dent Association; he has served on the Citizens' Committee on Re and Employment in St. Louis; and was publicity director for St. Louis Community Fund and also for the community coun He was manager of the Federated Press which is a service that ices not only—it services both of the big labor organizations.

Mr. Coy's writings include articles and feature stories in Cur History, the Survey, the Family, New York Times, Christian Sci Monitor, and Baltimore Evening Sun.

Mr. STARNES. What about Mr. Coy; was he ever connected w any school or college in this country in any capacity?

Mr. ALSBERG. I believe at one time he taught at Commonwe College.

Mr. STARNES. Where is that located?

Mr. ALSBERG. In Arkansas, I believe.

Mr. STARNES. When was he connected with that school?

Mr. ALSBERG. I have not the dates here. I know that at one ti he was there, between 1926 and 1927, or 1927–28. It may be he w there again later.

Mr. STARNES. A moment o I do not know whether I got y clearly, or not, or understoo you clearly. Did you say that in y experience you had somethi to do with any national committee f political prisoners, or that Mr. Coy did?

Mr. ALSBERG. No; I said I did.

Mr. STARNES. Oh, you did?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What was that connection, please?

Mr. ALSBERG. I was one of the members, but the chief publicat of that committee, while I was connected with it, was this book o Russia.

Mr. STARNES. Who were the officers, Mr. Alsberg?

Mr. ALSBERG. What is that?

Mr. STARNES. Who were the officers on that committee? Will y give us the names of the officers of that committee?

Mr. ALSBERG. Well, there seems to have been only one officer, Roger N. Baldwin. On the other hand, the committee was elected fro every group of liberal opinion. If you read it, you will find that s the case. The reason for that was that I wanted every kind of liber opinion represented, so that we could get the backing on this book.

Mr. STARNES. Will you set out for the record—you need not rea them now—those names there? Will you furnish those for the reco and let the reporter have them? There is no need of reading them unless the other members of the committee want to hear them.

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes, sir.

(The following were the names furnished the reported by Mr. Alsberg:)

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS

Roger N. Baldwin, chairman

Jane Addams	Anna N. Davis
Paul Jones	Eugene V. Debs
Henry G. Alsberg	W. E. B. DuBois
Carleton Beals	John Lovejoy Elliott
Louis B. Boudin	Nathalie B. Ells
Max Danish	Charles W. Erwin
Clarence Darrow	Elizabeth Burley Flynn

n G. Forbath	James H. Maurer
lix Frankfurther	David Mitrany
wis Gannett	S. E. Morison
izabeth Gilman	Fremont Older
thur Garfield Hays	John A. Ryan
erman Hapgood	Nevin Sayre
hn Haynes Holmes	Alexander S. Tardos
vid Starr Jordan	Graham R. Taylor
ul U. Kellogg	Norman Thomas
rry Kelly	Girolamo Valenti
ll Lengyel	Ernesto Valentini
bert Morss Lovett	Oswald Garrison Villard
lan W. Mack	B. Charney Vladeck

Mr. STARNES. Did Mr. Coy teach journalism down at Common-alth?

Mr. ALSBERG. No. I think he taught literature, as far as I can ke out.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know about his making a visit to Spain in 1934 1935, when he was over there about 6 months?

Mr. ALSBERG. I know he was in Spain; I have not inquired when was there.

Mr. STARNES. During the time he was there, you know he con-ibuted a number of articles to the New Masses, did he not?

Mr. ALSBERG. I did not know that.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether, in 1935–36, he acted as publicity an for the Council of Social Agencies over in St. Louis?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes; so his statement says.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not he was sent to Spain 1934–35 by the Communist Party as an observer and chronicler of ents there?

Mr. ALSBERG. I have no knowledge of that.

Mr. STARNES. You have no knowledge of that whatsoever?

Mr. ALSBERG. No.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know anything about the activities of his wife Mildred Price, who is an organizer for the Communist Party?

Mr. ALSBERG. I have no knowledge of his wife's activities at all. I only met her recently.

Mr. STARNS. Do you know Dr. Jerome Cook and Jack Conroy?

Mr. ALSBERG. I have met Jack Conroy. I don't know Jerome Cook; at least, I don't remember him.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know that in 1936–37 Mr. Coy assisted in organizing the Inter-Professional Association, a Communist sub-sidiary for dentists, doctors, and other professionals, and he had asso-ciated with him in that role Jack Conroy and Dr. Jerome Cook?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't know anything about that.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not, in 1936–37, he went to New York as eastern manager of the Federated Press?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes; I know that.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know anything about the background of Com-monwealth College down in Arkansas?

Mr. ALSBERG. I know it is something of a liberal college; I have not investigated it.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not it has the reputation of being communistic?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't know that.

Mr. STARNES. What do you know about Mr. Coy's experience with the Federated Press?

Mr. ALSBERG. I cannot answer that; I know nothing more than that he was eastern manager of the Federated Press.

Mr. STARNES. What is the Federated Press? Do you know about that?

Mr. ALSBERG. The Federated Press is a labor press which supplies information to the A. F. of L. labor unions and the C. I. O. impartially.

Mr. STARNES. Is that the same group that previous witnesses testified to as being communistic in its activities or control?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't know. I have not seen that testimony, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. STARNES. I think you will find that two or more witnesses have testified to that effect.

Were you acquainted with Mr. Coy when he was affiliated with the Commonwealth College?

Mr. ALSBERG. No. I never met Mr. Coy until his name was proposed and letters were brought in about him.

Mr. STARNES. Who is Oric Johns?

Mr. ALSBERG. Oric Johns is a writer in New York. He originates in California. He got on to the New York City project.

Mr. STARNES. Was he ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ALSBERG. I don't know, but I have a letter from him which he wrote me recently. I have not seen Mr. Johns for 2 years, but there is a letter here in which he says he is not a member of the Communist Party, and says so. Shall I read that into the record?

Mr. STARNES. We understand he is not now a member. That is the information which comes to this committee, that he is not now a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. ALSBERG. May I tell how Mr. Johns got on the project? I am trying to be completely frank.

Mr. STARNES. Yes; we appreciate you are being very frank.

Mr. ALSBERG. I did not come here in any spirit of hostility. I came——

The CHAIRMAN. We appreciate your attitude.

Mr. ALSBERG. Mr. Johns was going on the project by request, originally to supervise, when the project was started. The first project we had was called a reporting project. It was to report on W. P. A. activities and send reports in to Washington for use in the compiling of Nation-wide reports. We had those projects set up in a great many States. Mr. Johns was requisitioned by the then women's unprofessional service profession in New York City. I did not know Mr. Johns. They came to me and said—I was up there trying to get the project started and they came to me and said, "We would like to put this man on; he seems to be very good." I said, "If you will write a requisition to that effect and take the responsibility for it, I will put on Mr. Johns," because I did not know him. And that was done. And that is 3½ years ago.

There was a great deal of confusion when these things were started and they said, "He will make a good supervisor for the Reporters' Project." For quite a while there was nothing but a Reporters' Project in New York, until we got more people on, and Mr. Johns stayed as the Reporters' Project.

Mr. STARNES. He was a director for a time of the New York——

Mr. ALSBERG. I am getting to that.

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. ALSBERG. Then, as you know, and it is unnecessary to talk about it, there was a row on the project between factions. I had been busy organizing, getting 6,700 people on this thing, sending out instructions of how to write guides and what to do, and I was on the telephone practically 24 hours a day getting the thing going, and I had left the project in New York in charge of two people who I thought could run it. Well, they could not and there was a ball-up. On one side there were accusations of fascism; on the other side, as you know from Mr. DeSolo's testimony, there was communism.

At that time I think there was an administrator in New York for these projects recently appointed. I went up to New York, as we had to cover that situation as quickly as possible, to put somebody in charge. The two people who were supposed to run it had not been able and made a mess, and they were out. So we put Johns in charge; we promoted Johns, without knowing anything about his political convictions, in order to get somebody in; because you had to run the Reporters' Project very quickly. It was the only part of the project where we did not have a row. We put him in as a director. He stayed for a certain time, then he resigned and I was rather glad he resigned, because I do not think the project was being run right before.

