

**SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES**

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**HEARING**

BEFORE THE

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

OF THE

**COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY**

**UNITED STATES SENATE**

**EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS**

**SECOND SESSION**

ON

**SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE  
UNITED STATES**

**PART 41-A APPENDIX III**

**1955 Report of**

**The Commission on Subversive Activities  
of the Territory of Hawaii**

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



UNITED STATES  
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The commission is required to report to the legislature at each biennial session, and may report at any other time, either to the legislature, if convened, or to the Governor. Regular reports were submitted to the legislature in March 1951 and in March 1953. A special report on the United Public Workers was submitted to the Governor in March 1954, and was later made public by him. The purpose of the report was to make available to the Territorial and county governments, through the Governor, the facts concerning the Communist leadership of the United Public Workers, which recruits members from among the ranks of Territorial and county employees. Copies of the report were furnished to all members of the legislature, the mayor of the city and county of Honolulu and the county chairmen of the other counties. Copies also are being furnished to the newly elected members of the legislature.

The commission has found no material errors in any of the three reports. It has tried diligently to avoid errors of every type, and has made it known that any person, organization or institution feeling aggrieved by any statement in any report of the commission would be accorded a prompt hearing on the matter. No one has requested a hearing, nor has even a letter of complaint been received. Communist attempts to discredit the commission, charging it with illegal procedures, have continued. Although the courts are readily available to redress the alleged wrongs, no legal action has been instituted. In that regard, it is pertinent to recall the Communist agitation against the public body which dismissed John B. Reinecke and wife from public employment in 1948. In that case, although complaining publicly and at great length, the dismissed Communists did not even avail themselves of their statutory right of appeal.

In 1951 the legislature passed acts 130, 154, 177, and 256, dealing with loyalty of public employees and with subversive activities. On the final readings of the 4 bills, a total of 167 votes were cast in favor of enactment, with only 6 votes opposed.

The sum of \$75,000 was appropriated for the commission in 1949, but less than \$45,000 was spent in the first biennium. The original appropriation did not lapse, and was supplemented by appropriations of \$32,000 in 1951, and \$20,000 in 1953.

Since submitting its 1953 report, the commission has held 28 meetings. In addition, its Oahu committee has met five times for the sole purpose of taking testimony. More than 20 witnesses were heard, only a minority of whom invoked their privilege against self-incrimination.

All personal history statements filed by public officers and public employees in compliance with act 256 of 1951 have been examined and evaluated by the commission. It is estimated that more than 24,000 of these sworn statements have been processed since Act 256 became effective.

The instant report is chiefly confined to the years 1953-55. In some instances information developed during this period, amplifying matters previously reported, has been included.

Many local and mainland sources of information have been utilized. In reporting local matters, the commission generally has based its findings upon sworn testimony, much of it given before the commission. Other sources of information have included reports of official Government agencies, investigative interviews, and material originated by or emanating from the Communist Party and its fronts and Communist-dominated labor unions.

#### COMMUNIST REACTIONS TO 1953 REPORT

The Communist Honolulu Record devoted an inside-page article to the 1953 report, and its columnist, Frank Marshall Davis, on August 6, 1953, wrote about the commission and the report. In his column Davis was guilty of the usual Communist editorial dishonesty. The following is copied from his column, and purports to be a quotation from the 1953 report:

"Nor has Davis confined his inflammatory racial propaganda to the columns of the Honolulu Record alone. His story, Hawaii's Plain People Fight White Supremacy, appeared in the November 1951 issue of Freedom, a tabloid publication emanating from New York City. \* \* \* Chairman of the editorial board of Freedom is Paul Robeson."

However, the commission actually reported:

"Nor has Davis confined his inflammatory racial propaganda to the columns of the Honolulu Record alone. His story, Hawaii's Plain People Fight White Supremacy, appeared in the November 1951 issue of Freedom, a tabloid publication emanating from New York City, whose treatment of interracial problems

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*strikingly conforms to Communist Party policy. The chairman of the editorial board of Freedom is Paul Robeson, an identified member of the Communist Party.* [Italic indicates the words omitted by Davis.]

Again, on August 20, 1953, Davis had this to say:  
 " \* \* \* Langston Hughes, incidentally, has the largest following among Negroes of any Negro writer. He is also described by leading critics as the poet laureate of the Negro people. I might add he is the same Langston Hughes who, complains the local commission on subversive activities, I have stanchly defended."

The commission in the 1953 report referred to Langston Hughes as a Communist sympathizer, and quoted his poem, Goodbye Christ, as an example of his literature. Hughes appeared, voluntarily, before the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations in March 1953. He testified that there was a period of time in his life when he believed in the Soviet form of government, and that books authored by him very largely followed at times some aspects of the Communist line, reflecting his sympathy with them. Concerning these books he was asked:

"The CHAIRMAN. Now, let us take those that you think followed the Communist line. Do you feel that those books should be on our shelves throughout the world, with the apparent stamp of approval of the United States Government?"

"Mr. HUGHES. I was certainly amazed to hear that they were. I was surprised; and I would certainly say 'No.'"

Hughes was one of the authors whose writings were included in a draft of a proposed pamphlet on Americanism which the ILWU submitted to the Commissioners of Public Instruction in March 1952, for approval for distribution in the public schools.

In fairness to Langston Hughes, it should be noted that he apparently no longer adheres to his former views:

"The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you this question. I understand your testimony to be that you never actually joined the Communist Party; that while you were in Russia, you were solicited to join it; that you have a long period of time been a sympathizer with the Communist cause, and that as of today you definitely are neither a member of the party nor a sympathizer with the cause. Is that correct?"

"Mr. HUGHES. That is correct, sir."

A news item in the July 10, 1953, edition of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin related that Robert W. McElrath, ILWU radio commentator, had denied membership in the Communist Party as attributed to him in the 1953 report. According to the article McElrath objected to the commission's reference to him as a Communist Party functionary, pointing out that Jack H. Kawano had testified that McElrath was expelled from the party before 1951.

The commission was aware of the fact that Kawano had testified that McElrath was expelled from the Communist Party in July 1948. The commission was also aware that on April 17, 1950, almost 2 years later, McElrath appeared before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, in response to a subpoena, and was asked the following question:

"Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?"

"Mr. McELRATH. I decline to answer on the same grounds."

(The same grounds being the fifth amendment.)

