



Communism in Hawaii and the Obama Connection


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Six famous men tell how they changed their minds about Communism


The **GOD THAT FAILED**



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Introduction

By Cliff Kincaid

Of Barack Obama's contacts and associations with anti-American political figures, none is more controversial than Frank Marshall Davis, a writer and poet identified as a member of the Communist Party USA by several sources, including some sources sympathetic to him. Obama and Davis met in Hawaii, at a time when a young Obama was in need of a black role model and a mentor.

Obama's relationship with Davis, including subsequent associations with radical, communist and socialist figures in Chicago, should be investigated for the benefit of promoting the public interest and the public's right to know. Indeed, America's Survival, Inc. believes that any public figure with links to foreign and hostile interests should be asked to explain those associations.

In the case of Obama, a new figure on the national scene, the facts suggest that he could have serious difficulty getting a security clearance in the U.S. Government. ¹ An FBI background check was once used to examine one's character, loyalty to the United States, and associations.

The evidence shows that Obama's friends chose him. But he chose his friends carefully as well.

Obama's controversial former pastor, Jeremiah Wright, has strident anti-American views, links to such figures as Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam, and has traveled to Cuba. ² But Frank Marshall Davis is a far more controversial figure because he was a member of the Soviet-controlled Communist Party USA (CPUSA). He was in Hawaii at the acknowledged suggestion of two other secret CPUSA members, actor Paul Robeson and labor leader Harry Bridges. Davis had been a writer for a CPUSA-controlled newspaper, the Honolulu Record.

All of the evidence, summarized by veteran investigator and researcher Herbert Romerstein in the special report that follows, suggests that Davis was a key member of a Moscow-sponsored international communist network.

First, a word about Herbert Romerstein. He retired from the United States government after 25 years of service, including Investigator for the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Minority Chief Investigator for the House Committee on Internal Security, Professional Staff Member for the House Permanent Select Committee on

¹ A presidential candidate, of course, does not have to undergo a background check. As president, he would have an automatic security clearance and have immediate access to all state secrets.

² See Humberto Fontova, "Jeremiah Wright's Cuban Friends," April 30, 2008. Townhall.com

Intelligence, and head of the Office to Counter Soviet Disinformation for the United States Information Agency.

Romerstein examines Davis's time in Hawaii. Davis had come to Hawaii from Chicago, where Obama would eventually end up. It was in Chicago that Davis had been in contact with Robeson and Bridges and had edited another newspaper, the Chicago Star.

In other words, communist networks were in existence in the same two places that would provide the backdrop for Obama's upbringing and political career. It could very well be the case that one network was connected in some way with the other. But more investigation needs to be done in this regard.

Significantly, the basic facts of the Obama-Davis relationship were originally disclosed by Professor Gerald Horne, a contributing editor of the Communist Party journal *Political Affairs*, who talked about Obama coming under the influence of Davis during a speech at the reception of the Communist Party USA archives at the Tamiment Library at New York University. The remarks were posted online under the headline, "Rethinking the History and Future of the Communist Party."³

Horne, a history professor at the University of Houston, noted that Davis, who had moved to Honolulu from Kansas in 1948 "at the suggestion of his good friend Paul Robeson," came into contact with Obama and his family. As Horne describes it, Davis "befriended" a "Euro-American family" that had "migrated to Honolulu from Kansas and a young woman from this family eventually had a child with a young student from Kenya East Africa who goes by the name of Barack Obama, who retracing the steps of Davis eventually decamped to Chicago."

From Hawaii, Obama would first go to Occidental College in Los Angeles, then to Columbia University and Harvard Law School, and finally Chicago, where he would start his political career. Occidental College might have been well-known to Davis because in 1948 it offered to host another black poet, Langston Hughes, who was to speak on a poem of his entitled, "Goodbye Christ." It declared:

*"Goodbye,
Christ Jesus Lord God Jehovah,
Beat it on away from here now.
Make way for a new guy with no religion at all—
A real guy named Marx Communist Lenin Peasant Stalin worker ME"*

The California Legislature's Fourth Report of the Senate Fact-finding Committee on Un-American Activities, dated 1948 and covering "Communist Front Organizations," described Hughes as someone "said to rate with Paul Robeson" as a notorious black

³ Trevor Loudon, a New Zealand-based libertarian activist, researcher and blogger, noted Horne's speech naming "Frank" as Frank Marshall Davis in a posting in March of 2007.

communist. It called the "Goodbye Christ" poem blasphemous. However, conservative opposition forced Occidental to cancel the event. Hughes later broke with the communists.

It could be said that Obama didn't choose to be associated with Davis. He was young and Davis was much older. On the other hand, Romerstein closes his report with a quotation from Obama's own book, *Dreams From My Father*, in which he talks about how he chose his own associates and friends, and that they were among the most radical. These decisions may have reflected Davis's influence over him.

It was at Occidental College that Obama says he came into contact with the "more politically active black students," foreign students, the Chicanos, the "Marxist professors and structural feminists and punk-rock performance poets." He chose these people to associate with, Obama says, because he wanted to avoid being perceived as a "sell-out." At night, he said, "we discussed neocolonialism."⁴

The Marxist influence continued when he went to Columbia University. The intense political discussions he had at Occidental, he wrote, "came to take on the flavor of the socialist conferences I sometimes attended at Cooper Union or the African cultural fairs that took place in Harlem and Brooklyn during the summers..."⁵

But it all started with Davis. Romerstein describes Davis as a key member of a communist network sponsored by Moscow in Hawaii that included Robeson and Bridges. He describes this network and its objectives in detail. The influence of this network was the subject of hearings by official government bodies because it was perceived to be a major threat to U.S. national security. Some of those hearings concerned "The Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States."

Romerstein also explains that, after the CPUSA collapsed, Davis continued in Hawaii promoting communist propaganda and influencing people like a young Barack Obama. That is why it is so important to get to the bottom of what kind of relationship they had.

Curiously, Obama himself tried to obscure the identity of "Frank" in his book, *Dreams From My Father*, by concealing his middle and last names. Still, he acknowledges (page 22) that he came to respect "Frank" and other black men he knew "for the struggles they went through, recognizing them as my own..." Obama wrote about "a poet named Frank," who visited them in Hawaii, read poetry, and was full of "hard-earned knowledge" and advice. Obama also wrote about "Frank" having "some modest notoriety once" and being "a contemporary of Richard Wright and Langston Hughes during his years in Chicago..." Obama said that "Frank" was "pushing eighty" and giving him advice before he left for Occidental College in 1979 at the age of 18. Obama refers to "Frank and his old Black Power dashiki self."

⁴ Barack Obama, *Dreams From My Father*, Three Rivers Press, 1995, New York, page 100.

⁵ Ibid. page 122.

Interestingly, Obama displays some awareness of Davis and his significance. But as Romerstein notes, Davis called Wright's decision to expose the CPUSA after leaving the party an "act of treason." Davis said Wright had "aided only the racists who were constantly seeking any means to destroy cooperation between Reds and blacks" and had "damaged our battle."⁶

Was Obama aware of Wright's break with the CPUSA and Davis's decision to stay with it? What knowledge, in fact, does Obama have of Communist efforts to exploit blacks?

The continuing influence of Davis's communist views over Obama could help explain why, when he went to college, he selected Marxist professors among his friends and admittedly attended socialist conferences. It could also help explain why, when he arrived in Chicago to pursue a political career, he came into contact with individuals associated with socialist and communist activities, such as Bill Ayers and Quentin Young. (These connections are explained at length in the second report in this series, *Communism in Chicago and the Obama Connection*). Links between the Hawaii and Chicago networks should be actively investigated.

Horne is not the only significant figure to talk about the influence of "Frank" on Obama. Dr. Kathryn Takara of the University of Hawaii, who knew and interviewed Davis and wrote a dissertation on his life and career, confirmed to me that the "Frank" is, in fact, Frank Marshall Davis.