Then there was an interval in which we were looking for a director. A number of names were proposed. In the meantime, the project was in the hands of Mr. Donald Thompson—about whom there has been no testimony that he was a Communist, or anything of that sort; a Princeton graduate—as assistant director.

Finally, we found Mr. Harry L. Shaw, who was a professor at New York University, with the slightest recommendations for the place and with no political affiliations whatsoever, a consultant for Harpers, a writer of textbooks, and so on. We put him in charge of the project, and he was in charge for nearly a year.

Mr. STARNES. What did you all do then, when you found you had a mess up there? You frankly faced the fact and took remedial action, did you not?

Mr. ALSBERG. Yes; I demoted—at that time, in 1936, I demoted all of the people who were making trouble. Some of them were transferred, others demoted. DeSolo has testified—I just saw some of his testimony—he was moved out to Staten Island. And we cleaned the mess up as best we could.

I do not mean to pretend here that the project in New York City has not suffered because there was a ball-up, and it is only now gradually rounding into shape as far as discipline goes. I am not going to say that the New York project, as far as disturbance, and so on, goes, has not been sort of a headache. I have had to spend a lot of time there, and once in a while, when the delegations were too rambunctious, I have had to go and attend to them, and use pretty rough language to them and saying, "We are not going to do this thing; we are not going to do that."

Mr. STARNES. That was when you had to go into the sit-down strikes?

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INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARINGS

BEFORE A

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H. Res. 282

TO INVESTIGATE (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

VOLUME 11

OCTOBER 28, 30, 31, NOVEMBER 1, 2, 3, 27, 29, AND 30, AND DECEMBER 1, 2, AND 8, 1939
AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

Printed for the use of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities

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GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
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Vol. 11 Copy C

been invited to serve on the council at the time the organization was formed (December 1935) that he consented to serve but had never been asked to attend a meeting and had had no official connection with the organization. One felt tempted to ask him what Joseph Lash, executive secretary of the organization, expected to get for nothing. This same professor is a member of a board controlling some 35,000 college students, in other institutions than the one in which he holds an important chair. This incident is recited to show the very high esteem in which this Communist-controlled organization is held in some quarters.

It will be conceded by all, that the thinking of students is largely directed and controlled by their teachers, all the way from elementary to graduate groups, and one cannot measure the extent of this influence when exercised by an alert teacher who is filled with zeal for the spread of communism. It was found in practically every instance that the professor chosen to sponsor the American Student Union was always actively seeking every opportunity to bring himself or herself before the student body as the champion of liberty, showing himself or herself untiring in his efforts to make himself popular. No one can deny that this of itself is most commendable but when coupled with the spread of communism it becomes the basest kind of prostitution.

The party has set up a very definite program for the teachers of the United States as will be found from an article in the Communist, published in May 1937. In this article by Richard Frank the American Student Union and the Young Communist League are named as the agencies to be utilized in the spread of communism in schools and the following quotation therefore shows the responsibility devolving upon teachers:

> That they are responsible for training these children. * * * Communist teachers are therefore faced with a tremendous social responsibility. * * * They must take advantage of their positions, without exposing themselves, to give their students to the best of their ability working-class education. To enable teachers in the party to do the latter, the party must take careful care to see that all teacher comrades are given thorough education in the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Only when teachers have really mastered Marxism-Leninism will they be able skillfully to inject it into their teachings at the least risk of exposure, and at the same time conduct struggles around the schools in a truly Bolshevik manner.

The article continues with instructions for the use of Communist teachers in the rural schools and leading up to this climax:

> A people's movement around the schools can thus transform the latter into popular forums for progressive social action, ultimately into forums for the revolution. * * * It can be seen from this how important it is to build the American Federation of Teachers.

The above excerpts have been made to show the real significance attaching to the repeated assertion that the American Federation of Teachers is strongly impregnated with communism. A teachers' union has been organized in all parts of the East and West and in practically all the cities of the South, while not being usually found in the rural districts. Many of the leaders of these unions are, according to common report, zealously trying to comply with instructions issued by the party, their success being measured solely by the true Americanism to be found in the great body of teachers

who are earnestly striving to train the boys and girls of the United States.

The college chapters of the Teachers' Union are found to be ardent champions of academic freedom and free speech, and are invariably supporting the program of the American Student Union. They cannot yet comply with the instruction "Marxist-Leninism analysis must be injected into every class," largely because of the fear of exposure, which is a cardinal sin to the true Communist.

In a southern community of 30,000 population a former director of Commonwealth College, Mena, Ark., and a well-known Communist labor organizer was elected to membership on the school board, and as a result Communist teachers were brought into the schools. When this was discovered by the superintendent, he set about to change the composition of the board, and when this was done he dropped 31 teachers and 2 clerical employees, all members of the Teachers' Union, because of the Communist activities. This matter is now before the attorney general of the State for decision as to the authority of the board to discontinue the employees in question. This incident shows the power of one capable leader with zeal for the party. Commonwealth College is in close touch with this community, and at the present time has its printing done there as shown by the union label used.

In a close-by city in the same State, the acting chairman of the school board is a lady physician who served as medical officer for the party in Spain. The superintendent of schools stated that she had never made a move on the board which he considered subversive though she is recognized as a "liberal" in the city.

The American Student Union is always a "noisy" minority wherever it exists. It invariably gets representation on the school paper, if not full control. It succeeds in getting space in these papers clearly in excess of its proportionate student membership. It is always opposed to the R. O. T. C. at every opportunity. It is ever seeking to bring "red" speakers to the campus and is active in sponsoring "red" movements whether local or national in scope.

In one university, the American Student Union surreptitiously obtained the names of 600 freshman male enrollees and sent each one a letter which, according to the chancellor, was scurrilous and obscene, criticizing the R. O. T. C. unit and urging them not to enlist. He turned the letter over to the post-office authorities with a view to the prosecution of the guilty parties. No prosecution was attempted, but the chancellor canceled the scholarship appointments of the three students who were responsible for the issuance of the letter. He was unable to find out how they had obtained the names of the incoming students. This was cited by him as an outrageous instance of subversion. The same chancellor in discussing this subject said he was a "liberal," that he would hesitate to question any statement of a professor before his class, even if he showed himself to be more favorable to a foreign economic system than to that of the United States.

In a State university with an enrollment of 12,000 students, a proposal to establish an R. O. T. C. unit was so strongly opposed by one of the professors, a brother of a well-known Communist of the State, that the proposal was defeated. The colonel of the U. S.

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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

HEARINGS

BEFORE A

SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

OF THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

H. Res. 220

PROVIDING FOR AN INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES

WASHINGTON, D. C.
NOVEMBER 10, 1930
NOVEMBER 24 AND 25, 1930
AND DECEMBER 5, 1930

PART 1—VOLUME No. 4

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1930

have a legal right to be on the communist ticket. I would not exclude them from the ballot; I do not think that would be right. I think that really would be a breach of the right of free speech, expression of opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. How many votes were cast in Philadelphia, do you know?

Mr. WELSH. No. I meant to find that out just before I came down here.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they have communist candidates for governor and for the assembly?

Mr. WELSH. They had communist candidates, but what their ticket got I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you find out and let me know what the vote was?

Mr. WELSH. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any other recommendations to make to the committee?

Mr. WELSH. I think the United States should have a criminal syndicalism law, most certainly, because these people can not be reached at all.

Mr. NELSON. Would that not be a very difficult thing to frame?

Mr. WELSH. No; I think not. They have done it quite nicely in California and it has been sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States. I do not think it would be difficult. You have one in Pennsylvania. New York had one and it was upheld by the Supreme Court in the Gitlow case. In Michigan that sort of thing was upheld in the Ruthenberg case.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any other recommendations, or would you prefer to submit them in writing? We have to make a little more progress here to-day; we have a number of witnesses from out of town who are to be heard.

