

CARTON 5;32

Research: House-Un-American Activities Committee, Lee Brown

1994

2017/193

# Lee Brown 3/2/94 Tapes Notes

## About HUAC case

Begins in LA at Brown Peering Co 1944  
Member of Local 12, open shop

Got Braveling card to go to New Orleans

Got introduced to Local 217, + Andrew Iken helped

Get job on Galveston wharf

Worked on wharf about a year, attended

union mtg

Became shop steward → and member of Executive Bd

Negotiating Committee → Vice pres

→ <sup>Chair</sup> Political Action Comm.

170 Nelson introduced Brown to CP

Joined after a few months

\*288

Jeff. Hatley Led probably union officers

Area belonging to CP

LA stopped paying dues + withdrew from CP

Andrew Nelson indicted + convicted (died)

LA subpoenaed, Asked over 50 questions  
he asked was son Earl/and as member  
of the K-Klux Klan?

LA refused to answer questions unless he  
could make a statement.

390

LA indicted by Grand Jury

brought to trial on Nov 4 1957

All-white jury - trial lasted week

553 Found guilty (had been in jail whole year before trial)  
Sentenced to ~~10~~ 5 years

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE  
NEW ORLEANS, LA., AREA

HEARING  
BEFORE THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS  
FIRST SESSION

DOCUMENTS DEPARTMENT  
FEBRUARY 15 1957  
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(Including Index)



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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RICHARD ARENS, *Director*

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

Sec. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

▼

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 85TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1957

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

(a) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time, investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee, and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

SYNOPSIS

In conjunction with the hearings in New Orleans on February 14 on Communist propaganda, the Committee on Un-American Activities in hearings on February 15, 1957, dealt with Communist infiltration into labor and professional organizations.

Arthur Eugene, Jr., a seaman by occupation, testified extensively about Communist efforts to control the vital New Orleans seaport by infiltration and domination of waterfront and maritime unions. Eugene was a member of the Communist Party from 1948 to 1956 and during part of this time served as an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Eugene told the committee that he had been instructed by the Communist Party to join the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, which the party already controlled. Eugene said that he met with the Seamen's Group of the Communist Party while a member of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union.

In 1949, he told the committee, the party issued directions on methods of circumventing the non-Communist affidavits requirements of the Taft-Hartley labor law. Communist union officials, he said, were to comply with the Taft-Hartley law and were simply to lie about the fact that they were members of the Communist Party. At the same time they were ordered not to take part in open Communist Party activities so that the fact of their Communist Party affiliations would not be apparent.

These instructions were given to Eugene at a meeting of the Seamen's Group, which was also attended by Andrew Steve Nelson, now deceased, who was president of local No. 207 of the ILWU, and Lee Brown, then vice president of local No. 207. Brown appeared before the committee and refused to answer questions relating to Communist Party membership and activities.

Late in 1949, after a strike of the National Marine Cooks and Stewards, Eugene was transferred to San Francisco, where he was assigned to the Seamen's Branch of the party and ultimately was assigned as a security aid to Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. Later, Eugene said, he shipped out on the Matson luxury liner *Lurline* and served as educational director of the Communist Party cell aboard.

While in San Francisco, Eugene attended the California Labor School, which, he said, functioned as an educational adjunct of the Communist Party. Ninety percent of the men who attended the school, he testified, were from the ILWU and the rest were from other unions.

Despite Coast Guard measures for banning Communists from American ships, Mr. Eugene said, Communists, in New Orleans at least, continued to have free access to them. Mr. Eugene himself was "screened out" by the Coast Guard in Providence, R. I. In 1951 he returned to New Orleans.

Communist Party meetings, he said, were held at the International Longshoremen's Hall and much of the Communist propaganda in the area originated at the ILWU Hall, where the party used the union's printing equipment and mimeograph and addressograph machines. This equipment, he said, was "open to the Communist Party at all times" and was also used by Communist Party front organizations such as the Civil Rights Congress.

Another witness before the committee in its hearing on February 15 was a prominent New Orleans physician, Dr. William Sorum, who was a member of the Communist Party from 1945 until 1952. Shortly after joining the party he was assigned to work with the New Orleans Youth Council, a civic organization which the party was attempting to infiltrate. He was chairman of the Youth Council for about a year. One of his responsibilities was the instruction of new members of the organization in Communist doctrine. At the same time, Dr. Sorum was a member of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. He had been ordered to join by the Communist Party. Dr. Sorum said the Southern Conference was "controlled by the Communists." Most of the membership was not Communist, he stated, but Communists occupied the top leadership positions. Dr. Sorum provided one illuminating sidelight on the extent to which the party attempts to regulate every aspect of its members' lives. Dr. Sorum was planning to specialize in psychiatry but the party opposed this. Instead, John Gates, the functionary with whom Dr. Sorum discussed the matter, recommended that Dr. Sorum undertake an itinerant rural practice in the course of which Dr. Sorum and a party organizer who was to accompany him could undertake recruiting in the impoverished communities which they visited.

During the last period of his Communist Party membership, Dr. Sorum was assigned to a Professional Branch in New Orleans. Other members of this group, he told the committee, were Dr. Robert Hodes, then of Tulane University, and his wife, Jane Hodes; and Dr. William Obrinsky and his wife, Dr. Jane Allen Obrinsky. Dr. Sorum told the committee that during his period of membership he was able to recruit a number of students into the party as a result of the "direct" and the "indirect" influence which he was able to exercise in his classes. The students are susceptible, he said, because—

at that age kids are looking for answers. Many of them were mixed up and confused, seeking some sort of outlook, maybe in a way a religious outlook, if you know what I mean. They want to lose themselves in some kind of thing like this, something that seems to be unselfish and that seems to be doing something, people seem to have courage and that sort of thing.

## INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE NEW ORLEANS, LA., AREA

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1957

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*New Orleans, La.*

### PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:05 a. m. in room 245, Post Office Building, 600 Camp Street, New Orleans, La., Hon. Edwin E. Willis presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Morgan M. Moulder, of Missouri (appearance as noted); Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana; and Bernard W. Kearney, of New York.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, director; W. Jackson Jones and George C. Williams, investigators.

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will come to order, and counsel will call his first witness.

Mr. ARENS. Lee Brown, kindly come forward.

Please remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God? You didn't answer. You didn't respond.

Mr. BROWN. I beg your pardon.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KEARNEY. You haven't answered yet.

Mr. BROWN. I do.

### TESTIMONY OF LEE BROWN

Mr. ARENS. Have a seat, please.

Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. BROWN. Lee Brown, 2017 Jackson Avenue. Occupation warehouseman.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities? You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. BROWN. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. You are not represented by counsel?

Mr. BROWN. No; I am not.

Mr. ARENS. You understand you have the privilege of counsel?

Mr. BROWN. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. BROWN. In 1921, May 28.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. BROWN. New Orleans.

Mr. ARENS. Give us, if you please, just a brief sketch of your education.

Mr. BROWN. I would like to say one thing, Mr. Chairman, if I may, to the chairman. Are you the chairman?

Mr. WILLIS. All right.

Mr. BROWN. I would like to say one thing to this committee or any other committee.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that the witness answer the question and not make a speech.

Mr. WILLIS. That is right.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, at this point—

Mr. WILLIS. You can answer a very simple question—to give a brief description of your education. That is a very simple question.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, I submit I would like to make a statement before I answer any questions.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. WILLIS. I direct you to answer the question: and let me tell you the consequences of that order that I have directed to you: That any attempt on your part to evade questions or to make a speech is out of order. I see you are not represented by counsel. I suppose you know your rights. If any questions are asked of you which you believe honestly might subject you to criminal proceedings, you are entitled to invoke the privilege of the fifth amendment. You can't hedge, pussyfoot, or run around the issues. You either answer the question or suffer the pains and penalties for it. You are ordered to answer the question.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, I still ask for the privilege under the first amendment to make my statement.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, in view of the fact that he has refused to answer the question with respect to his education and he has been ordered and directed to do so, I propose to interrogate him by other questions on other matters.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed to another subject. You realize the implications of what I have told you.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed?

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, I request to make my statement.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question as to where he is employed.

Mr. WILLIS. That is a very simple question, the second simple question, and you are ordered to answer that question. A record is being made of it by the reporter. Since you are not represented by counsel, I will repeat to you that the consequences may be contempt proceedings. I don't know the field that counsel will go into, but you will not be permitted to hedge. You are ordered to answer the question, and from now on I will not make any more statements.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed?

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, based on the first amendment, I would like to make a statement before I answer any question, period.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that again the witness be directed to answer these questions, and so far as making a statement or a speech, as far as this committee is concerned, I object to it.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been employed in your present employment?

Mr. BROWN. I refuse to answer, period, until I get a chance to make a statement, period.

Mr. ARENS. Are you vice president of the International Longshoremen's Union in New Orleans?

Mr. BROWN. I refuse to answer the question until I get a chance to make a statement.

Mr. KEARNEY. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BROWN. I refuse to answer the question until I get a chance to make a statement, period.

Mr. KEARNEY. If you are not a member of the Communist Party, would you tell this committee to that effect?

Mr. BROWN. I would like to make a statement, period.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness now be ordered and directed to answer the question as to whether or not he is a Communist.

Mr. WILLIS. You are ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, I hope you understand it clear and perfect that I am not answering a question until I make a statement, period.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest to this witness you are not scaring this committee.

Mr. BROWN. You don't frighten me, either.

Mr. KEARNEY. I am not trying to frighten you. We are trying to get you to answer a simple question. In view of his arrogance, Mr. Chairman, I suggest if you can't get any answer from him, you ask the marshal to escort him from the room.

Mr. WILLIS. That will be taken into consideration.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Witness, as a prerequisite to obtaining your witness fee, it is necessary for you to affix your signature to the pay voucher. This is the pay voucher that you will get your witness fee for appearing today. Will you kindly affix your signature?

Mr. BROWN. I don't sign anything, Mr. Chairman, period.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Witness, I lay before you a photostatic copy of a non-Communist affidavit dated July 23, 1954 [1951], signed by yourself, here in New Orleans, La., in which you say that you are not a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with the party. Look at that document and tell us, first of all, whether or not that is a true and correct reproduction of your signature.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, I hope I made it clear, I am not answering anything until I make my statement.

Mr. ARENS. You said in this statement of 1954 [1951], and you said so under oath, that you were not a Communist; isn't that true?

Mr. BROWN. I say I am not answering any question until I make my statement today, period.

Mr. ARENS. Now I lay before you still another affidavit signed by yourself, dated July 15, 1952, and a non-Communist affidavit under the Taft-Hartley Act, in which you say under oath that you are not a

Communist. Look at that document which we have marked "Exhibit No. 2" and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you signed that document.

Mr. BROWN. I am not answering anything. I hope I made it clear to you, Mr. Chairman and the rest of the committee, I am not answering any question until I make my statement.

Mr. ARENS. Now I lay before you still another document signed by yourself, executed under oath, a non-Communist affidavit, in which you say:

I am not a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with such party. I do not believe in, and I am not a member of nor do I support any organization that believes in or teaches the overthrow of the United States Government by force or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods.

Look at that document now while you are under oath and tell this committee whether or not you executed that document.

Mr. BROWN. I think I made it clear, Mr. Chairman, and to the committee as a whole, that I am not answering questions until I make my statement.

Mr. ARENS. Now I lay before you still another document dated June of 1956, signed by yourself, in which you state that you are not a member of the Communist Party. Look at that document which you filed under oath pursuant to the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, and tell this committee whether or not that truly and correctly represents your signature.

Mr. BROWN. I say I am not answering any questions until I make my statement.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, so the record may be perfectly clear, I respectfully suggest to the Chair that this witness now be ordered and directed to answer each and every one of the several questions which I have posed to him with respect to these documents.

Mr. WILLIS. You are ordered to answer those questions which have to do with your signing these statements relating to your status of being a Communist or non-Communist. You are ordered to answer these questions.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, I think I made the statement clear I am not intending to answer any questions until I make my statement.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that each of these exhibits which we have just used be appropriately marked and incorporated in the body of the record.

Mr. WILLIS. Let them be so marked and incorporated.  
(Documents marked "Brown Exhibits, Nos. 1 to 4," respectively, follow.)

## BROWN EXHIBIT No. 1

Form NLRB-1001  
(6-48)UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

## AFFIDAVIT OF NONCOMMUNIST UNION OFFICER

(See instructions on reverse)

The undersigned, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am a responsible officer of the union named below.
2. I am not a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with such party.
3. I do not believe in, and I am not a member of nor do I support any organization that believes in or teaches, the overthrow of the United States Government by force or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods.

Warehouse & Distribution Workers Union, Local 207

(Full name of union, including local name and number)

International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union

(\*Full name of national or international union of which it is an affiliate or constituent unit)

Signature Lee Brown  
Vice-PresidentAddress 420 Gravier St.  
(Street)New Orleans, La.  
(City and State)

(The notary public or other person authorized by law to administer oaths must fill in completely all blank spaces below.)

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 23 day of July 1951A notary public or other person authorized by law to administer oaths and take acknowledgments in and for the county of Orleans, State of LouisianaMy commission expires at deathJames J. McLean  
(SIGNATURE)  
Notary Public

[SEAL]

WARNING.—The attention of persons filing this form with the Board is directed to Section 85 (A) of the criminal code, which provides that any person willfully making or causing to be made any false or fraudulent statements or representations in any matter within the jurisdiction of the Board shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both.

16-56880-2

BROWN EXHIBIT No. 2

Form NLRB-1001 (8-5)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

**AFFIDAVIT OF NONCOMMUNIST UNION OFFICER**

(See instructions on reverse)

The undersigned, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am a responsible officer of the union named below.
2. I am not a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with such party.
3. I do not believe in, and I am not a member of nor do I support any organization that believes in or teaches, the overthrow of the United States Government by force or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods.

Warehouse & Distribution Workers Union, Local 207  
(Full name of union, including local name and number)

International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union  
(Full name of national or international union of which it is an affiliate or constituent unit)

Signature *J. L. Brown*  
 1st Vice-President  
 Residence 412 1/2 Chalmette St  
(Number and street)  
New Orleans La  
(City and State)

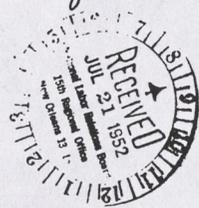
(The notary public or other person authorized by law to administer oaths must fill in completely all blank spaces below.)

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 15th day of July 1952

A notary public or other person authorized by law to administer oaths and take acknowledgments in and for the county of Orleans, State of Louisiana

My commission expires life

*Samuel M. Augustine, Jr.*  
 (SIGNATURE)



[SEAL]

WARNING.—The attention of persons filing this form with the Board is directed to U. S. Code, Title 18, Sec. 1001 (formerly Sec. 80), which provides that any person willfully making or causing to be made any false or fraudulent statements or representations in any matter within the jurisdiction of the Board shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.

BROWN EXHIBIT No. 3

Form NLRB-1001 (8-5)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

**AFFIDAVIT OF NONCOMMUNIST UNION OFFICER**

(See instructions on reverse)

The undersigned, being duly sworn, deposes and says

1. I am a responsible officer of the union named below.
2. I am not a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with such party.
3. I do not believe in, and I am not a member of nor do I support any organization that believes in or teaches, the overthrow of the United States Government by force or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods.

Warehouse & Distribution Workers Union, Local 207  
(Full name of union, including local name and number)

International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union  
(Full name of national or international union of which it is an affiliate or constituent unit)

Signature *J. L. Brown*  
 Title of office 1st Vice-President  
 Residence 1950 Jackson Avenue  
(Number and street)  
New Orleans, Louisiana  
(City and State)

(The notary public or other person authorized by law to administer oaths must fill in completely all blank spaces below.)

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 1st day of June 1952

A notary public or other person authorized by law to administer oaths and take acknowledgments in and for the county of Orleans, State of Louisiana

My commission expires at death

*James P. Jordan*  
 (SIGNATURE)  
*Notary Public*

[SEAL]



WARNING.—The attention of persons filing this form with the Board is directed to U. S. Code, Title 18, Sec. 1001 (formerly Sec. 80), which provides that any person willfully making or causing to be made any false or fraudulent statements or representations in any matter within the jurisdiction of the Board shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.

BROWN EXHIBIT No. 4

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

**AFFIDAVIT OF NONCOMMUNIST UNION OFFICER**

(See instructions on reverse)

The undersigned, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I am a responsible officer of the union named below.
2. I am not a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with such party.
3. I do not believe in, and I am not a member of nor do I support any organization that believes in or teaches, the overthrow of the United States Government by force or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods.

Warehouse and Distribution Workers Union, Local 207  
(Full name of union, including local name and number)

International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union  
(Full name of national or international union of which it is an affiliate or constituent unit)

Signature Lee Brown

Title of office 1st Vice President

Residence 2017 Jackson Avenue  
(Number and street)

New Orleans, Louisiana  
(City and State)

(The notary public or other person authorized by law to administer oaths must fill in completely all blank spaces below.)

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 6<sup>th</sup> day of June 1956

A notary public or other person authorized by law to administer oaths and take acknowledgments in and for the county of Orleans, State of Louisiana

My commission expires at death

James P. McClain  
(Signature)  
Notary Public

[SEAL]



**WARNING.**—The attention of persons filing this form with the Board is directed to U. S. Code, Title 18, Sec. 1001 (formerly Sec. 80), which provides that any person willfully making or causing to be made any false or fraudulent statements or representations in any matter within the jurisdiction of the Board shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.

Mr. ARENS. Now I lay before you a photostatic copy of a document which was procured from the headquarters of the ILWU, run on the mimeograph machine at ILWU, bearing the identification of the State committee of the Louisiana Communist Party. Look at that document and tell us whether or not that is a true and correct reproduction of an original which was run on the mimeograph machine at the headquarters in New Orleans, La., of the ILWU.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, as I have already stated, I am not answering any questions until I make my statement.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. WILLIS. You are ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, I therefore refuse until I make my statement.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that this document which I have just displayed to the witness be appropriately marked and be incorporated by reference in the record.

Mr. WILLIS. Let it be so marked and incorporated.

(Document marked "Brown Exhibit No. 5," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now I should like to exhibit to you a few more documents. Here is a document entitled "Call to a National Founding Convention of a Youth Organization" to "support the program and policies of the new party of Wallace and Taylor, to defend our lives, our liberties, our rights to happiness," bearing the sponsorship of a number of persons, including Lee Brown, Local 206, International Longshoremen's Union, New Orleans, La. Please look at that document and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not that truly and correctly identifies you.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, as I have already stated, I refuse to answer questions until I make my statement.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. WILLIS. You are so ordered and directed.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, I still refuse until I make my statement.

(Document marked "Brown Exhibit No. 6," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. KEARNEY. Is your name Lee Brown?

Mr. BROWN. I refuse to answer until I make my statement.

Mr. ARENS. Now I want to lay before you a photostatic copy of the Communist Daily Worker of Wednesday, March 16, 1949, and the headline of the article that I want to direct to your attention is as follows:

Dockers' Local Protests Trial of 12 as "Disgrace."

That trial of the 12 we all know are the 12 traitors to this Nation. A number of people are protesting it. I would like to read you one little sentence.

Attorney General Clark was asked yesterday "To end the disgrace on American democracy" in the heresy trial of the 12 Communist leaders. The request was made by Andrew Nelson, president of Local 207 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, as a result of a discussion by the executive board and steward's council. The letter was also signed by Lee Brown, chairman of the local's civil rights committee.

Look at that document, please, and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you are accurately and correctly identified up here at the top, right there, "Lee Brown."

Mr. BROWN. I still say I refuse to answer until I make a statement.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. WILLIS. You are so ordered and directed.

Mr. BROWN. I refuse to answer Mr. Chairman, until I make a statement.

(Document marked "Brown Exhibit No. 7," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now I want to lay before you still another document, a reproduction of the Communist Daily Worker of New York, Monday, May 7, 1956, bearing a letter to the editor, signed by Lee Brown. Look at that document and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you are correctly and accurately described there?

Mr. BROWN. I refuse to answer until I make my statement.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. WILLIS. You are ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. BROWN. I refuse to answer, Mr. Chairman, until I make my statement. That is all there is to it, period.

(The document marked "Brown Exhibit No. 8" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now I lay before you three documents all of which have been identified as coming from the headquarters of the International Longshoremen's Union local here in New Orleans, having been run on the mimeograph machine there. Each of these documents calls for certain action to be taken against the so-called ruling classes, certain attacks to be made upon the Wall Street imperialists, condemning the United States military action in Korea, and the like. Please look at each of those three documents and first of all tell this committee whether or not they truly and correctly represent documents which were run off the mimeograph machine at the headquarters of the International Longshoremen's Union local in New Orleans.

Mr. BROWN. I still say I refuse to answer the questions until I make my statement.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question and that each of these documents be appropriately marked and incorporated by reference in the record.

Mr. WILLIS. You are ordered to answer the question.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer until I make my statement.

Mr. WILLIS. The documents will be appropriately marked and made a part of the record.

(Documents marked "Brown Exhibits Nos. 9, 10, and 11," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, in the presence of this witness I respectfully suggest that another witness be sworn.

