave of union support. Pledges that these scab cargoes and hot ships would rot overseas poured into the CMU. And the great gains of the successful negotiations, without a strike, followed soon after. The support from overseas was the turning point in convincing the employers that they'd lose a strike.

The ILWU sugar workers too have cemented their ties with sugar workers everywhere. And delegates have gone from the ILWU to the Philippines, to Mexico, to Puerto Rico, and to Cuba to plan joint action and to pool knowledge and information on how best to advance the interests of sugar workers everywhere. Similarly, sugar union representatives from these areas have journeyed to San Francisco to meet and coordinate activities with the ILWU (pp. 86, 87).

Harry Bridges has frankly expressed his readiness to accept aid from Communist sources, both domestic and international:

The position of our union should be understood * * *
(the ILWU is a maritime union and when our members are)
on strike they will take help from any source, and if it is a
question of Communist or others, in Australia, Great
Britain, Russia, France, or anywhere else in the world, when

⁸⁰ Worker, July 27, 1958, p. 12.

⁸¹ Worker, August 10, 1958, p. 1.

⁸² Copyright in 1955, by the ILWU.

we send out a call for help, we don't say, "Just accept this call if you are not a Communist union," we send it out and we hope for the best. That is true of my membership and that is the way we work, and that is all we are after.⁸³

The official organ of the World Federation of Trade Unions has openly expressed its backing of the ILWU.⁸⁴

Bridges' official connections with the WFTU, which has been repudiated by the CIO and the British trade unions because of its Communist domination, was disclosed in his union's publication:

MARSEILLE, FRANCE.—The Maritime Federation of the World, a trade department of the World Federation of Trade Unions, has been reorganized with a newly constituted executive board into the Maritime and Port Workers Trade Union International. ILWU President Harry Bridges has been named honorary president of the newly constituted department.⁸⁵

The San Francisco Call-Bulletin of July 22, 1949, stated that Louis Goldblatt had been deported by the British Government because of his Communist affiliations in connection with a London dockers' wildcat strike that paralyzed the port for 25 days and forced the Government to place the waterfront under virtual martial law.

The Oakland (Calif.) Tribune of July 24, 1949, announced that Louis Goldblatt, secretary-treasurer of the ILWU, had come "to Paris to attend the Trade Unions International of Seamen and Dockers, an affiliate of the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions." The report stated that "The administrative committee sent him to London to investigate the dock strike." Goldblatt was reported as stating that "his union is planning 'concerted action.'"

Local 8, ILWU, of Portland, Oreg., addressed a letter to the Italian Embassy on June 15, 1955, protesting against the Italian Government's treatment of longshoremen and dockworkers in Genoa. A copy of the letter was sent to Giuseppe di Vittorio, Italian Communist leader of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

As recently as December 3, 1956, when Newton Kunio Miyago, secretary-treasurer of Hawaii Local 142 of the ILWU was testifying before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, he was asked:

Has the ILWU any present direct or indirect relations with the World Federation of Trade Unions?

He claimed fifth amendment privilege in refusing to answer, thus impliedly asserting that a truthful answer would tend to form at least a link in a chain to connect him with a punishable offense. He was then asked:

Has the ILWU ever paid money or dues to the WFTU?

Mr. Miyago again refused to answer, except to claim fifth amendment privilege.

It is pertinent in this connection to recall that after the disastrous general strike in San Francisco in 1934, Sam Darcy, California Communist Party organizer, expounded in the official Communist Party

⁸³ The Dispatcher, August 11, 1950, p. 3.

⁸⁴ The World Trade Union Movement of January 16-31, 1952, pp. 15, 16. This publication in its issue of September 1954, pp. 24, 25, reprinted Bridges' appeal for aid in connection with his legal case.