Mr. WELSH. I think I would rather submit them in writing; I can study them more carefully.

Here is a paper showing the hook-up of the communists with the schools.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. Welsh, I think the committee appreciates the work you have done, but we already have a large file of papers and we are pressed for time.

Mr. WELSH. There are one or two things I would like to speak about Mr. West.

Mr. NELSON. But if you will file those, we could check them with the other lists.

Mr. WELSH. Was his connection with the anarchist Berkman brought out?

The CHAIRMAN. Who?

Mr. WELSH. George P. West.

Mr. BACHMANN. Well, is West a communist?

Mr. WELSH. He is on the American Civil Liberties Union national committee and is aiding the communists.

Mr. BACHMANN. But is he a communist?

Mr. WELSH. He was aiding the anarchists then. I do not know he pretends to be an anarchist.

The CHAIRMAN. Just file that.

Mr. WELSH. There is just one thing. He signed a report on the Mooney case, which was false, to Alexander Berkman, the chief living anarchist of the country, for Berkman's approval. Then it was published as a United States document. And there are so many one of that sort.

The CHAIRMAN. But we are not investigating him individually.

Mr. WELSH. It is only as to the character of the men on the American Civil Liberties Union national committee. I do not know whether that is of any interest to you or not. This is an extract from the court's decision in this case.

The CHAIRMAN. Just file it. We want to thank you very much for coming down here. You have given a great deal of study to this problem and given us very valuable information, and I believe you have a mass of information probably second to none in the country, and we will be glad to look over the documents and use what we can.

Mr. WELSH. Mr. Jung in Chicago and I exchange information. In fact, Mr. Jung got in touch through me, and we exchange information constantly and I have a great deal more I have collected during the war, and an immense amount of undercover information.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much for coming down here and helping us.

Mr. WELSH. I am very much obliged to you gentlemen for hearing me.

(The following papers were submitted for the record by Mr. Welsh:)

WELSH EXHIBIT No. 1

The following is a list of some, but by no means all, organizations set up by members of the American Civil Liberties Union groups and communists. Some of these organizations are purely communist and controlled by communists. Others are affairs into which the American Civil Liberties Union groups have merely bored, while others are gotten up and dominated by those and their communist friends. It should be remembered that one of the chief communists in the United States has for years been Moscow's representative on the American Civil Liberties Union national committee, namely, William A. Nizer, who resigned about two weeks ago, ostensibly over some row between the American Civil Liberties Union and the International Labor Defense, but from the American Civil Liberties Union was let in for the bail bonds of the Communist murderers. Whether or not this is merely an excuse I do not know, but Robert W. Dunn has been increasing in influence and apparently is the representative of Moscow, which he now represents on the American Civil Liberties Union national committee. There are, however, on it other communists and some who state they are not communists but are members of purely communist organizations, such as the International Labor Defense, the National Council for the Protection of Foreign-Born Workers, the American Anti-Imperialist League, etc.

The American Anti-Imperialist League, [illegible]

[illegible] affair.

American Association for International Conciliation.

American Association for Labor Legislation.

American Association for Old Age Security.

American Association for the Advancement of [illegible]

American Civil Liberties Union.

American Committee for Chinese Relief.

American Committee for Fair Play in China.

American Committee for Justice in China.

American Committee for Information About Russia.

American Committee Opposed to Alien [illegible]

American Federation of Teachers.

American Friends of Russian Freedom.

American Labor Alliance for Trade Relations with Russia.
American Negro Labor Congress.
American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia.
American Trade Union Mission to Russia.
Amtorg Trading Corporation.
Anti-Fascist League of North America.
Anti-Horthy League.
Anti-Monopoly League.
Bezbozhnik (Russian Godless Society).
Brookwood College Bryn Mawr Summer School.
Bureau of Industrial Research.
Chicago Forum Council.
Church League for Industrial Democracy, which practically swallowed up the Church Socialist League.
Church Socialist League.
Citizens Committee of 100. This was gotten up by the American Civil Liberties Union crowd to support teachers dismissed for their disloyal teachings from the New York public schools.
Civic Club.
Committee of 48 (swallowed up by the Farmer-Labor Party).
Committee on Coal and Giant Power.
Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America.
Committee on Militarism in Education.
Committee on Social Service of Federal Council of Churches.
Commonwealth College.
Communist Party of the United States of America (see Workers (Communist) Party below).
Community Church of New York.
Conference for Progressive Labor Action.
Conference for Progressive Political Action.
Consumers League.
Cooperative League of the United States of America.
Debs Memorial Radio Fund.
Emergency Foreign Policy Conference.
Emergency Peace Federation.
Farmer-Labor Party.
Federated Press.
Fellowship for a Christian Social Order.
Fellowship of Faiths.
Fellowship of Reconciliation.
Final American Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace.
Forum Hall Forum Council.
Foreign Language Information Service.
Foreign Policy Association.
Freiheit (Communist Jewish organ).
Friends of Freedom for India.
Friends of Soviet Russia (the Ding Yee Da committee was an agency of Garland Fund).
Norman Hapgood's "Professional Patriots," in its long list of subversive books, published as communist propaganda by the communist Union Labor Party, might almost be considered a small institution of name lenders with Hapgood's mendacious book.
I. O. R. (Society for Colonizing Russia).
India Independence League.
I. W. W. (Industrial Workers of the World).
Intercollegiate Peace Association.
Intercollegiate Socialist Society, which changed its name to the League for Industrial Democracy.
International Committee for Political Prisoners.
International Labor Defense.
International Workers' Aid.
Jungfleet Club.
Habeas Corpus. This was gotten up by the assistance of some of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd. What A. [illegible] swindle used as a propaganda [illegible]
Labor Age, organ of League for Industrial Democracy.
Labor Bureau.

[illegible]
Defense Committee.
Party.
Publication Society, publishers [illegible]
Research Association.
Labor Sports Union.
Pamphlet, written by Winthrop D. Lane, published with [illegible] the communist Garland Fund and circulated by the Communist Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and [illegible] pacifists allied with the American Civil Liberties Union and communistic organizations. It also had a liberal admixture which [illegible] study in name lenders.
League for Abolition of Capital Punishment.
League for Independent Political Action.
League for Industrial Democracy.
League for Mutual Aid.
League for Organization of Progress.
League of Neighbors.
Liberty Defense League.
Lincoln School.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
National Association for Child Development.
National Bureau of Economic Research.
National Bureau of Information and Education.
National Child Labor Committee.
National Citizens' Committee on Relations with Latin America.
National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War.
National Conference of Jews and Christians.
National Council for Prevention of War.
National Council for the Protection of Foreign Born Workers. [illegible] have said that they expected more from communism from [illegible] than any other in the United States [illegible] the Communists.
National Popular Government League.
National Save Our Schools Committee.
National Unemployment League.
National Urban League.
National Women's Trade Union League of America.
The Masses, which lends much aid to the communist cause.
New School for Social Research.
New York Camaraderie (a sort of club where [illegible]
New York Child Labor Committee.
New York Federation of Progressive Women.
Non-Intervention Citizens' Committee.
Open Forum National Council.
Open Road.
Passaic Strike Relief Committee, which was led by the [illegible] they organized the Passaic strike.
Peoples Council of America, which was one of the [illegible] by underminers of our free institutions in war times.
People's Freedom Union.
People's Legislative Service.
People's Lobby, composed of radicals [illegible]
Peoples of America Society.
People's Reconstruction League.
Philadelphia Council for World Peace.
Pioneer Youth.
Pioneer Youth Movement.
Proletarian Dramatic Association of America.
Public Ownership League.