Mr. Arthur Eugene, would you kindly come forward. Please step over here, Mr. Eugene, and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

## TESTIMONY OF ARTHUR EUGENE, JR.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Eugene, will you kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation. Just have a seat, please.

Mr. EUGENE. Arthur Eugene, Jr. I live here in New Orleans, 2121 St. Anthony Street. My occupation is a warehouseman.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Eugene, I expect to interrogate you at length in a few moments, but for the present purpose I should like to ask you, Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes; I was.

Mr. ARENS. During what period of time were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EUGENE. From the period of 1948 until 1956.

Mr. ARENS. During part of that time, were you working with the Federal Bureau of Investigation furnishing information to your Government?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Eugene, during the course of your membership in the Communist Party, did you know a person as a Communist by the name of Lee Brown?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes; I did.

Mr. ARENS. Do you see the person in the courtroom today? Now?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Whom you knew as Lee Brown?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes; I do.

Mr. ARENS. Would you look him in the eye and point him out to this committee while you are under oath?

Mr. EUGENE. That is him right here [indicating Witness Brown].

Mr. KEARNEY. When you say "that is him right here," you are referring to the witness who is under oath and who has refused to answer all these questions which have been propounded to him by counsel?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

## TESTIMONY OF LEE BROWN—Resumed

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Brown, you have heard the testimony just a moment ago of Arthur Eugene. Is that correct? Did you hear that testimony?

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer any questions until I make my statement.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Brown, look at the man at your left who has just identified you as a member of the Communist conspiracy, and while you are under oath look him in the eye and tell this committee, did he lie or did he tell the truth?

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer the question until I make my statement, regardless. I still refuse to answer until I make my statement.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the Communist conspiracy designed to overthrow this Government by force and violence?

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer questions until I make my statement. I am not answering any question, period.

Mr. KEARNEY. Are you an American citizen?

Mr. BROWN. I refuse to answer questions until I make my statement.

Mr. KEARNEY. Aren't you proud to answer that question?

Mr. BROWN. Until I make my statement. Until I make my statement, I will answer any question you wish (sic).

Mr. KEARNEY. Let me say to the witness, from your answers here, I notice that you fail to take advantage of your rights to seek refuge behind any of the amendments you so desire to the Constitution. Do you decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment that to answer truthfully might incriminate you?

Mr. BROWN. I refuse to answer any questions.

Mr. KEARNEY. Then I want to say to the witness that, just as soon as we can get together, I shall certainly move for a contempt citation, because you are the most arrogant individual I have seen in many a year.

Mr. BROWN. That don't worry me a bit, period. That don't worry me what you do.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation at this time of Lee Brown.

Mr. WILLIS. Let me suggest to you further, since you are not accompanied by counsel, that you have not invoked the privilege of the fifth or any conceivable protective amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. BROWN. I answered the first and fifth amendment. I think I did.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is no answer.

Mr. WILLIS. Will you proceed to requestioning, then, Mr. Arens. He said he answered on the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. What is your present occupation?

Mr. BROWN. I refuse to answer questions until I make my statement.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend if you told this committee truthfully where you are presently employed you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. BROWN. I say I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. BROWN. Until I make a statement.

Mr. WILLIS. I don't think you have invoked the privilege of the fifth amendment, but if you do want to or if you think you have, this question is intended—

Mr. BROWN. I have a right. I don't ask anybody to give me nothing.

Mr. WILLIS. We are trying to be very fair with you. This is a test of whether you are honest in the plea, if you think you want to plead it, because you cannot invoke the privilege of the fifth amendment unless you honestly believe that so to do would subject you to criminal proceedings. The simple question is, Do you believe that by answering that question you would be so subjected? You are ordered to answer that.

Mr. BROWN. I say I refuse to answer questions until I make a statement.

Mr. ARENS. Will you answer any questions propounded by this committee?

Mr. BROWN. Until I make a statement.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, I again—

Mr. BROWN. On the first amendment. I have a right to talk.

Mr. KEARNEY. I ask that this witness be escorted from the hearing room. He is one of these defiant, arrogant witnesses that once in a while we run across who has the Commie line in every one of his answers. There is no need of wasting the committee's time with him.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. WILLIS. They usually invoke the privilege of the fifth amendment, and then say they do so because there are phantom witnesses and that they are not confronted with their accusers. Here is a very much alive person next to you who, under oath, has subjected himself to the pains and penalties of prosecution if he didn't tell the truth, who has charged you with being a Communist. As a red-blooded American citizen, if you are, here is your chance to stand up and deny that fact if it is not true.

What is your answer to that?

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Chairman, as I have already stated, I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Marshal, I suggest you escort the witness out of the room and keep him out of this room throughout these hearings.

(Mr. Brown was escorted from the room.)

Mr. WILLIS. The witness has already been sworn, has he not?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir. Perhaps it would be well if he would start again as a witness.

#### TESTIMONY OF ARTHUR EUGENE, JR.—Resumed

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. EUGENE. I was born June 9, 1924.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. EUGENE. New Orleans.

Mr. ARENS. Please tell us just a word about your early life, your early education.

Mr. EUGENE. I attended two schools here up to the 8th grade in New Orleans, and the 10th and 11th grades in California.

Mr. ARENS. What were the circumstances under which you joined the Communist Party?

Mr. EUGENE. There was a movement in progress at the time to oust Joe Curran, who was president of the National Maritime Union.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you employed at that time?

Mr. EUGENE. I was a seaman.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of a labor organization at that time?

Mr. EUGENE. I was a member of the NMU, the National Maritime Union.

Mr. ARENS. Let's get this date again, please, when you joined the Communist Party.

Mr. EUGENE. 1948.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. EUGENE. Here in New Orleans.

Mr. ARENS. Did you take an oath when you joined the Communist Party?

Mr. EUGENE. I did.

Mr. ARENS. What was that oath?

Mr. EUGENE. That I would defend the principles of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Who administered that oath to you?

Mr. EUGENE. It was a fellow by the name of Robert Martin.

Mr. ARENS. To what group were you first assigned within the Communist Party?

Mr. EUGENE. I was assigned to the Seamen's Branch of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. EUGENE. Here in New Orleans.

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us information, in a preliminary manner, now as to the party's organizational structure within the city of New Orleans?

Mr. EUGENE. They had a number of fractions of the party such as the Seamen's Branch, the Professional Branch, the Neighborhood Branch.

Mr. ARENS. You were assigned to the Seamen's Branch?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Would you, while you are under oath, tell this committee the names of persons who to your certain knowledge were Communists in the Seamen's Branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. EUGENE. During that time it was myself, Robert Martin.

Mr. ARENS. If you will hesitate on each individual named so our record may be clear. We want to be sure we have the spelling correct, the identification correct, and any information you may have as to the person's present whereabouts.

Robert Martin, M-a-r-t-i-n?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he now?

Mr. EUGENE. When last known, he was in Philadelphia.

Mr. ARENS. Pennsylvania?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. With reference to him, as well as to the others about whom you will tell this committee, do you to a certainty identify all of them as persons known by you to have been members of the Communist Party?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. You knew that because you served in closed Communist Party meetings with them; is that correct?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have another name in the Seamen's Branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. EUGENE. Irving Goff.

Mr. ARENS. I-r-v-i-n-g?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. G-o-f-f?

Mr. EUGENE. Right.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he?

Mr. EUGENE. When last known, he was in San Francisco.

Mr. EUGENE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another person known by you to have been member of the Seamen's Branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. EUGENE. There was Tom Mason.

Mr. ARENS. M-a-s-o-n?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he now?

Mr. EUGENE. Last known, San Francisco.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another person?

Mr. EUGENE. Leo Boekbinder.

Mr. ARENS. How does he spell that? Is that B-o-e-k-b-i-n-d-e-r?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he now?

Mr. EUGENE. As far as I know, he is still in New Orleans.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know whether or not he is presently active in the Communist Party?

Mr. EUGENE. He is not presently active in the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another person?

Mr. EUGENE. Herbert Harris.

Mr. ARENS. H-a-r-r-i-s?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. What was his occupation?

Mr. EUGENE. Seaman.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he now?

Mr. EUGENE. He is still in New Orleans.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know whether or not he is presently active in the party?

Mr. EUGENE. No. He left the party some time ago.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have another name in the Seamen's Branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. EUGENE. Harold Fort.

Mr. ARENS. What was his occupation?

Mr. EUGENE. Seaman.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he now or where did you last know about him?

Mr. EUGENE. He is in the penitentiary.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another person of the Seamen's Branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. EUGENE. There is Vernon Bown.

Mr. ARENS. Vernon, V-e-r-n-o-n; Bown, B-o-w-n?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he now?

Mr. EUGENE. Last known address was in Kentucky in some kind of trouble.

Mr. ARENS. What kind of trouble was he in?

Mr. EUGENE. Creating a race disturbance in Kentucky. I don't know what part of Kentucky it was.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another person who is known by you to have been a Communist in the Seamen's Branch of the Communist Party in New Orleans?

Mr. EUGENE. There were many others. Seamen come and go. You get acquainted with a guy at this meeting and he will ship out.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know a person by the name of Julie or Judy Jenkins?

Mr. EUGENE. I know of Judy Jenkins.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. EUGENE. Not a him.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know her as a Communist?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes, I did.

Mr. ARENS. Let's be sure I have this on the record accurately. Is it J-u-d-y?

Mr. EUGENE. Judy.

Mr. ARENS. Jenkins?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know her as a Communist?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right. She was employed as a dispatcher at the National Maritime Union.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know where she is now?

Mr. EUGENE. She is still in New Orleans, the last I heard.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know a person by the name of Earl Lloyd, L-l-o-y-d, Banks, B-a-n-k-s?

Mr. EUGENE. I don't know if you are pronouncing the first name right. I knew him as Araloyd.

Mr. ARENS. How do you spell that?

Mr. EUGENE. I have no recollection.

Mr. ARENS. Say it again and maybe I can help.

Mr. EUGENE. Araloyd.

Mr. ARENS. Araloyd?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Could you guess at the spelling?

Mr. EUGENE. It starts with an A.

Mr. ARENS. Araloyd Banks.

Mr. WILLIS. A-r-o-l-d,, probably.

Mr. EUGENE. I would be leading you down a false trail if I even tried to spell it.

Mr. ARENS. We want you to be absolutely accurate. Where is he now, to your knowledge?

Mr. EUGENE. The last known address, he was living in Houston, Tex.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know a person by the name of Hunter Pitts O'Dell?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes; I do.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Was he a member of the Seamen's Branch?

Mr. EUGENE. He was a member of the Seamen's Branch.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he now?

Mr. EUGENE. The last known address, I saw him in Washington.

Mr. ARENS. The witness who just preceded you to the witness stand, Lee Brown—

Mr. EUGENE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Was he a member of the Seamen's Branch?

Mr. EUGENE. Later on he was a member of the Longshoremen's Branch which later became a part of the Seamen's Branch combined.

Mr. ARENS. What is his present job?

Mr. EUGENE. His present job to my recollection is vice president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Local 207.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know a person by the name of August Harris?

Mr. EUGENE. August Harris. He was at one time vice president of the ILWU.

Mr. ARENS. Was he also in the Seamen's Branch?

Mr. EUGENE. He was in the Longshoremen's Branch of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he now?

Mr. EUGENE. Last known, he was in California.

Mr. ARENS. The seamen in the Seamen's Branch would come and go, the membership would change; would it not?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. But it would remain stable so far as numbers were concerned; isn't that correct?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. August Harris is working in industry now in Los Angeles; is he not?

Mr. EUGENE. That is only hearsay. I didn't see him out there.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know a person by the name of Ernest, E-r-n-e-s-t Scott, S-c-o-t-t?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes; I knew Ernest Scott.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he now?

Mr. EUGENE. Last known, he was in Chicago.

Mr. ARENS. Are there any other persons, whether or not we have asked you about them, who are known by you to be Communists in the Seamen's Branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. EUGENE. One that you miss is Ted Means.

Mr. ARENS. Ted Means, M-e-a-n-s?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. You knew him as a Communist?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he now?

Mr. EUGENE. As far as I know he is still in New Orleans.

Mr. ARENS. We will proceed chronologically with your career in the Communist Party.

Were you, in 1948, active in the Progressive Party?

Mr. EUGENE. I was.

Mr. ARENS. What did you do in the Progressive Party?

Mr. EUGENE. My main job was running off leaflets and helping to organize membership in the Progressive Party.

Mr. ARENS. Did you do that at the direction of the Communist Party?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you run off these leaflets?

Mr. EUGENE. At the ILWU Hall.

Mr. ARENS. In New Orleans?

Mr. EUGENE. Right.

Mr. ARENS. Was the Progressive Party in this vicinity controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. EUGENE. Definitely.

Mr. ARENS. What was the numerical strength of the Progressive Party here in New Orleans?

Mr. EUGENE. In New Orleans, they must have had around a thousand, I would say.

Mr. ARENS. Members of the Progressive Party who were also Communists?

Mr. EUGENE. Just about every name that I call were instructed by the Communist Party to join the Progressive Party.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know a person by the name of Calhoun Phifer, P-h-i-f-e-r?

Mr. EUGENE. Calhoun. Yes, I did. In fact, he was also a member of the Seamen's Branch of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. His first name is C-a-l-h-o-u-n, and his last name P-h-i-f-e-r, is that correct?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he now?

Mr. EUGENE. When last known he was here in New Orleans.

Mr. ARENS. Was he one of the leaders in the Progressive Party?

Mr. EUGENE. He was.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know him to a certainty to be a Communist?

Mr. EUGENE. I did.

Mr. ARENS. Was Mary Borders, B-o-r-d-e-r-s, active in the Progressive Party?

Mr. EUGENE. She was very active.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know her as a Communist?

Mr. EUGENE. I knew her as a Communist; yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know where she is at the present time?

Mr. EUGENE. When last known, she was in San Francisco.

Mr. ARENS. And Andrew Steve Nelson; was he active in the Communist Party?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Was he active in the Progressive Party?

Mr. EUGENE. He was.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. EUGENE. I did.

Mr. ARENS. He is presently deceased?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you remain in the National Maritime Union?

(Representative Moulder entered the hearing room.)

Mr. EUGENE. In the National Maritime Union from 1942 until 1948.

Mr. ARENS. Why did you leave the National Maritime Union?

Mr. EUGENE. I was kicked out of the National Maritime Union.

Mr. ARENS. Why?

Mr. EUGENE. For Communist activity.

Mr. ARENS. Did you subsequently become affiliated with another union?

Mr. EUGENE. I did.

Mr. ARENS. What union was that?

Mr. EUGENE. The National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards.

Mr. ARENS. Were other Communist members of the union besides yourself expelled from the National Maritime Union?

Mr. EUGENE. Just about every Communist down here who was in the National Maritime Union was expelled.

Mr. ARENS. Did others besides yourself then affiliate with the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards?

Mr. EUGENE. There were about five of us.

Mr. ARENS. Who were they, please?

Mr. EUGENE. Myself, Herbert Harris.

Mr. ARENS. Just a moment. Herbert, H-e-r-b-e-r-t H-a-r-r-i-s?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes. Harold Fort, Araloyd Banks.

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. EUGENE. And Ernest Scott.

Mr. ARENS. Ernest Scott?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes; that is right.

Mr. ARENS. All of these persons were known by you to a certainty to be Communists; is that correct?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. KEARNEY. May I ask a question at this point? Is this union from which you were kicked out the union that the previous witness is an officer of now?

Mr. EUGENE. No.

Mr. KEARNEY. What union is he an officer of?

Mr. EUGENE. ILWU, the International Longshoremen's Union. That is Harry Bridges' outfit.

Mr. ARENS. How did you happen to affiliate with the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union after you were ejected from the National Maritime Union?

Mr. EUGENE. The Communist Party had control of the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, and they instructed us to go over to that union and become active in it.

Mr. ARENS. Did you continue while you were then in the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union to meet with the seamen's group of the Communist Party?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Did you and your colleagues continue to receive instructions from the Communist Party on what to do?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. While you were a member of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union and were meeting with the seamen's group of the Communist Party, did you have any discussion or did you receive any directions from the Communist Party with reference to procedures to be taken by you and other Communists pertaining to the Taft-Hartley Act, non-Communist provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act?

Mr. EUGENE. There was a meeting in 1949 where the Communist Party instructed all union officials to comply with the Taft-Hartley law.

Mr. ARENS. Did they tell them to give truthful answers as to whether or not they were Communists?

Mr. EUGENE. No; they did not.

Mr. ARENS. They just complied by signing their name that they weren't Communists even though they were Communists; is that correct?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct. They were instructed at the time not to take any active part in the Communist Party, such as recruitment or passing out leaflets.

Mr. ARENS. No open activity. Is that what you are trying to say?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, they were going underground; is that correct?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. Who was present when this meeting took place in which you and the other comrades in the seamen's group of the Communist Party were instructed with reference to activity to be taken pertaining to the Taft-Hartley Act?

Mr. EUGENE. Besides myself, there were Andrew Steve Nelson, Lee Brown, Hunter Pitts O'Dell, Ted Means, Ernest Scott.

Mr. ARENS. Was Harry Laurence there?

Mr. EUGENE. Harry Laurence was there. He was agent for the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards.

Mr. ARENS. Was Bob Martin there?

Mr. EUGENE. He chaired the meeting.

Mr. ARENS. You identify here and now, I take it, each and every one of those persons as a person known by you to a certainty to be a Communist?

Mr. EUGENE. Definitely.

Mr. ARENS. Moving up in the chronology of your activities in the party, do you recall in 1949 whether or not a committee was established here in New Orleans to protest the conviction of the 12 Communist Party members who were convicted in New York City?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes, sir; there were.

Mr. ARENS. Who was on this committee?

Mr. EUGENE. Steve Nelson, Bob Martin, Hunter Pitts O'Dell, Lee Brown. There were a number of others who participated in it.

Mr. WILLIS. Were you on that committee, too?

Mr. EUGENE. I will come to that later on, if you will.

Mr. WILLIS. All right. That is fine.

Mr. EUGENE. That was actually the committee formed. Steve Nelson was in charge of publicity, seeing that newspapers and cameras and everything would be down there when this mass parade takes place. Clarifying your question, I was in the parade.

Mr. ARENS. You were not on the committee to take charge of the operation?

Mr. EUGENE. No.

Mr. ARENS. But you were a participant at the behest of the Communist Party; is that correct?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. WILLIS. Where was that parade?

Mr. EUGENE. Right here.

Mr. ARENS. In New Orleans?

Mr. EUGENE. In front of this same building here, the post office.

Mr. ARENS. This courthouse?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Late in 1949, did you leave New Orleans?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes, I did.

Mr. ARENS. Why?

Mr. EUGENE. As a seaman shipping was real bad here at the time. We came on strike from the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards. Shipping was far more better on the west coast so I asked to be transferred to San Francisco.

Mr. ARENS. You went to San Francisco?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. How was your transfer effected within the Communist Party apparatus?

Mr. EUGENE. We took a dollar bill, we took a serial number off a dollar bill. In fact, Bob Martin did this. The serial number was mailed ahead of me to San Francisco. Upon arrival in San Francisco I was to present this dollar bill and they would check the serial number and establish my identity.

Mr. ARENS. Whom did you contact when you were in San Francisco to present this dollar bill?

Mr. EUGENE. A guy by the name of Ernie Fox.

Mr. ARENS. Ernest Fox?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. What happened then?

Mr. EUGENE. After that, my identity was established and I went to work.

Mr. ARENS. Did Ernest Fox introduce you to any other Communist Party members on the west coast?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes, he did.

Mr. ARENS. Were you assigned to a Communist Party group on the west coast, in San Francisco?

Mr. EUGENE. I was. I was assigned to the Seamen's Branch of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Would you tell this committee the name of every person who to your certain knowledge was known by you to be a Communist in the Seamen's Branch of the Communist Party in San Francisco?

Mr. EUGENE. During that time a lot of names have slipped my mind. I recall Harry Nehrebecki.

Mr. ARENS. How do you spell that?

Mr. EUGENE. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Harry what?

Mr. EUGENE. Nehrebecki.

Mr. ARENS. N-e-h-r-e-b-e-c-k-i, or something like that?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct. He was patrolman for the marine cooks and stewards in San Francisco.

Mr. ARENS. Was he a Communist?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another person known by you to have been a member of the Communist Party unit of the marine cooks and stewards on the west coast?

Mr. EUGENE. There were Joe Johnson.

Mr. ARENS. Excuse me just a moment. Where is Nehrebecki now; do you know?

Mr. EUGENE. I left them all on the coast.

Mr. ARENS. You don't know where they are, but you left them on the coast?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Joe Johnson you just identified; is that correct?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another person?

Mr. EUGENE. There was James Wright.

Mr. ARENS. W-r-i-g-h-t?

Mr. EUGENE. Right.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he employed; do you know?

Mr. EUGENE. Last known, I left him on the *Lurline*.

Mr. ARENS. We will discuss that a little later on. He was employed as a cook on that ship?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another person known by you to a certainty to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EUGENE. Raymond Crawford.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he now; do you know?

Mr. EUGENE. San Francisco.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another person?

Mr. EUGENE. There were Sandra Gladstone.