⁸⁵ Dispatcher, July 21, 1950, p. 8.

monthly magazine on the achievements of that party and its leading role in the strike. He referred to Bridges as "the accepted leader of the Longshoremens."⁸⁶ In August 1935, Darcy was called upon to report before the Seventh Congress of the Communist International meeting in Moscow on the San Francisco strike. This report evoked a vigorous protest from the American Ambassador, William C. Bullitt, and from Secretary of State Cordell Hull, on the ground that the Soviet Union was violating its pledges not to interfere in the internal affairs of the United States. The chaos which engulfed San Francisco is described with pride in *The ILWU Story* published by the ILWU in 1955. It presents a startling picture of what may be expected on a larger scale from an alliance of the Teamsters, National Maritime Union, ILWU, and the International Longshoremens's Association:

Now operating as District 38 of the ILA—forerunner of the present longshore division of the ILWU—the longshoremens on May 9, 1934, struck the entire coast and almost simultaneously the seagoing groups organized and struck with them. It was the first coastwide, industrywide strike in history.

* * * * *

The result was tear gas, guns, and bloodshed. Two strikers were shot down by police in San Francisco, two in San Pedro, and two in Seattle. California's reactionary Governor Merriam called out the National Guard.

* * * * *

San Francisco labor replied with a general strike—the first successful general strike in American history. General Johnson, chief of the National Recovery Administration, flew to San Francisco and pronounced: "This is revolution!" Newspaper screamers shouted, "Moscow-directed!"

* * * * *

The electrifying success of the 81-day strike of 1934 resulted primarily from the rank and file strength and solidarity of the men themselves (pp. 13, 14, 15).

The Communist International, through its official organ, boasted of the economic paralysis achieved in the San Francisco strike led by Harry Bridges:

The general strike, which tied up San Francisco and the surrounding region for 4 days, was the greatest general strike ever organized in the United States. It involved nearly 150,000 workers in 175 unions, and completely paralyzed the economic activities of a population of 1,300,000 * * * The workers influenced by the party and Red unions were instrumental in bringing about the general strike, and remain the vanguard of the maritime strike.⁸⁷

It should not be overlooked for a moment that Harry Bridges and his henchmen in the ILWU are seasoned veterans in the job of provoking economic disorder on a large scale. William B. Stephenson,

⁸⁶ *The Communist*, of July and October 1934.

⁸⁷ *International Press Correspondence* of August 10, 1934, pp. 1107, 1108.

former naval intelligence officer, and chairman of the Hawaiian Territorial Commission on Subversive Activity, has described the May 1949 strike in the Hawaiian Islands (aptly called "a natural headquarters for all the commands of the far Pacific" and "a depot for supplies to the far Pacific") as follows:

The strike started on May 1, 1949, and continued for nearly 6 months. The strike was of increasingly greater deleterious effect to the Territory. Stocks of foodstuffs, for example, or clothing or building materials, that were here prior to May 1 of that year were used up. We had the problem of replacing them.

* * * * *

I believe, at that time, the longshore group of the union had somewhere around 2,000—maybe only 1,700. It was only the longshoremen who went out on strike. It wasn't necessary to strike the sugar or pineapple industries because, in my analysis, the Hawaiian Islands may be visualized as a human body would, and you don't have to kill the whole body in order to kill the victim. You can throttle him at the throat. And the throat of the Hawaiian Islands, from the standpoint of dependency upon the material things of life, is the Honolulu waterfront and to a lesser degree the outer island waterfronts. Theoretically you might supply these islands by air, but if you gentlemen will recall the Berlin airlift of 1948, that placed a tremendous strain on the military and civilian air transport facilities of the United States, and they were flying a relatively short distance—not 2,200 miles.⁸⁸

BASIC COMMUNIST AIMS IN THE TRANSPORT INDUSTRY

While the transport alliance is being actively promoted by Harry Bridges and his clique ostensibly on purely economic and trade union grounds, their basic and underlying motive is not disclosed by them. It must be sought in certain authoritative, Communist sources, which, on occasion, have been revealingly frank. The following is a call to transport workers issued by the Communist International in its International Press Correspondence:

Water-transport workers, live up to the traditions of the struggle against war.