Indicts: It is well to note here the list of radical [illegible] by a Senate investigating committee in January, 1921, and [illegible] Department of Justice in January, 1921, as the only subversive [illegible] the other organizations mentioned, including the American Civil Liberties Union, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, [illegible] Rand School of Social Science, where Prof. William F. Ogburn [illegible] the communist Alexander Trachtenberg [illegible]
Red Committee Labor Council.

INFORMATION ON COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

the violence of police officials. He invited to contempt or comment the communists they would find the American Civil Liberties Union [illegible] in their struggle. He charged the police with thugs [illegible]

An address along similar lines but perhaps even less fulsome was made by Clarence S. Hathaway, whom the American Civil Liberties Union had befriended.

The communist International Labor Defense, successor to the communist Labor Defense Council, was organized at Odd Fellows Hall, Los Angeles, Calif., Sunday afternoon, September 13, 1925. Tom Lewis, district organizer of the Workers (Communist) Party, was appointed chairman. Rev. William J. Taylor, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, field secretary; J. H. Wyckman, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union; Robert Vollmer, Rev. William Thaw, Jim Lapegeorge, of the Greek Communist Party; Franklin Wong, of the Kuo Min Tang; Jim Churchill, of the International Hobo Union; Maxie McCreery, of the Communist Federated Press; Sidney Bush, of the Communist Young Workers League; S. Rubock, of the Russian Communist Party; Alexander Rudalitz, of the communist International Workers Aid; Philip Sanborn, socialist; Fletcher Mills, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Emanuel Levin, of the Workers (Communist) Party (name since changed to Communist Party of the United States); Catherine Darnall, of the Communist Labor Party; Dr. H. Gale Whitney, of the Downtown Science Club; Professor Royal Liebeck, of the I. W. W.; Martinez, I. W. W. convict and member of the I. W. W. Roger Francezon, of the Marine Transport Workers Union, were among those present. Of those above mentioned, Taft, Levin, Ryckman, Francezon, were on the executive committee pro tem, and the executive committee nominated officers, who were elected: Robert Whitaker, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, California branch, chairman; A. Plotkin, treasurer.

Telegrams of congratulation were read from the American Civil Liberties Union, Eugene V. Debs, the communist organ, the Daily Worker, the communist International Workers Aid (formerly Friends of Soviet Russia and name now changed to International Workers Relief). Tom Tippett urged support for the I. W. W. Robert Whitaker stated that the American Civil Liberties Union had succeeded in engaging Clarence Darrow, member of the American Civil Liberties Union national committee, for a campaign against criminal syndicalism laws in California. The announcement was applauded; $150 was presented by Mrs. Kate Crane Gartz, of the American Civil Liberties Union national committee and the national committee of the communist International Workers Aid, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the People's Lobby, and a contributor to Commonwealth College and to the I. W. W., the communists, the American Civil Liberties Union, etc.

On September 6, 1925, at an American Civil Liberties Union meeting, Thomas J. Tiell, an anarchist, was one of those to address the meeting, and Clarence Ashert was announced as chief agent for the International Labor Defense. Tom Lewis, the International Labor Defense paper, at the University of California, southern branch.

At a meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union on December 12, 1925, in Los Angeles, proceedings were opened with singing the Internationale and the Red Army March, and over $200 was donated to the International Labor Defense. A. Plotkin and Tom Lewis, organizers of the Communist Party, were speakers. Lewis stated that he believed in revolution and revolutionary violence and stated that capitalists should be killed and the bars thrown into the streets, or that they should be captured for death following the overthrow of the United States Government.

On Sunday night, April 11, 1926, in Los Angeles there was a joint meeting in Lincoln Park under the auspices of the Communist International Labor Defense and the American Civil Liberties Union. Communists spoke on the American Frame-Up System, which was a speech along the lines of Robert Minor's book of the same name. Minor was an intimate friend and collaborator with Tom Mooney and Alexander Berkman and was here because one of the leaders of the Communist Party. It was he who attempted to cause a portion of the Communist Party of America to join the Dusseldorf and Moscow group of American communists. Minor was also here to begin a campaign for the Frame-Up System in connection with the Mooney case, which was followed by the American Civil Liberties Union crowd [illegible]

[illegible] 16, 1926, issue of his bulletin, under the [illegible] Communist [illegible] the Rev. Dr. Harry F. Ward, president of the American Civil Liberties Union, urges contributions be sent to the Communist [illegible] International Relief for the Gastonia communists arrested for the defense of the sheriff and further recommends that information about the defense of the Communist strikers be secured by getting in touch with the American Civil Liberties Union.

On Sunday night, October 21, 1928, in the Walker Auditorium of the Third Unitarian Church, Los Angeles, was held a meeting jointly by the local branch of the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Civil Liberties Union [illegible] of the American Civil Liberties Union who had been arrested. Mrs. Kate Crane Gartz, of the American Civil Liberties Union national committee and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, started the subscription, which [illegible]

The International Labor Defense in January, 1930, issued an appeal for the communist murderers in the Gastonia case. The American Civil Liberties Union furnished bonds for these prisoners. This circular says: "Your bail is released immediately upon the disposition of the case. Remember it is only as a loan. After these prisoners were convicted and the conviction was affirmed by the Supreme court of the State the International Labor Defense advised the prisoners to skip their bail and they did and went to Russia. Another circular was put out shortly afterwards by the International Labor Defense in which it represented that the Gastonia murderers were not criminals but quite the contrary and the circular puts forward the International Labor Defense as a leader in the class struggle. And urges people to aid for the release of all political prisoners.

The International Labor Defense has been quite closely allied to the American Civil Liberties Union by interlocking membership and by [illegible] for communists who have gotten into the toils of the law for [illegible]

[illegible] INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

The International Labor Defense has been [illegible] in the American [illegible] of the Communist International. In June, [illegible] William Z. Dunne, Big Bill Dunne of Montana, politics Tom [illegible] stevants an editor of the communist organ, the Daily Worker, and [illegible] of the Communist Party. Bishop [illegible] William Z. Foster, president of William Z. Foster [illegible] MacNamara, of the Pittsburgh district, president of the Labor Defense [illegible] Communists' Union. J. T. Hall, of the [illegible] Benjamin Mitchell were speakers. Note of the [illegible] Debs, Upton Sinclair, [illegible] William Z. Foster, Robert W. Dunne, of the Labor Defender, which was [illegible] national committee and the officers of the [illegible] International Labor Defense, organ in June, 1931, were [illegible] of the American Civil Liberties Union national committee [illegible] Debs, and Clarence Darrow, also [illegible] committee. We also find Robert [illegible] Civil Liberties Union, who was [illegible] communist [illegible] and professedly communist [illegible] with the American Civil Liberties [illegible] as also was [illegible] communists, American Civil Liberties [illegible] others of the American Civil Liberties [illegible] Defense [illegible] Alice Stone Blackwell, Alexander [illegible] Communist Party [illegible] Chairman [illegible] Chairman [illegible] and leader [illegible] opposition [illegible] communists [illegible]

Pleasant things in Russia are; the foreign language information service affiliation, which endeavors to have laws passed favorable to radicals; the American Labor Alliance for Trade Relations with Russia, gotten up by the communists; the American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia; another communist propaganda; the Russian reconstruction farms, which raised money for communist purposes under the guise of charity; the hay-school for social research with communists on its staff; the American Federated Russian famine relief, another communist enterprise to raise money under false pretenses; the fellowship for a Christian social order, which endeavors to break down opposition to communism; the National Council for Prevention of War, which says not a word against Russia plotting against other countries, with the largest army in the world, and having redoubled its efforts against the extermination of religion, but endeavors to prevent America from being able to resist communist aggression; the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which endeavors to undermine American defense, but says not a word of the militarism of Communist Russia and in fact agitates for its recognition, which would enable Russian spies and propagandists to carry on their propaganda here much better than before. It also advocates the abolition of all property privileges, another communist doctrine.

We also find members of the save our schools committee on the Department of Justice list of radicals published in 1921; the list of radicals exposed in the Senate investigation in 1919, and exposed in the Lusk report on revolutionary radicalism.