Mr. ARENS. S-a-n-d-r-a G-l-a-d-s-t-o-n-e?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. How was she employed?

Mr. EUGENE. She was stewardess on the *Lurline*.

Mr. ARENS. That is a ship that we will talk about in a little while; is that correct?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. Where is she now?

Mr. EUGENE. Last known, Los Angeles.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another person? Did you know a person by the name of Jim Herman, H-e-r-m-a-n?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes. I knew him both in San Francisco and in New Orleans.

Mr. ARENS. Was he a member of ILWU, Local 34, in San Francisco?

Mr. EUGENE. No; he was not.

Mr. ARENS. He was a member of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know Neah Becker?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes, I did.

Mr. ARENS. N-e-a-h B-e-c-k-e-r?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes. He was port agent of the marine cooks and stewards.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. EUGENE. San Francisco.

Mr. ARENS. Did someone get in touch with you in connection with another job which you were to perform shortly after your arrival in San Francisco?

Mr. EUGENE. San Francisco—Jim Herman got in touch with me to work with Harry Bridges.

Mr. ARENS. Did he line you up to work with Harry Bridges?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right. He lined me up with the Harry Bridges Defense Committee.

Mr. ARENS. Just for the purpose of this record, who is Harry Bridges?

Mr. EUGENE. Harry Bridges is president of the ILWU, which is the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's.

Mr. WILLIS. A very well-known character.

Mr. ARENS. That is the international of which this local in New Orleans is a part; is that correct?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. What were your duties in connection with Harry Bridges and his activities?

Mr. EUGENE. I was a sort of newspaperman and guard.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a bodyguard for Harry Bridges?

Mr. EUGENE. Not exactly a bodyguard, not for his body, but the records during the trial were kept in the ILWU Hall. I guarded the records there.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you associated there in this guard capacity with Harry Bridges?

Mr. EUGENE. It was all during the Harry Bridges' trial.

Mr. ARENS. What did you next do after your employment or task was performed for the Harry Bridges Defense Committee?

Mr. EUGENE. After that I shipped out on the *Lurline*?

Mr. ARENS. *L-u-r-l-i-n-e*?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct. The *Lurline* is a luxury liner running from San Francisco and Los Angeles to Honolulu, owned by the Matson Steamship Co.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity did you ship out on the *Lurline*?

Mr. EUGENE. As a porter.

Mr. ARENS. Did they hold regular Communist Party meetings on the *Lurline*?

Mr. EUGENE. They did.

Mr. ARENS. When were they held?

Mr. EUGENE. They were held leaving either San Francisco or Los Angeles or arriving in either San Francisco or Los Angeles.

Mr. ARENS. Did you hold any official position with the Communist Party while you were aboard the *Lurline*?

Mr. EUGENE. I did.

Mr. ARENS. What position was that?

Mr. EUGENE. I was educational director of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall the names of other members of the Communist Party group on the *Lurline*?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes. There were just about the same group that I mentioned before.

Mr. ARENS. The same group that you mentioned before on the coast?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. What did you do as educational director of the Communist Party aboard the *Lurline*?

Mr. EUGENE. I would meet with the officials of the Communist Party in either San Francisco or Los Angeles and would get all the information on what to do or what to say and what the Communist program was. I would bring it back and instruct the various Communists on the ship in the various jobs, such as fund raising or recruitment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall any instance in which the *Lurline* was tied up by a strike instigated by the Communist Party?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us about that briefly, please.

Mr. EUGENE. The Communist Party was trying to put a woman stewardess on board who was a Negro woman.

Mr. ARENS. She was a Communist?

Mr. EUGENE. No; she was not.

Mr. ARENS. She was not a Communist?

Mr. EUGENE. They were using that as an issue. They were using that as an issue, you know, to cause disturbance.

Mr. WILLIS. They took advantage of it to create agitation?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct. The company claimed that she was not qualified and the Communist Party claimed she was and it moved

back and forth until the strategy was mapped out on tying up the *Lurline* by the Communist Party until this woman was put on the job.

Mr. KEARNEY. Did Bridges play any part in this?

Mr. EUGENE. No.

Mr. ARENS. What was the attitude of the Communist Party concerning the United States participation in the Korean war?

Mr. EUGENE. They were definitely opposed to the Korean war.

Mr. ARENS. What effect did that have on you and your attitude toward the party?

Mr. EUGENE. That is when we sort of dissolved one another. During that period of the Korean war, it came to the point where a guy either had to choose between his own country or a foreign country. I just broke away from the Communist Party altogether.

Mr. ARENS. Up to that time you were a Communist; were you not?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. You were a Communist of your own volition and your own will?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Did you leave San Francisco?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes. I left San Francisco and went to Portland, Oreg.

Mr. ARENS. While you were in Portland, Oreg., did you have contact with any Communist Party members there?

Mr. EUGENE. They contacted me, but I didn't attend any meetings in Portland.

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall any of the comrades who contacted you?

Mr. EUGENE. Offhand I don't.

Mr. ARENS. Did you then eventually sail out of the port of Portland?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Were you later screened off by the Coast Guard off the ship?

Mr. EUGENE. I was.

Mr. ARENS. Why?

Mr. EUGENE. They had this security program in effect by the Coast Guard which, they said, if you were a member of the Communist Party, the Government considered you a bad security risk.

Mr. ARENS. So you were screened off; is that correct?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you when you were screened off?

Mr. EUGENE. I was screened off in Providence, R. I.

Mr. ARENS. Did you then return to New Orleans?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes; I did.

Mr. WILLIS. What period of time? Where are we now, in what year?

Mr. EUGENE. 1951.

Mr. ARENS. Whom did you contact upon returning to New Orleans?

Mr. EUGENE. On returning to New Orleans, the first person I contacted was Steve Nelson.

Mr. ARENS. He was a comrade?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did you then become active in the Communist Party again?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes; I did.

Mr. ARENS. What group did you affiliate with?

Mr. EUGENE. The same group, seamen, longshoremen's branch.

Mr. ARENS. During your absence from the area of New Orleans and at the time of your return did you notice a difference in the security measures which the Communist Party exercised?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes. They were no longer meeting in large groups but were broken up into groups of maybe 4 or 5 or 3.

Mr. ARENS. That was in order to take security precautions against disclosure; is that correct?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. WILLIS. It was because of the Smith Act; wasn't it?

Mr. EUGENE. There were so many acts.

Mr. WILLIS. That is one of the acts that the committee has sponsored.

Mr. EUGENE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Were you still a member of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union when you returned in 1951 to New Orleans?

Mr. EUGENE. I was.

Mr. ARENS. Did you perform any services or duties with the marine cooks and stewards?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes; I did. I was acting patrolman for a while. Acting patrolman, for clarification, is a grievance man who goes aboard ships and settles whatever beefs the seamen have when they come into port.

Mr. ARENS. Did any other members of the marine cooks and stewards who had been screened off by the Coast Guard go aboard the ship?

Mr. EUGENE. Just about every member that was screened could go aboard a ship.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, even though you and the other comrades had been screened off serving on a ship full-time occupation, you nevertheless did continue to have access to the ship and go aboard the ship; is that correct?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall in 1951 a meeting at the International Longshoremen's hall here when Winifred Feise suggested putting Hunter O'Dell aboard ships?

Mr. EUGENE. Feise?

Mr. ARENS. Feise.

Mr. EUGENE. Yes; I do.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us about that, please. First of all, let us be sure we have the name correct. Winifred is W-i-n-i-f-r-e-d, is it, and how do you spell Feise? Is it F-e-i-s-e?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Was she a Communist?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us about that incident, please.

Mr. EUGENE. At the time Hunter O'Dell was screened off ships, too, the party was financially broke. He was sort of in a bad way financially, so in order for him to get employment, they would go aboard the ship and ask the seamen on board the ship would they mind getting down for a couple of days and letting Hunter O'Dell work in their place. The seamen would pay him out of their own pocket. You might not be familiar with that routine. It was a sort

of agreement within the union that a seaman who wished to remain on a ship could get a man to work in his place and, in turn, he pays the man out of his own pocket.

Mr. ARENS. That would enable Hunter O'Dell, a Communist, to contact a seaman aboard the ship; would it not?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And engage in Communist Party activities?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. Who was the port agent of the marine cooks and stewards at New Orleans at this time?

Mr. EUGENE. Jim Herman was port agent at that time.

Mr. ARENS. Was he a Communist?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. That is the same man that you knew in San Francisco?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. They shift them around?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. During the time that you were attending Communist Party meetings at the ILWU Hall, do you recall whether or not the printing equipment, mimeograph machines and the like, addressograph machines, were used for Communist Party purposes?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes; they were.

Mr. ARENS. Were they used to prepare Communist Party literature?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to display to you now several exhibits. I say for the record, Mr. Chairman, these are the same exhibits which we displayed to the hostile witness, Mr. Brown, who preceded Mr. Eugene to the stand.

This is an exhibit, photostatic reproduction of a letter to trade unions; and the organization issuing it, according to the body of the exhibit, is the State Committee of the Louisiana Communist Party. Look at that exhibit and tell us whether or not that particular piece of literature was run off on the printing equipment or mimeograph equipment at the ILWU Hall here in New Orleans.

Mr. EUGENE. It definitely was run off at ILWU Hall.

Mr. ARENS. Now I want to display to you three other exhibits, of comparable design, which attack United States Government military action in Korea, which attack the Wall Street imperialists, "Operation Killer" and the like.

Please look at those documents and tell this committee whether or not, to your certain knowledge, those documents were run off on the mimeograph machine at the ILWU hall here in New Orleans.

Mr. EUGENE. Definitely they were run off there.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that these documents be appropriately marked and be cross-referenced with the documents which have previously been introduced in this hearing.

Mr. WILLIS. The documents referred to by counsel will so marked as exhibits.

(Documents referred to were previously marked "Brown Exhibits Nos. 5, 9, 10, and 11," respectively, and are retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Give the committee, if you please, any information that you possess concerning the printing of this Communist propaganda at the ILWU hall. What do you know about it?

Mr. EUGENE. Usually a comrade would bring a stencil or would bring a draft of something that he wanted run off, and it either was cut there or was brought in by the Communists and run off on the mimeograph machine in the ILWU hall.

Mr. ARENS. Did other Communist Party groups or Communist-controlled organizations also have access to the mimeograph and addressograph machines?

Mr. EUGENE. The ILWU mimeograph machine and addressograph machines were open to the Communist Party at all times.

Mr. ARENS. Did the Communist Party front groups there, such as the Civil Rights Congress and other comparable front groups, likewise use the facilities of the ILWU printing equipment?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. Who were some of these people who used the printing equipment there at the ILWU hall?

Mr. EUGENE. I was one of the main guys who run off quite a few of it. As you see, on one of those documents, my name is on it.

Mr. ARENS. Did this addressograph machine have plates with the names of a number of groups and organizations and individuals in the area?

Mr. EUGENE. It had a file mainly on people who had registered with the Civil Rights Congress or with the Progressive Party that were used for addressing literature to.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that it might be desirable if it is the pleasure of the committee to take a 5-minute recess.

Mr. WILLIS. We will take a short recess.

(Brief recess.)

(Committee members present: Representatives Willis, Moulder, and Kearney.)

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to invite your attention, if you please, again to Brown exhibit No. 5, which has been identified as an exhibit run off at the ILWU headquarters here, which bears the identification of the State Committee of the Louisiana Communist Party. Do you recall the incidents which led up to the issuance of this particular letter which is addressed to all trade unions and people's organizations in the South? That is with reference to the so-called Cagle bill; is it not?

Mr. EUGENE. There was a meeting held on this particular bill, the Cagle bill. I think he was either a Senator or a Congressman; I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. What was the purpose of this bill?

Mr. EUGENE. It required all known Communists to register with the State police.

Mr. ARENS. What did the Communist Party do about this Cagle bill?

Mr. EUGENE. Quite naturally they protested. Some of you Congressmen up there might have got letters protesting.

Mr. WILLIS. We received quite a few of those.

Mr. ARENS. Was there a meeting held by the Communist hierarchy here in New Orleans to plan a campaign?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Who else attended the meeting?

Mr. EUGENE. Steve Nelson.

Mr. ARENS. Is that Andrew Steve Nelson?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right. Lee Brown.

Mr. ARENS. He is the man who just preceded you on the witness stand?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct. Hunter Pitts O'Dell. There might have been 1 or 2 more.

Mr. ARENS. What was decided at this meeting?

Mr. EUGENE. It was decided at this meeting that the Communist Party would not register with the State police.

Mr. ARENS. Was any decision reached as to whom the Communist Party members were to contact in the event that they had a little difficulty because of the Cagle bill?

Mr. EUGENE. There were a number of attorneys here that they thought they could depend on to help them out in case they were picked up by the State police.

Mr. ARENS. Did you attend a Communist Party meeting with an individual by the name of Bernard Lucas?

Mr. EUGENE. Bernard Lucas was here in New Orleans during the same time we were discussing the Cagle bill.

Mr. ARENS. Did you ever attend a Communist Party session with him?

Mr. EUGENE. One time. It was pertaining to the Cagle bill.

Mr. ARENS. Was this a closed party session?

Mr. EUGENE. It was.

Mr. ARENS. Lucas attended, did he?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right. He was on vacation from Chicago. He runs the international up in Chicago.

Mr. ARENS. Is he president of local 208 of ILWU in Chicago?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. Do you here and now identify Lucas as a person known by you to have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. Is that B-e-r-n-a-r-d L-u-c-a-s?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you identify him as a member of the Communist Party because you served in a closed party meeting with him?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. MOULDER. That was a meeting at which only comrades were admitted?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Was the ILWU hall here in New Orleans used as a mail drop or as a drop for the Daily Worker?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. During 1953, starting in that year now, did you leave New Orleans?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes; I left New Orleans.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you go?

Mr. EUGENE. I went to Baton Rouge.

Mr. ARENS. What was the purpose of this trip?

Mr. EUGENE. I was sent up there by the FBI.

Mr. ARENS. In the meantime had you been contacted by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. When did that take place?

Mr. EUGENE. 1952.

Mr. ARENS. From 1952 on, you were in the Communist Party at the behest of the Federal Bureau of Investigation trying to serve your Government; is that correct?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. What did you do and whom did you see in Baton Rouge?

Mr. EUGENE. I just made one contact in Baton Rouge, of a party member I knew a while back in New Orleans, here, who was attending LSU.

Mr. ARENS. What was his name?

Mr. EUGENE. His name was Joseph Mouldous.

Mr. ARENS. M-o-u-l-e-d-o-u-s?

Mr. EUGENE. Something like that.

Mr. ARENS. While you were in Baton Rouge, what was the purpose of your contact with Joe Mouldous?

Mr. EUGENE. The purpose of it was to try to get the party back on its feet in Baton Rouge.

Mr. ARENS. Were you instructed to deliver or distribute Communist Party literature and directives in Baton Rouge?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes; I was.

Mr. ARENS. Did you do so?

Mr. EUGENE. I might have issued a booklet. It wasn't on a mass scale.

Mr. ARENS. When did you return from Baton Rouge to New Orleans?

Mr. EUGENE. The same year, 1953.

Mr. ARENS. When you returned to New Orleans in 1953, was the Communist Party still active in the New Orleans area?

Mr. EUGENE. They were active, but they had gone so far underground you couldn't hardly find them.

Mr. ARENS. What was your next job then when you returned to New Orleans?

Mr. EUGENE. My next job was a job in a cotton compress.

Mr. WILLIS. May I ask this question so the record will be clear: As I understand it, you became an undercover agent for the FBI in 1952.

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. WILLIS. You are now saying that when you were assigned to do these things, you were assigned to do them by the Communist Party but you were reporting to the FBI?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. WILLIS. In other words, so far as your comrades were concerned, you were still a Communist at that time and you were carrying out their instructions?

Mr. EUGENE. To clear the record, the FBI asked me to go back into the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Did you join a union when you returned to New Orleans?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes; I did. I joined the teamsters union.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity did you work?

Mr. EUGENE. I worked as a warehouseman.

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall shortly after going to work on this new job that there was a strike in this company?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes; there was a strike after I was there about 3 weeks.

Mr. ARENS. What company was that again? Let's be sure the record is clear.

Mr. EUGENE. It is a company called the Gulf Shipline Storage Co. at the foot of St. Maurice Avenue.

Mr. ARENS. Were you contacted by any comrade in connection with the strike activities?

Mr. EUGENE. Yes. I was contacted by Steve Nelson and was asked that I would try to direct the attention of the men that were on strike toward his union. He figured if he could get enough signatures he could go in and settle this strike and sort of take over this plant.

Mr. ARENS. When did the Communist Party actually become aware that you were serving as an informant for the FBI?

Mr. EUGENE. They didn't become aware until the Steve Nelson trial.

Mr. WILLIS. Which was last year, 1956?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Is there any other item of information, Mr. Eugene, that we may not have covered with you, significant item of information that you would like to lay before the committee today?

Mr. EUGENE. I think we covered just about everything that needs to be covered. I must say that, during my time as a seaman and as a screened seaman, the Coast Guard here in New Orleans and everywhere else, not only here in New Orleans but in San Francisco, too, had the screening program in effect but it actually wasn't a sound program as far as security of the country is concerned.

Mr. ARENS. You still had access to the ships?

Mr. EUGENE. I could have gone on a ship just as much as any seaman that wasn't screened and was never molested. The only thing I couldn't do was sail on the ship.

Mr. ARENS. You have told us about the use of the ILWU hall here for the purpose of creating and disseminating Communist literature. Do you have any information respecting the dissemination from the ILWU local hall of Communist propaganda coming in from abroad?

Mr. EUGENE. No; I don't. The only thing I actually have seen there—and I think at that time it was not against the law—was this bulletin of the U. S. S. R. It was a national magazine. I think it was published in Washington.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. WILLIS. May I ask a couple of questions: I understand that you served in the merchant marine during World War II.

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you have any contact with the enemy?

Mr. EUGENE. I was torpedoed once, in fact, you might say right in our own backyard coming in the mouth of the river here. This happened in 1942.

Mr. WILLIS. You were contacted by the FBI to be an undercover agent for them in 1952?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. WILLIS. You had broken away from the party some time before that?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. WILLIS. You remained with the FBI from 1952 until 1956?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. WILLIS. Until you were exposed as an FBI undercover agent because you had to testify in the Andrew Steve Nelson case?

Mr. EUGENE. That is correct.

Mr. WILLIS. Let me say to you further that you have impressed me and I think the other members of this committee as being very frank and very forthright. I think you have told the truth as you know it, and I am fortified in that position because, whether you know it or not, before you were recruited as an undercover agent for the FBI, you were the subject of a complete, thorough, and searching examination; and that is good enough for me knowing how they operate. Some of our investigators are former FBI agents—George Williams here was one. I think it is the most wonderful investigative organization in the world. If it had that much confidence in you after an investigation, I say that you have done a great service to this country and this committee. I think your errors in the past have been very much rectified because of this change of life and your attitude of being willing to be an undercover agent for the FBI with all of the pitfalls that go with it. I am sure you probably have been called by your former comrades a stoolpigeon, but let me tell you that we are called that and many other things, too. I am following the policy of this committee to express our thanks because people like you make a contribution to the operation of this committee. It is not a very pleasant job for us because we must go into areas of communism, as will be revealed later on during the day. People like you who see the light and have the fortitude to render service to the Government deserve the commendation of this committee, and we are with you and we hope the people here will accept you.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, the only additional words of praise that I would like to say to the witness are that you are a credit to your race. Regardless of the attempts of the Communist Party, I would like to state for the record that they are not making very much headway with the colored people of this Nation because in the main and in the great majority they are the same as we are, 100 percent Americans.

I will also add to what the chairman has already stated, that you deserve the thanks of all Americans, regardless of race, color, or creed, for the work that you have performed as an undercover agent for the FBI in bringing to light this vicious and dastardly attempt by those under the control of a foreign government; and for testifying here today to protect our American way of life, you deserve our thanks. I add that to what the chairman has said.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman, I wasn't here during the early part of the witness' testimony. Did you say you were in San Francisco with the ILWU?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you have any knowledge or information about the Communist school there under the control of the ILWU, where they train members of their union in Communist activities?

Mr. EUGENE. Are you referring to the California Labor School?

Mr. MOULDER. Yes; in San Francisco.

Mr. EUGENE. I attended the California Labor School.

Mr. MOULDER. Has he covered that in his testimony?

Mr. WILLIS. It has not been covered, but I am glad you bring it up.  
Mr. EUGENE. I didn't cover it, but I mentioned, I think, during the early part that I attended up to the eighth grade here and I attended 10th and 11th grades in California. Later I attended the California Labor School in San Francisco.

Mr. MOULDER. Was that school under the control of the Communist Party?

Mr. EUGENE. Correct.

Mr. MOULDER. They would send members of the ILWU from Honolulu and other sections of the country to attend this school?

Mr. EUGENE. Not only ILWU, but all branches of the union would attend. They had various classes. Ninety percent of the men who attended were from ILWU. There were other locals that sent people there, too.

Mr. MOULDER. Can you give us a general description of the subjects, courses, and training that you would undergo in that school?