As long as McElrath functions as a propagandist for communism and as an exponent of the party line, it is not considered that his value to the Communist Party depends on a continuance of formal membership in the party.

CONCEPT OF "SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES"

As was set forth in the 1951 report of this commission, the legislature has taken cognizance of three general classifications of subversive activities:

- (1) Activities of persons who seek to destroy by force, threats or sabotage, liberties and freedom guaranteed by or provided for in the United States Constitution (J. R. 5, sec. 2 (a) (2));
- (2) Activities of persons who advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States or of the Territory by force or violence or other unlawful means (J. R. 5, sec. 2 (a) (5)); and
- (3) Activities of persons who seek to subject the United States and the Territory to the domination of any foreign nation (J. R. 5, sec. 2 (a) (3)).

However, the present report, like earlier reports of this commission, is principally confined to Communist subversive activities, inasmuch as the commission has no information indicating the existence in Hawaii of other subversive activities and subversive persons.

the Communist Party has fully create a revolutionary the islands. However, they y forces here which prevent able future and are content talents elsewhere while bid- /sis on more than one occa- /representatives of district 13, /generalized fashion."

lined additional information he post-World War II period. arty meetings in Hawaii, in here potential recruits and cleared by party security au-

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meeting dates staggered. In es was ordered, and all party ntrols for possible breaches of

sion took place at the end of ; turned in at that time. ty measures took place. The meetings in homes or buildings, such as parks or beaches, or in tection in such use of automo- teir homes and a predetermined ferent places was to be used. l chairmen were given a type- alian Communist Party during in party. This outline general- party activities during a period men were instructed to discuss well understood by all members bered and were ordered to be re-

in Hawaii was reorganized on apparently engineered the ini- tion, party groups were to con- identified by numbers (1 through identified as having been mem- h Quon McBraith, Bessie Wenk-

quarters in San Francisco, includes

am, Stephen Murin, Evelyn Murin, Aiko T. Reinecke, Claude White, Wilfred M. Oka, Esther Bristow, Robert M. Kempa,<sup>2</sup> Helen C. Davis, Henry Epstein, Frank Marshall Davis, David E. Thompson, and Charles K. Fujimoto.

Each group was headed by a chairman who carried on business concerning the group through a "contact" at a higher level. This "contact" received oral reports and dues collected from group members. Dues reports did not include the names of party members supplying the funds. Security rules prohibited the keeping of membership lists at the lower party levels.

#### COMMUNIST-FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

##### HAWAII CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

The Hawaii Civil Rights Congress is, as far as is known, the only Communist-front organization now operating in Hawaii. It came into being late in 1947 as the Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee. Since its formation the control of this organization has remained firmly in the hands of identified members of the Communist Party. Since 1948, the offices of chairman, secretary, and treasurer always have been held by persons identified as having been members of the Communist Party.

Thirty persons known to have been members of this organization have been identified as having been members of the Communist Party. Five of these, Dwight James Freeman, Charles K. Fujimoto, Eileen T. Fujimoto, Jack W. Hall, and John E. Reinecke, have been convicted of violating the Smith Act.

During the past 2 years, the activities of the HCRC have been noticeably restricted. The trial of the so-called Hawaii 7 normally would have presented an excellent opportunity for Communist agitation. However, as noted elsewhere in this report, plans of the HCRC for a mass agitational program to exploit the Smith Act trial were vetoed by the party. However, HCRC continued its efforts to raise funds for defense of the Hawaii 7. On March 7, 1953, a party was held at Ho's Place, 636 Panui Street, Honolulu, for the purpose of raising funds for the Hawaii 7, and on July 18, 1953, a Saturday night party was held at 1600 Sherman Park Place, Honolulu, "to bring out those fighting dollars." Many identified members of the Communist Party, including four of the so-called Hawaii 7 attended these parties. A copy of the HCRC News circulated in October 1953, stated the \$400 was raised in cash and pledges at the Hawaii 7 fund-raising party held recently.

On December 26, 1953, HCRC held its sixth anniversary party at the home port, 1027 Maunakea Street, Honolulu, with approximately 100 persons present. During March 1954, HCRC circulated an appeal for contributions and for renewal of memberships.

During June 1954, HCRC distributed petitions addressed to the Governor of Hawaii, requesting that the death sentences of John Palakiko and James Majors be commuted to life imprisonment. The blank petitions were reproduced by the offset method of printing, and the typewriter used for the petition was also used to reproduce material circulated by the ILWU.

The membership of the HCRC is in 1955 reduced to a hard core headed by Frank Marshall Davis and Pearl Freeman, identified Communists. It is believed that continued exposure of its true character, and of the Communist record of its leaders, has reduced the effectiveness of the HCRC to a small group of Communists and fellow travelers.

##### COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE

This committee was formed for the purpose of raising funds for the defense of the Hawaii 7. Its only known activity was sponsoring of an exhibition of a Soviet propaganda film and it is accordingly considered in the front category.

<sup>2</sup> Left party in 1952 and appeared as a chief Government witness in the Smith Act trial in Honolulu.

iii)

was expended to maintain  
this sum was itemized as

- \$60,946.60  
- 39,617.56  
- 31,868.20  
- 14,946.51  
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\$147,378.87

- \$35,704.47  
- 16,521.16  
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and also to all mainland  
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Act trial by the ILWU  
detail in this report. In

general, the propaganda bore a striking resemblance to that used during other Smith Act trials on the mainland. Such mainland propaganda emanated from the Communist Party and its front organizations. Starting with the line that the grand jury which indicted the defendants was rigged and undemocratic, and that the jury list was composed almost exclusively of residents of a silk stocking district, the ILWU propagandists ran the gamut of party-line propaganda.

Radio Moscow, in a June 1953 broadcast criticizing the conviction of Jack Hall and others in the Smith Act trial in Honolulu, repeated propaganda appearing in the ILWU Dispatcher.

The international union accelerated its propaganda program when, on February 13, 1953, it was announced in the Dispatcher that the ILWU Book Club had been founded.