Transport is called the vital artery of the bourgeoisie in peace and war. Standing as they do in this vitally strategic key position none can do more in the struggle against fascism, in the struggle against imperialist war, than the international transport proletariat.

The water-transport workers have a good tradition in the fight against war. These traditions must now be renewed.⁸⁹

Harry Bridges was a member of the sponsoring committee of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, otherwise known as the World Peace Congress.⁹⁰ This organization published *In Defense of Peace*,

⁸⁸ Report of the Internal Security Subcommittee for the Year 1957, December 31, 1957, pp. 52, 53.

⁸⁹ Excerpt from *The International of Seamen and Harbour Workers in the Struggle Against War*, International Press Correspondence, April 20, 1935, vol. 15, No. 17, p. 459.

⁹⁰ Daily Worker, November 11, 1952, p. 3.

an official organ, the January 1950 issue of which, at page 43, shows a cartoon from a French paper urging sitdown strikes against munition shipments for troops fighting the Communists. Louis Saillant, head of the World Federation of Trade Unions, speaking at the Stockholm Conference of the World Peace Congress, March 16-19, 1950, referred to cases where Communist-inspired seamen and dockers have refused to transport or unload war material. Saillant said, "These experiences hold valuable lessons for all countries * * *." He demanded international support of "those dockers and seamen," and declared, "this is the path that all defenders of peace in the capitalist countries should follow." His emphasis was upon the capitalist countries. Saillant then sounded the following note:

We should state that one of the essential duties of the defenders of peace is the refusal to work on and produce war material in all capitalist countries * * *.⁹¹

RED TACTICS IN THE TRADE UNIONS

There are those unacquainted with Communist trade union devices and methods who might scoff at the possible influence of Communist officials who dominate the 70,000 members of the ILWU within a combine of 2 million in the transport industry. But there is more to this picture than meets the eye.

In the first place, by joining such a combine, the isolated and independent ILWU secures the protection of the entire combination and thus becomes more sheltered from prosecution for law violations.

Lenin once advised his Communist followers "to find that particular link in the chain, which one must grasp with all one's might in order to hold the whole chain." For the Communists that particular link today is the transport industry whereby a comparatively insignificant number of Communists operating within a mass trade union movement in a strategic industry like the transport industry hope to be able, at an appropriate time, to immobilize the workers in the entire industry, paralyze it, and thereby paralyze our economy. Grievances can always be claimed as justification for violation of contracts. It has been noted above how the ILWU turned its strike policy on and off like a spigot, employing a tough strike policy during the Stalin-Hitler Pact and suddenly adopting a no-strike pledge when Russia became an ally during World War II. Also noted above was the wildcat strike of the London dockers in which Louis Goldblatt was involved. The Communists can be counted upon to make full use of union traditions of labor solidarity and respect for picket lines in deepening and broadening a strike movement, once they have precipitated it. Sam Darcy, former district organizer of the Communist Party of California, outlined the party's plan of operation in his article on the San Francisco Bay Area General Strike in the Communist for October 1934, thus setting an eloquent pattern of what may be expected in the future from the transportation alliance, since Harry Bridges is involved in both instances. The substance of the following article was later presented in a report by Darcy to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International meeting in Moscow in August 1935:

Let me state here that there would have been no maritime or general strike except for the work of our party * * * The

⁹¹ Report on Communist "Peace" Offensive, House Committee on Un-American Activities, April 1, 1951, pp. 30, 31.

very fact that it was a sympathy strike gives it its political character. * * * The fight began in the decisive sector of San Francisco's economy, namely, the maritime industry * * * It is apparent from the stated facts that * * * the strike had a definite political character. * * *