Mr. EUGENE. The main subject there was parliamentary procedure, how to conduct a meeting, how to hold the attention of a group of people such as speaking, when to say certain things. General speaking was the main subject.

Mr. MOULDER. There were several instructors who taught there?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right. They even taught phases of Marxism-Leninism there, too. The Communist Manifesto was read there. All around it just about covered everything from grammar school on up to carpentry shop.

Mr. MOULDER. I have no other questions to ask the witness, but I join with you in your statement commending the witness for his courage and patriotism and for what he has done for his country.

Mr. KEARNEY. Could you give the committee an estimate in your own judgment, what percentage of seamen on American ships are Communists?

Mr. EUGENE. At the present time, it is very small because the Coast Guard did a really excellent job of screening off men who actually were Communists. In fact, they dug down further than known Communists and got a lot of Communist sympathizers.

Mr. KEARNEY. Is this character, this witness who testified before you, is he an official of the ILWU?

Mr. EUGENE. That is not a seamen's union. It is the Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

Mr. KEARNEY. At the present time?

Mr. EUGENE. That is right.

Mr. WILLIS. Thank you very much.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, is Ted Means. Please come forward.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MEANS. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT MEANS

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. MEANS. Theodore R. Means, 3341 Spain Street, City of New Orleans. Occupation, mechanic.

Mr. ARENS. What does the "R" stand for?

Mr. MEANS. Roosevelt.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. MEANS. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. ARENS. You do not have counsel?

Mr. MEANS. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. MEANS. I was born in Atlanta, Ga., January 28, 1915.

Mr. ARENS. Give us, if you please, just a word about your education.

Mr. MEANS. I attended grammar school and junior high school in the city of Atlanta, and it was necessary to leave school to start work at the age of 14 and I took up studies at the Commercial High at night school in Atlanta and later the University System of Georgia, extension night school, for special courses. I had a service school in the United States Coast Guard for about 9 months mechanical training. I went to the United States Maritime Officers Training School at Alameda, Calif., for an engineering course.

Mr. ARENS. When was that, please?

Mr. MEANS. In 1943, in the early part of the year, I think, from February to May or something like that.

Mr. ARENS. Did you graduate from the school?

Mr. MEANS. I was graduated and commissioned and received a license; yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Give us, if you please, just a brief sketch of your principal employments since completion of your formal education.

Mr. MEANS. That would be hard to do because I was working while I was getting my formal education for the most part.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you presently employed?

Mr. MEANS. I am employed now by the Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Co., Chalmette Works.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been so employed?

Mr. MEANS. I began my fifth year in November of this past year.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity are you employed?

Mr. MEANS. Maintenance mechanic.

Mr. ARENS. Do you belong to a labor organization?

Mr. MEANS. Yes, sir; I belong to the aluminum workers local here.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, in the course of the recent past, have occasion to participate in a hearing of the Aluminum Workers International Union with reference to your desirability to remain a member of the organization?

Mr. MEANS. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. During the course of that hearing was the question brought up as to whether or not you had ever been a Communist?

Mr. MEANS. Yes; it was.

Mr. ARENS. Did you deny that you had ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MEANS. I don't remember now, for the record, whether I denied or refused to discuss it with them. I probably denied it.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a Communist?

Mr. MEANS. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been a Communist?

Mr. MEANS. Sir, on that question for obvious reasons I will decline to answer on constitutional grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a Communist 1 year ago?

Mr. MEANS. No, sir; I wasn't a Communist 1 year ago or since I worked for Kaiser or anything else, and I am not admitting that I was ever a Communist. I am only going to say, for obvious reasons, things that have happened in the past in court cases, et cetera, that I am not going to acknowledge that I was ever a Communist and I am not going to say that I was.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a Communist 5 years ago?

Mr. MEANS. Excuse me, sir, for the same reason I decline to answer the question.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know the man who preceded you on the witness stand?

Mr. MEANS. I have seen him; yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you ever serve in a Communist Party meeting with him?

Mr. MEANS. I decline to answer on constitutional grounds, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Are you presently under Communist discipline?

Mr. MEANS. No; but again I don't want to get into questions that would say "yes" today and "no" tomorrow, and so forth, because, as I say again, I don't acknowledge Communist membership. I will answer that question "No," but in the main I will decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to lay before you now a photograph of a meeting which took place a few years ago in the New Orleans area. Look at that photograph and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you recognize your physical features in that photograph.

Mr. MEANS. I decline to answer on constitutional grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, sir, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact that that is your photograph right there in this Communist Party cell meeting which was held here in New Orleans in 1946.

Mr. MEANS. I decline to answer on constitutional grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you another photograph taken of a Communist Party cell meeting held in New Orleans and ask you if the person whom I am pointing out with my finger is not yourself.

Mr. MEANS. I also decline to answer that for the same reasons.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that each of these photographs be appropriately marked and be incorporated by reference in this record.

Mr. WILLIS. They will be so marked and incorporated.

(Documents marked "Means Exhibits Nos. 1 and 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. The man who just preceded you to the witness stand took an oath a little while ago and said that he was a member of the Communist Party; that while he was a member of the Communist Party, he knew you as a Communist; that he served in closed Communist Party meetings with you. Was he lying or was he telling the truth?

Mr. MEANS. I won't pass judgment on him. I will decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Pass judgment on yourself. Have you ever been a member of a conspiratorial operation designed to overthrow this Government by force and violence?

Mr. MEANS. So far as I know, I have never been associated with any person with any such intentions.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been in closed Communist Party meetings?

Mr. MEANS. I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you an exhibit on the letterhead of the Provisional Trade Union Committee for Repeal of the Smith Act, in which a number of persons joined in calling for the repeal of the Smith Act under which a number of Communists have been convicted. I see here the name of Ted Means, international representative of the fur and leather workers, New Orleans. Kindly look at that and tell us whether or not you are accurately identified.

Mr. MEANS. That is correct, sir. That is my name and a job that I once had.

Mr. ARENS. You were international representative of the fur and leather workers union?

Mr. MEANS. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party while you were international representative of the fur and leather workers union?

Mr. MEANS. I decline to answer.

Mr. KEARNEY. Is that the union that Ben Gold was the head of?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Over what period of time were you international representative of the fur and leather workers union?

Mr. MEANS. I would say a period approximating 4 years, from late 1947 until the end of 1951.

Mr. ARENS. Did you ever resign from the Communist Party, resign technical membership?

Mr. MEANS. I decline to answer, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you resign from the Communist Party and go into the Communist Party underground?

Mr. MEANS. I decline to answer.

(Document marked "Means Exhibit 3," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now I want to lay before you still another document. It is the Communist Daily Worker of New York, Tuesday, April 11, 1950. The headline reads as follows: "New Orleans Labor, Youth Leaders Hit Dennis Ruling." That is the ruling in which Eugene Dennis, the then secretary of the Communist Party, was being cited for contempt, and a number of people are protesting it. The article proceeds as follows:

Theodore Means, international representative of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union declared: "Such decisions conceal violations of the Constitution behind a smokescreen of legal language"—

And so on.

Kindly look at that article and see if you recall issuing the statement which is attributed to you.

Mr. MEANS. No, sir; I cannot recall issuing such a statement.

(Document marked "Means Exhibit No. 4," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now I want to lay before you still another document, the Worker, Sunday, February 29, 1948, in which, according to the headline, a number of people are launching a drive to start a new party—

the Progressive Party—including, according to this article, Theodore Means, Fur Trappers Union. Kindly tell the committee while you are under oath whether or not you have a recollection of participating in that movement.

Mr. MEANS. Do I have—

Mr. ARENS. Do you have a recollection?

Mr. MEANS. Of participating—

Mr. ARENS. In the movement described in the article, namely, to launch the Progressive Party in Louisiana.

Mr. MEANS. That is entirely possible, because our union was a supporting organization for the Wallace for President movement. (Document referred to marked "Means Exhibit No. 5" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. What job did you have immediately prior to your present employment?

Mr. MEANS. Immediately prior to the present employment was shipyard work, sir.

Mr. ARENS. To what labor organization did you belong?

Mr. MEANS. I was working under permits, not physical permits but under blanket permit from the machinist union and the CIO Shipyard Workers' Union.

Mr. ARENS. Did you hold an office or post of responsibility in that organization?

Mr. MEANS. In the shipyard union?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. MEANS. No, sir. I didn't even have membership, because I couldn't qualify because of the length of time necessary on a particular job in a particular plant.

Mr. ARENS. When did you belong or when were you international representative of the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union?

Mr. MEANS. As I say, over a period of approximately 4 years, from around late in 1947 until approximately the end of 1951.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you located?

Mr. MEANS. I was located at Harvey. I had an office at Harvey.

Mr. ARENS. Is that a city in Louisiana?

Mr. MEANS. It is what you might call an unincorporated township. It is just across the river from New Orleans.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you so employed at Harvey?

Mr. MEANS. At Harvey—I don't remember how long I had the office there, 2 years, maybe more, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Who procured your job for you or employed you as international representative of the Fur and Leather Workers' Union?

Mr. MEANS. I was hired by the international representative. Actually, the term "international representative" I would like to clarify now. It is a broad term, and I think one working for an international may be so called. Actually, I was hired as an organizer.

Mr. ARENS. Who hired you?

Mr. MEANS. The man who had the position of international representative was a man by the name of Metz, and he hired me.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know Ben Gold?

Mr. MEANS. Not at that time, no, sir. I met Ben Gold at conventions of the union after I was in the employ of the union.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know Ben Gold as a Communist?

Mr. MEANS. I heard him make that statement, sir, from the rostrum of conventions.

Mr. ARENS. You heard Ben Gold make what statement?

Mr. MEANS. That he was a Communist.

Mr. ARENS. This Committee on Un-American Activities, Mr. Means, is in the process of developing information here and in various areas of the country respecting the operation of the Communist Party for the purpose of undertaking to cope with the menace which we feel is exceedingly serious and deep underground.

Mr. MEANS. I see.

Mr. ARENS. Do you presently have information respecting any one who is known by you to be a Communist?

Mr. MEANS. How is that question again now?

Mr. ARENS. Do you know people who are Communists?

Mr. MEANS. Do I know people who have been or who are Communists?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MEANS. I would have to decline to answer that question, sir, because of possible involvement of myself. If you don't mind my expressing myself now and taking the time of the committee, my reasons for standing on my constitutional rights and the fifth amendment are that I have reason to believe that there is a possibility that some professional testifier, perhaps like Matusow, might come forward and make me a perjurer.

Mr. ARENS. Did Arthur Eugene perjure himself this morning when he said he knew you as a Communist?

Mr. MEANS. That is a matter for the courts. I am not going to say he perjured himself, and I am not going to say he did not. I am just going not to answer any question concerning that.

Mr. ARENS. Why don't you stand up like a red-blooded American and say, "No, I am not a Communist. Arthur Eugene perjured himself before this committee when he identified me as a Communist?" Why don't you do that now?

Mr. MEANS. I wish I could do those things, but too many things have happened in the past in these court cases, sir. As far as my Americanism is concerned, I assure you, sir, that I feel that mine is as good as you feel yours is. I am sure yours is very good.

Mr. ARENS. Why don't you serve your country now—

Mr. MEANS. I feel that I am doing so.

Mr. ARENS. By supplying such information as you may have respecting the operation of the Communist conspiracy in these parts?

Mr. MEANS. I assure you—is it Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MEANS. I assure you, sir, in all sincerity if I had any information of any Communist activities going on that I would give it to you. You would not have had to subpoena me. I would come to you. But the fact is that the only thing that I know, believe me, is what I read in the newspapers because I work for my living, I live my life with my family, I am a respected citizen of the community, and I don't know anybody who is involved in any Communist or other type of activities like that.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know anyone who has been involved in Communist activities?

Mr. MEANS. That is quite possible, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Then tell us about it.

Mr. MEANS. I couldn't identify anybody without taking a chance that somebody would come along and put the finger on me in one way or another.

Mr. ARENS. Do you now know the names of persons who to your certain knowledge have been Communists?

Mr. MEANS. I decline to answer that question respectfully.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, the witness said in effect that he is fearful of prosecution if he testifies regarding Communist activities. Do you know that if you tell the truth, you can't be charged with perjury? No man who tells the truth can be charged with perjury.

Mr. MEANS. No, sir; I don't know that. I don't know that, sir, with all due respect.

Mr. KEARNEY. It is about time you found out about it.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been to the FBI and reported to them any information that you may have with respect to persons known by you to have been Communists?

Mr. MEANS. No, sir. I have talked with FBI agents, but I haven't gone to them to point out anybody involved in any conspiracy because I don't know any.

Mr. ARENS. Did you tell the FBI agents the names of people known to you to have been Communists in the New Orleans area?

Mr. MEANS. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Don't you think you might have served your country had you done that?

Mr. MEANS. In the first place, sir, I have not stated, nor do I state, that I know anybody who definitely is or was a Communist.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know whether or not Arthur Eugene, the man who preceded you to the witness stand, has even been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MEANS. I wouldn't be able to answer that question and would so decline under the fifth amendment for the previous reasons.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KEARNEY. As I understood the witness, when counsel showed you a statement that included your name protesting the conviction of Dennis for contempt, you said that you had no recollection of that particular statement. Is that correct?

Mr. MEANS. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. KEARNEY. Outside of that statement, did you ever make any protest concerning the conviction of Dennis for contempt?

Mr. MEANS. Let me answer your question in this way, sir: I can't recall; I don't know definitely of any such protest that I made. I don't recall any; but, on the other hand, I might say that it is entirely possible because the policy of the international executive board of the union for which I was working during those days—I assume it took place at the same time; I don't remember the dates—their policy was one of protesting indictments, and they handed that policy down in the field and requested statements from the local or branch officers.

Mr. KEARNEY. Did you protest the conviction of the 12 Communists in New York City several years ago?

Mr. MEANS. I don't recall; but, by the same reasoning, it is entirely possible.

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes. In other words, the Communist Party protested all of these convictions; did they not?

Mr. MEANS. I imagine they must have, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. You know they did; don't you?

Mr. MEANS. Not to say no, I assume so, sir. I can't speak for the Communist Party.

Mr. KEARNEY. You have refused to give information here as to whether or not you have been a member of the Communist Party. By the same token, if you had never been a member of the Communist Party, would you so state to this committee?

Mr. MEANS. No, sir; for the reason that I gave Mr. Arens, I wouldn't say yea nor nay to it under oath because of these happenings of the past.

Mr. KEARNEY. In other words, you would rather straddle the fence?

Mr. MEANS. I wouldn't say I was straddling the fence, Mr. Kearney. I wouldn't say I was straddling the fence. I would only say I am defending myself as best I can under the Constitution.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is all.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that this witness' subpoena be continued until 2 o'clock, at which time he will resume the witness stand.

Mr. WILLIS. You will return at 2 o'clock, and the committee will stand in recess until that time.

(Whereupon, at 11:55 a. m., the committee was recessed, to reconvene at 2 p. m. the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1957

(Committee members present: Representatives Willis, Moulder, and Kearney.)

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will come to order.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Means, will you kindly return to the stand.

You have been sworn. We have questions to cover a few points, Mr. Means.

Were you a member of a Committee for Maritime Unity in 1946?

#### TESTIMONY OF THEODORE R. MEANS—Resumed

Mr. MEANS. No, sir; I was not a member, but I was sitting in as an observer.

Mr. ARENS. What was the Committee for Maritime Unity?

Mr. MEANS. It was a committee whose purpose was to try to bring into organic unity the various maritime unions in the New Orleans area.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell the committee the names of any Communists who participated in that undertaking?

Mr. MEANS. That would be again something which would be a matter of conjecture. I will decline to answer that part of it.

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall attending a meeting in November of 1946 at 1125 Dauphine Street, the purpose of which was to commemorate the 29th anniversary of the Soviet Union?

Mr. MEANS. Yes, sir. I was at that place. That is a matter of public record. As a matter of record, the place was raided by the police, and I was arrested and charged with disturbing the peace.

Of course, the record will show that the conviction was set aside by the district court.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of Emanuel Levin?

Mr. MEANS. I decline to answer that question, sir, on constitutional grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend if you told this committee truthfully whether or not you know, or have known, Emanuel Levin you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. MEANS. It is quite conceivable that it could lead to it, yes, sir, in all honesty.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Levin was one of your houseguests here in New Orleans for a substantial period of time, was he not?

Mr. MEANS. I decline to answer that, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know, or have you known, a man by the name of Julius Metz?

Mr. MEANS. I believe that I told you that he was the man who was international representative for the union that hired me as an organizer.

Mr. ARENS. Did you ever work with Metz in the Fishermen and Trappers Union?

Mr. MEANS. Yes, sir. That is the union.

Mr. ARENS. What was your function in that particular organization?

Mr. MEANS. An organizer.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know, or have you known, a man by the name of Dr. William Sorum?

Mr. MEANS. Yes, sir. I have known him.

Mr. ARENS. With what organizations have you and Dr. Sorum been associated?

Mr. MEANS. I have seen Dr. Sorum at the meeting of the Civil Rights Congress, and if I am not in error—I hope I am not—the Wallace for President rallies. The Henry Wallace for President rallies.

Mr. ARENS. Did you serve in any other organization with Dr. Sorum?

Mr. MEANS. I don't know of serving with Dr. Sorum in any other organization, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, in the presence of this witness I now respectfully suggest that Dr. William Sorum come forward and be sworn.

Please remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. SORUM. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF DR. WILLIAM SORUM

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence and occupation.

Dr. SORUM. Dr. William Sorum, 2267 Carondelet Street. Occupation, I am a doctor, a psychiatrist in private practice.

Mr. ARENS. Doctor, I expect shortly to interrogate you at length with reference to a number of matters; but, for present purposes, I ask you now have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. SORUM. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Over what period of time were you a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. SORUM. Do you mind if I explain a little bit. Before actually joining the party, I was a member of an organization called the Louisiana Progressive Educational Association, which was equivalent to the Communist Political Association in other parts of the country. At the time of the organization of the party here following a series of debates after the Duclos letter, in which a French Communist criticized the American political movement and asked that they, you know, open discussion, the Communist Party was reorganized and I entered the party at the time of its reorganization.

Mr. ARENS. What year was that?

Dr. SORUM. Whenever it was. I think it was 1945, but I know whatever year the party started, I was with it at its inception here.

Mr. ARENS. Without going into detail, how long were you a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. SORUM. Again I don't want to appear vague, but I was expelled from the Communist Party after I had already really quit. It was in either late 1951 or early 1952.

Mr. ARENS. During the course of your membership in the Communist Party, did you know as a Communist a man by the name of Ted Means?

Dr. SORUM. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you see that man in the hearing room today?

Dr. SORUM. Yes; I sure do.

Mr. ARENS. Would you point him out to the committee?

Dr. SORUM. This is Mr. Means.

Mr. ARENS. Is he the gentleman seated next to you at the witness stand?

Dr. SORUM. Yes.

#### TESTIMONY OF THEODORE R. MEANS—Resumed

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Means, you have just heard the testimony of Dr. Sorum, that he has known you as a Communist. Was he lying or was he telling the truth?

Mr. MEANS. I say this to you, sir, that my answer to the question is that I told you the organizations that I had seen him in at meetings and that I can't recall any other type of meetings besides those that I pointed out that I had ever seen him in. For reasons of the Constitution, I will decline to say that the man is lying or is telling the truth.

Mr. WILLIS. May I suggest to you, Mr. Means, this is the second witness who, under oath and without evasion and without hedging, has identified you as a member of the Community Party. Can't you answer the question whether he lied or told the truth? Come forward to the point. You haven't answered the question. The question is, Did these two witnesses tell the truth when they said that you were a member of the Communist Party. Do you want to answer that?

Mr. MEANS. I am not trying to hedge. I understand your question now.

Mr. WILLIS. It appeared to me that you did. You want to answer the question on the basis of the fifth amendment; is that correct?

Mr. MEANS. Yes, sir.

#### TESTIMONY OF DR. WILLIAM SORUM—Resumed

Mr. ARENS. Under what circumstances, where and when, did you know Ted Means as a Communist?

Dr. SORUM. I don't believe, I am not sure but I don't believe, I actually ever saw Ted in a meeting, but in the office in the Godchaux Building. I was in there many times purchasing literature, talking to people, and it was more or less in terms of conversations and things like that. I am not really sure if we were ever at any Communist meeting together. A lot of people I may know to be Communists that I may never have been at a Communist meeting with.

Mr. ARENS. Was he identified to you as a comrade by a person who was a comrade?

Dr. SORUM. I don't know if it came out that way or not. We just all talked together about different things. That was at least the implicit assumption. Would the committee permit me to add something? I would say that I am 100 percent sure that Ted isn't in the party now, and I wish he would say so, and I wish he would say more about it. I am convinced that he is not in the party and convinced that he doesn't follow the party line in any way. I can tell about how people are when they feel this way. I don't know why he feels this way, but I wish to—I wish—

Mr. WILLIS. I believe it would relieve his soul if he did, frankly.

Dr. SORUM. He is not a Communist in any way, shape, or form, and I am morally convinced of it. I talked to him just before we came in here and asked him to cooperate.