They are in the National Consumers League, which makes for communism; in the American Civil Liberties Union committee of 100 gotten up to support the disloyal teachers dropped from the New York schools; on the radical Chicago Forum Council; on the trades-union national committee for Russian relief, which was gotten up by the communists; camouflaged as a trade-union affair for communist propaganda; in the Ukraine Farming and Machinery Corporation, which was to help the communists financially; in the Anti-Monopoly League; the Public Ownership League; the League for Abolition of Capital Punishment; the Labor Publication Society, an offshoot of the American Civil Liberties Union; in the Liberty Defense League, which defended license and subversive criminality; in the League for Mutual Aid, among radicals; in the radical New York Teachers Union denounced by patriotic teachers for its disloyalty; on the staff of Brookwood College, recently denounced as communistic by the American Federation of Labor; in the Pioneer Youth of America, which teaches communism to youth (apropos of which Mrs. Lucy L. W. Wilson, of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and a Philadelphia high-school principal, recently pronounced a eulogium of the Communist Pioneer Youth calculated to help the organization of the American Pioneer Youth).

We find save our schools committee members in the American Federation of Teachers, which is a radical affair; in the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, which gives forth many pronouncements pleasing to communists; in the National Council for Protection of Foreign Born Workers, gotten up and owned by the communists, of which the communist Nina Samarodin is the head; in the World Unity Foundation, which helps along the communist game indirectly; on the staff of the Bolshevik Nation; on the committee of 48, gotten up by the American Civil Liberties Union crowd, and in the Farmer Labor Party; on the nonintervention citizens committee; on the American committee on information (misinformation) about Russia; in the Chicago Liberal Club, which has communist speakers; in the Church League for Industrial Democracy, which adopts the communist slogan of production for use but not for profit; in the Workers Education Bureau, which owns and controls Brookwood College; on the Burton K. Wheeler defense committee and the La Follette staff of speakers; in the Survey Associates; in the Ford Hall Forum Council; in the Summer School for Women Workers in Industry gotten up by the Workers Education Bureau and the Brookwood College crowd; among the contributors to the communistic Commonwealth College; among the promoters of the communist 1923 railroad brotherhood amalgamation which was meant to give the communists control or power to throat an attempted in England; in the National Conservation Association, roads and mining, with the United Mine Workers, to take the mines by force, an affair tending to Government ownership; in the socialist [illegible]

We find these members and [illegible]

League. This will be remembered [illegible] against the [illegible] a number of its members making false charges against the [illegible] who were [illegible] to the interest of communists and anarchists and [illegible] of the Senate [illegible] charges were investigated by a committee of the Senate [illegible] the stockholders of the communists and anarchists and [illegible] investigated these members of the National People's [illegible] or more of whom are members of the American Civil [illegible] seemed to think that these mendacious charges were [illegible] expected from these men.

The Garland fund camouflages as the American Fund for Public [illegible] gives only for communist purposes, and here again are members of the [illegible] schools committee in control.

The Peoples of America Society was another radical [illegible] these members.

The First American Conference for Democracy [illegible] anything but loyal to the United States, and members of the [illegible] committee are in it.

One of the most notorious and disloyal things [illegible] country was the formation of the Peoples Council of America, which [illegible] disloyalty, was incontinently kicked out of Minnesota by Governor [illegible] and then out of Chicago by Governor Lowden, where it has been [illegible] the notorious Bill Thompson. Here again are members of the save our schools committee.

Winthrop D. Lane was a member of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society [illegible] up to spread socialism in the colleges. He wrote a pamphlet in the interest of abject pacifism which was paid for by the communist Garland fund and circulated by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, containing among other the communists. There is a long list of indorsers, containing among other the names of members of the save our schools committee.

Norman Hapgood sponsored a book called Professional Patriots, [illegible] of which was to sneer at and belittle patriotism. It was published in the communist organ, the Daily Worker, as communist propaganda. [illegible] flagrant untruths. As an instance, it said that the patriotic Massachusetts Public Interests League was gotten up by employers to defeat the child labor amendment. The Massachusetts Public Interests League was [illegible] employers and was gotten up years before the child labor amendment was proposed. This book inverts the meaning of words in the interest of communism and shows no regard for facts. In the beginning of this book [illegible] long list of names of indorsers, among which are members of the save our schools committee.

Debs proclaimed himself a Bolshevist from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet and on the Debs Memorial radio fund committee are members of the save our schools committee.

The Fellowship of Youth for Peace was an offshoot of the save our schools committee. Recognition, and here again are members of the save our schools committee.

The International Labor Defense is a communist affair to defend communist criminals, and members of the save our schools committee are in it.

We find members also who were members of the committee [illegible] visit Russia by invitation of the communists and [illegible] purposes.

We find them on the committee on militarism [illegible] Conference for Progressive Political Action [illegible] science with the editors of the Communist [illegible] declared he would plot to overthrow the United States [illegible] on the staff of the Ku Klux Klan among the [illegible] Carlo Tresca, who has been jailed in Italy [illegible] publishing an anarchist paper [illegible]

We find them [illegible] Whitney, who was convicted under the Criminal Syndicalism [illegible] and pardoned by Governor Young of California [illegible] not [illegible] and [illegible] Memorial [illegible] W. [illegible]

groups, including the Daily Worker, the International Labor Defense, and so forth.

Tremendous has been the progress made during the past few years by the many organizations which exist for the purpose of changing the ideology of America.

Mr. BACHMANN. You are speaking now of the Garland Fund, are you not?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. NELSON. Are you reading from a report?

Mr. STEELE. No, sir; I am reading from a statement, now. This, Lenin said, is the first and most important step toward overthrowing the institutions of the country.

The Daily Worker, along with the I. W. W.—revolutionary organization committed to violence in the settlement of industrial and political disputes—the Communist Young Pioneers and similar revolutionary organizations, received their cash for the purpose of stirring up armed insurrection against the American Government. Other organizations engaged in disseminating propaganda for disarmament and against military training in the schools and colleges and elsewhere, also received cash contributions and loans—in other words, financial aid is extended for agitation against the preparation of youth in accordance with the policy of Theodore Roosevelt, to defend their country against the attacks which the revolutionary organizations publicly proclaim they intend to make. In the one case, offense by violence was promoted—in the other defense by armed force was discouraged. The two cases fit into a striking mosaic. They illustrate the success achieved by revolutionary radicalism in the United States in using good men for a common purpose—and that purpose, as announced by the bigger beneficiaries of the fund, the extirpation of free government, religion, the home, and all the institutions of American civilization.

Millions of dollars have been poured out during the last few years to promote on the one hand the militant organization of the forces of destruction in the United States, and on the other hand to wear down the spirit of national loyalty and destroy the disposition of the American people to fit themselves to defend their country against violence, foreign and domestic, invoked to bring about the destruction of America and all it stands for. No better illustration of this nation-wide subversive propaganda can be adduced than an analysis of the activities of the American Fund for Public Service and its far-flung subsidies to organizations and movements believed to contribute directly or indirectly to radical purposes.

The officials of the American Fund for Public Service, according to the report, included the following: Roger Baldwin, Robert W. Dunn, Morris L. Ernst, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Lewis S. Gannett, Benjamin Gitlow, Clinton Golden, James Weldon Johnson, Freda Kirchwey, Clarina Nicholson, Scott Nearing, and Norman H. Thomas.

The organization to which this fund has been disbursed number approximately 50; the amount in outright contributions and loans is approximately $2,000,000.

Lenin is quoted as having advised his followers to also rebuild communism with noncommunist hands.