Takara confirmed that Davis was a significant influence over Obama during the three or four years that he attended the Punahou prep school. These would have been the years 1975-1979. She said Obama had been introduced to Davis by his grandfather, Stanley Dunham, who considered Davis a "strong black male figure" and thought he exerted a "positive" influence over the young man in his high-school years. "His grandfather was one of Frank's closest friends," she said. "They played chess or cards together."

Takara, an Obama supporter, thinks the influence of Davis was positive as well and considered Davis a "loving man" who "did not have a hateful bone in his body." She said that Davis was a black role model for Obama and gave him a sense of democracy, equal opportunity and justice. She said Davis gave him "a sense of believing that change can happen" through "living in a diverse world."

Asked why she thought Obama didn't identify Davis in his book by his full name, she replied, "Maybe he didn't want people delving into it." She said that this could have had something to do with Davis's lifestyle, rather than his politics. "Frank's was a place where you could have drinks," she said. Yet, Obama has been open about some things – such as his past drug use. It is

⁶ Frank Marshall Davis, *Living The Blues. Memoirs of a Black Journalist and Poet, Edited with an Introduction, by John Edgar Tidwell*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin, 1992, p. 243.

difficult to understand why he would not name “Frank” as Frank Marshall Davis simply because “Frank” drank or hosted people who did.

Regarding his political views, Takara said of Davis that, “He studied democracy. He knew democracy. He knew the value of democracy. And yet he was a critic.” She added that Davis “had a sense of who he was” and a “sense of self-esteem.”

The record shows, of course, that Davis was so much of a critic of the U.S. that he joined the CPUSA, which was a wholly owned subsidiary of the old Soviet Union. Takara disputes this, saying she didn’t think his CPUSA membership had been proven. But a congressional committee identified him as a party member (See Exhibits 1A and 2A). and John Edgar Tidwell, a professor at the University of Kansas and expert on Davis’s writings and career, has confirmed that Davis joined the Communist Party but publicly tried to deny his communist affiliations.

“Sometime during the middle of the war, he [Davis] joined the Communist Party,” Tidwell writes in his book about Davis’s poems.⁷ Tidwell says that Davis “felt betrayed” when Soviet dictator Stalin signed the 1939 nonaggression pact with Nazi Germany, which triggered World War II, but that Stalin’s eventual decision to join the U.S. and its allies in a war on the Axis powers “restored a measure of Davis’s confidence in the USSR.”

Similarly, *The New Red Negro*, by James Edward Smethurst, says that while Davis had said he was disturbed by the Hitler-Stalin pact, he did not break his alliance with the CPUSA over it.⁸

Max Friedman, a longtime writer and researcher on internal security affairs, discovered that Davis testified in 1956 before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS) and took the Fifth Amendment on his Communist Party membership. (See Exhibit 3A).

William Rusher, who served as associate counsel to the SISS in 1956-1957, has written that “It is hard for most people to imagine the influence that even a relatively small number of dedicated people can have, but the CPUSA exerted significant power in its heyday—a heyday, be it remembered, in which the Soviet Union impressed many people as the wave of the future, destined to overwhelm a weak and fading West, including the United States.”

Most telling, as noted by Romerstein, is the eyewitness account of how “Comrade Davis” came into a meeting of the NAACP and tried to maneuver it into support of “the Stalinist line.” (See Exhibit 4A).

⁷ *Frank Marshall Davis. Black Moods. Collected Poems.* Edited by John Edgar Tidwell, University of Illinois Press. Chicago and Urbana, 2002, p.xxviii.

⁸ *The New Red Negro. The Literary Left and African American Poetry, 1930-1946.* James Edward Smethurst, Oxford University Press. New York. 199. P. 45.

This pro-Communist view was the mindset of Frank Marshall Davis, who spent many hours advising and reading poetry to a young Barack Obama.

Takara admits that Davis was accused of being a communist and that the FBI investigated him but she tried to insist that any black activist at this time faced such a charge. "Any group that was progressive was considered communist," she said. "So I have never found yet that Frank was actually a communist. He certainly associated with people that were communists. But he certainly associated with people that were not communists."

In fact, however, as Romerstein documents, responsible black and progressive groups viewed the communists, and Davis in particular, as agitators who hurt and damaged the cause of legitimate black rights.

Takara insists that Davis "loved America." But the tone of his poem, "Smash on, victory-eating Red Army," could give people the opposite impression. It goes beyond hoping for the communists to beat the Nazis in World War II and hails the Soviet revolution:

*"Show the marveling multitudes
Americans, British, all your allied brothers
How strong you are
How great you are
How your young tree of new unity
Planted twenty-five years ago
Bears today the golden fruit of victory!"*

Takara commented, "That's not untypical of that time. Remember many black intellectuals in the 40s went to Russia. He didn't go to Russia. But many of them went to Russia. All of them were very disillusioned after the war about their treatment -- to go and fight fascism abroad and come back and get lynched and not be able to vote." In reference to another poem, "Christ is a Dixie Nigger," Takara said that she believed that Davis was an atheist or agnostic who came to appreciate religion only later in his life when he was approaching death (he died in 1987). Religion, she said, was a major reason why most blacks did not go into the CPUSA, which was officially atheistic.

The poem dismisses Christ as "another New White Hope" and declares:

*"Remember this, you wise guys
Your tales about Jesus of Nazareth are no-go with me
I've got a dozen Christs in Dixie all bloody and black..."*

One Davis poem, "Onward Christian Soldiers," mocks the Christian hymn by the same name. It talks of Africans being killed with a "Christian gun" instead of a spear by the missionaries following "the religion of Sweet Jesus." Another Davis poem refers to Christians "who buy righteousness like groceries."

"I would say that Davis was more atheistic or agnostic and I think that that follows kind of the tradition of some of the black intellectuals of that period who really didn't understand if there was a God, how he could be so unjust," Takara explained.

Obama writes in *Dreams From My Father* that he saw "Frank" only a few days before he left Hawaii for college, and that Davis seemed just as radical as ever. Davis called college "An advanced degree in compromise" and warned Obama not to forget his "people" and not to "start believing what they tell you about equal opportunity and the American way and all that shit."

Asked to interpret this advice, Takara said that Davis was trying to tell Obama that while college does teach people to assimilate into the society, "institutional racism is still around." She explained, "You can learn a lot but you can lose a lot. I think Frank was giving him some practical advice. Frank was reminding Obama not to forget his people and who are his people? Mixed race. For me, that's the exciting thing about Obama. He has a sense of black people and black people's problems but he has also a sense of the white [people]. He has a sense of other minority groups."

Obama was the child of a white mother and black father. Davis, who was black, had married a white woman in Chicago.

Alluding to the absence of his father from his life, Obama has said, "I was raised in a setting with my grandparents who grew up in small town Kansas where, you know, the dinner table would have been very familiar to anybody here in Indiana - a lot of pot roast and potatoes and Jell-O molds."

On January 29, 2008, Obama had been in El Dorado, Kansas, where his grandfather attended high school. Governor Kathleen Sebelius declared that Obama had inherited the "Midwestern values" important to Kansas voters. "He got them from his grandparents and his mother," Sebelius said in a speech that gave him her endorsement. "He will lead with those values." But those are not the values held by Frank Marshall Davis. And Obama has not spoken publicly about the influence of his childhood mentor. The public deserves the truth.

The Communist Assault on Hawaii

By Herbert Romerstein

The American Communist Party was established in 1919 only months after the Communist International was established in Moscow. The Comintern, as it was called, micromanaged the American Communist Party through an Anglo-American Secretariat. For many years a representative of the American Communist Party resided in Moscow where he supplied the Anglo-American Secretariat with information on the work of the American Communist Party and also sent the orders from Moscow to the American communists. For some time the American representative used the code name "Sherman".