#### TESTIMONY OF THEODORE R. MEANS—Resumed

Mr. WILLIS. Our record shows or indicates that he has information he could supply that would be of value to this committee, the Congress, and the Government in patching together, if not as of today—2, 3, 4, or 5 years back—as to what happened here, because these Communists come and they go. I am convinced, Mr. Means, that you have evidence if you want to unburden yourself of it.

First, it would relieve your conscience if you helped the committee. I am not lecturing. You don't have to do it if you don't want to.

Let me suggest this to you. You say that, because of court decisions and Matusow, which is a sort of slant or slap-back, you don't want to answer and you finally say it is because actually you might be subjected to criminal proceedings. Only a person who fears he might be subjected to criminal proceedings can honestly invoke the fifth amendment. If you are one of them, and if that is really the reason why you don't want to cooperate and help us, then let me say to you that this committee sponsored and there is now a law of Congress to the effect that the members of this committee can initiate proceedings which I think I need not detail, and obtain through a Federal judge

court order to render you immune from that fear because you would be immune from prosecution.

If we did that and if that is the reason you don't want to talk, because of that fear, if therefore we removed that fear, would you talk and answer all questions truthfully?

Let me suggest further that we would be willing, I assume, to defer questioning you further right now. You might want to think about it. You might want to talk with our investigators. Would you want to think about that?

Mr. MEANS. Of course a matter of that kind would require a great deal of thought, Congressman. One thing I want to say, I am sorry that you felt that I was trying to slap at this committee, because I have no contempt of the committee. It has not been my intention to slap at this committee. I have tried to treat the committee with respect

On the matter of immunity, sir, it is my belief—I am not a lawyer and you know that—it is my belief that the immunity that the committee could grant would be of necessity a narrow or restricted one, whereas the danger of recurrence of this thing—and when I say this Matusow business I am not slapping at the committee—the danger of a recurrence of that, from one area or another, it seems to me is as broad as the horizon. It might crop up in some future court case or some FBI hearing or something else. The immunity granted me in this particular hearing would not—

Mr. WILLIS. You have defended yourself all right, even though you are not a lawyer. You are not dumb. You are talking like a lawyer. I don't want to be unkind to you, but believe me, that immunity is not narrow. It spreads throughout the whole gamut of the area we are talking about. If a congressional committee would initiate proceedings to grant you immunity and if a Federal judge granted you immunity if you would talk, not today, I don't think you honestly believe that Congress would go back on that or that a Federal judge would go back on it. I am a lawyer myself, having practiced law for 31 years, and I tell you if we backed down on it, I don't think any jury would convict you. So it is not narrow. Don't use that argument. It is a true, outright, honest grant of immunity to remove the fear which is the only justification for not talking. You don't have to do it. You must consent to it. We probably could invoke some sanctions. We don't do it. We have never done it. I ask you now, without arguing with you, would you consider that?

Mr. MEANS. Of course I would consider it, naturally. I can't give you an answer right now that I will do a certain thing because, if I do give you an answer, I am certainly going to stand behind it. I don't want to give you an answer and then vacillate.

Mr. WILLIS. We think we know that if you cared to talk, you could supply information which would be of value. I won't press it any further. If you decide to do it, you are at liberty to talk to our staff.

Mr. KEARNEY. I would like to ask the witness one question: Am I correct in the assumption that the reason that you don't want to testify to the truth is because you yourself fear future prosecution?

Mr. MEANS. Yes, sir. There is no other reason than that for standing on the fifth amendment.

Mr. KEARNEY. I can't understand, in view of the chairman's remarks to you about your immunity from prosecution, because I

know this committee will certainly not attempt to bring you before the Federal courts if you are granted immunity. So why do you hesitate?

Mr. MEANS. Congressman, I don't distrust the chairman or any member. I am not saying that you are trying to lead me into a trap. I don't say that you would bring me before a Federal court. But it is conceivable that some other agency of the Government might, just on an error or something that I said. It wouldn't have to be a lie. It could be an error. For that reason I take the position that I do. It is not an easy position to take. I have told you gentlemen already that I am not a Communist, that I have no information whatsoever of any Communist activities going on in the New Orleans area. For the sake of myself and my family and my position in the community, I say a plague on the Communist Party. I have no sympathy with them.

Mr. KEARNEY. I understand what you are driving at, and I think, in words or substance, I can say what a great American said at one time in the hearing room of this committee a few years ago about witnesses, like yourself, who want to tell the truth but are fearful of something that is going to happen to them. This great American, after listening to the testimony of witnesses before this committee, said, "I don't see why anybody has to fear anything so long as he tells the truth." That is the way we feel about you as an individual or any other witness who comes here. We are not out to prosecute or persecute. What we want is the truth.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Lee Brown?

Mr. MEANS. Yes, I know him.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. MEANS. Again I decline to answer that on the constitutional grounds.

Mr. ARENS. When did you last talk with Lee Brown?

Mr. MEANS. This morning I met him in the corridor when I came in.

Mr. ARENS. That will conclude, if you please, the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. KEARNEY. No questions.

Mr. MOULDER. Oftentimes the committee has been accused of not giving witnesses who have been named as members of the Communist Party the opportunity of being confronted with their accusers. I don't know what may be the views of the other members of the committee. Do you have any questions you wish to ask of the doctor concerning the accusations that he has made against you?

Mr. MEANS. No, sir. The committee asked me a question concerning the doctor, and I answered it, and finally before the doctor got through he answered the question in essentially the same way, that I can't recall any activities that I have ever run across him in except the CRC and Wallace for President rallies. I would not say here under oath that Dr. Sorum is a Communist or that he is not, regardless of the statement under oath that he has made, for the same reason that I have set forth before.

Mr. WILLIS. He didn't say that he was.

Mr. MEANS. It is the same thing. I don't infer that the man is a Communist. I certainly don't believe that he is.

Mr. KEARNEY. Let's go further with that, that you used to be a Communist.

Mr. MEANS. Again that is a question that I will decline to answer under the fifth amendment.

#### TESTIMONY OF DR. WILLIAM SORUM—Resumed

Mr. MOULDER. Dr. Sorum, you arrived at the decision to say that this witness was a member of the Communist Party. Can you give us more details and reasons as the basis for your accusation or charge that he was an active member of the Communist Party?

As I recall your testimony, it was rather on a sort of hearsay basis.

Dr. SORUM. No, no, no. I saw him several times when we talked together about activities and beliefs connected with this thing in the office in the Godchaux Building, 417 Godchaux Building. I am not sure of the exact number. Emanuel Levin's office. We met many times there. We met together socially many times. We discussed, freely exchanged opinions as to the party and that sort of thing. I can't pinpoint Communist meetings at all with him. I met with some groups that he may have met with for all I know, but I don't remember him at a meeting, but we discussed these things a great deal.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you discuss Communist Party philosophy or did you meet together—

Dr. SORUM. We discussed things together with Emanuel Levin.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you meet together with other people that you knew were members of the Communist Party? He didn't make an admission to you that he was a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. SORUM. At a meeting when we were hanging out there we did not say "I am a Communist, are you?" We were all talking about these things, say Emanuel Levin and people like that. We were in his office many times together, mutually talking about policies and ideas.

Mr. MOULDER. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ARENS. Do you wish to excuse the witness, Mr. Chairman? Mr. Williams will take care of the voucher for your witness fee.

Mr. MEANS. That won't be necessary, sir. I will donate my time to the Government to save that little bit of money.

Mr. ARENS. You might think about donating some information to the Government.

Mr. MEANS. If I had any that would help you I would be glad to.

Excuse me, sir. Am I excused from subpoena?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Doctor, in your comment a few moments ago you told us that you had joined the Louisiana Progressive Educational Association back in 1945, is that correct?

Dr. SORUM. I don't know if I actually joined. I did join the party but I was around the office and read the literature and discussed Marxism and Communist ideas, and participated in discussions over whether a Communist Party should be formed in Louisiana. There was a series of discussions on whether a party should be formed or not, which was really a foregone conclusion. You know the party discusses these things on local levels to agree with the national.

Mr. ARENS. What was your first activity as a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. SORUM. The first mass activity was to enter an organization known as the New Orleans Youth Council, which already existed, not organized by Communists. I am not quite sure how it started. I

think some foreign students went from city to city trying to set up interracial groups, interreligious groups, to discuss ideas of brotherhood, things like that. I was sent down there.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a Communist at the time?

Dr. SORUM. When I entered New Orleans Youth Council I was a Communist sent down there by Emanuel Levin to enter the organization.

Mr. ARENS. Who was Emanuel Levin?

Dr. SORUM. He was district organizer of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. What office or post did you acquire in the New Orleans Youth Council?

Dr. SORUM. Various ones. I headed the New Orleans Youth Council for about a year. Before that someone I was working with at the time was also head of the New Orleans Youth Council.

Mr. ARENS. How many members were there in the New Orleans Youth Council?

Dr. SORUM. Remember, very few of them were Communists but Communists were in the leadership. They would draw large mass meetings at times. They have drawn up to 100 or so. Most of the time it would not be quite this much.

Mr. ARENS. What was your next activity in the Communist Party?

Dr. SORUM. I stayed with this thing for a long time. I had many other different types of activities. I did a lot of teaching. One of the things I would do was to instruct new members in Communist doctrine, in Marxism-Leninism; wage, labor, and capital; various ideas of the party based on party teachings.

Mr. ARENS. Where were these classes held?

Dr. SORUM. In the Godchaux Building mainly. I also taught in groups. I taught in the seamen's group. I was in the Educational Commission of the party at one time.

Mr. ARENS. Who else was on the Educational Commission besides yourself?

Dr. SORUM. I am not trying to block any names out, but Emanuel Levin of course was on the Educational Commission and I at the time, and I think I don't know if Raymond Tillman was on it or not; I think Judy Jenkins met with us on occasion and attended some of the classes.

Mr. ARENS. How many people were in attendance at these classes which you taught?

Dr. SORUM. It depends upon what level class it was. If we were going to some sort of club group to teach, maybe just a few people, 4 or 5 or 3, but most of the time teaching new members some of whom were pretty green there might be about 15 or 20 people. Some of these meetings were educational. One of the people at the NMU Hall would say, round up 10 or 25 people. Some of them were not sure exactly what kind of meeting they were going to. I and other people would talk to them about the party. It was more a recruiting than educational meeting. It was a meeting pitched at recruiting.

Mr. ARENS. In the aggregate, during your experience in the Communist Party, how many Communists were there in the New Orleans area?

Dr. SORUM. Purely as an estimate I would have said at one time we were running around 250 or so.

Mr. ARENS. When was that?

Dr. SORUM. Passing through the party there must have been many more. I am saying the peak level must have been about that, but there always is a group coming in and a group going out.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Dr. SORUM. In 1946, 1947, and 1948, beginning in about 1945.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any connection with the Southern Negro Youth Congress?

Dr. SORUM. We affiliated with that Congress which was run by James Jackson.

Mr. ARENS. Was he a Communist?

Dr. SORUM. He was a Communist and known to me as a Communist at the time. Although I did not attend Communist meetings, he and I met together repeatedly to discuss policies in our mutual organizations and to try to shape them according to line we meant for them to have, which was an advanced youth group in which we hoped to get strong leftwing people. This was to be used as a recruiting basis.

Mr. ARENS. Was the Southern Negro Youth Congress controlled by the Communist Party?

Dr. SORUM. I think it was listed as a front organization later and all the leaders that I knew anything about; Jackson was the head and everybody I ever met casually, I don't know all of them, turned out later to be Communists. I can't say it was a Communist organization. I never saw anybody in leadership who wasn't a Communist.

Mr. ARENS. How many members were there in the Southern Negro Youth Congress?

Dr. SORUM. I don't know. It was an organization southwide and not necessarily based in New Orleans.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have an affiliation with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare?

Dr. SORUM. Yes. I was a member of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a Communist at the time?

Dr. SORUM. Yes. Again I was told to go into the Southern Conference and work there. At the same time I was in the New Orleans Youth Council I worked in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. I attended one of the big meetings in New Orleans in which I discussed the functions of the conference with many people there.

Mr. KEARNEY. Who told you to join this organization?

Dr. SORUM. It was more or less the general idea of the party. I think Goff had gotten here by then. I sat at the meeting with Irving Goff and Nat Ross, who was the southern director of the party.

Mr. KEARNEY. Did he tell you to go into this organization?

Dr. SORUM. I was already in the organization. They were discussing policies and such things as that. This again was not a Communist organization in a sense, but Communists infiltrated quickly to the front ranks of the leadership. I remember when—

Mr. ARENS. Was it controlled by the Communists?

Dr. SORUM. I think largely it was controlled by the Communists. Most of the membership was not Communist, and I really believe that most of the membership did not have the idea that it was controlled. For instance, people like Governor Arnall of Georgia, who were anti-Communist liberals, spoke there. At the same time on the speaker's platform were men like Tex Dobbs, who I was told to report to, Malcolm Dobbs, I believe, who was a minister but was also in the party.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he now?

Dr. SORUM. I have no idea. I was told to report to him if I had any questions about any organizational matters that came up.

Mr. ARENS. Where was he at the time you knew him?

Dr. SORUM. I think he had been in Georgia, but he was one of the leaders in the party who I had met at a southwide party congress held in New Orleans.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the State Committee of the Communist Party of Louisiana?

Dr. SORUM. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Over what period of time?

Dr. SORUM. Oh, it must have been at least a year or so I met with the State committee.

Mr. ARENS. In what years, 1946 and 1947?

Dr. SORUM. Yes, it was around that time I was on the State committee.

Mr. ARENS. Who were the other members of the State Committee of the Communist Party?

Dr. SORUM. I think Joe Wright was on the State committee at that time. Oscar Matlock for a while was on the State committee. These things varied and were rotated among the various core people. Emanuel Levin. I was on the State committee when he was here. When Goff came here I don't think I ever served on the State committee with Goff.

Mr. ARENS. What function did you have as a member of the State Committee of the Communist Party?

Dr. SORUM. Discussing policies, things like that. Contacting other clubs to make sure the level of educational work was kept up, that the sale of the Daily Worker was managed, the various tasks that a club was to do. I had to go around and ask how they were doing this thing. This was what I did when I mentioned educational work. I was responsible for a while for things like that. That is, I would teach a few classes. That wasn't my sole responsibility.

Mr. ARENS. Were you connected with the youth group of the State committee?

Dr. SORUM. Yes, I represented youth on the State committee, and I was chairman of the Youth Branch of the Communist Party, which fluctuated in membership a great deal.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have an identification with the Labor Youth League?

Dr. SORUM. Yes, later, as I was not so active when the Labor Youth League was being formed, and I discussed the Labor Youth League with Wendell Addington, who came from Texas.

Mr. ARENS. Was he a Communist?

Dr. SORUM. He was a Communist. He was an open Communist known widely as a Communist and the leading southern youth Communist, the same level as Junius Scales of North Carolina.

Mr. ARENS. What was the strength of the Labor Youth League during your leadership?

Dr. SORUM. It was only forming. I wasn't a leader of it. I just discussed policies. It was only forming here. There was another one working with him called Eddie Hampton. I don't know where he is

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Counsel, just for the record I would like to have this straight. You mentioned a Communist from North Carolina whose name was Junius Scales.

Dr. SORUM. Yes. He was an open Communist. I never met this man.

Mr. KEARNEY. Was he head of the Communist Party in North Carolina?

Dr. SORUM. I have no idea. I was never in North Carolina when he was in the party.

Mr. KEARNEY. I think, Mr. Chairman, we had a hearing in Charlotte where it was brought out that he was the head of the Communist Party.

Mr. WILLIS. Or very prominently connected with it, because that name sticks in my mind.

Dr. SORUM. I brought up his name because—

Mr. WILLIS. He was convicted under the Smith Act.

Dr. SORUM. His name was mentioned specifically to me when several leaders of the party urged me to come out as an open Communist and follow the example of Junius Scales and Wendell Addington. They wanted people to go into the party full time. I didn't want to do this. I had a few doubts about the party beginning to develop. I still believed in the party but I didn't want to become identified openly with the party.

Mr. ARENS. After you had completed your education as a physician, did you receive any directives from the Communist Party as to what you should do in the pursuit of your profession?

Dr. SORUM. In my senior year I was visited by James Jackson at my home, who asked me what I wanted to go into. I had been previously asked this by John Gates. I had told Mr. Gates I wanted to be a psychiatrist, I thought. Mr. Gates was against this because most psychiatrists end up leaving the party.

Mr. Jackson wanted me to do general practice in rural communities. He was formulating an idea by which he said they could obtain financial backing for a sort of mobile unit which would go through the black belt practicing medicine free in impoverished rural communities, accompanied by an organizer.

Mr. ARENS. For the Communist Party?

Dr. SORUM. Yes, but not ostensibly for the Communist Party. It would have some other name.

Mr. KEARNEY. I don't like to interrupt you because I appreciate your testimony, but those remarks you just made, isn't that what they call in the Communist Party "colonization"?

Dr. SORUM. "Colonization" is a word used for something like this. Also when we talk about breaking into basic industry.

Mr. KEARNEY. In other words, you go where you are told?

Dr. SORUM. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting the professional section of the Communist Party in New Orleans?

Dr. SORUM. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us about that in your own words, please, sir.

Dr. SORUM. Although I continued to work in special-type activities, I began finally to be assigned to a Professional Branch and met with them when I met with a party branch.

Mr. ARENS. Who were the members of the Professional Branch?

Dr. SORUM. Among the members was Dr. Hodes.

Mr. ARENS. Let us have his full name, please.

Dr. SORUM. Robert Hodes, H-o-d-e-s, of Tulane.

Mr. ARENS. Is he there now?

Dr. SORUM. No.

Mr. ARENS. What happened to him?

Dr. SORUM. He was fired. Dr. Obrinsky.

Mr. ARENS. What is his first name, please?

Dr. SORUM. William Obrinsky, O-b-r-i-n-s-k-y.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he now?

Dr. SORUM. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. He is in New York; is he not?

Dr. SORUM. Probably.

Mr. ARENS. Anyone else within the Professional Branch of the Communist Party?

Dr. SORUM. His wife, Dr. Obrinsky's wife.

Mr. ARENS. Is that Jane Allen?

Dr. SORUM. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. What does she do?

Dr. SORUM. She is a doctor, medical doctor. She and her husband were pediatricians.

Mr. ARENS. Where is she located?

Dr. SORUM. I imagine she is with her husband.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another person who served with you in the professional branch?

Dr. SORUM. Dr. Hodes' wife, Jane Hodes. This was narrowed down finally and broken into little pieces.

Mr. ARENS. Was that because of security measures of the party?

Dr. SORUM. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have other names that you want to give to the committee in executive session?

Dr. SORUM. Yes. There are names of several people who I know beyond a shadow of a doubt to have turned against the party. Many of them entered the party at my urging and I feel sort of personally responsible for them. I know them to be antiparty and to have nothing to do with it in any way, shape, or form and I would not want to mention their names in a public hearing.

Mr. ARENS. You want to give those names to the committee in executive session after a while, is that correct?

Dr. SORUM. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. What was the party's position with reference to religious groups?

Dr. SORUM. At the time that things were getting pretty tough the advice given to the party was to enter religious organizations. Every member of the party was to join a church and become active in church affairs. There wasn't too much encouragement to join the Catholic Church because the Catholic Church was considered the natural enemy, according to Nat Ross, of the party.

Mr. WILLIS. According to whom?

Dr. SORUM. Nat Ross, who was the southern director. They were to join Protestant sects if they could. If anyone had Catholic connections already and no one knew they were Communists, all right, but to try to become active in church affairs. This was urged on everybody. There was a great deal of debate about this. Because

the position of the party in connection to religion many of them felt, well, a lot of them were too antireligious to carry out the party's directive.

Mr. WILLIS. Was this when the party began going underground?

Dr. SORUM. They were afraid of arrests and thought if they were known in church groups the people would begin to ask questions, why were these people arrested who were good Christians.

Mr. ARENS. What was your assignment to be if the top open leadership of the party were exposed or imprisoned?

Dr. SORUM. I was once told in 1949 that if Raymond Tillman and Irving Goff, I believe—I am not sure of all this—and Leon Weiner were to be arrested or get in trouble, that I and probably Judy Jenkins, she is the one who told me, and maybe Joe Wright would probably take over the leadership of the party and try to maintain communication with the other branches. It wasn't so much leadership as it was to maintain liaison. We wouldn't be afraid, in other words, to go from one group to the other. A lot of people were afraid to do it.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have a recollection of the activities of the party in this vicinity with reference to the notorious Willie McGee case?

Dr. SORUM. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us about that, please.

Dr. SORUM. Well, I had already become fairly inactive in the party and had taken a position that was not liked in the party and had been put out of the leadership. However, I was asked by Sam Hall of Birmingham to go to Jackson on the Willie McGee case where a Negro leader had been working in the community and urge Negro preachers to have a prayer meeting the Sunday before McGee's execution. As was the feeling of many of us, I went at that time not so much for the party but because of the conviction that McGee was getting a bad deal, which I still think, but the party was fighting this case under the guise of the Civil Rights Congress. I went along with them because I wanted to do something on the McGee case. When we got to Jackson the whole thing had gone to pieces. The police had apparently been tipped off and were arresting people en masse. The Negro leader—I can't remember his name—became demoralized. One leader asked me to go out and get arrested, which I was a little bit afraid to do but agreed to do.