A pamphlet, Twenty Years of Social Democracy, issued by the League for Industrial Democracy, which organization has received thousands of dollars from the American Fund for Public Service, quotes Roger Baldwin, as director of the fund, as follows:

To many of us interlocking directors, and to many of us interlocking contributors, it is pretty difficult to tell from whom to bring the greetings and to whom to give the greetings. It is sometimes difficult for me to tell whether I am in a meeting of the L. I. D. (meaning League for Industrial Democracy) or a meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Florence Kelley, formerly Mrs. Wischnewetsky, head of many so-called welfare movements in the United States and usually in prominence at child welfare and maternity conferences, a pupil, friend, and translator of Friedrich Engels (coauthor with Karl Marx of the Communist Manifesto, so freely circulated in this country by both communists and socialists), is quoted in the meat packer hearing, May, 1921, page 28, as testifying:

We are now organized with a thousand ramifications, we may say, more interlocking directorates than business has.

This report, together with the attached exhibits, is evidence of the fact that the road to communism is being paved by certain so-called noncommunist bands through the financing of the American Fund for Public Service.

I herewith enter this report for the records as Exhibit 1, together with Exhibits 2 to 38, inclusive, which contain data bearing upon the report and the organizations receiving financial aid from the fund in question.

Mr. BACHMANN. While you are talking about that Garland Fund, what was the original amount of the Garland Fund?

Mr. STEELE. Approximately $900,000.

Mr. BACHMANN. And it was invested, so that it increased to $2,000,000.

Mr. STEELE. According to their report, which was filed last year.

Mr. BACHMANN. Has it all been dispensed now?

Mr. STEELE. No, sir.

Mr. BACHMANN. How much of it is left?

Mr. STEELE. I understand there are approximately $[illegible] remaining in the fund.

Mr. BACHMANN. Well, they have authority to dispense all of it if they so desire?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

(The exhibits submitted for the record by Mr. STEELE are as follows:)

EXHIBITS

Exhibit 1. Report of the American Fund for Public Service.
2. Officers of American Fund for Public Service.
3. Programs of various organizations.
4. Committee on militarism in education.
5. Cooperative movements in America.
6. Young Pioneers of America.
7. Young Workers League.
8. Workers' (Communist) College.
9. The Daily Worker.
10. Russian Soviet Bureau.

Exhibit 11. International Publishers and the Rand Book Store (distributors of communist-socialist literature).
12. Il Nuovo Mondo.
13. Birth Control League.
14. National Association for Advancement of Colored People.
15. Workers' schools teaching communism.
16. American Federation of Teachers and branches.
17. National Women's Trade Union League of America.
18. The Vanguard Press.
19. Brookwood Labor College.
20. League for Industrial Democracy.
21. The People's Lobby.
22. Commonwealth College.
23. National committee of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League.
24. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.
25. The Trade Union Education League.
26. The Federated Press.
27. The National Urban League.
28. The New Leader.
29. Mahanaim School.
30. The New Republic.
31. The Civic Club.
32. The Labor Bureau (Inc.).
33. Labor Age.
34. The Rand School of Social Science.
35. The American Civil Liberties Union.
36. New Masses (a communist magazine).
37. Novy Mir (communist Russian language paper).
38. The World Tomorrow.

STEELE EXHIBIT No. 1

THE AMERICAN FUND FOR PUBLIC SERVICE (INC.)—REPORT FOR THE THREE YEARS 1925 TO 1928 AND SUMMARY OF ALL SIX YEARS OF OPERATION

THE SIX YEARS

This report of the operations of the American Fund for Public Service (Inc.) popularly called the Garland Fund, covers in detail the three years 1925 to 1928 and summarizes the whole six years since its foundation in 1922.

The fund has been practically exhausted in these six years. In that time a total in round figures of $1,100,000 has been given away outright. In addition $640,000 has been loaned, of which $325,000 was still outstanding at the end of the period. Deducting these outstanding loans (most of which will be repaid) and deducting money reserved for future payments, the balance of the fund in hand at the close of the 6-year period was only about $65,000. That balance has since been considerably increased by a rise in the market value of the securities. These small assets on hand mean that the active life of the fund has closed, in so far as Mr. Garland's gift is concerned. The fund has received no other gifts, though we understand that several persons have provided in their wills for the administration of small trust funds by our board.

We have administered this one gift of Mr. Garland's in the spirit he intended when he gave it in 1922. It was his intention that the capital as well as the interest should be disposed of as rapidly as possible. We had estimated, when the work began that it would take 5 to 10 years to dispose of the entire amount in accordance with the plan adopted. The results have about squared with our estimate, though if the fund had not increased in value it would have been disposed of more rapidly—in about four years.

Counting the money given away and loaned, together with assets in hand at the end of the six years, the fund has reached close to $2,000,000. This great increase over the original amount of about $900,000 given by Mr. Garland is due to a phenomenal rise in the chief securities turned over to us—the stock of the First National Bank of New York City.

Despite the steady increase in the value of the fund during the last four years it became apparent early in 1926 that with the pledges we had made we were within sight of disposing of our entire principal. At that time, therefore, the trustees set aside sums of money for various purposes [illegible]

[illegible] applications from enterprises which [illegible] were refused. Applications from those which [illegible] only with a view to cutting down the amounts [illegible] As the balance of the fund grew smaller, the directors [illegible] gifts or loans upon application unless [illegible] them was taken by one or more trustees of the fund. [illegible] which have been acted upon since that time have been [illegible] of the board of directors. The reason for this change [illegible] the amount available for distribution was so small that [illegible] be acted upon without arbitrary discrimination and [illegible] great projects which seemed to one or more members of our board [illegible] while aiding.

It is difficult to estimate the service which the fund has [illegible] the six years of its active life because the American labor movement [illegible] progressive causes, which have been the field of our efforts, have been [illegible] on the decline during the period of the fund's operation. Our policy [illegible] ing or loaning money only upon application, not on our own initiative, [illegible] that much of our fund went into trying to save sinking enterprises. [illegible] them sunk despite our efforts. Others of them still [illegible] have gone ahead encouragingly.

It has not been the general policy of the fund to continue [illegible] ordinary operating expenses of these enterprises. Although the total [illegible] which has gone to maintenance has been large, the contributions [illegible] decreasing scale to help them get on their feet after a slump of [illegible] organizations get started. To one group of enterprises—workers' schools [illegible] have, however, contributed heavily for operating expenses, usually [illegible] many contributed by trade unions. We make this exception to our [illegible] policy because the movement was new and promising. Indeed, the [illegible] single total of our contributions, whether for operating expenses or [illegible] has been to this group of enterprises. To Brookwood Labor College [illegible] fund has contributed a total of $97,000 in six years and has pledged [illegible] for the future.

Of the total gifts made by the fund, running over $1,000,000, somewhat more than half has been contributed to operating expenses. A little more than [illegible] has gone to definite projects—either under the direction of some organization or under an agency established independently by the fund. The largest [illegible] these projects is the Vanguard Press, established by the fund with a gift [illegible] of $135,000.

The Vanguard Press represents a [illegible] for it was established on the initiative of the [illegible] application by an outside group. The directors felt [illegible] covering all the activities which they wished to encourage [illegible] sary to set up independent agencies for research and publication [illegible] activities developed by the fund on its own initiative were in that [illegible] total amount put in them outside the Vanguard Press was small [illegible] $15,000. They covered studies of American imperialism ($35,000) [illegible] studies on Soviet Russia published by the Vanguard Press ($12,000) [illegible] of injunctions in labor cases ($14,000) and labor disputes ($10,000).

The directors have used a large part of the fund's assets to meet temporary needs of organizations through loans. [illegible] case of large loans, we have handled [illegible] security and the payment of interest. Of [illegible] which the bank would take. The whole [illegible] to serve enterprises on a basis which no bank would [illegible] we have gone outside the fields which we [illegible] small amounts to a few organizations [illegible] service when we were fairly certain that the loans would be repaid [illegible] them with one exception were repaid.

Where loans were made to enterprises [illegible] in the case of loans without security, we were [illegible] we are helping repaid. But even so, the total [illegible] classed as uncollectible has been very small [illegible] or $55,000.