About a week previous (to June 18), in anticipation of the possible needs for a general strike, we had succeeded in convincing the Painters Local 1158 to sign a circular letter addressed to all other locals of the A. F. of L., declaring their own support for a general strike, and asking their vote for it, so that, should a general strike become necessary, it would be possible to call it at the critical moment without any harmful delay. * * *

The very next day the Machinists Local 68, the oldest, and very influential A. F. of L. local in San Francisco * * * voted to join the general strike movement * * *

Of course, the general strike movement was in no sense a spontaneous movement. It took long and careful preparations. At first the militants sent small committees, chiefly from the longshoremen's local, to other A. F. of L. locals, appealing for support by a vote for a general strike. First we tackled only those locals that we knew were most militant. As we began to tackle the larger locals and those in the key industries which would be critical for the outcome of the general strike, we sent, not small delegations, but delegations ranging from 50 to as much as 400 * * * the general strike movement was actually advancing very rapidly, by the votes which were daily taking place in the local unions stimulated largely by the delegations of militants * * * (A polite term for the Communists.—Ed.)

Yet the workers in the Longshoremen's local, an A. F. of L. affiliate and a craft union, were able under the pressure of circumstances, quickly to break down their own routine work inside their own local, and reach out to other locals as far removed from longshore work as bakers and cleaners and dyers, and help organize them for the general strike * * * Our strategy * * * was to use the Joint Maritime Strike Committee as a base * * *

On July 5 the National Guard took control of the waterfront * * * On that day finally, the Joint Maritime Strike Committee issued a leaflet openly calling for the general strike * * *

Getting the Teamsters to join the strike was at this time the main force needed to make certain the eventuality of the general strike. This was due to the prestige and strategic post which the Teamsters had * * * On the night of the 11th the Teamsters met. This was, in a sense, a point which was decisive for the general strike * * * The Teamsters demanded to hear Bridges, who was given a tremendous ovation, and they finally voted to go out the next morning.

By the next morning, July 12, 60 local unions had voted for the general strike and about 10 locals were already out * * *

Saturday and Sunday were used by the militants for two activities, first, to pull the remaining locals out, and, secondly, to mobilize for organizational contact. We had to develop a movement within all the local unions, for special membership meetings to elect the five to the General Strike Committee instead of appointing them. The militants also tried through agitation, such as a leaflet issued by the Longshoremen's local, a statement by Harry Bridges, an appeal by the party and the Western Worker, etc., to stimulate the workers to force the election of the delegations of five to the General Strike Committee in their locals * * * We tried to get an appeal from the San Francisco General Strike Committee to the Portland workers * * *

On Monday morning the general strike was effective beyond all expectations * * * Nothing moved in or out of the city. For practical utility there are six ways of entrance to the city. These are: (1) Bay Shore Highway; (2) U. S. 101 road; (3) Skyline Boulevard; (4) the ferries; (5) by sea; (6) the railroads. Every one of these ways, excepting the ferries and railroads, was patrolled by our picketing squads of workers. Nothing moved without permission of the strike committee. Within the city, transportation was tied up; production stood at a standstill * * * It was obvious that the military forces were helpless against such a strike movement * * *

* * * In a widely popularized radio address by Governor Merriam that very day, he said: "By its very nature the general strike challenges the authority and ability of the Government to maintain itself."

It should be noted that the tactics described above conform to the accepted principles of warfare. Lt. Gen. John W. O'Daniel, who was commanding officer in the Hawaiian Islands from September 1952 to April 1954, had this comment on the military tactics of the Communists in Hawaii:

Communists are out waging war, applying all the nine principles of war according to our concept of the principles that are applied in a shooting war, and the very ones we teach in our own military schools to be applied in a shooting war * * * And the nine principles of war that I refer to are the principles of: The objective, simplicity, unity of commands, the offensive, maneuver, mass, economy of force, surprise, and security * * *⁹²