Mr. ARENS. Why did he want you to get arrested?

Dr. SORUM. It was not really so much to get arrested but to go down and urge the Negroes to start praying, which I thought was a pretty bad deal, but I started to obey his order. Someone else in my party tried to prevent me from going and we got into a scuffle in the street and by the time it was all over I couldn't go. It was too late. I don't think he meant exactly arrested but it would have led, obviously, to arrest, and that is why other members of the group tried to prevent me from going.

Mr. ARENS. During your service in the Communist Party did you recruit into the party certain students?

Dr. SORUM. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. About how many students did you recruit into the Communist Party?

Dr. SORUM. I should guess around 8 or 10. There may actually be more. I had indirect influence on many, direct influence on others. I taught classes, and some of them would go ostensibly as discussion

groups. They were going to discuss different topics and we would get around to the role of the Soviet Union and things like that.

Mr. ARENS. Why did the party want students?

Dr. SORUM. For one thing, at that age kids are looking for answers. Many of them were mixed up and confused, seeking some sort of outlook, maybe in a way a religious outlook, if you know what I mean. They want to lose themselves in some kind of thing like this, something that seems to be unselfish and that seems to be doing something people seem to have courage and that sort of thing.

Mr. ARENS. Are you going to give the committee the names of those students in executive session?

Dr. SORUM. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. May I interpose this question: You say you recruited them into the Communist Party?

Dr. SORUM. Some into the Communist Party, not so many. I didn't recruit them.

Mr. MOULDER. Can you be specific as to what you mean by recruiting?

Dr. SORUM. Joining the party.

Mr. MOULDER. Would the fact that they might have attended a meeting convince you that they were members of the Communist Party?

Dr. SORUM. No; I wouldn't mention anybody who might have been at a meeting for curiosity. I don't think I would do a thing like that. Even those who joined the party were largely in it only for very short periods of time, but know what it is all about. I would never want to mention names like that in open session where they could be kicked around. I think they had better all live it down and forget about it.

Mr. ARENS. Doctor, when did you break with the Communist Party?

Dr. SORUM. It was a continuing process that went on for a long time after I was out of it, but I started to have a lot of problems about the party, feelings about the party, and I think in 1951 I began breaking away from meetings. The last time I was given some work things like that to sell I threw them in the ditch.

Mr. ARENS. Is the Communist Party following the dictates of Moscow?

Dr. SORUM. The average Communist who is in the party does not think of himself as a traitor. He thinks he is a true American following lines of real Americanism. However, they recognize the Soviet Union—at that time, at least, and they probably still do—as in the forefront of the nations striving for peace.

Mr. ARENS. Is it a revolutionary group?

Dr. SORUM. Essentially if you stay in the Communist Party you will at least give political assent to totalitarianism. For instance, today you would have to swallow Russia despite what Khrushchev has admitted about it, and you would have to swallow the murder of the Hungarian people and things like that. Even at that time there were many glaring things that the party could explain, but the contradictions are so great that to be in the party you have to go along with that in one way, shape, or form.

Most of them would never sell secrets to anybody or do anything like that. They were told that that wasn't one of the things the party did. They were usually told, when a spy trial came up, that it was

all phony and faked, that it wasn't true, and that sort of thing. Most people believed that.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been active or been identified with a radio program in the New Orleans area?

Dr. SORUM. I entered the great books program when I was not in the party. I have always been interested in reading. I entered a program. I am in the great books program. I taught great books groups after I left the party. I became interested in the classics. We had a discussion group over the radio.

Mr. ARENS. Were you approached by a person known by you to be a comrade with reference to your participation in that program?

Dr. SORUM. Yes; after I left the party I still maintained friendly social relationships with many of these people. One of them came up to me, Dr. Hodes—

Mr. ARENS. How do you spell that?

Dr. SORUM. H-o-d-e-s.

Mr. ARENS. His first name, please.

Dr. SORUM. Robert—and pointed out to me that it would be a good idea when certain plays and things were discussed to point out how people in those days wanted peace and that sort of thing, to fight for the peace movement. In other words, to put into the things—

Mr. ARENS. Was it the party line that he wished you to inject into the program?

Dr. SORUM. It was during the Korean war and the main line of the party was to bring the boys home.

Mr. KEARNEY. Is that in connection also with this movement during the Korean war—

Dr. SORUM. No; this was something he asked me to do. He thought it was a good idea.

Mr. KEARNEY. Was that movement known as Save Our Sons?

Dr. SORUM. I don't know anything about that organization. This was just something that he asked me to do. He thought it was a good idea. He said I sounded like I wasn't giving any kind of progressive position. I tried to point out to him that this kind of thing couldn't be done. We were discussing these books and merits of these books. We had to discuss the books honestly, and I was not a Communist at any time I was on that program. I did enter the program looking for beliefs and ideas in a way and thought it was a good way of reading the classics and things like that.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist, Oscar Matlock?

Dr. SORUM. Yes; I knew Matlock.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist a man by the name of Joe Wright?

Dr. SORUM. Yes; I knew Joe Wright.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know him as a Communist?

Dr. SORUM. As a Communist, and he has been a guest in my home and things like that. He was sent here to lead the seamen. They had a special organizer assigned for marine alone and this was Wright's job.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist a person by the name of Mary Borders, B-o-r-d-e-r-s?

Dr. SORUM. Yes; I knew her in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and of course in the party and in the Civil Rights Congress and other organizations.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist a person by the name of August Harris, H-a-r-r-i-s?

Dr. SORUM. Yes; I knew him as a Communist. He was a worker on the waterfront. He was the head of some union, the ILWU. He had something to do with the ILWU, in whose hall we used to run off material and use their chairs for our meetings and things like that.

Mr. ARENS. Did you run off Communist propaganda material in the local hall of the ILWU?

Dr. SORUM. Yes; whatever organization we were in we would use largely the same stuff.

Mr. ARENS. It would be principally front groups?

Dr. SORUM. Surely; the Civil Rights Congress I think ran their things in there. The Transport Workers Union and ILWU had the same general hall, in which they would meet. The Transport Workers Union when it was headed by Tillman also was a place we would meet.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist a person by the name of Jim Herman?

Dr. SORUM. I was never in a Communist meeting with Herman, but I assumed he was a Communist when I met him and talked to him. We never talked over in the party so much. He had heard my program and said it stunk because it didn't have anything good in it.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know a Communist person by the name of James Jackson?

Dr. SORUM. I knew Jackson very well on several different occasions. He later became a pretty big Communist and a national leader.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know him as a Communist?

Dr. SORUM. I knew him as a Communist over a period of a long time.

(Representative Moulder left the hearing room.)

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist a person by the name of Grady Jenkins?

Dr. SORUM. Yes; I knew him as a Communist.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us in what capacity he served.

Dr. SORUM. The most recent time, the last time that I was in the party, the last group I was in, he was liaison man who would go from group to group and check on the educational activities and things like that and see that people were discussing the right sort of things.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist, Judy Jenkins?

Dr. SORUM. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Can you further identify her for us, please?

Dr. SORUM. She was previously known as Judy Chandor.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist Bill Chandor?

Dr. SORUM. Yes; I knew him.

Mr. ARENS. C-h-a-n-d-o-r?

Dr. SORUM. Yes. He worked for the NMU and was also active in the party. He used to bring people over for us to talk to about the party.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist a person by the name of Roscoe Cunningham?

Dr. SORUM. I knew him as a Communist. I haven't seen him for many years. He was active in the NMU.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist a person by the name of Winifred Feise, F-e-i-s-e?

Dr. SORUM. Yes. She met with the professional branches. I didn't mention her name. She was often in the meetings with us. I didn't mention her name in that group.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist a person by the name of Harry Laurence?

Dr. SORUM. He married Mary Borders. He was also a Communist. I think he is dead.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist a person by the name of Emanuel Levin?

Dr. SORUM. He probably was the one who recruited me into the party. I talked to him about the party when he was the head of the Louisiana Progressive Educational Association. I joined the party under his leadership.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist a person by the name of Chester Meske?

Dr. SORUM. Yes. I haven't seen him for years.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know him as a Communist?

Dr. SORUM. He was a labor leader. I think he was with the ILWU also, but maybe it is transport. I had them pretty confused. It was a long time ago.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist a person by the name of C. J. Meske?

Dr. SORUM. No. That is probably him, isn't it? His name was Chet.

Mr. ARENS. C. J. and Chester may be the same one?

Dr. SORUM. I don't really know. I did know a Meske.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist a person by the name of Robert Minor, M-i-n-o-r?

Dr. SORUM. Yes. He spoke down here one time at the Southwide. I attended a major Communist meeting of Communist leaders in the South at which Henry Winston, one of the top Communists, spoke, and Minor was one of the speakers. Minor spoke at the public part of this thing. He spoke down here at a meeting about something that happened in Tennessee.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist a person by the name of Robert, Bob, Martin?

Dr. SORUM. I knew Martin very well. I did a lot of party work with him.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know him as a Communist?

Dr. SORUM. As a Communist. We worked together, not in the branches exactly, but as to extracurricular work, you might say.

Mr. ARENS. What type of extracurricular work?

Dr. SORUM. Sometimes I would go along with him to help out. He went to Mobile one time to some kind of union situation that was crucial there. They were trying to win back the NMU after the Curran forces had taken over. I helped out on things like that.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know a Communist by the name of Hunter O'Dell?

Dr. SORUM. I thought I did until I saw his picture. I remember hearing his name many times and I still think I know him.

Mr. ARENS. But you are doubtful about it?

Dr. SORUM. I know he is a Communist because I was told that O'Dell was pretty important. They mentioned that he was a bright

young fellow around. At the time he was coming into prominence I was in a position of lessening my activities, breaking away and had lost interest in the party. I was considered a hostile element, and I was being isolated.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know a person by the name of Nat Ross as a Communist?

Dr. SORUM. Very well.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity?

Dr. SORUM. He was southern director of the party and one of the top Communists in the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist a person by the name of Ernest E-r-n-e-s-t, Scott, S-c-o-t-t?

Dr. SORUM. Yes, I knew Ernest Scott.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity?

Dr. SORUM. He was one of the people in the transport workers union, and also the first open Communist meeting I went to was a movie called Lenin in 1918, or something, and Scott gave some kind of talk about our glorious leader, or something like that. I remember Scott was one of the first Communists I ever saw in public.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist a person by the name of Richard J. Sullivan, S-u-l-l-i-v-a-n?

Dr. SORUM. Could that be the port agent for the NMU who used to be in the party?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Dr. SORUM. I think he broke from the party. I think maybe some of these other people might have broken from the party; I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know a person as a Communist by the name of Grace Tillman?

Dr. SORUM. Yes, I do.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know a person as a Communist by the name of Raymond Tillman?

Dr. SORUM. He was one of the very top leaders, top Negro Communists in the area. The last I heard of him he had gone to Chicago to take over one of the important elements of the party, Southside Chicago. This is gossip. I understand he grew to be pretty big in the party. He was an outstanding intellectual leader, a forceful, dynamic person.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist a person by the name of Leon Weiner?

Dr. SORUM. Weiner, Goff, and Tillman were the three top Communists here through most of my time. He was the one that really ran the Progressive Party and was the active one there.

Mr. ARENS. You have already identified on this record, have you not as a Communist, Irving Goff?

Dr. SORUM. Yes, Goff. I don't know where he is now or anything. But Goff was here. Weiner has been expelled from the party and Goff had been put on controlled tasks and sent out of the area, around the time I was getting out of the party, too, to the best of my knowledge. I would not want to swear to that, but my understanding is that Weiner was being kicked out of the party.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know as a Communist a person by the name of Inez Wright?

Dr. SORUM. I believe that is Joe Wright's wife.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know her as a Communist?

Dr. SORUM. I couldn't swear to that.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest we take a 5-minute recess, if that meets with the approval of the committee.

(Brief recess.)

(Committee members present: Representatives Willis, Moulder, and Kearney.)

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will come to order.

Proceed, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Doctor, we had a number of specific questions which we asked you. I will ask you now if there are any items of information which you would like to lay before the committee concerning which we may not have interrogated you?

Dr. SORUM. It would be really hard to say. It may be easier to think of them somewhere else than sitting up here. I really don't know exactly what to say about it except that I do feel I would like to say at this time that, although I can't say that I like being here, I think overall it is the best thing and I wish that—

Mr. ARENS. Do you feel good now that you have testified?

Dr. SORUM. I really don't know how I feel. I do wish in the long run that other people who have doubts about it, including Ted Means, would at least get their membership and things like that off their chest. I think it is really the only thing to do. I do believe that many people who don't talk before the committee and give the fifth amendment, and things like that, have broken with the party and many hard-core Communists have their moments of crisis. If they could be reached at that time by people who have gone through the same experience who could talk to them and make them understand what is going on.

Mr. ARENS. You expect to proceed in executive session with the committee in a little while—

Dr. SORUM. Yes.

Mr. ARENS (continuing). To go into matters we have discussed privately which ought not at this time be made public?

Dr. SORUM. I think so; yes.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. WILLIS. Doctor, I am very glad that you made that last observation about how you feel about this, because in many ways the decision you had to make we are faced with constantly on this committee. I wish everyone would realize that this is not a pleasant task for us, the members of the committee, who conduct these hearings. We are so ordered under the law. This is probably the oldest continuous investigative committee of the House, having been established back in 1838, headed for a long time by Martin Dies of Texas. Since I have been with the committee—and incidentally members on both my right and left have been on the committee longer than I, and I know they have the same experience—our task is to go after the problem of communism and to follow the clues wherever they may lead, whether in labor unions, professions, schools, religions, or anywhere else. I am a lawyer. We have had the task of calling lawyers to the stand many times. Now you had to face the problem. There was nothing we could do about it. You had a terrific decision to make. You had to make a decision whether to invoke the privilege of the fifth amendment knowing full well that we had clues to the substance of your testimony, or as you did, to come out with this honestly.

I know you feel better about it, and I really think that you have made a tremendous contribution, more than you and many people believe.

Where else and how else can we find material with which to keep on revising the loopholes in the law and conceiving new laws? As communism changes from time to time how else can we get at it except from people who, particularly you, have gone through the experience and have fought it out and thought it out and have come to the conclusion that it is wrong.

I think we owe it to say to you publicly and openly that you had a challenging decision to make and you made the right decision, and I think you made a contribution to your Government. For one I certainly want to compliment you.

General Kearney?

Mr. KEARNEY. I don't think there is anything I can add, Mr. Chairman, to the very fine statement that you made. I do want the doctor to understand that not only the chairman but I, as an individual member of this committee, appreciate your coming here and your forthrightness in your testimony here this afternoon. You certainly have rendered a splendid contribution to your country. For that we admire you.

As the chairman said, it is a rather difficult job for you to come out and tell the truth. After all, in the end the truth always comes out on top. We have no fear of what is going to happen to this country in the future. So long as there is this committee of the Congress of the United States we are going to do everything we can to bring to light these people who seek to overthrow our representative form of government.

Again let me personally thank you, Doctor.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. I wish to express to the doctor my appreciation as a member of the committee for the honest and sincere testimony which you have given before the committee.

Mr. WILLIS. I think it should be noted that the operations of this committee are purely and wholly bipartisan. We make a report to Congress every year, and the continuation of our life as a committee is at stake. Just a few days ago the Congress considered the appropriation for continuation of the committee. Our purse strings could have been cut. Not a single Member of Congress was opposed. There was not one single dissenting vote to the proposition that it is essential that this study be pursued and be continued.

I think, too, you are far better off to have done what you have done than to have gone the other way. For instance, Ted Means. That man is not kidding anyone. I am willing to accept his word that he is not a Communist, but he can't kid me that he doesn't know a volume of things, such as you do, that would be valuable to fill in the loopholes in our information.

If there are no further questions or comments, the witness will be excused.

In concluding the hearing of the subcommittee in New Orleans, I should like to make a few pertinent observations.

First, these hearings have not only contributed to the overall picture which the committee is developing in the various areas of our country but they have also revealed quite pointedly the existence of several

loopholes in existing law, particularly with reference to the legislation now on the statute books designed to cope with the flood of Communist propaganda entering our shores.

Our subcommittee will take back to Washington for deliberation and consideration not only the many suggestions which have been made for improvement of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, but likewise abundant factual material indicating the necessity for such improvement.

It is to be noted that this committee has been responsible for much of the legislation now on the statute books which arm our Government with weapons to fight the menace of communism. Among this legislation are the Internal Security Act, the Communist Control Act, the Immunity Act, and numerous amendments to various provisions of our Criminal Code.

The Communist conspiracy is constantly devising new techniques to escape detection in its many ramifications. Our task is to relentlessly ferret out Communists, to identify their activities, and to constantly revise the laws of this country to meet the ever changing forms of the conspiracy.

The second principal accomplishment of the hearings here in New Orleans has been to reveal to the American people the ever-present menace of the conspiracy. No longer does the Communist Party operate openly. The time has long since passed for the Communist Party to consist merely of starry-eyed idealists or intellectual students. Testimony which we have heard here in New Orleans is a reminder of the stark fact that there are now operating on American soil trained hard-core agents of a world conspiracy.

In the face of this situation the American people must be constantly on the alert. The cold, hard fact is that the Soviet conspiracy is in a deadly war with the free world and the target is the United States of America. This is a total war, a war of intrigue, a war of stealth, and a war which we cannot afford to lose.

Long ago it was proclaimed that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. This was never more true than it is today.

Now I should like to pay special tribute of the committee to the local officials, to Judge J. Skelly Wright who made this courtroom available, to the marshal, to the press and television representatives, and to all those who have cooperated with the committee in this hearing.

In particular I think we should single out Mr. Guy Bannister, the assistant superintendent of the New Orleans Police Department. I think he started out as a police sergeant of the city of Monroe and served on the FBI force for some 20 years, 3 years as a regular member and for some 17 years, longer I think than any other man, as agent-in-charge in this area in New Orleans.

Sergeant Badeaux is particularly to be commended for his work in the subversive section of the department. I think it was a fine thing for the city of New Orleans to avail themselves of the talents and experience of Guy Bannister and to employ this fine young man, Sergeant Badeaux.

General?

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, I don't think I have anything further to add to the fine statement of yourself. I feel, as you do, that Guy Bannister and the sergeant have rendered to us great service in the

2 days we have been in New Orleans. I want particularly to commend the marshal and the deputy marshals for their courteous treatment here and also to thank Judge Wright for the use of his courtroom.

I may say off the record, or on the record, I was looking at the judge's gavel here a few minutes ago, and when I get back to Washington I intend to send him as a personal gift from myself and from the members of the committee a gavel that is made out of the old speaker's rostrum prior to the building of the new House of Representatives.

Mr. WILLIS. Have you anything to add, Mr. Moulder?

Mr. MOULDER. No; except that I concur in your splendid statement. Mr. Chairman. Also I wish to compliment you upon the dignified and judicial manner in which you have presided during these hearings.

Mr. WILLIS. The committee will stand in recess and go into executive session.

(Whereupon, at 3:40 p. m., Friday, February 15, 1957, the committee recessed the public hearing to proceed to an executive session.)

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# RED PROBERS OUST UNIONIST



—Photo by Anthony Legreco

**OUT! THOSE WERE THE ORDERS** of U. S. House probers today and deputy marshals Wallace Dows, left, and R. A. Todd are shown putting them into effect as they escort Lee Brown, who

balked at questions, from the hearing at the Post Office Bldg. Brown was identified as a Red by a witness.

## Refuses To Bare Status

Dr. William Sorum, 2267 Providence, an admitted ex-Communist who broke with the party, today named two once-prominent New Orleans doctors as cell members here. He said they were Dr. Robert Hodes, dismissed Tulane professor, and Dr. William Oh-rinsky, former pediatrician.

A New Orleans labor union official was thrown out of a congressional subcommittee hearing here today after he refused to tell whether or not he had been a Communist.

And another witness, a mechanic at Kaiser Aluminum in Chalmette, invoked the Fifth Amendment when questioned about his Communist affiliations.

Both were branded as Communists by Arthur Eugene, Jr., a New Orleans Negro who has been serving as an FBI "counter-spy" since defecting from the Communist Party several years ago.

The union official is Lee Brown, Negro, of 2017 Jackson Ave., vice president of the New Orleans local of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, "a West Coast outfit."

Because of his refusal to answer questions put to him by the committee, he is threatened with contempt of Congress proceedings which Rep. Bernard W. Kearney (R-NY) a committee member, said he would initiate (See HEARING, Pg. 16, Col. 1)



ARTHUR EUGENE, JR.



TED MEANS

## Reds Use Bills As Passports

Arthur Eugene, Jr., today told a Congressional committee how Communists used dollar bills as "passports" to identify themselves.

Himself a former Communist, Eugene once transferred from a New Orleans Communist Party group to one in San Francisco.

He said a Communist here mailed the serial number of a dollar bill to San Francisco party members. When he got there Eugene said, he presented the dollar bill to identify himself.

**IN SAN FRANCISCO**, Eugene said, he knew Harry Bridges, head of the ILWU. A committee lawyer asked Eugene "Were you his bodyguard?"