#### ILWU BOOK CLUB

##### FORMATION OF THE ILWU BOOK CLUB

In its issue of February 13, 1953, the Dispatcher, official organ of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, carried a full-page spread which announced "ILWU Book Club Founded." A caption, under a photographic reproduction of four book covers, stated: "As a new service to its members, ILWU announces the formation of the ILWU book club." The first four selections, briefly reviewed on the same page, were:

The Big Strike, by Mike Quin ..... \$0.50  
John L. Lewis, An Unauthorized Biography, by Saul Alinsky ..... 1.00  
We Can Be Friends, by Carl Marzani ..... .75  
Jack London, American Rebel, edited by Philip S. Foner ..... 1.00

An order blank in the lower right-hand corner was addressed to ILWU Book Club, 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco 2, Calif., and continued: "Please send me (postage paid) the books I have checked off on the list below. I enclose the correct sum in check or money order to cover my purchase." The initial four books, with their prices, were then listed.

The main announcement, in a box at the left-hand side of the page, was signed by Harry Bridges, and reads:

"The formation of a cooperative book club for ILWU members is something the international officers hope will be a real success.

"The problem of bringing good books within the reach of working men and women is not an easy one to solve. The book publishing industry, like so many others, is rapidly becoming a monopoly, apparently more interested in profits than in service and factual information to readers.

"Starting with the four titles announced on this page, the ILWU Book Club will try to bring its members books written in the spirit and practice of American democratic and union ideals.

*"But it must be understood from the outset that many books recommended and reviewed do not necessarily—and in some cases do not at all—reflect the views and policies of the ILWU."*

"The opportunity to get books and to read them is comparatively new to working people and one for which we are all grateful, for it is a simple fact that the majority of the world's people not only cannot buy books but cannot even read them.

"ILWU officers believe that the more sources of information that are available to our members and the more information they can get hold of the better and stronger our union will be.

"The ILWU Book Club was set up for the sole, nonprofit purpose of bringing to its readers good informative books by writers devoted to the cause of advancing in many ways the welfare of working men and women everywhere.—HARRY BRIDGES.

The fourth paragraph, in italic for emphasis, is purely exculpatory—a disavowal of responsibility for the obviously Communist-inspired book selections which appear in this and successive issues of the ILWU Dispatcher. If any of the books reviewed and recommended are contrary to the views and policies of the ILWU, it would only be fair of the Book Club to warn prospective readers of specific books. It has been noted, on the contrary, that all selections have been given favorable mention—some at length—in the book columns of The Dispatcher. Bridges, the Communist, states that the objective of the ILWU Book Club is "to bring its members books written in the spirit and practice of American democratic action and union ideals." It is an interesting circumstance that, of

the first 4 books offered, 3 are written by persons identified as having been members of the Communist Party. Several of the books listed in later issues give the widest coverage to international affairs. Had one, only one of these shown an element of anticommunism or even objectivity, it might have served as an antidote. But these books on matters of world interest, without exception, parrot the national and international Communist line, with all of its vicious and slanderous attacks on the United States.

The ILWU Book Club has not only failed to provide good, informative books, but has foisted on the rank and file a reading program which is predominantly Communist in authorship and content.

Testimony before a Senate subcommittee on September 27, 1954, by Maj. William R. Shadish, a former prisoner of war of the Communists, revealed that certain books (including some of those listed by the ILWU Book Club) were used in the forced indoctrination of prisoners:

"There were a large number of books. William Z. Foster, of the United States, had a number of books in camp. \* \* \* There were a large number of books by Howard Fast. \* \* \*

As will be seen in subsequent pages of this report on the ILWU Book Club, the works of Communist Howard Fast are represented by three selections, Freedom Road, The American, and Spartacus.

The following are extracts from testimony by another United States prisoner of war before the same subcommittee on September 28, 1954:

"The CHAIRMAN. This indoctrination course you speak of, certain magazines and newspaper publications, what books or novels came into your camp?"

"Captain O'CONNOR. We had quite a few books and novels \* \* \*

"Captain O'CONNOR. \* \* \* We also had Howard Fast's Citizen Tom Paine. We had to read this during our course of indoctrination \* \* \*

"Mr. CARPENTER. Will you identify more of those books, if you can, Captain?"

"Captain O'CONNOR. Well, Citizen Tom Paine. China Fights Back. This, I believe, is another of Agnes Smedley's books. The Twilight of World Capitalism, by Foster, was a textbook. The American, by Howard Fast, we had \* \* \*

Also on September 28, 1954, a United States Air Force officer, who like the 2 other officers cited above had been a prisoner of war for almost 3 years, stated that The American, by Howard Fast, had been used in his "indoctrination" by the Communists. To continue:

"Captain BERRY. \* \* \* And there was a book that I am sorry I can't remember the title, which the Communists were really pushing a lot. It was written by Victor Perlo. He wrote that book.

"Mr. CARPENTER. Was it American Imperialism?"

"Captain BERRY. That is it.

"Mr. CARPENTER. By Victor Perlo?"

"Captain BERRY. Yes."

As noted above, Howard Fast's The American and other works are ILWU Book Club selections. Victor Perlo's American Imperialism has also been recommended and listed in the ILWU Dispatcher with the rather innocuous description: "an economist's analysis of American investments throughout the world and how they influence the lives of American workers." Its true character as an attack on the United States and its support of the Soviet Union will be seen in subsequent pages of this report.

It has been observed that the ILWU Book Club is known to New York Communist Party headquarters—and not unfavorably. According to the Daily Worker of March 3, 1953 (p. 7), Saul Alinsky's biography, John L. Lewis, was offered by the newly organized ILWU Book Club. The Daily Worker has been described variously by congressional committees as "the chief journalistic mouthpiece of the Communist Party," and the "official Communist Party, U. S. A., organ."

AUTHORS REPRESENTED IN ILWU BOOK CLUB LISTS

Individual books publicly<sup>11</sup> offered for sale by the ILWU Book Club will be discussed later in some detail. At this point, it is considered highly informative

<sup>11</sup> The ILWU Book Club, Local 142, circulates Communist literature other than that listed in the Dispatcher and the Reporter. A noteworthy example is Born of the People, a particularly vicious and anti-American book by Luis Taruc, convicted Hukbalahap (Filipino Communist guerrilla) leader now serving a 12-year prison term in the Philippines.

to list the authors, although or stature in the Communist letters have been Those marked with a congressional committee Those with 2 asterisks 10 or more Communist

- \*Alinsky, Saul
- Austin, Aleine
- Bolton, William (D)
- Colton, Samuel
- Davidson, Basil
- \*\*Davis, Jerome
- Fast, Howard
- Feder, Sid and
- Turkus, Burton, coa
- Foner, Philip S.
- \*Ginger, Ray
- \*Harris, Mark

Rearranged, the author Communist Party members Fast, Howard Foner, Philip S. Marzani, Carl Perlo, Victor Quin, Mike Starobin, Joseph Steuben, John

(Attention is again have been publicly identified organizations.)