In the six years the total loans have been [illegible] nearly half has been repaid. At the close of the [illegible] outstanding [illegible] repaid loans, much of which [illegible] uncollectible [illegible]

REPORT FOR THE THREE YEARS 1923 TO 1926

For the 3-year period covered by this report, the enterprises to which we have given outright the largest amounts of money were:

Vanguard Press	$120,000
Brookwood Labor College	74,287
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	21,500
New Masses (magazine)	25,000
Studies of American imperialism (research and publication)	27,000
Federated Press	30,441
Pioneer Youth of America	22,710
Passaic, N. J., strike—For strike relief, publicity, and research	20,216
Commonwealth College	22,500
Workers' Health Bureau	18,416
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters	17,934
Study on coal and superpower	16,100
Rand School, research department	16,116
Labor Age (magazine)	15,200
Campaign for passage of Missouri workmen's compensation law	15,000
Emergency case fund, administered by the American Civil Liberties Union	14,000
Series of studies on Russia	12,600
Committee on militarism in education	12,400
Nuovo Mondo (anti-Fascist daily)	12,000
Workers' School, New York City	11,122
Sacco-Vanzetti case	11,000
Manumit School	10,000
League for Industrial Democracy	10,000
American Birth Control League	10,000
Union Health Center, New York City	10,000
Personal service fund	10,000
Speakers' service bureau	10,000
Study of injunctions in industrial conflicts	9,000

By referring to the gifts and loans for each year, pages 11 to 45, it will be clear what types of enterprises the fund has considered most suitable for aid from us.

Report for Fourth Year of Operation
(July 1, 1925—June 30, 1926)

Gifts	
(Those marked (*) are loans which were canceled as gifts or are uncollectable)	
Total made during the fourth year	$440,[illegible]
Periodicals and publications—total	100,116.97
1. "American Foreign Investments," by Robert W. Dunn, printing and advertising costs. (Royalty received to June 30, 1928, $1,605.44)	[illegible]
2. China Monthly, New York City, for general expenses pending negotiations with Foreign Language Bureau to take over the paper	4,750.00
3. Culture Obrera, New York City, for paying off deficit to enable paper to continue	1,000.00
4. The Federated Press, Chicago, Ill.	1,[illegible]
(1) For Leland Olds, economic service, salary and expenses	[illegible]
(2) For general budget	[illegible]
(3) For expenses of Albert Boyle's trip to Mexico	[illegible]
(4) For expenses of trip to Pennsylvania and West Virginia coal fields by Louis Budenz as special [illegible]	[illegible]
5. Nuovo Mondo, New York City, for general expenses	[illegible]
6. Industrial Pioneer, Chicago, Ill., for general expenses	[illegible]
7. The Labor Age, New York City, for general expenses	[illegible]
8. League for Industrial Democracy, New York City, for promotion purposes	[illegible]
9. New Masses, New York City, for general expenses	[illegible]
10. Rand School of Social Science, New York City, conditioned on paper's raising $9,500 from other sources	[illegible]
11. Rand Book Store, New York City, for campaign for the increased cost of labor, Year Book department	[illegible]
12. Vanguard Press, New York City	[illegible]
(1) For capital and preliminary expenses	[illegible]
(2) For publication of book on Negro labor in the United States	[illegible]
13. World To-morrow, New York City, for general expenses	[illegible]
14. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Washington, D. C., for publication of monthly bulletin	[illegible]
15. Workers' Education, total	[illegible]
1. Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, New York	[illegible]
(1) For general expenses, conditioned on [illegible] amount	[illegible]
(2) For salary and expenses of field representative preparing survey of workers' education	[illegible]
(3) For summer institute, promotion work, $1,[illegible] match receipts from other sources, $1,[illegible]	[illegible]
(4) For living expenses of dependents of three scholarship students	[illegible]
(5) For scholarships for two Negro students	[illegible]
2. Commonwealth College, Mena, Ark.	[illegible]
(1) For administrative expenses, domestic and farm equipment, buildings, etc.	[illegible]
(2) For scholarships	[illegible]
3. Central Labor Union of Salem, Mass., for general expenses of educational department	[illegible]
4. Central Trades and Labor Council, New York City, for general expenses of educational department	[illegible]
5. Colorado and Wyoming State Federations of Labor, for salary of director of workers' education, conditioned on other expenses being raised elsewhere	[illegible]
6. Progressive Library of West Philadelphia, Pa., for general expenses of workers' school	[illegible]
7. Philadelphia Labor College, Philadelphia, Pa.	[illegible]
(1) For general expenses, conditioned on raising equal amount from trade-union sources	[illegible]
(2) For general expenses	[illegible]
8. Denver Labor College, Denver, Colo. (Tamer Labor Summer School, for general expenses, conditioned on raising equal amount	[illegible]
9. Radical Library of Philadelphia, Pa., for general expenses	[illegible]
10. St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, for general educational work	[illegible]
11. United Mine Workers of America, District 2, Pennsylvania, for educational work	[illegible]
12. Workers' School, New York City	[illegible]
(1) For general expenses, conditioned on raising equal amount from trade-union sources	[illegible]
(2) For books for library	[illegible]
13. Young Workers' League, Superior, Wis., for general expenses	[illegible]
14. Workers' Boarding and Co-operative House, New York City	[illegible]
15. Workers' Party, Chicago, Ill.	[illegible]

[illegible]

Daily Worker, Chicago, Ill., Sept. 7, 1924, $10,000 loan, $1,250 repaid. Secured by chattel mortgage on machinery [illegible]

Joint Board Furriers Union, New York City, Mar. 29, 1926, for strike purposes [illegible]

Industrial Workers of the World, Chicago, Ill.:

(1) Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, No. 110, Apr. 28, 1926, for summer campaigns [illegible]

(2) Equity Printing and Typesetting Co., Mar. 25, 1924, for moving into new quarters; $15,000 loan, secured by chattel mortgage on machinery, $3,000 repaid [illegible]

(3) Industrial Workers of the World, May 27, 1925, for payment on building and repairs; $7,500 loan, $1,000 repaid [illegible]

William Jett Lauck, Lenox Building, Washington, D. C., Jan. 20, 1926, secured by mortgage [illegible]

Russian Reconstruction Farms, Jan. 20, 1926, for purchase of equipment in the United States [illegible]

BAL. UNION SERVICE BY THE [illegible] OTHERWISE JUNE 30, 1926

In the Passaic, N. J., strike [illegible]

Report for fifth year of operation (May 1, 1926, to June 30, 1927)

Those marked (*) are loans which were repaid or are uncollectible.

BAL. UNION SERVICE BY THE [illegible] OTHERWISE JUNE 30, 1926

[illegible]

Total grants during the fifth year [illegible] $200,000.00

II. Workers' education, total [illegible] 70,528.00

Boston Trade Union College, Boston, Mass., for general expenses, conditioned on raising equal amount from the trade-union sources [illegible]

Brookwood (Inc.), Katonah, N. Y.:

(1) For general expenses [illegible] 25,000.00

(2) For summer institutes, conditioned on raising equal amount [illegible] 1,500.00

(3) For scholarships of two negro students [illegible] 1,000.00

Central Labor Union of Salem, Mass., for general expenses of educational department [illegible] 2,500.00

Colorado and Wyoming State Federations of Labor, for salary of director of workers' education conditioned on other expenses being raised elsewhere [illegible] 2,500.00

Commonwealth College, Mena, Ark., for the purchase of land [illegible]

Denver Labor College, Denver, Colo. (farmer-labor summer school), for general expenses, conditioned on raising equal amount [illegible]

Ladies' Auxiliary, International Association of Machinists, New York City, for educational work, conditioned on raising equal amount from trade-union sources [illegible]

National Women's Trade Union League, Chicago, for educational work, conditioned on raising equal amount from trade union sources [illegible]

Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, educational department, for general expenses, conditioned on raising $8,818 from trade union sources [illegible]

Philadelphia Labor College, Philadelphia, Pa., for general expenses, conditioned on raising [illegible] from trade-union sources [illegible]