"Not exactly," Eugene said, "I guarded the records at night (See \$1 BILLS, Pg. 16, Col. 1)

# Hearing

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

"as soon as I get back to Washington."

**KEARNEY HAD ASKED** committee chairman Edwin Willis of St. Martinville to eject Brown from the room after he persistently refused to answer even such elementary questions as "Are you an American?"

Kearney called him a "most arrogant witness . . ."

Ted Means, of 3341 Spain, invoked the Fifth Amendment when chief counsel Richard Arens asked him if he had ever been or was now a Communist.

He said he was afraid he might be cited for perjury if he answered.

A psychiatrist, Dr. William Sorum of New Orleans, after the noon recess said he had belonged to the Communist Party and to the Louisiana Progressive Educational Ass'n., which he described as being the "equivalent" of the Communist Party at one time. And Sorum testified that he knew Means a Communist.

The hearings today were stormy as compared to yesterday's more formal questioning of "friendly" witnesses.

**SHORTLY AFTER** Brown took the stand there were frequent sharp clashes between the labor leader and committee members.

Brown balked more than a score of times and refused to answer any questions other than saying he was born in 1921. After that, in a calm voice, he said he wanted to make a statement to the committee under the First Amendment guaranteeing freedom of speech.

Rep. Kearney interrupted:

"You're here to answer questions. Don't give us a speech."

Brown then refused to say where he was employed or even that he was a vice president of the union local.

Chairman Willis then explained to Brown that he could invoke the Fifth Amendment if he thought his answers would incriminate him.

**BROWN**, in a louder voice, shouted back, "I want the privilege of making a statement."

Willis warned him, "The consequences of your refusal to answer may be contempt proceedings."

Brown refused to say whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party or a Communist.

In answer to a direct question, "Are you a Communist?" Brown again insisted on making a statement.

**REP. KEARNEY TOLD** Brown, "You're not scaring this committee . . ."

Brown shouted back: "You don't frighten me, either!"

Rep. Kearney then asked Chairman Willis to call a U. S. marshal and escort Brown from the hearing room.

However, the questioning continued. And counsel Arens asked Brown if he would sign a federal pay voucher for his fees as a subpoenaed witness. Brown again refused, saying "I want to make a statement—!"

It was apparent that Arens wanted Brown's signature to compare it with non-Communist affidavits Brown had signed

when he took jobs as a warehouseman.

This became obvious when Arens introduced four documents bearing Brown's signature. Two of the documents were non-Communist affidavits Brown allegedly had signed on employment forms. One other was an affidavit that all union officials must sign, under the Taft-Hartley law.

**WILLIS ORDERED** Brown to answer, but again Brown refused to say anything.

He also declined to comment on a Communist Party statement which Arens said was run off on the mimeograph machine at ILWU headquarters in New York.

Nor would Brown say whether he had sponsored a Wallace Taylor youth rally in New Orleans. And whether he had signed a letter on which the Communist Daily Worker based a story telling how people were protesting against the trial of the 12 Communists in New York.

Arens referred to these Communists as "traitors to the nation."

**ARENS THEN** began showing the witness documents from which he read the words "Attack on the Ruling Classes . . . Wall Street Imperialists." And asked Brown if he recognized these as reproductions of documents run off at the New Orleans headquarters of the ILWU.

Brown again refused to answer . . . "until I make my statement."

Arens then suggested that another witness be called to the stand.

Arthur Eugene, Jr., was called. He identified himself as a former member of the Communist Party from 1948 until 1956 and said that he had been working for the FBI during the last few years.

Brown remained seated in the witness chair while Eugene was being sworn. And Eugene sat in another to Brown's left.

Arens asked Eugene: "Did you know Lee Brown as a Communist?"

"Yes I did," Eugene said. "Do you see him in the courtroom?"

"Yes, I do." "Then look him in the eye and point him out to the committee . . ."

Dramatically and with a sweeping gesture, Eugene pointed his right hand at Brown and in a loud, clear voice said:

"That's him right there!" Kearney asked Eugene if he was referring to Brown, to make the record clear.

Eugene said, "That's correct."

**ARENS THEN** told Brown to look at Eugene, "look him in the eye," and then tell the committee whether he (Brown) was a Communist or not.

Brown said emphatically: "I still refuse, until I make my statement, regardless."

Brown was then asked if he was an American.

"I refuse to answer," he said. "Aren't you proud to be an American?" a committee member asked him.

"I refuse to answer," he said stubbornly.

"I notice you haven't invoked the Fifth Amendment," Rep. Kearney said.

"I refuse to answer," Brown answered, sullenly.

## KEARNEY THEN SAID:

"As soon as we can get together, I shall certainly move for a contempt citation against you, the most arrogant witness . . ."

Brown interrupted Kearney, however, and with shouting defiance yelled back . . .

"That don't worry me a bit . . ."

Shortly afterwards, however, Brown told the committee that he had referred to both the First and Fifth Amendments earlier.

**HE WAS AGAIN** asked his occupation and refused to answer, and Chairman Willis suggested that perhaps he was apprehensive that the question might subject him to criminal prosecution and added:

"I don't think you have invoked the Fifth Amendment . . . but if you do want to, the question is a test of whether your refusal to answer is based on a plea of apprehension.

"Do you believe that by answering the question you would so subject (to prosecution) yourself?"

"I refuse to answer," Brown said.

Rep. Kearney, visibly reddened and angered by Brown's attitude, again suggested to Chairman Willis that the U. S. marshal be asked to excuse Brown from the witness chair. "There's no use wasting any more time with him," he said.

**WILLIS THEN TOLD** Brown that since Eugene had accused him of being a Communist, he, as a red-blooded American, had the right to stand up and deny it.

Brown mumbled something, indicating that he still refused to answer.

Willis then instructed the marshal:

"Escort the witness from the room," he said, "and keep him out of the room throughout the hearings."

U. S. marshals Wallace Dows and Rudolph Todd then flanked Brown and escorted him from the room.

He did not leave the building but remained seated on a bench

In a corridor just outside the courtroom.

The witness, Eugene, then on questioning by Arens, named a number of persons as having been connected with the Communist Party in New Orleans during the period he was a Communist for the FBI.

He named Brown, Judy Jenkins, who he said was a dispatcher for the National Maritime Union, and Hunter Pitts O'Dell, who was a "running witness" before the Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee which held hearings here last year.

IT WAS at O'Dell's home that police officers reportedly found a quantity of Communist literature prior to last year's hearing, according to Sgt. Hubert Badaux, an agent for the police intelligent division on Communism, who testified at the Senate hearings as well as yesterday's House session.

Among other persons identified by Eugene as Communists here were Robert Martin, who Eugene said was last known to be in Philadelphia; Irving Goff and Tom Mason, now reported in San Francisco; Leo Boekbinder, whom Eugene said is no longer a party member; Herbert Harris, still here but "who left the party some time ago," Harold Fort and Vernon Brown.

Eugene said there were many others but "seamen come and go" and after they are seen at one meeting they may not be seen again.

Eugene said he also knew Ted Means, who followed him as a witness, "to be definitely a Communist." He said Means still is in New Orleans.

Eugene said he was active in the Progressive Party in New Orleans in 1948 and estimated

that this party had 1000 members, including many Communists. He then said he knew a Calhoun Phifer as a Communist and also listed Mary Borders and the late Andrew "Steve" Nelson as Communists.

**PHIFER TESTIFIED** at the Senate hearing here. Nelson last year was sentenced to five years in prison for falsely swearing he was not affiliated with the Communist Party in 1952 and 1953. He died just recently before he could begin serving his sentence.

Eugene said he was a member of the National Maritime Union from 1942 to 1948 but was "kicked out" for Communist activities. He then joined the Marine Cooks and Stewards union at the instructions of the Communist Party.

He stated the Communist Party "had control" of the latter's national union and "we were instructed to get into it."

Eugene said he belonged to the seamen's group within the Communist Party and attended a meeting here in 1949 when the Communist Party instructed him and other Communists to sign Taft-Hartley Law affidavits saying they were not Communists even though they actually were.

He said he was instructed to take no active part and that the Communist Party then was "going underground."

**EUGENE THEN NAMED** another man as being in the party with him. This was Harry Lawrence.

He said he left New Orleans in 1949 and went to San Francisco but returned here after he was screened off a ship by the Coast Guard as a security risk in Providence, R. I., in 1951.

He said he came back here and contacted Nelson and became active in the party

again. He earlier had related that he quit the party when it announced opposition to Korean war.

"I had to choose between my own country and a foreign country," he said. "I broke completely with the party."

**AFTER HIS RETURN** to New Orleans he said he was assigned to be a patrolman for the cooks' and stewards' union. He explained a patrolman went aboard ships to argue grievances of the seamen.

Arens asked Eugene:

"In other words even though you were screened off you had access and could go aboard ships?"

"That's correct."

Eugene then named a Winifred Feise, a reluctant witness during last year's Senate subcommittee hearings here and a Jim Harmon as Communists. He said Harmon was port agent for the Cooks and Stewards Union here.

He also had known Harman in San Francisco.

Eugene testified that pamphlets and leaflets for Communists and Communist-front groups were run off in the local office of the ILWU.

Brown had refused to identify the documents or admit they were run off in ILWU headquarters, earlier in the hearing.

**EUGENE ALSO SAID** the Communists had access to the addressograph machine in the ILWU offices.

He said that for a mailing list the ILWU offices held files of people registered in various Communist-front activities such as the "Civil Rights Organization."

Under further questioning, Eugene said he re-entered the Communist Party at the request

of the FBI. He worked as an FBI agent within the party from 1952 until 1956.

He did not emerge from the shadows of Communism until the latter part of last year, when he came forth to testify against Nelson, who was president of the New Orleans local of the ILWU.

Eugene said he was employed by the Gulf Shipyards Storage Co. And that, during a strike there, he was contacted by Nelson and asked to divert the attention of the striking members toward the ILWU, with hopes of getting them to join.

Rep. Kearney thanked Eugene  
(Continued on Page 24)

(Continued from Page 16)

at the end of his testimony and said:

"You are a credit to your race, Sir."

"I can see that the Communist Party is not making much headway with Negroes in the U. S."

**THE NEXT WITNESS** called by Arens was Means, of 3341 Spain, a mechanic at the Kaiser Aluminum plant in Chalmette.

Means invoked the Fifth Amendment and refused to say whether he was now a Communist or ever had been a Communist. He said he was afraid he might be cited later for perjury.

He had been identified by an earlier witness as a Communist. Counsel Arens then asked if the accuser, Eugene, had perjured himself when he claimed Means was a Communist.

"That's for the courts to decide," Means replied. "I'm not passing judgment on any man."

Arens then challenged: "Why don't you stand up like a red-blooded man and say whether you are a Communist or not and help the government?"

"I assure you if I had information about any conspiracy, I would come and tell you," Means answered. "All I know is that I work for a living and live with my family and am a respected man in my community."

**MEANS TESTIFIED** he was international representative here of the Fur and Garment Workers' Union from 1947 to 1951. His offices were located in Harvey, just across the river from New Orleans.

Arens then remarked that the Communist Party had gone "deep underground" and asked Means if he knew any people who had been or are Communists.

It was here Means expressly stated "I decline to answer under the Fifth Amendment." And again said he was afraid he might be charged with perjury.

**REP. KEARNEY** then retorted:

"Don't you know if you tell the truth, you can't be charged with perjury?"

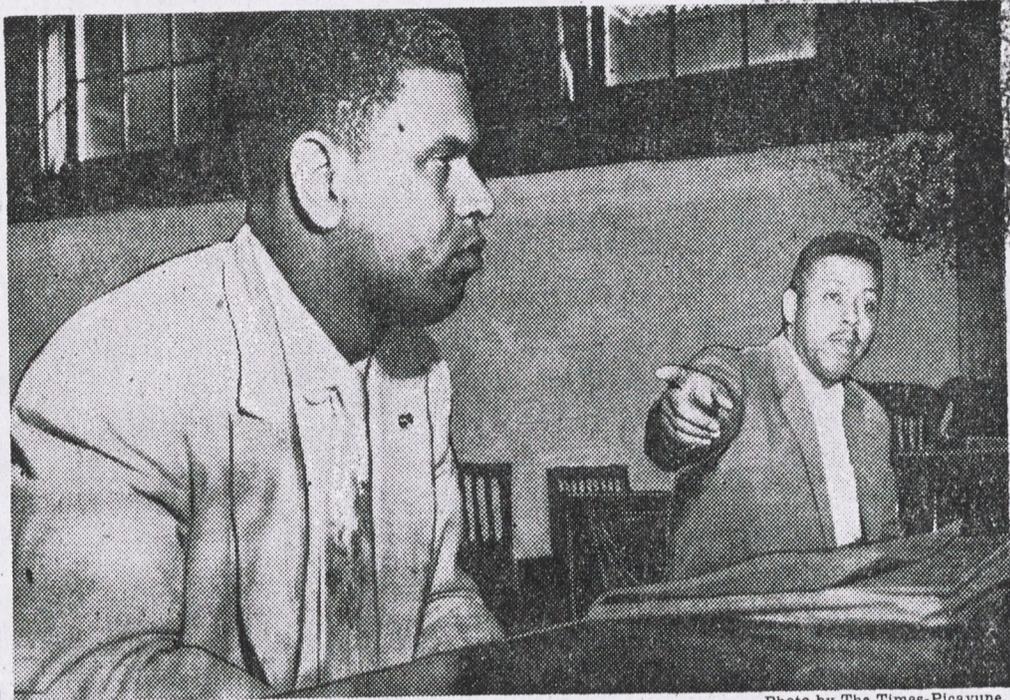
Means replied:

"I don't know that. I don't know anything about any conspiracy."

Rep. Kearney, at another point, accused Means of "straddling the fence."

Means answered, "I'm defending myself as best I can under the constitution."

## Union Official Described as Red by Witness



—Photo by The Times-Picayune.

"THAT'S HIM RIGHT THERE," declares Arthur Eugene Jr., prosecution witness, as he points at Lee Brown, vice-president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's local, during the House un-American activities subcommittee hearing Friday in New Orleans. The dramatic moment occurred after Eugene, who said he worked as an undercover agent for the FBI while a member of the Communist party, said he knew Brown was a Communist.

# Further Hearings Here Indicated in Red Probe

### Quiz Adjourns with 37 Named as Commies

With the names of 37 persons in its files, disclosed in public testimony Friday to have been affiliated with the New Orleans Communist party in the years from 1945 to 1955, a sub-group of the House committee on un-American activities adjourned a two-day hearing late in the afternoon.

Congressman Edwin E. Willis, St. Martinville, chairman of the subcommittee, indicated the possibility of further hearings in New Orleans, on the basis of

#### AT A GLANCE

Lee Brown, Negro vice-president of the International Warehousemen's Union in New Orleans, refused to answer questions. Page 5.

Arthur Eugene Jr. testified about inner workings of the Communist party that he observed as a member and FBI undercover man. Page 4.

Theodore Means, a mechanic, refused to answer a number of questions put to him. Page 18.

Dr. William Sorum identified a number of persons as having belonged to Communist organizations. Page 18.

testimony at the open hearing and information supplied to the committee in executive session, but said this would have to be determined at a meeting of the full committee of the House.

The names of local Communists, most of them made public for the first time, came from two former members of the New Orleans organization, one of whom appeared as a surprise witness at the afternoon session.

Two other witnesses of the day were not so co-operative, and in the case of one of them, Lee Brown, Negro, vice-president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's union, chairman Willis said the full House committee would be asked to cite Brown for contempt of the committee.

#### Doesn't Invoke Amendment

Brown, first witness of the day, refused to answer any questions of the committee unless first al-

Continued on Page 3, Column 2

Continued from Page 1

lowed to make a statement. He did not invoke the Fifth Amendment, however, and after he had persisted in his refusal through 50 or more questions, chairman Willis requested United States deputy marshals to escort him from Judge J. Skelly Wright's courtroom, where the hearing was being conducted, "and keep him out for the rest of the hearing."

The union official spent the rest of the day seated on a bench in the corridor outside the hearing room.

Theodore Roosevelt "Ted" Means, a mechanic at the Kaiser aluminum plant in Chalmette and a member of the Aluminum Workers union, said he is not a Communist at the present time, and has not been a member since he has been working for Kaiser, but added this should not be construed as any admission that he had ever been a party member.

### Means Mum; Immunity Possibility Is Cited

When pressed to say whether he had ever been a party member, Means took refuge in the Fifth Amendment, claiming that he was fearful that any testimony he might give might get him in trouble in later court proceedings with a "Matusow-type" witness committing perjury against him.

Chairman Willis pointed to the recent law authorizing committees to grant immunity to witnesses, on orders from a federal judge, and asked Means if he would be willing to testify should the committee procure such an immunity order.

Means said the order would be "narrow and restricted" and the danger to him in future "wide as the horizon," but after chairman Willis assured him that the order would give complete protection, he told the committee he would "think it over."

After the conclusion of the hearing, chairman Willis told newspaper men the committee and its staff would make a careful study of the testimony of Means to determine whether the witness had carried his reluctance to the point of "recalcitrance."

The two co-operative witnesses, former Communist members in New Orleans, were:

(1) Arthur Eugene Jr., Negro, 2121 St. Anthony, who was in the top echelon of the Communist party from 1948 until he left in 1951 because of the party's opposition to the Korean war, and who rejoined at the request of the FBI to serve as "undercover man" for the government.

The second phase of Eugene's career as a Communist terminated last year when the government used him as a surprise witness in the trial of Andrew Steve Nelson, ILWU president here, on charges of falsely swearing he was never a Communist. Nelson died subsequent to his conviction on the perjury charge.

### Psychiatrist Lists Professional Group

(2)—Dr. William Sorum, New Orleans psychiatrist, high in Communist councils here from the time of joining the party in 1945, but who after a few years was expelled "after I had really quit."

Sorum told the committee that he had fallen from favor in the course of a couple of years, because of doubts that were arising in his mind and was no longer on the inside of operations.

"I was suspected of being a hostile element," he explained, "and was quietly being quarantined by the members."

Sorum not only named a large number of persons in his public testimony that he had known as Communists when a party member, but in an executive session of the committee furnished additional names of members of the "professional branch" to which he had been assigned.

He had already testified to the Communist membership of Dr. Robert Hodes of Tulane university "who was fired from his job;" Mrs. Jane Hodes; Dr. William Obrinsky, a pediatrician, "who may be in New York now," and Obrinsky's wife, Dr. Jane Allen.

He told the committee, however, that many former members of the professional branch have since turned against communism and he would prefer to give their names in a private session. He made the same stipulation with respect to the names of eight or ten students whom he "might have recruited into the party" through the medium of student discussion groups.

Chairman Willis, at the conclusion of the public hearing, announced on behalf of himself and his associates in the investigation, Congressmen Bernard W. Kearney, New York, and Morgan M. Moulder, Missouri, that the hearings had accomplished two important objectives.

First of these, he said, was the disclosure of serious loopholes in existing law, particularly with reference to the legislation designed to cope with the flood of Communist propaganda entering the country. The committee will take back to Washington not only concrete suggestions for closing the loopholes, but likewise abundant factual material indicating the need for improvement.

The second accomplishment, said Willis, has been to emphasize to the American people the ever present menace of the Communist conspiracy.

### 'Hard Core Agents of World Conspiracy'

"Testimony which we have heard here in New Orleans," said Willis, "is a reminder of the stark fact that there are now operating on American soil trained 'hard core' agents of a world conspiracy. In the face of this situation the American people must be constantly alert.

"The cold hard fact is that the Soviet conspiracy is in a deadly war with the free world and the target is the United States of America. This is a total war, a war of intrigue, a war of stealth and a war which we cannot afford to lose."

Two dramatic encounters featured the day's proceedings.

Brown indicated his recalcitrance at the start by failing to respond when sworn in, although he did raise his right hand.

As he was seating himself Chairman Willis told him to stand again.

"You haven't answered the question whether you will tell the truth," said the chairman.

### Oath Is Repeated, Witness Grunts

The oath was repeated, and Brown responded with a grunt, which was accepted by the committee chairman.

After giving his name and address, the witness was asked to briefly sketch his education.

"I don't think this committee or any—" he began, and Kearney cut in.

"I suggest you answer the question and not make a speech," said Kearney.

At the request of committee counsel Richard Arens, Chairman Willis ordered Brown to answer.

"I want to make a statement before I answer any questions," the witness replied.

"Any attempt on your part," Willis rejoined, "to evade the question or make a speech is out of order."

"I still ask the privilege of the First Amendment to make a statement," Brown insisted.

The witness continued to maintain his attitude when shown four documents and asked to identify his signature on them. They included anti-Communist affidavits, and Communist circulars turned out on the mimeograph in Brown's union office. Finally Arens told the committee:

"In the presence of this witness I wish to call another."

Eugene came in, was sworn, and took the chair next to Brown. Asked if as a member of the Communist party from 1948 to 1956 he had known a Lee Brown as a Communist, the witness pointed to Brown and said:

"Yes, that's him right here."

Arens then invited Brown to look his accuser "in the eye" and tell the committee whether or not Eugene had perjured himself in calling Brown a Communist. The witness, however, averted his gaze and repeated he would answer no questions until given an opportunity to make a statement.