In 1935, "Sherman" was William Schneiderman, later the head of the Communist Party of California and an agent of the Soviet intelligence service, NKVD, later KGB.⁹

On February 1, 1935, a meeting was held in Moscow of the Anglo-American Secretariat. Schneiderman was there under his code name "Sherman". Also present was Mingulin, the head of the Anglo-American Secretariat. Schneiderman was ordered to prepare a draft of a message to the American Communist Party on the "Hawaiian Question".¹⁰ Under the guidance of Mingulin, a confidential letter was sent to the American communists advising them that they were required to establish a Communist Party apparatus in Hawaii. They were told that the reason was "American imperialism with its policy of militarization of the Hawaiian Islands makes it essential for the CP USA to give every possible assistants to the development of the mass revolutionary movement in Hawaii...." One of the slogans they were ordered to promote was "the withdrawal of the U.S. armed forces" from Hawaii.¹¹

Of course, the Hawaii Islands and the naval base at Pearl Harbor were essential for the defense of the United States. The Comintern, with its eye on possible Soviet expansion in Asia, wanted to remove that impediment.

Over a period of time, American communists were sent to Hawaii to colonize the island and to promote the growth of the communist movement there. Of particular use to the communists was Harry Bridges' International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. For many years Bridges denied being a Communist Party

⁹ Schneiderman's NKVD code name was "Nat". Venona, San Francisco to Moscow, April 18, 1945. Venona was the US code name for the NKVD messages between their officers in the United States and Moscow headquarters that were intercepted US government during World War II. See: Herbert Romerstein and Eric Briendel, *The Venona Secrets, Exposing Soviet Espionage and America's Traitors*, Regnery, Washington, DC, 2000.

¹⁰ Comintern Archives, Moscow, Fond 495, Opus 72, Delo 277. Although some parts of the Comintern Archives have been made available this section Opus 72 has been closed. My wife and I were able to obtain copies in Moscow while those sections of the archive were still open. Exhibit 1

¹¹ Comintern Archives, Moscow, Fond 495, Opus 20, Delo 541. Exhibit 2

member. On numerous occasions the U.S. government attempted to deport him back to his native Australia. But, with clever lawyers and some help from his friends in government, Bridges avoided deportation.

In 1938, the American Communist Party sent a list of names to Moscow of the people that it wished to keep on the Central Committee. They needed Moscow's permission before they could allow a party member to have that position. One of those accepted by Moscow to remain on the Central Committee of the American Communist Party was identified as "Rossi (Bridges) – CP USA Central Committee member and president of the Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union". He was described as "He is a strong leader in the trade union movement and mass worker, but up till now has only domestic party knowledge and experience."¹² The Comintern was preparing the American Communist Party for its role in international affairs and the coming war.

In 1949 the CIO investigated some of its member unions on charges that they were communist controlled. The charges made against the ILWU were that "the policy and activities of the ILWU are consistently directed to the achievement of the program or the purposes of the Communist Party rather than the objectives and policies set forth in the constitution of the CIO." Among the findings of the CIO commission investigating ILWU was that "Harry Bridges had, over a period of years, participated in numerous secret meetings between Communist Party functionaries and officers of the Communist-controlled unions in the CIO at which the party functionaries instructed the union officers as to the party line and as to the positions that they were to take in the CIO and in their unions."¹³ The communist unions were expelled from the CIO.

The CIO reported that although the communist unions had opposed Nazism during the 1930s that changed with the Soviet Nazi Alliance. According to the CIO:

"With the signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, the ILWU suddenly discovered that the war in Europe was of no concern to it. It attacked President Roosevelt and his policy of giving aid to the allies.

"In April 1940, Harry Bridges in his report to the ILWU District 1 convention, state: 'It generally recognized that the present administration's policies in regard to the international situation, its pro-allies sympathizers, the endorsement of millions of dollars being sent abroad while millions of Americans suffer unemployment and poverty can result in the embroiling of America into a foreign war in which she can have no concern except the protection of the investments of the large bankers and industrial interests of the country.'

¹² Comintern Archives, Moscow, Fond 495, Opus 74, Delo 467 (As with Opus 72, Opus 74 is part of the closed section of the Archives. No longer available.

¹³ The CIO reports were printed by the U.S. Congress at the request of Sen. Hubert Humphrey under the title "Communist Domination of Certain Unions", Government Printing Office, Washington, 1951; pp 79-96, particularly see 92. Exhibit 3

“The District 1 convention endorsed the slogan ‘The Yanks are not coming.’

“The 1940 convention of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific adopted a resolution submitted by ILWU denouncing the war profiteers who ‘have attempted to create a war scare’ and demanding that Congress cease ‘playing chess with the lives of Americans by encouraging loans to warring nations.’ Newspapers published by ILWU locals carried headlines such as ‘Convoys mean shooting, shooting means war,’ and news stories on the activities of the American Peace Mobilization, a front set up by the Communists to promote isolationism. In his report to ILWU’s April 1941 convention, Harry Bridges attacked the idea that labor should make sacrifices ‘in the interests of so-called “national defense.”’ Through this period, which ended with the attack upon Russia by Hitler, the ILWU consistently urged a policy of isolation, and criticized aid to the countries fighting Hitler.”¹⁴

The Communist Party and its front organizations were not only opposed to American aid for Britain but did all they could to help Nazi Germany fight against England. Through out the communist movement the slogan was “No convoys! No AEF!” The AEF (American Expeditionary Force) was the official name of the U.S. Army that fought against the Germans in Europe in World War I. The convoys were American war ships assigned to escort British merchant ships through the U-boat infested Atlantic. The merchant ships carried not only weapons and food for embattled England, but also, on the return trips, carried British children to North American safety. (Exhibit 4 shows leaflets of the communist fronts, Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the American Peace Mobilization against the convoys.)

After Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, the line changed. The ILWU and the rest of the communist controlled organizations now wanted us to aid Britain. The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, which had fought in the Spanish Civil War, started to clamor for American support for Britain. In November 1941, they issued a pamphlet written by their leader Milton Wolff saying, “Let us show the British and the Soviet people that we are with them all the way. ... The guarantee of full American military support to the British Government would remove the last doubts from their minds as to their ability to open a Western front.”¹⁵ The VALB magazine *Volunteer for Liberty* published a few days before Pearl Harbor called for a declaration of war and said that, “Every Veteran will be ready to bear arms against Hitler again and to rally others to do the same.” They demanded “We call for the opening of a Western front immediately by Britain and the United States together. We call upon our government to declare war now on Nazi Germany!”¹⁶

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p 87.

¹⁵ Milton, Wolff, *Western Front Now!*, Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, New York, November 1941, p 14. Exhibit 5

¹⁶ *Volunteer for Liberty*, New York, December 1941, pp 2 and 3.

When the United States entered the war, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade pledged "To our Government, The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade state again that we are completely at its disposal to be used as the Government deems best."¹⁷ This turned out to be not exactly their real intentions. On May 13, 1942, Pavel Fitin, head of the Foreign Department of the NKVD, wrote to George Dimitrov, head of the Comintern, that an NKVD representative had met with "Comrade Ryan" (actually Eugene Dennis, an official of the American Communist Party) who advised him about the activities of the "Commander of the Lincoln Brigades veterans, member of the CP USA [Milt] Wolff." According to Fitin, "In November 1941 Wolff met a representative of American intelligence, Colonel Donovan ... [Donovan had been appointed by President Roosevelt to head an intelligence service later called OSS.] At this meeting, Colonel Donovan said that it would be a waste to use the participants of the Lincoln Brigade as rank and file soldiers in the American Army as some had been very experienced and qualified officers to the Spanish Army. Donovan suggested that reliable veterans be selected to be placed at the disposal of English intelligence to be sent behind enemy lines for diversionary work. Wolff informed the head of the Communist Party of the intelligence service proposal and received permission to do this." Donovan put Wolff in contact with a British intelligence officer and for a period of time Wolff carried out the work.

Donovan was also in direct contact with Eugene Dennis who suggested to the NKVD that the Communist Party not provide people as Donovan had requested but that individual American Communists who are called up to serve in the armed forces should be used as "commandos."