- Unidentified:
- Austin, Aleine
  - Bolton, William (
  - Colton, Samuel
  - Davidson, Basil
  - Feder, Sid and Tu
  - Hopkins, Ernest
  - Kinnaird, Clark
  - Jones, O. Garfield
  - Lorant, Stefan
  - Travers, Robert

The term "unidentified by the commission, has British subject, whose land. Although he is his book is a long and

There is yet another Book Club. This consists to organizations rather issued, sponsored, or Labor Research Association California:

- Citizens Committee Californians for the Bill of Rights Del New Republic magazine

The Labor Research a hearing before the search department of General as subversive The Citizens Committee was listed in the 11th

identified as having been mem-  
bers listed in later issues give  
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with all of its vicious and

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Communist, revealed that  
the ILWU Book Club) were

Foster, of the United States,  
a large number of books by

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ted by three selections, Free-

other United States prisoner,  
28, 1954:

speak of, certain magazines  
came into your camp?  
and novels \* \* \*

l Fast's Citizen Tom Paine.  
ation \* \* \*

books, if you can, Captain?  
China Fights Back. This, I  
Twilight of World Capital-  
ward Fast, we had \* \* \*"  
Force officer, who like the 2  
r for almost 3 years, stated  
d in his "indoctrination" by

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bering a lot. It was written

and other works are ILWU  
perialism has also been rec-  
he rather innocuous descrip-  
tions throughout the world  
ers." Its true character as  
ie Soviet Union will be seen

s known to New York Com-  
According to the Daily  
graphy, John L. Lewis, was  
The Daily Worker has been  
the chief journalistic mouth-  
Communist Party, U. S. A.,

- CLUB LISTS

ILWU Book Club will be  
sidered highly informative

ist literature other than that  
example is Born of the People  
the convicted Hukbalahap (PHI-  
son term in the Philippines.

to list the authors, alphabetically, with distinguishing marks to show their place  
or stature in the Communist "literary" apparatus. Those whose names are in  
italic letters have been publicly identified as members of the Communist Party.  
Those marked with one asterisk have been affiliated, according to records of  
congressional committees, with one or more Communist-front organizations.  
Those with 2 asterisks have been affiliated, according to the same sources, with  
10 or more Communist-front organizations.

- \*Alinsky, Saul
- Austin, Aleine
- Bolton, William (Dr.)
- Colton, Samuel
- Davidson, Basil
- \*\*Davis, Jerome
- Fast, Howard*
- Feder, Sid and
- Turkus, Burton, coauthors
- Foner, Phillip S.*
- \*Ginger, Ray
- \*Harris, Mark

- Hopkins, Ernest Jerome
- \*\*Huberman, Leo
- Jones, O. Garfield
- Lorant, Stefan
- \*Lowenthal, Max
- \*Madison, Charles A.
- Marzani, Carl*
- Perlo, Victor*
- Quin, Mike*
- Starobin, Joseph*
- Steuben, John*
- Travers, Robert

Rearranged, the authors line up as:

Communist Party members:

- Fast, Howard
- Foner, Phillip S.
- Marzani, Carl
- Perlo, Victor
- Quin, Mike
- Starobin, Joseph
- Steuben, John

Communist-Fronters:

- Alinsky, Saul
- Davis, Jerome
- Ginger, Ray
- Harris, Mark
- Huberman, Leo
- Lowenthal, Max
- Madison, Charles A.

(Attention is again invited to the fact that those authors listed directly above  
have been publicly identified with the Communist Party or Communist-front  
organizations.)

Unidentified:

- Austin, Aleine
- Bolton, William (Dr.)
- Colton, Samuel
- Davidson, Basil
- Feder, Sid and Turkus, Burton (coauthors)
- Hopkins, Ernest Jerome
- Kinnaird, Clark
- Jones, O. Garfield
- Lorant, Stefan
- Travers, Robert

The term "unidentified" means that the individuals named, as far as is known  
by the commission, have not been publicly identified as having Communist affili-  
ations. It may be noted here that one unidentified author, Basil Davidson, is a  
British subject, whose book *Daybreak in China*, was published in London, Eng-  
land. Although he is quick to state in the foreword that he is not a Communist,  
his book is a long and blatant adulation of Red China and Mao Tse-tung.

There is yet another category of literature advertised and sold by the ILWU  
Book Club. This consists of books, booklets, or pamphlets which are attributed  
to organizations rather than to individual authors. Five organizations have  
issued, sponsored, or cosponsored publications of this nature:

Labor Research Association

California:

- Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms
- Californians for the Bill of Rights
- Bill of Rights Defense Committee

New Republic magazine

The Labor Research Association has been described by Benjamin Gitlow in  
a hearing before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, as the "re-  
search department of the Communist Party"; and has been cited by the Attorney  
General as subversive and as an affiliate of the Communist Party.

The Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms of Los Angeles, Calif.,  
was listed in the 11th report of the California Senate Investigating Committee



on Education (1953) as a "new front" among Communist-dominated and Communist-inspired organizations in southern California.

The New Republic magazine is described as follows in the 5th report of the Senate Factfinding Committee on Un-American Activities in California (1949):

"The Nation and the New Republic have long records as liberal publications. They cannot be described as Communist, but they are so infiltrated with the Communist Party policy that they serve the interests of the Communists and confuse liberals on many issues, much more than do some of the Communist publications."

Californians for the Bill of Rights, of 435 Duboce Avenue, San Francisco 17, Calif., was listed among 27 organizations which were notified by Attorney General Brownell on December 30, 1954, that they were to be added to his list of subversive organizations on the grounds that they are Communist-dominated.

Bill of Rights Defense Committee, of 648 Robinson Avenue, San Diego 3, Calif. Cannot be identified.