To indicate the methods employed by Bridges and his confederates on the west coast waterfront in persuading trade unionists to do their bidding, we cite the statement by the then California attorney general and now Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Earl Warren, before California Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in December 1941 with reference to the activities of the convicted murderers, Earl King, E. C. Ramsay, Frank Conner, and George Wallace, officials of the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water-

⁹² Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States, pt. 39, SISS, November 16, 30, December 1, 1956, pp. 2234 and 2235.

tenders and Wipers Union, after Warren had received a confession from Frank Conner:

The statement itself (of Frank Conner) was made to me about the 3d of September—a day or two after he was brought down here from Seattle; and he told me, at that time, that all of these men mixed up in this affair, other than himself, were Communists; that King was a Communist; that Ramsay was a Communist; and that Wallace was a Communist; * * * He said there were a few hundred Communists on this coast who were running many thousands of good labor organization men; and they were doing it by terror and intimidation * * * and we knew, of our own knowledge, of innumerable cases of men—many, many of them labor organization union men—who were beaten within an inch of their lives just because they wouldn't respond to this so-called leadership of Earl King and his crowd; men who wouldn't dare to come forward, or go to the authorities, to complain, * * * You couldn't get any witnesses to testify for them if they did, because people were terrorized * * * he said they were keeping in bondage hundreds of fine labor organization people on this coast * * * they have been dominated and persecuted themselves by Earl King and his kind.⁹³

Harry Bridges, it should be noted, was an active supporter of the King-Ramsay-Conner Defense Committee. The Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers Union cooperated with Harry Bridges in the San Francisco general strike.

Here is what the then State Attorney General Warren said about the murder of Chief Engineer George W. Alberts with which King, Conner, Ramsay, and Wallace were charged:

These men initiated the brutal murder of a law-abiding citizen without provocation and while he was peaceably engaged in earning a living for his wife and three babies. They didn't give him a chance for his life. He was beaten with blunt instruments and hacked with knives until he was dead in his own living quarters on the steamship *Point Lobos* where the assassins laid in wait for him.⁹⁴

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TRANSPORT ALLIANCE

Speaking of the acute danger to our national security implicit in the Hoffa-Bridges-Bradley-Curran alliance, Senator John L. McClellan (Democrat of Arkansas), chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field, declared on September 21, 1958, after hearing months of testimony:

The extraordinary powers of the Teamsters Union are such that it can exercise dominate control over the Nation's entire economy. As Mr. Hoffa stated recently in Seattle, the Teamsters Union could, at its will, shut down the commerce of the Nation.

* * * * *

⁹³ Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, California, 1943, pp. 185, 186.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

* * * Already he has implemented this plan by a pact with the National Maritime Union, the development of a closer understanding with the racket-controlled International Longshoremen's Association on the east coast, and preparations for meetings with the left-wing-controlled International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union of Harry Bridges on the west coast. The welding of Hoffa's powers with those inherent in these other organizations has grave implications for the destiny of our national economy.

No family in this country, no matter where they may live, can escape the repercussions. All of our lives are too intricately interwoven with this union to sit passively by and allow the Teamsters (under Mr. Hoffa's leadership) to create such a superpower in this country—a power greater than the people and greater than the Government. This situation even now is critical for the Nation.

* * * * *

Mr. James R. Hoffa has not only placed hoodlums and men with criminal records in key positions in the union, but he and his chief lieutenants have consorted with the major racketeers and gangsters in the United States from New York to California, from Florida to Michigan.

Statements of similar import have been made by Senator Irving M. Ives of New York, ranking Republican member of the McClellan committee; Michigan Congressman Clare R. Hoffman, Republican member of the House Labor and Education Committee; and Felix S. Hales, president of the New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railroad Co.:

* * * Such an alliance would be a "menace to society that could paralyze the whole country," proclaimed Senator Ives of New York, ranking GOP member of the McClellan Labor Rackets Committee. "The Teamsters could tie up the country right now if they wanted. They don't need any more power," wryly commented Felix S. Hales, president of the New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railroad Co.