The NKVD's statement to Dimitrov, in the same document, was "we estimate this affair as a political mistake of the Communist Party USA leadership, which would allow American and English intelligence to penetrate the channels of not only the American Communist Party but other Communist Parties as well. Comrade Ryan [Dennis] asks for your instructions as soon as possible on all matters relating to the American, Spanish, Italian and Canadian Communist Parties. Please inform us of your decision on the subject."¹⁸

On the same day Dimitrov sent a message to the NKVD to transmit to the American Communist Party. The message read: "On the question of Wolff, the following directive is given to the American friends" "We consider permission for Wolff to recruit people for English and American intelligence to be a political mistake. This would give the services a chance to penetrate the American and other Communist Parties. We propose a serious discussion of the most expedient measures and forms of stopping this recruitment and all contact with the indicated services. Warn the Spanish and Italian comrades about this also'."¹⁹

¹⁷ *Volunteer for Liberty*, New York, January 1942, p 2.

¹⁸ Comintern Archives, Fond 495, Opus 74, Delo 484, pp 27-31, marked top secret and personal.

¹⁹ Comintern Archives, Fond 495, Opus 73, Delo 188, p 10.

In June 1942, Fitin sent Dimitrov the contents of a message from the American Communist Party that had been sent through NKVD channels. The message was from Ryan (Eugene Dennis) and read: "We fully agree with your suggestion regarding Wolff's activities, and we have taken all necessary measures to halt this activity and to prevent his influencing leftist organizations to join with him. We have discussed the matter with Earl [Browder] and we ask you to instruct us...."²⁰

So much for the Communists' willingness to do anything that the American government wanted to advance the war effort. They were not willing to jeopardize their networks on behalf of the common struggle against Nazism. The Donovan-Wolff project was aborted. The Communists were only willing to join the OSS as individuals. A number of the Spanish Civil War veterans as well as other communists infiltrated the OSS.

Two of the infiltrators were Communist Party members Karl Yoneda, a California communist, and Koji Ariyoshi, a communist from Hawaii. Yoneda explained in his autobiography that he had been invited to join U.S. military intelligence. He recommended his friend Ariyoshi. He went on to say, "Koji practiced speaking Japanese with me for many hours at our quarters because he spoke a Hawaiian pidgin-Japanese."²¹

Both Yoneda and Ariyoshi were assigned to the Far East. Ariyoshi was sent to work with the Chinese Communist forces in Yanan.²² In 1978 a pamphlet eulogizing him was published in Los Angeles by the U.S.-Chinese Peoples Friendships Association. It was later reprinted, in 2004, in hard cover by Foreign Languages Press in Beijing. According to the official Communist Chinese Foreign Languages Press "The China Society for People's Friendship Studies (PFS) in cooperation with the Foreign Languages Press (FLP) in Beijing has arranged for re-publication in the series entitled *Light on China*, of some fifty books written in English between the 18670s and the founding years of the People's Republic, by journalistic and other sympathetic eyewitnesses of the revolutionary events described."²³

This book was certainly sympathetic. It was edited by Hugh Deane, who had been on the editorial board of the Chinese Communist propaganda organ *China Monthly Review* and took the 5th Amendment when asked if he was a Party member by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security. The Forward to the book was written by John Stewart Service, a State Department official who stole a large number of classified documents and turned them over to a communist magazine called *Amerasia*. The Justice Department attempted to have him indicted for espionage but a Soviet agent in the White House named Lauchlin Currie obtained the services of a corrupt wheel-dealer named Thomas Corcoran. Corcoran fixed the case by influencing high officials in the

²⁰ Comintern Archives, Fond 495, Opus 74, Delo 484, pp 14-15.

²¹ Karl G. Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1983, p 145.

²² *Ibid* p 154

²³ Hugh Deane, Editor *Remembering Koji Ariyoshi, An American GI in Yanan*, Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, People's Republic of China, back cover. Exhibit 6

Justice Department. The FBI knew how the case was fixed because they had a wiretap on Corcoran at the request of President Truman.²⁴ The Soviet intelligence service, NKVD, had a number of agents among the communists working in *Amerasia*. Two of them were identified by true name and code name as a result of the Venona intercepts. One was Thomas Arthur Bisson, code name "Artur". The other was Joseph Milton Bernstein, code name: "Markiz".²⁵

According to Hugh Deane in his eulogy to Koji Ariyoshi, "In February of 1945 John S. Service, the chief political officer of the Yen-an mission, and his Foreign Service colleagues attached to the U.S. Embassy in Chunking urged in a carefully prepared policy recommendation that the U.S. desist from giving exclusive support to the Chiang Kai-shek regime...."²⁶

Soviet agents and American communists working in China during the war did the best they could to undermine our ally the Chinese Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek. Years later during the Sino-Soviet dispute the Soviets, to prove the help that they gave to the Chinese Communists, revealed, "After Japan's capitulation China continued to be divided into two camps. Chiang Kai-shek with his army of many millions controlled three quarters of the country and practically all her cities.

"Like the rest of China, Manchuria, too, was split into two camps. People's rule with the CPC at the head was established west of Changchun and North of Kirin, and also on Liao-tung Peninsula where Soviet troops were stationed. In keeping with the people's free expression of will people's democratic organs of power were established throughout this huge territory, where they began to pave the way for the introduction of fundamental socio-economic transformations. ... In 1945 and 1946 the People's Revolutionary Army continued to increase in size and enhance its fighting capacity. By the end of 1945 the CPC had a well-armed group of troops numbering 3000,000 men in Manchuria. ... The fighting capacity of the People's Army increased tremendously when the Soviet Army turned over captured Japanese weapons to it. Another important factor of its victory was the presence of Soviet Armed Forces in Port Arthur and Dalny. These key strategic points became inaccessible to the Kuomintang and US troops."²⁷

In his forward to the eulogy to Koji Ariyoshi, John S. Service wrote: "Then, suddenly, President Nixon decided that he wished to visit China. Koji wrote me at once. Surely, he thought, this would change the situation. Yes, I replied, but it might take time for the privilege to trickle down to the citizenry. But it was not really very long. The next month, I was among a lucky few invited by Premier Chou En-lai. On my way to China in September, 1971, I stopped in Honolulu to meet an exuberantly hopeful Koji and to carry letters from him to Madame Sun (Soong Ching Ling) and others in China. It was not many months until he was following me across the Pacific to his old friends."

²⁴ FBI logs of the wiretap on Thomas Corcoran in Case Philip Jacob Jaffe, et al, File 100-2673601516.

²⁵ Venona, New York to Moscow, June 16, 1943 and June 17, 1943.

²⁶ Deane, *op cit*, p 35.

²⁷ O. Borison, *The Soviet Union and the Manchurian Revolutionary Base (1945-1949)*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, pp 97 and 107-8.

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union had become a political power in Hawaii and it helped the Communist Party colonizers to establish themselves on the islands and do their job for communism.

As an indication of the extent of communist infiltration in Hawaii, in 1976 the House of Representatives of the state of Hawaii passed a resolution honoring and commending Koji Ariyoshi. They then sent certified copies of the resolution to the US-China Peoples Friendship Association of Hawaii.²⁸

In 1947 the communists in Hawaii suffered a serious setback when Ichiro Izuka, a Japanese-American communist, born in Hawaii, broke with the party and wrote a pamphlet exposing them. He identified himself in the pamphlet as Ichiro Izuka, American. He said "The Communist Party in Hawaii is a secret, underground organization. It works in the dark—fears the light of day."²⁹ He particularly exposed the ILWU as a communist instrument operating in Hawaii.

In 1948, an American communist named Frank Marshall Davis decided to go to Hawaii. In his autobiography he said, "I had also talked with Paul Robeson who the previous year had appeared there in a series of concerts sponsored by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), the most powerful labor organization in the territory. Paul enthusiastically supported our pending trip and told me how much he wanted to return to that delightful place. I also wrote to Harry Bridges, head of the ILWU, whom I had met at Lincoln School. He suggested I get in touch with Koji Ariyoshi, editor of the Honolulu Record, a newspaper that was generally similar to the Chicago Star."³⁰ Of course, both Robeson and Bridges were members of the Communist Party.³¹ The Honolulu Record was also cited as a front for the Communist Party in 1950.