According to the above listings, the authors break down into: Communist Party members, 7; Communist-fronters, 7; unidentified, 10. By organizations: Communist, 1; Communist-front, 2; others (liberal and unidentified), 2. Thus in the general category of "authorship," including organizations, a total of 17 shows affiliation, to a greater or lesser degree, with the Communist Party. Those unidentified number 12. These statistics do not begin to measure the firepower of the ILWU Book Club's propaganda. For example, Communist Howard Fast is listed as one author; but the ILWU Book Club has selected and recommended 3 of his books. The Communist-front Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, listed as 1 organization, has been responsible for 2 pamphlets. Propaganda methods, and content of various books constitute further variants. To illustrate: the subversive propaganda dispensed by an unidentified author may equal or exceed that of an identified Communist or Communist-fronter. For these reasons, it has been considered necessary to examine carefully and report on each book, insofar as it is available for study.

Before leaving the subject of authors, let us revert briefly to Harry Bridges' announcement of the formation of the ILWU Book Club. The last paragraph states:

"The ILWU Book Club was set up for the sole, nonprofit purpose of bringing to its readers good informative books by writers devoted to the cause of advancing in many ways the welfare of working men and women everywhere." [Italic added.]

Since the works of "devoted writer," Howard Fast, have been singled out for recognition three times by the ILWU Book Club (Freedom Road, The American, Spartacus), it is pertinent to examine Fast's language and philosophy as applied to the Government of the United States. These are stated in his introduction to an item entitled "Ten Simple Facts" in the Communist Sunday Worker of January 31, 1954 (magazine section, p. 2).

"The most savage irony of today's America lies in the fact that a Government in Washington, and the venal men who serve it should be able to turn all virtue and morality into their opposites. Every ethical prop upon which this Nation was built is being officially sheared away; good has become bad, patriotism transmuted into treason, loyalty into subversion—and all manner of evil into virtue. Thereby, the age of Truman and the age of Eisenhower, the age of Budenz, and the age of Whittaker Chambers, the age of the liar, the pimp, the informer, the betrayer—the age of Walter Winchell and Senator McCarthy."

#### DEVELOPMENT AND ACTIVITIES OF THE ILWU BOOK CLUB

The following extracts from an article in The Dispatcher of July 10, 1953, are quoted to show the ILWU's continuing official interest in, and promotion of the book club:

#### "BOOK CLUB SALES ARE BOOMING NOW

"The ILWU Book Club has been going for about 4 months. It has proved to be a successful venture. Over 1,400 books have been sold.

"Jack London, American Rebel has been consistently the best seller," with the biography of John L. Lewis running a close second. The Big Strike and We Can Be Friends are well up in front. \* \* \*

\* \* \* It will be recalled that this book was one of the four original selections. Its author, Philip S. Foner, is an identified member of the Communist Party.

"The essential ingr education or public An active committee and to enlist interest even set up a lending discussion groups to dis

It is not clear jus ILWU Book Club pr 18, 1953, when the I the Dispatcher 9 mo: Books for Unionists."

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The chief differen ILWU Dispatcher a:

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at selections. Its author,

"The essential ingredient of a successful campaign to sell the books is a *local education or publicity committee* which takes a real interest in the book club. An active committee will find all sorts of ways and means to advertise the books and to enlist interest. It may plug the books in the local bulletin or *it might even set up a lending library. Most valuable might be the inauguration of discussion groups to discuss the book selection.*"<sup>13</sup> [Italics added.]

It is not clear just when Hawaii local 142 became officially involved in the ILWU Book Club program. Local 142's publicity did not begin until November 18, 1953, when the ILWU Reporter carried a full-page spread similar to that of the Dispatcher 9 months previously. The headline was: "Available Now—Good Books for Unionists." The photographic layout showed four books:

Jack London, American Rebel, edited by Philip S. Foner.....	\$1.00
John L. Lewis, an Unauthorized Biography, by Saul Alinsky.....	1.00
American Labor Leaders, by Charles A. Madison.....	2.75
The Big Strike, by Mike Quin.....	.10

The chief differences between this introductory offer and the first one in the ILWU Dispatcher are:

1. American Labor Leaders, by Charles A. Madison (a Communist front) has been substituted for We Can Be Friends, by Carl Marzani (identified as a Communist Party member).

2. The price of Mike Quin's The Big Strike has been cut from 50 cents to 10 cents.

3. Two other lists of books available appear on the same page. One is the up-to-date list of books available from the main book club in San Francisco, and contains 14 additional titles (including We Can Be Friends, mentioned above). The other is a list of additional books available from Local 142 Educational Service, 451 Atkinson Drive, Honolulu. This supplementary list contains five titles.

The main book club announcement on this same page of the Reporter is unsigned, but the text, in the main, is a paraphrase of Bridges' statement of 9 months before. The second paragraph, however, states, in part: "Local 142 through its education department has for several years performed a similar book-buying service for its members." (The education department is now headed by David Evans Thompson, an identified Communist Party member. In 1947 the ILWU bought 10,000 copies of a pamphlet entitled "The Red Baiting Racket" through the Hawaii Communist Party's literature department. Most of these pamphlets were delivered to the ILWU by the Hawaii Party, and were circulated by the union to its membership. A portion of these pamphlets were, however, retained by the party and circulated by the party apparatus.)

To show that the suggestion (or directive) from San Francisco regarding establishment of union libraries was not disregarded, an item in the April 2, 1954, issue of The Dispatcher, datelined San Francisco, states:

"The ILWU Book Club" was informed last week that by action of the ILWU, Local 142 (Hawaii), convention, it was recommended that each unit of the big Territorial local set up a library for its membership.

"Twenty book club books were recommended to start each unit library, that will cost \$24.10, of a total of \$335. Members of the union will be able to borrow them from their unit libraries, and as new books are added they will be purchased by each unit. \* \* \*

Two months later (June 3, 1954), the Communist Honolulu Record carried an item under the heading "Kauai Notes" which stated:

"The Koloa Union Library headed by Sat Racelo has received some good books recently. Invitations for loan of the books are being extended to the community. \* \* \*

<sup>13</sup> "A study of Communist tactics in various countries during the past several decades shows that in those areas where the Communist Party has carried on underground operations, the 'development' of persons for recruitment into the party has been accomplished effectively through the medium of the study group, or as is more often called locally, the discussion group." (See this commission's report of March 1951.)