* * * Representative Hoffman (Republican of Michigan) says, "If such a federation (of Longshoremen and Teamsters) calls a strike, they could starve us into submission in 6 days."⁹⁵

CONCLUSIONS

1. The terms of the alliance between the Teamsters Union, the ILWU, the ILA, and the NMU have not been made public, and are shrouded in secrecy. The alliance involving about 2 million workers in the transport industry from coast to coast has manifested itself rather through operational channels, which we have described. It is a definite menace to our national security both economically and militarily.

2. The alliance includes among its directive forces two categories which are notorious for their defiance of the law, namely, Communists and racketeers.

3. Economically and militarily the United States is unprepared for a general transport strike by these unions since such strikes, especially

⁹⁵ Wall Street Journal of August 2, 1957, p. 1.

where Communist leaders are involved, have been known to occur with lightning suddenness.

4. The transportation alliance, in its full potentialities, could constitute a dangerous challenge to the power of the United States Government itself.

5. The alliance constitutes a monopoly in the transportation industry which threatens the economic life of the Nation and which could be employed to strangle the military forces of the Nation in the event of a war.

6. Because of the disastrous possibilities involved, neither the American labor movement nor the American Government can afford to deal with this situation, which involves gangsters and Communists, as if it were a normal union matter involving only law-abiding elements.

7. Well-trained Communist conspirators have infiltrated longshoremen's unions on both east and west coasts, and have acted as the spearhead of the alliance. Large sums of money have been used for this purpose.

8. The racketeering leaders of the Teamsters Union have displayed an utter lack of concern about the Communist records and activities of the dominant officials of the ILWU. Similarly, these Communist officials have displayed their disinterest in the record of racketeering and gangsterism in the Teamsters Union and the International Longshoremen's Association. The alliance is therefore brazenly and dangerously unprincipled.

9. The ILWU has in the past had ties to international Communist organizations such as the World Federation of Trade Unions and the World Peace Congress. The Communist International has expressed intense interest in the San Francisco general strike led by Harry Bridges. These ties and the union's activities over the years in cooperation with foreign Communist-controlled unions indicate that the ILWU is susceptible to appeals and pressures from international Communist sources.

10. The Communist Party, U. S. A., has for many years evinced a deep interest in operations on the waterfront and in the transport industry in general, with particular reference to operations in wartime.

11. The alliance mustering close to 2 million workers in a vital industry will provide a semblance of labor acceptance and greatly increased economic power for the ILWU, hitherto isolated and independent since its expulsion from the CIO.

12. There is evidence that the Communist forces within the alliance have the benefit of expert legal guidance.

13. The Teamsters Union, the ILWU, the ILA and the National Maritime Union have been known to use methods of force and violence to attain their objectives.

14. The rank and file of the unions involved in the alliance do not necessarily share the aims and designs of Communists and racketeering leaders involved, nor are they fully informed. But they are powerless to resist.

15. The record of Communist activity in the transportation field demonstrates that inclusion of these unions in the alliance cannot bring "progress" and "stability" to the transportation industry but rather points toward inevitable chaos.

16. The ILWU is an essential part of the monopolistic alliance since it controls the docks and warehouses on the west coast.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. It is recommended that this memorandum be carefully studied by the Defense Department with a view to the invocation of all pertinent security measures it is authorized to use.

2. It is further recommended that the Defense Department consult with the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee respecting any additional legislation for which the Department sees a need to meet the situation.

3. It is recommended that the Department of Justice consider a grand jury investigation of the transportation alliance with a view to possible prosecution under either the Federal Antitrust Act or the Communist Control Act of 1954 or both.

4. It is recommended that, if the Department of Justice considers that existing legislation is inadequate to meet the threat to national security implicit in the transportation alliance, the Department should seek appropriate legislation by the next Congress.

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