According to the report of the Commission on Subversive Activities of the Territory of Hawaii, most of the newspapers income was not from subscription or advertising but for the job printing that they did for the Harry Bridge's union.³²

Davis, who came from Chicago, had been an active communist there. During the Soviet Nazi alliance, he sponsored a 1940 meeting of the communist front National Negro Congress. The theme of the meeting was "Negroes and the whole American people are being called upon to 'sacrifice for national defense.' Our country may soon be actively engaged in another war. Facing this crisis, the people are forced to think and

²⁸ Deane, *op.cit.* pp 101-3/

²⁹ Ichiro Izuka, "The Truth About Communism in Hawaii", self-published, November 1947. Exhibit 7

³⁰ Frank Marshall Davis, *Living the Blues, Memoirs of a Black Journalist and Poet*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1992, p 311.

³¹ Paul Robeson's Party membership, see the Communist Party pamphlet "Paul Robeson, An American Communist" which contains a speech by Party leader Gus Hall identifying him as a fellow communist. For the identification of Bridges see above.

³² Mimeographed *Report of the Commission on Subversive Activities to The Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, February 28, 1955*, p 225-6

to act lest, under the wave of war hysteria, they be bludgeoned into situations against their best interest.” (See Exhibit 8) This was of course consistent with the line of the Communist Party during the Soviet Nazi alliance against national defense.

In 1949 the Hawaiian branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Color People (NAACP) realized that they were being infiltrated by the communists. The national NAACP was fighting against communist infiltration, and that fight lasted a number of years. An example of that fight was a letter that Roy Wilkins, the acting Secretary of the NAACP, wrote to Communist Party functionary William L. Patterson. Wilkins turned down any cooperation with the communists because as he wrote:

“We remember the Scottsboro case and our experience there with the International Labor Defense, one of the predecessors of the Civil Rights Congress. We remember that the present Civil Rights Congress is composed of the remnants of the ILD and other groups. We remember that in the Scottsboro case the NAACP was subjected to the most unprincipled vilification. We remember the campaign of slander in the Daily Worker. We remember the leaflets and the speakers and the whole unspeakable machinery that was turned loose upon all those who did not embrace the ‘unity’ policy as announced by the communists.

“We want none of that unity today.

“We of the NAACP remember that during the war when Negro Americans were fighting for jobs on the home front and fighting for decent treatment in the armed services we could get no help from the organizations on the extreme Left. They abandoned the fight for Negro rights on the ground that such a campaign would ‘interfere with the war effort.’ As soon as Russia was attacked by Germany they dropped the Negro question and concentrated all effort in support of the war in order to help the Soviet Union. During the war years the disciples of the extreme Left sounded very much like the worst of the Negro-hating southerners.”³³

In 1951 the NAACP took over a case in New Jersey from a communist front organization. In a letter to supporters they wrote, “We have taken over the defense from a Communist-controlled organization. We believe it is time for patriotic Americans to undertake the defense of innocent men instead of leaving these cases to those who too often exploit them for propaganda purposes.” The NAACP assigned Arthur Garfield Hays and Thurgood Marshall, NAACP Special Consul to handle the case.³⁴

The same year the NAACP magazine *Crisis* carried a lengthy article by NAACP official Herbert Hill outlining the many instances when the Communist Party betrayed

³³ Press release from the NAACP, November 23, 1949. Exhibit 9

³⁴ Letter from Joint Committee to Secure a Fair Trial of the Trenton Six, a joint project of the Princeton Committee for Defense of the Trenton Six and the Committee of 100, April 5, 1951. Exhibit 10

Negro rights. Hill wrote, "It is therefore inevitable that American Communist Party interest in the Negro can be neither genuine nor sincere. Quite the contrary. Strategic needs of the party as dictated by Moscow take precedence, not the goals and aspirations of Negroes. Whenever the interests of Negroes come into conflict with the political interest of Russia, the Communists abandon Negroes like rats a sinking ship."³⁵

The NAACP chapter asked for help from Roy Wilkins. In 1949, a letter written by Edward Berman revealed that:

"I (Berman) was at one of the election meetings at which one Frank Marshall Davis, formerly of Chicago (and formerly editor of the Chicago Communist paper, the Star) suddenly appeared on the scene to propagandize the membership about our 'racial problems' in Hawaii. He had just sneaked in here on a boat, and presto, was an 'expert' on racial problems in Hawaii. Comrade Davis was supported by others who recently 'sneaked' into the organization with the avowed intent and purpose of converting it into a front for the Stalinist line.

"These others were the same party liners who tried to take over and dominate an organization known locally as the Hawaii Committee for Civic Unity. The organization collapsed, due to their tactics.

"Having destroyed that organization they would now destroy the local branch of the NAACP.

"They create a mythical racial problem here. They agitate with the same fervor that the Communist press does on the mainland. The result is discord and distrust, not unity.

"We have no Harlems, little or big, in Hawaii. We have no Chinese quarter, or Japanese quarter, or Hawaiian quarter.

"I am a Caucasian. A Hawaiian lives to my right; a Japanese family across the street from me and a Chinese family to my left. We are staunch friends.

"There is no segregation here."

Berman presented the letter at a hearing of the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities on April 19, 1950. With it he provided a letter from Roy Wilkins that the NAACP had revoked the charter of the Honolulu branch.³⁶

³⁵ *Crisis*, June-July 1951, pp 365-371, 421-2

³⁶ House Committee on UnAmerican Activities, "Hearings Regarding Communist Activities in the Territory of Hawaii—Part 3, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1950, p 2067-9

By 1950, the Communist Party of the United States including its Hawaii section was in bad shape. As a result of the conviction of the eleven national leaders of the Party for Smith Act violation various elements of the Party including the Hawaii section went underground. The Commission on Subversive Activities of the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii reported February 28, 1955 "About November 1950, the communist party in Hawaii was reorganized on an underground basis. ... In the new organization, party groups were to consist of not more than three members. Groups were identified by numbers (1-10) rather than by names, as formerly." Among those identified as having been members of the underground groups were Frank Marshall Davis and his wife Helen C. Davis.³⁷

On December 5, 1956 Frank Marshall Davis testified before the Senate SubCommittee on Internal Security where he invoked the Fifth Amendment rather than answer questions.³⁸ His attorney at the hearing was Mrs. Harriet Bouslog Sawyer. She also testified at the same hearing and invoked her Fifth Amendment privileges rather than testify truthfully.³⁹ According to the 1953 annual report of the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities, she had been identified as a Communist Party member by two witnesses, one in 1951, the other 1953.⁴⁰

The Communist Party USA and its Hawaii section were in bad shape. The 1956 Khrushchev secret speech denouncing Stalin resulted in a severe decline in Party membership. What did continue, however, was the Soviet funding of the American Communist Party.⁴¹ Until the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party USA received regular stipends of millions of dollars. American scholars published copies of the receipts signed by Gus Hall, the head of the Party.⁴²

Despite the collapse of much of the Communist Party in the 1950s, it still left behind people to carry on its propoganda work. Even the *Honolulu Record* had collapsed. Harry Bridge's union, Koji Ariyoshi who had become head of the communist front US-China People's Friendship Association of Hawaii, and Frank Marshall Davis continued to carry on communist propoganda for many years.

³⁷ Previously cited *Report of the Commission on Subversive Activities to The Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, February 28, 1955*, p 51.

³⁸ *Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States, Hearings 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, Part 41*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1957, pp 2518-9

³⁹ *Ibid*, pp 2504ff.

⁴⁰ *Annual Report of the Committee on Un-American Activities for the Year 1953*, US Government Printing, Washington, DC, 1954, p 65.

⁴¹ See John Baron, *Operation Solo*, Regnery, Washington, DC.

⁴² See John E. Haynes and Harvey Klehr, "Moscow Gold", Confirmed at Last?" in *Labor History*, Spring 1992, Taminment Institute, New York, pp 279ff.