Early discussion groups in the Territory, led by Dr. John E. Reinecke, used pamphlets issued by International Publishers. It is significant that some of the ILWU Book Club selections emanate from the same Communist firm. The local Communist-front International Association also sponsored Soviet-slanted discussions of world affairs, international politics, and current events during 1937-41. In the light of the past, any ILWU Book Club group which enters into sympathetic discussion of, for example, Man's Worldly Goods, American Imperialism, We Can Be Friends, and other such book club selections, will automatically become indoctrinated with Marxist theory and the Communist Party line.

The item listed 21 books, at least 14 of which have been advertised by the ILWU Book Club in issues of the ILWU Reporter and the Dispatcher. Twelve of the books have been examined and reviewed by this commission, and are listed with descriptive comment in subsequent pages of this report.

The July 31, 1954, edition of the ILWU Reporter stated:

**"LENDING LIBRARIES ESTABLISHED BY 16 LOCAL 142 UNITS.**

"Sixteen units of local 142 have established lending libraries, as recommended in the education report of the local convention. Designed to make good reading available to our members, the libraries are stocked with books on labor history, problems and personalities in the labor movement, and other issues of importance to ILWU members. In addition there is a liberal sprinkling of gripping novels. The libraries now boast a selection of 24 titles, including most of those listed by the ILWU Book Club.

"Unit librarians have been selected to care for the books and encourage their circulation. To assist them in their job, the local education department has supplied them with complete librarians' supplies, and prepared all books with file cards.

"Units purchase the books from the local. New titles are added from time to time by the education department. Latest titles to be added to the libraries are *The Southpaw*, by Mark Harris, a novel about big-league baseball, and *FDR* by Stefan Lorant, a vivid picture history of the great President and what the New Deal meant to America's common man."

**THE BOOKS AND THEIR AUTHORS.**

The following is a list of books and pamphlets which have been reviewed or recommended by ILWU Book Club headquarters in San Francisco during the period February 13, 1953 to September 17, 1954. After the original 4-book announcement, additional books have been listed on an average of 1 per month. Those books which have been dropped or omitted in the course of this 19-month period, are marked with an asterisk. There is probably no particular significance to these omissions. One book, the *Mooney Case*, by Ernest Jerome Hopkins, was originally announced as being available only in a limited supply—about 100 copies.

*The Big Strike, by Mike Quin (later 10 cents).....	\$0.50
John L. Lewis, an Unauthorized Biography, by Saul Alinsky.....	1.00
We Can Be Friends, by Carl Marzani.....	.75
Jack London, American Rebel, edited by Philip S. Foner.....	1.00
Man's Worldly Goods, by Leo Huberman.....	1.00
Murder, Inc., by Sid Feder and Burton Turkus.....	.40
A Funeral for Sabella, by Robert Travers.....	1.00
F. D. R., a Pictorial Biography, by Stefan Lorant.....	.50
The Real F. D. R., edited by Clark Kinnaird.....	.50
Freedom Road, by Howard Fast.....	.75
*The American, by Howard Fast.....	1.00
*Spartacus, by Howard Fast.....	.75
The Bending Cross, by Ray Ginger.....	.75
American Labor Leaders, by Charles A. Madison.....	2.75
Peace, War, and You, by Jerome Davis.....	1.00
American Imperialism, by Victor Perlo.....	1.00
The FBI, by Max Lowenthal.....	3.75
*Report of the Kefauver Crime Committee (pamphlet).....	.10
Courage Is Contagious (pamphlet).....	.15
McCarthy Report Pamphlet.....	.10
Labor Fact Book XI, by Labor Research Association.....	1.50
*The Mooney Case, by Ernest Jerome Hopkins.....	1.00
Daybreak in China, by Basil Davidson.....	1.50
The Southpaw, by Mark Harris.....	1.00
What To Do Until the Doctor Comes, by William Bolton, M. D.....	1.50
Smear and Run (pamphlet).....	.05
Eyewitness in Indochina, by Joseph Starobin.....	1.00

As noted previously, Hawaii local 142 began publicity for its own book club on November 18, 1953. Issues of the ILWU Reporter during the period November 18, 1953, to October 20, 1954, have carried, in addition to the San Francisco ILWU Book Club list, a supplementary list of books available at local 142 head-

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for its own book club  
ing the period Novem-  
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ible at local 142 head-

quarters on Atkinson Drive, Honolulu. These have been consistently 5 in num-  
ber, with only 1 replacement or substitution.

Parliamentary Procedure at a Glance, by O. Garfield Jones.....	\$2.00
The Labor Story, by Aleine Austin.....	1.25
*Sagas of Struggle, by Samuel Colton.....	.75
Robert's Rules of Order.....	2.00
Man's Worldly Goods, by Leo Huberman (Japanese translation).....	1.00

Strike Strategy, by John Steuben (\$1.09), replaced Sagas of Struggle, which  
was no longer available, in the July 31, 1954, issue of the ILWU Reporter, and  
still held the same position in the list as of October 20, 1954.

A brief evaluation of each available book and its author is submitted here-  
with for information. In general, the titles are in the order of their appearance  
in successive issues of The Dispatcher.

ILWU BOOK-CLUB SELECTIONS

1. *The Big Strike, by Mike Quin*

The original announcement in the ILWU Reporter stated: "This book's title,  
of course, refers to the 1934 west coast longshore strike that developed into a  
general strike and shook the entire Nation." The Dispatcher of July 24, 1953,  
in reporting a price reduction for Quin's book, "owing to special arrangements,"  
said, in part: "The Big Strike is the classic book on the great struggle out of  
which ILWU was born, and contains much of the early history of the union."  
Listed under "bargain books" in Communist Workers Bookshop holiday season  
(1954) mail-circular advertisement.

Mike Quin, also known as Paul William Ryan, who died in 1947, was a col-  
umnist for the west coast Communist Daily People's World, and has been iden-  
tified with several Communist fronts. On the occasion of his death, the Daily  
People's World of August 18, 1947, carried messages of tribute from William Z.  
Foster, national chairman, and Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Com-  
munist Party, United States of America. A memorial article in the Daily  
People's World of January 2, 1953, speaks of him as a writer and a Communist.

2. *John L. Lewis, an Unauthorized Biography, by Saul Alinsky*

This book on the bushy-browed and non-Communist president of the United  
Mine Workers does not carry the Communist Party line per se. However, the  
author generally plays down or ignores the subversive aspects of communism,  
and characterizes Government countermeasures as hysterical fear and shameful  
violation of civil liberties.