Portland Labor College, Portland, Oreg., for [illegible] raising [illegible]

[illegible]

Brookwood School of Social Science, New York [illegible] scholarships during years 1926-27 and [illegible]

Seattle Labor College, Seattle, Wash., for general [illegible] conditioned on raising equal amount [illegible]

Southern Summer School for Women Workers, [illegible] Sweet Briar, Va., for general expenses [illegible] on raising equal amount [illegible]

United Mine Workers of America, District 2, Pennsylvania, for educational work [illegible]

United Mine Workers of America, District 12, Subdistrict No. 5, Taylorville, Ill., educational department, for general expenses conditioned on United Mine Workers of America contributing equal amount [illegible]

Workers' School, New York City, for general expenses conditioned on raising equal amount from other sources [illegible]

III. Periodicals and publications, total [illegible]

American Foreign Investment, by Robert W. Dunn [illegible] of printing 500 additional copies [illegible]

The Federated Press, Chicago, Ill.:

(1) For general budget [illegible]

(2) For Leland Olds [illegible] and expenses [illegible]

(3) For expenses of cables from England [illegible] British strike [illegible]

(4) For promotion work [illegible]

International Publishers, New York City, for Americanization of Labor, by Robert W. Dunn [illegible]

Labor Age, New York City, for general expenses [illegible]

New Leader, New York City, for publication of bulletin on Passaic and other strikes [illegible]

New Masses, New York City, for general expenses [illegible] ditioned on raising $5,000 [illegible]

Novy Mir, New York City, [illegible] ceiled [illegible]

Polish People's Publishing Co., Chicago, Ill., [illegible] $5,000 loan of May 7, 1926, cancelled [illegible]

Rand School of Social Science, New York City [illegible] publication cost of Index [illegible]

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Washington, D. C., for publication of [illegible] Pax [illegible]

IV. Research, total [illegible]

William Jett Lauck and associates [illegible] for investigation of the textile industry [illegible]

League of Industrial Democracy, New York City [illegible]

(1) For study on [illegible]

(2) For survey of [illegible] South [illegible]

(3) For preliminary study on [illegible] capitalism in the United States [illegible]

Rand School of Social Science, New York City [illegible] Department [illegible]

(1) For work [illegible] raising $2,500 [illegible]

(2) For special study of [illegible] organized labor [illegible]

(3) [illegible]

[illegible] feudalism, in the [illegible] was based on [illegible] military power. The feudalism that we are developing in this country is based upon industrial power and, as a corollary of industrial power, political power. I do not think that the coming industrial feudalism is going to treat the working classes or farmers with particular harshness. Probably it will avoid all of the coarser and cruder forms of injustice; probably it will give the masses a somewhat better general standard of living than they have enjoyed before, but it will do that at the expense of freedom. The masses will have lost their desire to resist, to think for themselves, to determine their own economic lives. Their minds will have become the slave mind. We see instances of that on every hand now, especially where organized propaganda by newspapers in favor of a particular legislative proposal produces its full effects."

One may question the strict accuracy of the prophecy that wage earners and farmers would not be treated with particular harshness; but why don't the churchmen critics of Russia protest the system here at home which is designed to develop the slave mind? They have heard their master's voice.

— Commonwealth Exchange No. 22

Commonwealth College receives money from American Fund for Public Service (Inc.)

[illegible] Commonwealth College Bartlett, September 1, 1940

A friend writes that the Hamilton Fish committee of red hunters will get an it's to laugh. We do not consider ourselves that notorious. But should it show up in this section we will welcome its members. It is true that we will demand that they take an intelligence test in Americanism before investigating. If any survive such a test, which we doubt, for no one of good sense would make such an exhibition of oneself, we will put on a field day in Americanism for them with open season for politicians from the President down. Also to demonstrate that there is one institution at least in the United States where the old American tradition of freedom of speech is not forgotten, we will give the iniquities of our own country, and they are legion, an especially good combing and praise to the skies all the good things, and they are many, of red-red Russia. We are willing to do our bit to educate Congress in the matter of sound liberties. God knows, from the looks of things, Congress needs such education badly.

— Commonwealth College Courier, Mena, Ark., April 10, 1940

Officers of administration: William Edward Zeuch, director; Clay Fulks, business administrator; Rose Clark Brown, treasurer; Irving Wexman, executive secretary.

Board of trustees: William Edward Zeuch, president; P. M. Goodhue, secretary; Raymond Koch.

What is Commonwealth College?

Self-supporting and independent education for workers.

Commonwealth was organized in 1935 to provide education for workers on self-supporting basis.

Commonwealth seeks to develop in young men and women of the working class the capacity to serve the labor movement.

Commonwealth is located in the heart of the Ouachitas, the southernmost range of the Ozarks, where it operates agricultural and other basic industries by means of four hours labor daily from its students and teachers.

Commonwealth is the only institution for higher education where both teachers and students earn their maintenance by part-time labor while engaged in academic work.

Commonwealth is the only college in the world owned and operated by its resident teachers and students.

Commonwealth is a nonsectarian, nonpropaganda institution. It [illegible] no particular religious, political or economic dogma. It holds that experimentation carries the only hope of adjustment of [illegible] and social problems.

[illegible]

[illegible] my talk on [illegible] that I feel you should be [illegible] in the [illegible]

The Commonwealth plan [illegible] material and social affairs has the support of [illegible] Jackson and Mrs. H. D. Arkansas, Dean Roscoe [illegible] Mr. W. J. Rabb, John Haynes Holmes, Norman [illegible] others.

These people are helping Commonwealth College [illegible] success of this experiment in [illegible] supporting and [illegible] workers. To judge from the [illegible] reception given my talk [illegible] we, too, appreciate the unique work Commonwealth [illegible]

Will you not, therefore, help the building up of Commonwealth [illegible] funds so as to meet its annual $2,000 [illegible] direction program. In seven years Commonwealth has [illegible] to 20 attractive buildings and with your help [illegible] of progress. May we have the inclosed [illegible] returned at your earliest convenience?

Sincerely yours,

— [illegible] Executive Secretary

A combination of communists, neutrals, and [illegible] West Committee of the All-American Anti-Imperialist [illegible] fund from the American Fund for Public Service.

Translation from Pravda (Oct. 1, 1934, No. 240-4073, [illegible]) [illegible] central committee of the All-Union Communist Party [illegible] International, and the [illegible] American Communist Party carries out the [illegible] of the Communist International.

"The American Communist Party is making [illegible] examination of the various defects which were [illegible] of the Communist International. The central committee has [illegible] steps for introducing workers from the benchmen [illegible] party. The party has broadened its work among the negroes [illegible] to struggle against the growing aggressiveness of American imperialism.

"It has been decided to increase the number of candidates for the [illegible] bureau (political bureau which guides the central committee) by [illegible] new members, of which two should continue working on the job in the [illegible] in which they are engaged as wage earners. The central committee [illegible] many workers, but the political bureau has heretofore consisted of [illegible] who were exclusively occupied with party work.

"One negro worker, who is in charge of the negro [illegible] has been permitted to take part in the sessions of the [illegible]

"To extend our activities among the 2,000,000 negroes [illegible] United States of America, the Communist Party has [illegible] a special negro commission consisting of three members [illegible] and six members of the party, who will [illegible] in this work. A campaign has been launched for [illegible] paper, The Negro Champion, into a weekly. [illegible] organized by negro elements, a militant [illegible] monthly. The success of this campaign [illegible] of negroes have remained without [illegible] back. In place of the negro workers and peasants [illegible] were answered by the arrival of armed military [illegible] to the [illegible], a distinction was made between the [illegible] and white. It was the blacks who were discriminated against. [illegible] members of the party are rapidly being [illegible] The anti-imperialist work of the party is being [illegible] cooperation with the [illegible] Committee [illegible] anti-imperialist [illegible] have been treated [illegible]