EPILOGUE

The Communist Party is on its last legs. But it still boasts of its history. On February 16, 2008 some of their heavily excised files were made available to the Tamiment Library at New York University in New York City. The spokesman for the Communist Party, Gerald Horne, made a speech at the ceremony, which is available on the internet. He mentioned in his speech Frank Marshall Davis, who he rather disingenuously says was “certainly in the obit of the CP – if not a member”. Of course, he was a member. According to Horne, he “was born in Kansas and spent a good deal of his adult life in Chicago, before decamping to Honolulu in 1948 at the suggestion of his good friend Paul Robeson. Eventually, he befriended another family – a Euro-American family – that had migrated to Honolulu from Kansas and a young woman from this family eventually had a child with a young student from Kenya East Africa who goes by the name of Barack Obama, who retracing the steps of Davis eventually decamped to Chicago. In his best selling memoir ‘Dreams of my Father’, the author speaks warmly of an older black poet, he identifies simply as “Frank” as being a decisive influence in helping him to find his present identity as an African-American, a people who have been the least anticommunist and the most left-leaning of any constituency in this nation – though you and would never know it from reading so-called left journals of opinion. At some point in the future, a teacher will add to her syllabus Barack’s memoir and instruct her students to read it alongside Frank Marshall Davis’ equally affecting memoir, ‘Living the Blues’ and when that comes, I’m sure a future student will not only examine critically the Frankenstein monsters that US imperialism created in order to subdue Communist parties but will also be moved to come to this historic and wonderful archive in order to gain insight on what has befallen this complex and intriguing planet on which we reside.”

In his autobiography *Dreams from My Father*, Barack Obama tells of meeting Frank (Davis), who was a drinking companion of Obama’s white grandfather. Davis boasted of his association with the great black writers Richard Wright and Langston Hughes during his years in Chicago.⁴³ At least, that’s what Obama remembers. We don’t know whether Davis admitted hating Wright and Hughes because they had broken with the Communist Party and exposed its activities. In his own autobiography, *Living’ The Blues*, Davis refers to Richard Wright’s “act of treason” for exposing the Communist Party.⁴⁴ Wright had written a chapter in the book *The God That Failed* where he denounced the Communist Party.⁴⁵

Obama’s autobiography tells more about the incident when his white grandmother was accosted by a Black panhandler demanding money. Obama cited the incident when he said he could no more repudiate his pastor, Jeremiah Wright, than he could repudiate his white grandmother. He had been shocked by the incident not because his grandmother, who loved and raised him had been threatened, but only because the person making the threat was Black. Obama went to Frank Davis for

⁴³ Barack Obama, *Dreams from My Father*, Three Rivers Press, New York, 2004 revised edition, p 76.

⁴⁴ Frank Marshall Davis, *Living’ the Blues, Memoirs of a Black Journalist and Poet*, previously cited p 243.

⁴⁵ Richard Crossman, Editor, *The God that failed*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1950

advice. Davis responded to Obama, "What I'm trying to tell you is, your grandma's right to be scared. ... She understands that black people have a reason to hate. That's just how it is. For your sake, I wish it were otherwise. But it's not. So you might as well get used to it."⁴⁶

In his autobiography, *Dreams from My Father*, he wrote, "To avoid being mistaken for a sellout, I chose my friends carefully. The more politically active black students. The foreign students. The Chicanos. The Marxist professors and structural feminists and punk rock performance poets."⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Barack Obama, previously cited, p90-1.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p 100.

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARINGS

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 II

1953 and 1954 Reports of

The Commission on Subversive Activities of the
Territory of Hawaii

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1957

Exhibit 1A

rogation a series of questions prepared by the national committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A. As a result of these and other evaluations by the executive board of the Communist Party of Hawaii, party members have been expelled for various reasons such as ideological instability ("deviationism"), lack of complete dedication to the Communist cause, refusal to obey party orders without question, and exposure to arrest for reasons other than Communist activities. In the reorganization of the party on an underground basis, responsibilities have been transferred to members not previously identified as such in the public eye. Other persons, still not openly identified as party members, have assumed functions in Communist operations. Of foremost concern to the party is to keep intact as far as possible its organization and propaganda outlets so that party operations may be reactivated when the time is ripe. To the extent that trustworthy nonmembers of the party are willing and able to perform the tasks they are used.

Prominent among those recently active in pro-Communist affairs here have been Edward G. Rohrbough, main stockholder of the Honolulu Record and its chief editorial assistant; Pearl Freeman, alter ego of her husband, Dwight James Freeman, in party matters and recently an active head of the Communist Front HCRC; and Jean Sadako King, a secret party functionary.

The formal membership of the Communist Party of Hawaii has dwindled to a relatively few "hard core" members. It has purported to expel many leaders and members. Others have reportedly resigned or simply stopped participating in party activities. However, the commission believes it unrealistic to gauge the party's strength on a count of formal members alone, because many alleged ex-members continue to function in complete accord with the party and in furtherance of its aims, assisted by persons who, whether formal members or not, function as Communists.

THE HONOLULU RECORD

The Communist Party has always regarded the printed word as a medium vital to the implementation of its program. Experience shows that party leaders have used newspapers and other periodicals to create racial, religious, economic, and political agitation to encourage the adoption of policies favorable to Soviet Russia, and to undermine and destroy the existing forms of government in the countries where the Communist Party has operated. Through its many publications in this country, the Communist Party has transmitted to its members and sympathizers the various facets of the ever-changing party "line."

The leaders of the Communist Party of Hawaii, realizing the limited popularity of the Daily People's World and the Daily Worker, official San Francisco and New York organs of the Communist Party, respectively, and seeking at the same time to broaden their sphere of influence in the Territory, established their own weekly newspaper, the Honolulu Record, in August 1948. This action was the result of a resolution adopted at the Territorial convention of the Communist Party of Hawaii held at Hauula and Kulouou Beach in April 1948. Jack H. Kawano, a member of the executive board of the Communist Party of Hawaii in 1948, has testified:

" * * * The party [the Communist Party] instructed its members to get the ILWU behind the Honolulu Record, and urge the union to buy subscriptions and ads. Every cell of the Communist Party was instructed to designate someone to handle the ads and subscriptions in the union for both the People's World and the Honolulu Record."

Robert M. Kempa, former Communist Party leader, has testified that shortly after the executive board of the Communist Party of Hawaii decided to undertake publication of the Honolulu Record, Communist Party members were informed that each was expected to purchase a minimum of 10 shares of stock in the corporation. Although only 7 identified Communist Party members were listed in the original corporate exhibit of the Honolulu Record Publishing Co., Ltd., as owners of 10 or more shares, the contributions of other members of the party may well have been embodied in the 7,500 shares listed in the exhibit of Koji Ariyoshi. Fourteen of the original 60 shareholders are identified as members of the Communist Party of Hawaii. These persons owned 7,512 of the original total of 8,133 shares—96 percent of the Honolulu Record stock as of August 5, 1948.

For many weeks prior to publication of the first issue on August 5, 1948, organizers of the Honolulu Record Publishing Co., Ltd., circulated a prospectus characterizing their forthcoming publication as one that would present "the other side of the news" and serve as a champion of organized labor in Hawaii.

Such appears to have been chosen deliberately to attract the support of kindred persons in the community and to insure a following among the Territory's labor unions. Sale of the stock in the new corporation placed in the hands of such dependable identified Communists as John Hainke and Robert Greene. By the end of August 1948, the solicitors had 7,500 shares of stock having a total par value of \$30,405. The majority of original stockholders were either Communists or palpable Communist sympathizers, although a representative number of so-called liberals also agreed to buy stock in the new corporation.

The Honolulu Record made a determined effort to win support among the working class in the Territory, particularly in the ILWU, which at the time claimed a membership of some 30,000 workers. Operating through representatives within the ILWU, Communist Party leaders arranged for wide union support of their publication. Said Kawano in his testimony:

"The Honolulu Record got all the help from the ILWU through the Communists in it."

Members were led to believe that the Honolulu Record was a labor newspaper and that it was the only newspaper in the Territory that dared print the truth. Scores of self-styled liberals welcomed the Honolulu Record as a champion of the downtrodden, the defender of the underdog. Notable among them was William K. Bassett, administrative assistant to the mayor of Honolulu. Bassett not only gave public commendation to the Record, but wrote a column for the publication.