In following the career of John L. Lewis, who on various occasions has  
defied the President, Members of Congress, and the courts of the United States,  
Alinsky cites only two major points on which he was in disagreement with the  
chief of the UMW—his isolationist stand in 1941, and his break with Franklin  
Delano Roosevelt. Coincidentally, Lewis' position on those issues was in oppo-  
sition to Communist Party policy of the time.

Saul Alinsky is listed in Who's Who in America for 1952-53 as a sociologist,  
born 1909 in Chicago. The Communist Daily Workers of April 6, 1950, named  
Saul Alinsky as one of the sponsors of a dinner for Pearl Hart, notorious Com-  
munist frontier, arranged by the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign  
Born. He was identified in this source as chairman, Public Housing Associa-  
tion, Chicago, Ill. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born  
(with which the Midwest Committee is affiliated) has been cited as subversive  
and Communist by the Attorney General; also cited by the Special Committee on  
Un-American Activities as one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party  
in the United States.

3. *We Can Be Friends, by Carl Marzani*

A book which is aimed at discrediting the United States, and which portrays  
the Soviet Union as honorable and peace loving. Depicts outstanding men in  
the United States Government as reactionaries, plotting a preventive war against  
the U. S. S. R. Places all blame for the Korean war on the United States, call-  
ing it a murderous conspiracy.

Advertised by Liberty Book Club in Communist Daily People's World, October  
16, 1953; in Communist-line National Guardian, March 30, 1953.

Carl Marzani, alias Aldo Marzani and Tony Wales, ex-State Department em-  
ployee and identified member of the Communist Party, recently completed a  
3-year prison term for perjury in regard to his Communist Party affiliations.

Another employee of the Honolulu Record is Emilio C. Yadao, who is Ariyoshi's editorial assistant in the publication of Ti Mangyuna, the Ilocano counterpart of the Record. This is in addition to his duties as editor of the Filipino News-letter and as a public-relations employee of the ILWU.

The Record's two regular bylined contributors are identified Communists. One is Frank Marshall Davis, who publishes a weekly column of comment on political and social questions. The other is Wilfred M. Oka, who writes a column of sport news.

The principal reporter of the Honolulu Record is Edward Rohrbough, whose history was detailed in the House Committee on Un-American Activities report on the Record as follows:

"Edward Rohrbough, who has also contributed articles to such outright Communist publications on the mainland as the Daily People's World and the New Masses. The Daily People's World is cited as the official organ of the Communist Party on the west coast by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities; the committee cited New Masses as the nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party. Former Attorney General Francis Biddle also cited New Masses as a Communist periodical.

"Mr. Rohrbough was a speaker at the California Labor School, cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark. Mr. Rohrbough in 1948 and 1949 was listed as a consultant to the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, cited as Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark.

"During the war Mr. Rohrbough served in China as a press correspondent and employee of the Office of War Information. His writings in the New Masses and the Daily People's World reveal that he is in complete sympathy with the Chinese Communists who, in Rohrbough's eyes, are liberating China and bringing democracy to that land.

"Mr. Rohrbough's wife, Jeanette Nakama Rohrbough, has been identified as an active Communist Party member by five former Communists who testified before a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities in April 1950."

The officers of the Honolulu Record Publishing Co., Ltd., as of August 31, 1954, were:

Koji Ariyoshi, president  
R. J. Baker, vice president  
Edward Rohrbough, secretary-treasurer  
Yugo Okubo, director  
Emilio C. Yadao, director  
Shizuko Wakida,<sup>20</sup> director

Rohrbough is the principal stockholder, having in his name 7,361 of the 8,356 issued shares, with a par value of \$36,805. Of this, he has paid in \$3,010.

During the year ending August 31, 1954, the corporation showed a profit after taxes of \$1,795.90, which reduced the deficit of the corporation to \$4,360.08.

The corporation's income, as shown in its statement, was derived as follows:

	1954	1953
Job printing	\$16,869.93	\$20,666.35
Subscriptions	12,910.39	8,081.01
Advertising	6,450.61	7,113.81
Direct sales	1,340.70	1,742.99
Other sources	201.97	423.99
Total	37,773.60	38,028.15

Although the 1954 income was only about \$300 less than the 1953 income, the above figures show that subscription income increased in 1954, whereas job-printing income dropped sharply, and advertising was off slightly. However, in 1954, some 62 candidates for public office advertised in the Record, as against a total of only 38 candidates so advertising in 1952.

The circulation of the Honolulu Record is estimated to be about 3,500 per issue, while that of Ti Mangyuna is about 1,500 per issue.

Although the story of how the Communists founded the Honolulu Record was discussed in this commission's 1953 report, new information on this subject has been received. A former official of the Communist Party of Hawaii has given the following information under oath:

<sup>20</sup> Shizuko Wakida is Jack Denichi Kimoto's sister.

"The 1948 Territor for the furtherance of party. Shortly thereafter board, which included Kimoto was its first. Hawaii Star under party stockholders w primarily English pu party line or issues, a in English was decide

"All party groups w minimum of 10 shares were issued by the p holders. At still a la issued to party meml Additional stock shar leftists, with care th basic tactic of a mass l in party hands, howev

"Subscription quota Party. Emphasis was

"In addition to the ing assignments were the press commission tion, and also for the I when each edition wer

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	1954	1953
---	\$16,869.93	\$20,666.85
---	12,910.39	8,081.01
---	6,450.61	7,113.81
---	1,340.70	1,742.99
---	201.97	423.99
---	\$7,773.60	\$8,028.15

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be about 3,500 per issue,

he Honolulu Record was tion on this subject has 7 of Hawaii has given the

"The 1948 Territorial Convention of the Communist Party of Hawaii called for the furtherance and establishment of a bilingual or English newspaper by the party. Shortly thereafter a press commission was appointed by the executive board, which included, and was controlled by, the executive board members. Jack Kimoto was its first chairman. Difficulty was met in attempting to place the Hawaii Star under complete party control, as there was a large group of non-party stockholders who resisted party efforts to turn the Hawaii Star into a primarily English publication. Further opposition was foreseen in regard to party line or issues, and the establishment of a completely party-controlled paper in English was decided upon.