### Witness Thrown Out of Hearing

"This is the most arrogant, defiant witness I have seen before the committee," Kearney protested. "He has the commie line in everything he says. I suggest he be escorted from the room."

After Arens had put another half dozen questions with similar results, Willis adopted the suggestion.

In contrast with previous hearings, at which shouting, screaming, struggling witnesses had been bodily ejected from a hearing room packed with Communist sympathizers, Brown rose and docilely shambled down the aisle ahead of the deputy marshals, as a scant score of spectators looked on in stony silence.

Means was also confronted with a surprise witness in similar fashion at the afternoon session, after persistently resorting to the Fifth Amendment when asked concerning past relationships, if any, with the Communist party and its activities.

After telling the committee he has been employed at the Kaiser plant for the past four years, he was asked if at a trial before his union recently he had denied having ever been a Communist. The witness said he had either denied it or had refused to discuss it, he couldn't recall which.

He was then shown a letterhead of the "Provisional Trades Union Committee for the Repeal of the Smith act," the anti-Communist act under which the 11 top Communist leaders nationally have been convicted for conspiracy to overthrow the government by violence, and was asked if he was the "Ted Means" whose name appeared among those on the letterhead.

He replied that he was an organizer for the Fur and Leather Workers Union in New Orleans from 1947 to 1951, and that the union was opposed to the Smith act.

"Did you ever resign as a technical member of the Communist party?" Means was asked.

"I refuse to reply under the Fifth Amendment," he answered.

"Did you ever resign as a party member to go into the underground?"

"I decline to answer," said

Means.

The witness said he would admit having attended a party at 1225 Dauphine st. in November, 1946, to celebrate the 29th anniversary of the Soviet Union, "since it is a matter of public record."

He explained that police raided the party and that he was arrested and charged with disturbing the peace, but said he was acquitted in a court trial.

Asked if he knew a Dr. William Sorum, the witness replied: "I've seen him at meetings of the Civil Rights Congress and the Wallace for President Rally."

"Any others?"  
"I don't know. I don't recall any."

Dr. Sorum was called and sworn, with Means still in the witness chair. Dr. Sorum said he was a member of the Louisiana Progressive Education Association at the time of the Duclos letter in 1946, and when the Communist party was reorganized he joined the local branch at its re-inception. Later he was expelled from the party after having ceased participation in its activities.

Asked if he knew Ted Means as a member of the Communist party, the witness replied: "Yes, this is Mr. Means right here."

Turning to Means Arens then said:

"You have just heard the testimony of the witness. Was he lying or telling the truth?"

"I have seen him at the organization meetings I mentioned but I can't recall any others."

"He is the second witness today," Chariman Willis interposed, "who without either evading or hedging has identified you as a member of the party. Did these two witnesses tell the truth or are they lying?"

"I am not hedging," Means protested.

### Believes Means Is Not in Party Now

Asked by Chairman Willis to further elaborate on his statement that Means had been a Communist, Dr. Sorum said he didn't recall seeing him at a party meeting, but that he had met him frequently in the Communist headquarters in Room 417, Godchaux building, and had discussed party doctrine and procedures with him.

"I am 100 per cent convinced he is not in the party now," said Dr. Sorum, "or under party discipline, and I wish to hell he would say so. I talked with him before he came in and asked him to cooperate with the committee."

Means had been labeled as a Communist by Eugene at the morning session, with particular reference to a meeting of party leaders to discuss the Taft-Hartley act, requiring union officials to sign an anti-Communist affidavit.

At this meeting, according to Eugene, Communists who

were union officials were instructed to go ahead and sign the affidavits and thereafter not to take any part in the such as passing out leaflets such as passing out leaflets and drumming up attendance for public meetings.

Those present, he said, in addition to himself, were Nelson, Lee Brown, Hunter O'Dell, Means and Ernest Scott.

"Was Harry Lawrence there?" Arens had inquired.

"Oh, yes, he chaired the meeting."

Eugene testified he joined the Communist party after leaving the California Labor school, where he attended the 10th and 11th grades. Main subjects taught, he said, were parliamentary procedure, how to conduct meetings, and how to speak so as to gain the attention of people. The Communist Manifesto was one of the documents read at the school.

### Says Reds Ruled Progressives

In New Orleans, where he became a party member in 1948, he was assigned to the seaman's branch. Other branches included the professional and neighborhood groups. The organization was strong in New Orleans at that time, he said, but by 1953, while still active locally, "the party had gone so far underground it was hard to find the members."

One of his first party assignments was running off leaflets and organizing members for the Progressive party movement, which had about 1000 members in New Orleans. This work was done at the longshoremen's hall.

The Progressive party movement here was definitely controlled by the Communists, Eugene testified, and later the membership list, and that of the local Civil Rights Congress and similar organizations were used as a mailing list for Communist propaganda.

After having been a member of the National Maritime Union from 1942 to 1948, Eugene testified, he was "kicked out" because of his Communist affiliation, along with Harris, Forte, Scott and Banks, and all of them transferred to the National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, controlled by the Communist party.

"The party instructed us to go over to the cooks and stewards union," said Eugene, "and to continue active in the seamen's group of the party in New Orleans."

Work was scarce on the New Orleans waterfront in 1949 because of a strike, the witness continued, and he went to California. He was given a dollar bill by party officials, who sent the serial number of the bill ahead of him, and when he presented the bill to the Communist organization in San Francisco it identified him as a party member, and he was assigned to the Seamen's branch in San Francisco.

Ernest Fox was his first contact in San Francisco, and other active Communists he met in the seamen's branch were Harry Nie-

becky, patrolman for the cooks and stewards union, Joe Johnson, James Wright, Raymond Crawford, Sandra Gladstein, Herman, whom he also knew as a party member in New Orleans, and Neah Becker, port agent for the union.

### Commy Propaganda Against Korean War

Shortly after arriving in San Francisco, Eugene testified, he lined up with the ILWU Bridges defense committee, serving as a publicity man and as guard for the union records used in the trial. Afterwards he shipped out on the Lurline, a Matson Steamship Company luxury liner sailing from Los Angeles and San Francisco to Honolulu, serving the Communist party as an "educational director." He explained:

"The party heads would tell me what the immediate objectives were, and then I would explain them to members, at meetings either on leaving or arriving at port."

One of these objectives, he said,

was to oppose the Korean war.

"The Communist party," said Eugene, "was definitely opposed to action in Korea. That's when we kind of dissolved. It came to a point where a guy had to choose between the government and the Communist party."

After quitting the party, Eugene said, he went to Portland and sailed on vessels from there. He was visited by Communist leaders, but did not attend any meetings. Finally he was screened from a vessel by the Coast Guard at Providence, R. I., in 1951, and returned to New Orleans. At this time Eugene was enlisted by the FBI as an undercover agent, and re-joined the party in New Orleans.

ILWU  
Local 207 HUAC Hearings 1957  
District Local Box 4  
Friday

RED  
FLAMES  
FINAL HAT

# NEW ORLEANS STATES

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## Two Defy Probers in Red Hearings



### Labor Boss Ordered From Room

Two witnesses defied congressional investigators here today and one was ordered from the hearing room after being identified as a Communist by a former party member who did undercover work for the FBI.

Lee Brown, 2017 Jackson, vice-president of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's local, refused to answer more than 50 questions put to him by the House un-American activities subcommittee and was told to leave the hearing room in federal district court.

Theodore Means, 3341 Spain, a mechanic for Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Company, denied he is now a member of the Communist party but would not answer questions about whether he belonged to the party in the past.

The subcommittee hearing recessed at noon and resumed at 2 p. m., calling Means as its first afternoon witness. Today is the second day of hearings into Red activity in the New Orleans area.

Brown, after telling his name and address, refused to answer the other questions put to him by the committee and later said he was invoking the First and Fifth amendments to the Constitution as protection.

Rep. Bernard Kearney of New York, committee member, called Brown "one of the most arrogant witnesses to ever appear before this committee."

**'Will Not Answer'**  
As each question was put to him, Brown kept repeating:

"Mr. Chairman, I hoped I had made it clear that I will not answer any questions until I am permitted to make a statement."

He refused to say whether he is or was a Communist party member, refused to give his occupation, would not identify document after document placed before him.

Among these were letters written to editors, signed with Brown's name, a reproduction of the Daily Worker, Communist organ, a document bearing the name of the state committee of the Louisiana Communist party, and affidavits in which Brown's signature was put to statements that he was not a Communist.

The dramatic point of Brown's appearance came when Arthur Eugene, who said he was a Communist from 1948 to 1956 and did undercover work for the FBI part of that time, was called to the stand.

#### Star Witness

Eugene described himself as a warehouseman and resident of 2121 St. Anthony in New Orleans. He appeared as a star witness in the case against Andrew Steve Nelson, former president of the ILWU convicted of falsely swearing he was not a Communist.

Eugene said during the time he was a party member he knew Brown as a fellow party member.

Asked to single out Brown and look him in the eye, Eu-

## Hearing-

gene pointed at Brown and said: "That's him right there."

Rep. Edwin E. Willis of St. Martinville, subcommittee chairman, told Brown he did not believe he was honestly using the first and fifth amendments and ordered marshals to evict him from the room.

Brown walked out before marshals had the chance to forcibly eject him, but the federal officers followed him out.

Means was first asked if he denies ever being a member of the Communist party and he replied: "No."

Asked if he is a party member now, he answered: "No, sir."

### 'For Obvious Reasons'

When subcommittee counsel Richard Arens then asked Means if he ever was a member of the party, he said:

"For obvious reasons I won't answer on constitutional grounds. I am not admitting I was ever a Communist."

When Arens asked him if he was a party member five years ago, Means replied in a low voice, "Excuse me sir, but for the same reason I decline to answer."

The witness made similar replies to a long line of other questions about Communist activities and about photographs which Arens said showed him with other Communist party members.

To these queries, Means said: "I decline to answer."

### Threat of Contempt

The hearings are taking place in the federal district court of Judge J. Skelly Wright in the post office building.

Brown persisted in his refusal to reply to questions despite threats of being held in contempt made by Willis and urging by Kearney that he be evicted.

Eugene told in detail on the stand of his belonging to the Communist party in New Orleans, then transferring to San Francisco, and returning to party membership in New Orleans in 1951.

He named Winifred Feise and Hunter "Pitts" O'Dell as active in Communist work in New Orleans several years ago and said O'Dell was a member of a Red committee named here to protect the conviction of 12 Communists in New York.

### Eastland Witnesses

O'Dell and Mrs. Feise were among witnesses who were called before Sen. James O. Eastland's internal security subcommittee in hearings in New Orleans last year and refused to answer questions about subversive activities.

Eugene also testified there were about 1000 members of the Progressive party in New Orleans at that time and named as one of these Calhoun Phifer, another defiant witness at last year's hearing.

One meeting in New Orleans which he attended, the witness said, was also attended by Nelson, Brown, O'Dell and Bob Martin.

Five voluntary witnesses paraded before the three-man subcommittee in the opening session yesterday to tell the extent of the flow of Communist propaganda literature through the New Orleans port and other areas of the country.

The committee heard reports of increased import of Red propaganda, most of it from Mexico and Hong Kong in transit to other foreign countries.

### Final Witness

The committee's final witness yesterday was police Sgt. Hubert J. Badeaux, whose testimony about Red activity here served as an introduction to today's hearing.

Badeaux brought with him Communist directives and literature he told the committee were seized from known "hard-core" Communists in the New Orleans area.

He declined to name any of the Communists, except Hunter Pitts O'Dell, who he described as one of the top men in the party in the South since 1950.

Also scheduled to appear today was:

Mrs. Jessie Sims, a secretary at union headquarters, 425 Gravier.

The local formerly was headed by Negro labor leader Andrew Steve Nelson, who died while under federal conviction for lying when he swore he was not a Communist.

Rep. Willis, who is conducting the hearings with Reps. Morgan Moulder of Missouri and Kearney of New York, called for revision of customs laws that would permit customs agents to destroy on sight Communist propaganda sent to diplomats who are immuned from inspection of their mail.

Willis advocated changes in the law after witnesses testified that present postoffice and customs regulations are ambiguous.

Badeaux told the committee that in the 10 years he has been connected with the intelligence division of the police department he has been able to identify about 90 Moscow-trained Communists.

He agreed with committee counsel Richard Arens, who asked the witness if it were not true that present-day Reds are not the "namby-pamby" members permitted in the party 10 years ago.

Badeaux stated further that the Communist party is not a political party, but a conspiracy dedicated to the violent overthrow of the country.

Party members in New Orleans work underground, he said,

detailing a document he identified as a proposal for the party's organization in the South.

He said the document was seized from O'Dell, who invoked the Fifth amendment when he was quizzed in a previous investigation of Communist activity in New Orleans.

### Literature Discussed

Included in the document were plans for the distribution of literature, some of which dealt with segregation in the schools.

"They are instructing party members to infiltrate organizations and institutions such as churches and schools and distribute party literature after they get in these organizations," he said.

Badeaux also read from a document he said was the minutes of a secret meeting of a party division held in Birmingham, Ala. in which the efforts of the party to "keep alive" stories of police brutality are described.

### Other Witnesses

Other witnesses yesterday included:

Irving Fishman, deputy collector of customs at New York, who estimated there are about 120,000 individual pieces of Communist propaganda entering the New Orleans port unmarked as propaganda, in violation of the foreign agents registration act.

Saul Mindell, post office attorney from Washington, who said nearly one million pieces of propaganda were confiscated throughout the country last year either as unmarked propaganda or because it was sent into the country from an agent not registered under the act.

Miss Margaret M. Rosano, translator and assistant to the deputy customs collector in New York, who told the committee most of the mail entering the port comes from Mexico, Hong Kong or South American countries. A large percentage of it is written in foreign languages.

Milton LeBlanc, assistant collector of customs in New Orleans, who referred to over 140,000 bags of suspected Communist propaganda mail sent to customs inspectors for examination last year.

# Union Chief Refuses to Testify

## Longshoremen's Official Invokes Amendment

Lee Brown, Negro vice-president of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union in New Orleans, Friday refused to answer questions put to him by a subcommittee of the United States House un-American activities committee.

Brown was twice administered the oath to tell the truth because committee chairman Rep. Edwin E. Willis of St. Martinville could not hear the witness' reply.

Brown in response to questions by committee counsel Richard Arens, identified himself, gave his address as 2017 Jackson, and described himself as a warehouseman.

He said he was born in New Orleans in 1921 and did not want a lawyer for Friday's hearing.

Arens then asked him to give the committee a brief sketch of his educational background.

Brown sat up in his chair and frowned.

### Refuses to Answer

"Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that to this committee and any other committee that I am not . . .

Rep. Bernard Kearney of New York interrupted, advising the witness to answer the question and "not make a speech."

Brown repeated he would not answer the question until allowed to make a statement.

Kearney told Brown it "is a very simple question," but Brown reiterated his refusal

on grounds that he wanted to make a statement.

"I order and direct you to answer the question," said chairman Willis.

Brown refused again.

"May I remind you, that you are subject to serious consequences for this behavior. Any witness may refuse to answer questions if he invokes the privileges of the Fifth Amendment. But you cannot hedge and pussy-foot and run around the issues. Either answer the question or suffer the pain," Willis said.

### Repeats Refusal

Brown refused.

The questioning was resumed by Arens:

Q. Where are you employed.

A. Mr. Chairman, I request permission to make my statement.

Arens—Mr. Chairman, I respectfully request that the witness be directed to answer the question.

Willis—That is a very simple question. I want to remind you once more that the consequences of your refusal to answer these questions may be contempt proceedings. You will not be permitted to hedge.

Brown—I would like the privilege of the First Amendment to make a statement before I answer the questions, period.

Q. How long have you been employed by the . . .

A. I refuse to answer, period. I told you . . .

Q. How long have you been vice-president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's union here.

Brown again refused on the

same grounds and maintained his right to make a statement over the objection of Willis who ordered him to answer Arens.

The witness also remained silent as Arens asked him:

1. Are you a member of the Communist party?

2. Will you, if you are not a member of the Communist party, tell the committee to that effect?

3. Are you affiliated with the Communist party?

At this point Brown shouted to the congressmen:

"I hope you understand that I am not going to answer, period, until I can make a statement, period."

Rep. Kearney interrupted to remind the witness "you are not running this hearing."

### 'Don't Frighten' Him

"You don't frighten me, neither," he replied quickly.

Kearney urged the US marshal to escort the witness from the room, but Willis took the suggestion under advisement.

Arens then showed the witness a number of documents he said were non-Communist affidavits signed by Brown and asked him if they were "true and correct copies of his signature."

One was dated July 23, 1943; another July, 1952, another in 1954, and a fourth in 1956.

Brown repeated his stock refusal, adding:

"I hoped I had made myself clear that I don't intend to answer any questions until . . ."

Arens interrupted to ask that the documents be put into the record.

He then showed the witness an ILWU document on mimeographed paper bearing the title, "State Committee of the Louisiana Communist Party," and a record titled "Call to the Youth Committee," urging support of "Wallace and Taylor" under sponsorship of "a number of persons, including yourself."

### Keeps His Silence

Copies of the Communist Daily Worker bearing a letter to the editor from a person Arens said was Brown also were shown, but the witness kept his silence.

The witness was then shown three documents, all identified by Arens as having been from the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union headquarters in New Orleans and mimeographed on the union's machine, each calling for action to be taken against "the ruling classes, Wall Street imperialists and the like," and was asked to tell if they were true and correct copies of documents run off at the union headquarters here.

Brown made the same reply, refusing to answer until allowed to make a statement.

Rep. Kearney then told the witness that he had failed to take refuge behind any of the protective amendments of the constitution and stated, "I will certainly move for a contempt citation against you."

He told Brown, "You are the most arrogant witness I've seen."

Rep. Willis advised the witness that since he was not represented by counsel he was again calling his attention to the fact that he had not invoked any of the protective amendments.

"I am taking the First and Fifth amendments," Brown replied.

He was then again asked, "Where are you employed?" and he repeated his refusal.

Rep. Willis informed him that the question had been repeated in order to determine if he was honest in invoking the Fifth amendment. "You cannot invoke the Fifth amendment unless you are honest in the belief that the answers will incriminate you."

Brown again repeated his refusal to answer any questions.

Willis then termed Brown "one of the typical arrogant witnesses we come across in these hearings. What they do is invoke the Fifth amendment to protect themselves, but here is a different situation. Here is a live person sitting to your left who looks you in the eye and charges you with being a Communist. You are confronted with your accuser."

He then ordered Brown escorted from the room by deputy marshals. Brown rose voluntarily and walked from the room flanked by three deputies.

# Undercover Man Tells of N.O. Red Setup

The second witness called today before the House un-American activities subcommittee here was Arthur Eugene Jr., a star witness in the prosecution of Andrew Steve Nelson, former labor leader who was convicted of falsely denying he was affiliated with the Communist party.

Eugene was a government witness.

Eugene was sworn and said that he resides at 2121 St. Anthony, is a warehouseman, and was a member of the Communist party from 1948 until 1956. During a portion of that time, he testified, he was working as an undercover agent for the federal bureau of investigation.

### Did You Know Brown?

"In the course of your membership in the Communist party, did you know Lee Brown as a Communist?" he was asked.

"Yes," he answered.

Eugene was seated to Brown's left, and was then asked, "Do you see that person in this room?"

He replied in the affirmative and was then asked to "look him in the eye and point him out to the committee.

Eugene turned to his right and pointed to Brown, saying, "That's him right there."

Brown was then told, "Look at the man to your left and tell this committee if he lied or told the truth.

He again refused to answer, and repeated his refusal when asked if he was a member of the Communist con-

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—New Orleans States Photo.  
DEPUTY MARSHAL WALLY DOWS shows the door to LEE BROWN, a balky witness at today's hearing by congressional investigators.

*New Orleans States*  
2/15/57

Eban was expected to transmit the reaction to Dulles as soon as an appointment could be set up.

Meantime it was learned that the Israelis specifically seek further clarification of the US position on opening the Gulf of Aqaba permanently to Israeli shipping.

There seems to be no doubt that on this point, and perhaps on others relating to the Gaza Strip, the Israeli government wants more definite assurance of US backing once Israeli troops are out of the area.

### US Guarantees

Dulles' proposal, made to Ambassador Eban, was in connection with withdrawal of troops from the areas still occupied. The United States would support freedom for Israeli shipping in the waterway and work in the United Nations for measures to deny Egypt any future use of the Gaza Strip as a base

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# Probers Reject Statement by Union Official

First witness today when the House un-American activities subcommittee opened its second day of hearings into Communist activity in the New Orleans area was Leo Brown, Negro vice-president of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union local.

Brown was twice administered the oath to tell the truth because committee chairman Rep. Edwin E. Willis of St. Martinville could not hear the witness' reply.

### Refuses Lawyer

Brown in response to questions by committee counsel Richard Arens, identified himself, gave his address as 2017 Jackson, and described himself as a warehouseman.

He said he was born in New Orleans in 1921 and did not want a lawyer for today's hearing.

Arens then asked him to give the committee a brief sketch of his educational background.

Brown sat up in his chair and frowned.

"Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that to this committee and any other committee that I am not . . .

### Insists on Statement

Rep. Bernard Kearney of New York interrupted, advising the witness to answer the

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