Editor of the Honolulu Record since its inception has been Koji Ariyoshi, who has been indicated for conspiracy to violate the Smith Act. Jack H. Kawano stated in his testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1948, when the leaders of the Communist Party of Hawaii learned that Ariyoshi, a former Honolulu trained in the field of journalism, then in New York City, had become a member of the Communist Party, they sought to invite him to return to Honolulu to assume the editorship of the Honolulu Record.

Ariyoshi, a veteran of several years wartime service in the Far East, both as a soldier in the United States Army and as an OWI representative, is reported to have had personal contact with the Chinese Communists. He wrote a series of articles entitled "Inside Communist China" which appeared in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin during September 1947. He is the author of an article in support of the Chinese Communists which appeared in the November 1947, edition of Spotlight on the Far East, official publication of the Office for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. Ariyoshi was listed in 1949 in the Far East Spotlight, successor to Spotlight on the Far East, as a contributor to the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. That organization has been cited as a Communist-front by the United States Attorney General in the California Committee on Un-American Activities. Jack H. Kawano, ILWU officer and Communist Party leader, testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee that he understood that Ariyoshi was elected to the executive board of the Communist Party of Hawaii for 1948-49.

Members of the editorial phase of the Record are Edward G. Rohrbough, Frank Marshall Davis, Wilfred M. Oka, and Jack Denichi Kimoto. Kimoto also played an important role in the organization and publication of the Hawaii Star, pro-Communist Japanese language newspaper, which was affiliated with the Communist Party in San Francisco and Los Angeles during the 1930's. He was then employed as a translator for the Daily People's World, the principal west coast organ of the Communist Party. Even before he left Hawaii for the mainland in 1931, Kimoto was already recognized in certain circles as an astute and well read Marxist. After 7 years on the mainland, Kimoto returned to his home in Honolulu armed with the commission necessary technique to propagandize in Hawaii on behalf of the Communist Party. It has been reported by a former Communist Party member, William Schneiderman, former chairman of district 13, Communist Party, United States of America, convicted of conspiracy to violate the Smith Act, that he instructed Kimoto prior to the latter's return to Hawaii. Jack H. Kawano, a former member of the executive board of the Communist Party, testified in 1951 that Kimoto has been among the "most responsible" members of the Communist Party since its reactivation in Hawaii in 1945. Kawano also stated that Kimoto served as a member of the executive board of the Communist Party of Hawaii in 1946. Kimoto refused, on the grounds of

possible self incrimination, to answer questions concerning his Communist affiliations before the House Un-American Activities Committee. He was indicted for conspiracy to violate the Smith Act.

Edward G. Rohrbough, reporter and principal stockholder of the Honolulu Record, arrived in Honolulu from New York City during the summer of 1948. Since that time he has been continuously in the employ of the Honolulu Record Publishing Co., Ltd. Rohrbough is the husband of Jeannette Nakama Rohrbough, also an employee of the Record, who has been identified as a member of the Communist Party of Hawaii by many former Communists. Rohrbough has also contributed to such Communist publications as the Daily People's World and New Masses. (The Daily People's World was cited as "the official organ of the Communist Party on the west coast" by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in March 1944, and as the "west coast mouthpiece of the Communist Party" by the California Committee on Un-American Activities in 1945. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities also cited New Masses as "nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party." New Masses has been cited as a "Communist periodical" by the United States Attorney General.)

During World War II, Rohrbough was stationed in China as a civilian employee of the Office of War Information. It was while serving in China that he became acquainted with Honolulu Record Editor Koki Ariyoshi, who at that time was also in the employ of the Office of War Information. Rohrbough's writings in the Daily People's World, and New Masses, during the postwar period have shown him to be in complete sympathy with the Chinese Communists, whom he has extolled as the "liberators" of China and the torchbearers of "democracy." Rohrbough also served as a consultant of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy during 1948 and 1949. The United States Attorney General has cited the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy as a Communist organization.

Frank Marshall Davis, an identified member of the Communist Party and a resident of Hawaii since December 1948, has been a weekly contributor to the pages of the Honolulu Record since May 1949. His column, entitled "Frankly Speaking," has been devoted to unrelenting and unmitigated complaints of racial discrimination in the United States. Davis has revealed himself to be a bitter opponent of capitalism and a staunch defender of such prominent Communists and Communist sympathizers as Paul Robeson, W. E. B. DuBois, Langston Hughes, Howard Fast, Mary McLeod Bethune, Earl B. Dickerson, Carey McWilliams, Robert Morse Lovett, Herbert Aptheker, and A. Clayton Powell. 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 strikingly conforms to Communist Party policy. The chairman of the editorial board of Freedom is Paul Robeson, an identified member of the Communist Party.

On March 3, 1947, while Davis was employed as executive editor of the Associated Negro Press with offices in Chicago, Ill., he was listed by the magazine PM as a signatory to a petition urging Congress to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee and calling upon President Truman to effect the immediate release of Communist Gerhart Eisler. The petition referred to the work of the House Un-American Activities Committee as "undemocratic" activity and protested that the consequence of its program "would be the ultimate suppression of all traditional American liberties."

Prior to his arrival in the Territory, Frank Marshall Davis was affiliated with the Communist-line Chicago Star and the following Communist-front organizations: Civil Rights Congress, Chicago Committee for Spanish Freedom, American Youth for Democracy, Abraham Lincoln School, National Association for Constitutional Liberties, League of American Writers, and National Negro Congress. During the period of his residence in Hawaii he has played a prominent role in the activities of the Communist-front Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee and its successor the Hawaii Civil Rights Congress.

Davis is not known to receive any compensation from the Honolulu Record Publishing Co., Ltd. His income appears to be derived totally from his stationery and paper business which he has advertised in the Honolulu Record under the name Oahu Papeds, 867 Ahua Street.

Wilfred M. Oka, sports editor of the Honolulu Record, has been identified as a member of the Communist Party by 2 former Communists, while 3 other former

Communist Party members testified that they had observed Oka at Communist Party meetings. Jack H. Kawano, former member of the executive board of the Communist Party of Hawaii, has stated that Oka was 1 of 4 members of the political commission of the Communist Party of Hawaii during 1948. Oka was subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee, but refused to appear or deny his Communist affiliations on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

Oka is the owner of the Corner Liquor Store, 1042 Bethel Street, Honolulu, and during the recent years has served as an outlet for Communist propaganda for persons of kindred radical political views. Although Oka writes a weekly sports column for the Record, he is not known to have been paid for his services. Nor has he been listed at any time as a shareholder in the Honolulu Record Publishing Co., Ltd.

Government investigative agencies have conducted investigations of the Honolulu Record and have concluded that the Record has been consistent in its support of Communists and communism and in its denunciation of all forms of anti-Communist activity. On October 1, 1950, the House Committee on Un-American Activities published a 38-page pamphlet setting forth the results of its comprehensive investigation and analysis of the Record. The committee's conclusion is as follows:

The Committee on Un-American Activities, after analysis and investigation of the Honolulu Record since its first issue of August 5, 1948, draws the inevitable conclusion that the Honolulu Record is a front for the Communist Party, despite the fact that the paper does not make this admission."

Further confirmation of the liaison between the Honolulu Record and the Communist Party of Hawaii is apparent from the fact that 3 of the 7 alleged Honolulu Communist leaders indicted for conspiracy to violate the Smith Act are presently have been employees of or writers for the Honolulu Record and owners of Honolulu Record stock. Moreover, the three have been members of the executive board of the Communist Party of Hawaii at one time or another since 1948. They are as follows:

- Koki Ariyoshi, editor
- Ken Denichi Kimoto, reporter and circulation department assistant
- John E. Reinecke, advertising salesman and contributor of stories and feature articles

Two other Smith Act defendants, Mr. and Mrs. Charles K. Fujimoto, are the owners of Record stock.

The Record continues to utilize the services of the Federated Press and the Allied Labor News. The Special House Committee on Un-American Activities described the Federated Press as: "A Communist-controlled organization financed by the American Fund for Public Service and the Robert Marshall Foundation, two principal sources of funds for Communist enterprises."