"All party groups were assigned blocks of stock for the Honolulu Record at the minimum of 10 shares at \$50 per member. At a later date, blank voting proxies were issued by the press commission for signatures of respective party stockholders. At still a later date, blank certificates signing over stock shares were issued to party members owning stock in the Honolulu Record for signature. Additional stock shares were solicited outside party ranks from liberals and leftists, with care that complete control remained in party hands. Again the basic tactic of a mass base was applied, with the restriction of retention of control in party hands, however.

"Subscription quotas were assigned to all party groups at frequent intervals. Subscription drives were coordinated by the press commission of the Communist Party. Emphasis was placed on housing areas and working-class districts.

"In addition to the work of the regular staff of the Honolulu Record, working assignments were often made to party members, particularly members of the press commission and group press agents, for work on the actual publication, and also for the ILWU Reporter. Weekly party work groups were in force when each edition went to press.

"The primary source of working capital, in addition to initial capital, subscription fund, and advertising funds, which alone could not maintain the Record's operational costs, came from job printing done in the Record's plant. The ILWU Reporter and various other ILWU printing jobs formed the bulk of the job printing and supplied the main source of additional operating capital for the Record.

"Ti Mangyuna, a party Ilocano publication, was organized by the party as a Filipino supplement to the Honolulu Record. Party assignments on subscription drives were often given."

The same former Communist Party official also has shed some light on the continued Communist control of the Record's editorial policy.

"During April of 1951, a national convention of the ILWU was held in Honolulu. This convention was attended, amongst others, by Al Richmond, editor of the Daily People's World and chairman of the press commission of district 13, Communist Party, U. S. A. He reported attending this convention as a correspondent for the Daily People's World. It has been stated by several of the leaders of the local Communist Party, including a member of the executive board, that, while in Hawaii, Richmond attended meetings of the executive board where policy of the Honolulu Record, as an agitational outlet of the policy of the Communist Party, was discussed. Policy lines were set down by the executive board at this time in regard to Record policy. The editorial policy of the Record editor, Koji Ariyoshi, came under fire by Richmond in that he (Richmond) criticized Ariyoshi's policies as being deviationist. In particular, Ariyoshi was criticized for not giving the biggest issue of the current Communist line, the so-called peace line, proper emphasis in the Record.

"It is interesting to note that up until this time the issue of peace was only pushed by Frank Davis in his regular Record column. Increased emphasis was given the peace line by the Record generally, since."

Strong ties between the Honolulu Record and Communist China have become increasingly apparent. Editor Koji Ariyoshi and his chief assistant, Edward Rohrbough, served with the United States Army in China during World War II and were separated from the service there at their own request. In their work in China, they came to know and admire the Chinese Communists (especially the Chinese Communist army) and have continued to praise the Chinese Red regime. Consequently, the editorial policy of the Record regarding the United States position in the Orient has been simply a paraphrasing of the Moscow and Peiping views on the subject.

The Honolulu Record has acted as one of the few overseas distributors of the China Monthly Review, Communist-line magazine published in Shanghai until the summer of 1953. In 1954, John William Powell, last editor of the

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*strikingly conforms to Communist Party policy. The chairman of the editorial board of Freedom is Paul Robeson, an identified member of the Communist Party.* [Italic indicates the words omitted by Davis.]

Again, on August 20, 1953, Davis had this to say:

"\* \* \* Langston Hughes, incidentally, has the largest following among Negroes of any Negro writer. He is also described by leading critics as the poet laureate of the Negro people. I might add he is the same Langston Hughes who, complains the local commission on subversive activities, I have staunchly defended."

The commission in the 1953 report referred to Langston Hughes as a Communist sympathizer, and quoted his poem, Goodbye Christ, as an example of his literature. Hughes appeared, voluntarily, before the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations, in March 1953. He testified that there was a period of time in his life when he believed in the Soviet form of government, and that books authored by him very largely followed at times some aspects of the Communist line, reflecting his sympathy with them. Concerning these books he was asked:

"The CHAIRMAN. Now, let us take those that you think followed the Communist line. Do you feel that those books should be on our shelves throughout the world, with the apparent stamp of approval of the United States Government?"

"Mr. HUGHES. I was certainly amazed to hear that they were. I was surprised; and I would certainly say "No."

Hughes was one of the authors whose writings were included in a draft of a proposed pamphlet on Americanism which the ILWU submitted to the Commissioners of Public Instruction in March 1952, for approval for distribution in the public schools.

In fairness to Langston Hughes, it should be noted that he apparently no longer adheres to his former views.

"The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you this question. I understand your testimony to be that you never actually joined the Communist Party; that while you were in Russia, you were solicited to join it; that you have a long period of time been a sympathizer with the Communist cause, and that as of today you definitely are neither a member of the party nor a sympathizer with the cause. Is that correct?"

"Mr. HUGHES. That is correct, sir."

A news item in the July 10, 1953, edition of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin related that Robert W. McElrath, ILWU radio commentator, had denied membership in the Communist Party as attributed to him in the 1953 report. According to the article McElrath objected to the commission's reference to him as a Communist Party functionary, pointing out that Jack H. Kawano had testified that McElrath was expelled from the party before 1951.

The commission was aware of the fact that Kawano had testified that McElrath was expelled from the Communist Party in July 1948. The commission was also aware that on April 17, 1950, almost 2 years later, McElrath appeared before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, in response to a subpoena, and was asked the following question:

"Mr. McELRATH. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?"

"Mr. McELRATH. I decline to answer on the same grounds."

(The same grounds being the fifth amendment.)

As long as McElrath functions as a propagandist for communism and as an exponent of the party line, it is not considered that his value to the Communist Party depends on a continuance of formal membership in the party.

#### CONCEPT OF "SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES"

As was set forth in the 1951 report of this commission, the legislature has taken cognizance of three general classifications of subversive activities:

- (1) Activities of persons who seek to destroy by force, threats or sabotage, liberties and freedom guaranteed by or provided for in the United States Constitution (J. R. 5, sec. 2 (a) (2));
- (2) Activities of persons who advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States or of the Territory by force or violence or other unlawful means (J. R. 5, sec. 2 (a) (5)); and
- (3) Activities of persons who seek to subject the United States and the Territory to the domination of any foreign nation (J. R. 5, sec. 2 (a) (3)).

However, the present report, like earlier reports of this commission, is principally confined to Communist subversive activities, inasmuch as the commission has no information indicating the existence in Hawaii of other subversive activities and subversive persons.