In 1947 the House Un-American Activities Committee listed Allied Labor News, 1133 Broadway, New York City, among publications and news agencies in the United States receiving cable and radio news from Moscow during 1945. The California Committee on Un-American Activities has listed Allied Labor News Service among publications which "the committee has found * * * to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Communist solar system."

The Honolulu Record and its principal stockholder, Edward G. Rohrbough, were served as distributors in Hawaii for the China Monthly Review, a magazine published in Communist China. The China Monthly Review has followed an editorial policy that is viciously critical of United States foreign policy and favorable to Soviet Russia. The Honolulu Record of September 20, 1951, contained an announcement that the China Monthly Review was available at the former Liquor Store and Magazine Shop, 1042 Bethel Street, Honolulu. Wilfred M. Oka, sports editor of the Honolulu Record and identified member of the Communist Party, is the owner of the Corner Liquor Store. Again, on March 8, 1952, an advertisement in the Record called attention to the fact that the China Monthly Review was on sale at the Corner Liquor Store. The advertisement further stated that sample copies could be obtained at the office of the Honolulu Record, 811 Sheridan Street, Honolulu. The China Monthly Review is discussed further elsewhere in this report.

The Honolulu Record continues as the principal Communist-front publication in the Territory. Although the newspaper has never admitted affiliation with

Exhibit 2A

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1957

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 E. 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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the Communist Party has ully 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,* neralized fashion."

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

but always arranged so that tside would not sense that a materials were kept out of on-Communist books, records, hecks of the premises, outside apers, notes, etc., were to be hen party cards were issued ructed not to carry the cards erty meetings. Official party circles, and names of Commu- ty members in other cells. n late 1947, a general reorgan- sures were reemphasized and ren slight breaches of these

or to the end of each year for o issuance of new cards. In nyms ("party names") to be y cards was discontinued in

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

sion took place at the end of r turned in at that time. lty 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 fferent places was to be used. l chairmen were given a type- allan 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 im- tion, party groups were to con- identified by numbers (1 through identified as having been mem- h Quon McBirath, 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,* 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 Pannu 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 that \$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.

* Left party in 1952 and appeared as a chief Government witness in the Smith Act trial in Honolulu.

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARINGS

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

DECEMBER 5 AND 6, 1956

PART 41

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1957

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TESTIMONY OF FRANK MARSHALL DAVIS

Mr. MORRIS. Give your name and address to the reporter, Mr. Davis.

Mr. DAVIS. Frank Marshall Davis, 47-388 Kam Highway.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Davis, when did you come to Honolulu?

Mr. DAVIS. In 1948.

Mr. MORRIS. 1948. Where were you born?

Mr. DAVIS. Arkansas City, Kans.

Mr. MORRIS. What has been your education?

Mr. DAVIS. Let's see. Through high school and a year at Friends University.

Mr. MORRIS. Where is Friends University?

Mr. DAVIS. And at Kansas State College. That is at Manhattan, Kans.

Mr. MORRIS. You are a columnist, are you not, for the Honolulu Record?

(The witness consults with his attorney.)

Senator WATKINS. Just a minute, Counsel. Did he ask you anything before you started to talk?

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Yes; he did, Senator.

Senator WATKINS. I couldn't see his lips move.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. He had his back to me.

Senator WATKINS. I could see that side of his face.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I tell you, Senator, he did ask me.

Senator WATKINS. I have noticed the tendency, however, for counsel, not only in this hearing here but in the hearings on other days, before the witness could even open his mouth, to start to advise him. That amounts to what we call coaching the witness, and it is not permitted in this committee.

You see, the witnesses are not parties. They come in as any ordinary citizen would come in to testify in a matter in which the Senate is interested, as an ordinary witness would come in to testify in court. Such witnesses are not entitled to have counsel or register objections, and all of that sort of thing. They may come before the court to testify, as you know, with nobody there except the judge to advise them as to their rights as witnesses. Now, to have an attorney present to advise a witness, in this hearing, is a privilege that is granted. It is not a right.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. I regard the fact that my client has the constitutional right to counsel—

Senator WATKINS. Oh, certainly, but not to be coached as to the testimony he shall give in the proceedings.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. He turned to me and asked me for my advice, and I gave it to him.

Senator WATKINS. I have been watching this very closely, ever since these hearings out here began, and obviously the witnesses have asked for advice in many instances, but obviously the witnesses never have had time to make their requests for legal advice before counsel has begun to give advice. I just warn you. That is all.

Mr. MORRIS. We have information, Mr. Davis—did you answer the last question or did you invoke the privilege of the—

Mr. DAVIS. No; I decline to answer that, on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. We have information and evidence you were a member of the faculty of the Abraham Lincoln School in Chicago. Is that information accurate, Mr. Davis?

Mr. DAVIS. I decline to answer that, also on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, the Abraham Lincoln School was one of the Communist schools.

Are you a Communist now, Mr. Davis?

Mr. DAVIS. Same answer.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no further questions at this time, Senator. I ask that you order the witness to stand by.

Senator WATKINS. Stand by. That means you will report to the open hearing room.

[End of Davis testimony taken in executive session.]

Mr. MORRIS. That concludes the testimony of Mr. Davis. One other thing, Senator, I would like to point out, because I think it should be abundantly clear from our record, that the last two witnesses who appeared here today were not subpoenaed because they represented anybody.

At the very outset these were the first people we subpoenaed, and we told them, these particular witnesses, that they were scheduled to be the first witnesses, and they asked that they testify last. They acknowledged that on the public record, and I would like for the record at this point to show that fact.

Senator JOHNSTON. Thank you. Any other questions?

Mr. MORRIS. No, Senator.

Senator JOHNSTON. There are no questions. The witness will be excused at this particular time.

Mrs. BOUSLOG. Thank you, Senator.

Senator JOHNSTON. The committee will adjourn until 9:30 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Wheeler, this man Cvetic you mentioned, during the period between 1941 and 1949, was it?

Mr. WHEELER. That is correct, sir.

Mr. WALTER. When he became a leader of the Communist Party of the United States, he was actually an FBI agent?

Mr. WHEELER. That is correct, sir. According to his testimony, he was on the payroll of the FBI during that period of time.

Mr. WALTER. All right.

Mr. HARRISON. They paid him a little better than the Communist Party, didn't they?

Mr. WHEELER. I think so.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall that during the course of his testimony he described a Communist Party cell which he assisted in organizing in the Crucible Steel Co., where the membership was as low as 10 or 12 members, that is, a cell of the Communist Party?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did his testimony develop that that cell, composed of 10 to 12 members, was able to organize and take over a union composed of 2,800 individuals?

Mr. WHEELER. That is correct, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that the cell did control that union until the leadership of that union were identified as members of the Communist Party, when the union members ousted them?

Mr. WHEELER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. WALTER. The subcommittee will take a short recess.

(Recess was taken from 2:55 to 3:08 p. m.)

Mr. WALTER. The subcommittee will be in order. Call your next witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Ed. Berman.

Mr. WALTER. Raise your right hand, please. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BERMAN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD BERMAN

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mr. BERMAN. Edward Berman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you live, Mr. Berman?

Mr. BERMAN. At 5311 Paiko Drive, Aina Haina, Honolulu.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation?

Mr. BERMAN. I am an attorney at law.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in the Territory of Hawaii?

Mr. BERMAN. I first came to Hawaii in 1931; I left in 1938 to study law and I returned in 1946. So I have been of the islands or close to the islands since 1931.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you ever affiliated with an organization known as the Hawaiian Association for Civic Unity?

Mr. BERMAN. I joined that organization and was a member of it for about two meetings, in 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell the committee briefly the history of that organization.

Mr. BERMAN. The Hawaiian Association for Civil Unity was organized back around 1946, was supposed to be a liberal organization for the purposes of civic unity, and so on, and social matters, and as I got the background of the organization, it had a very good response from the liberal and conservative people of this community, as an organization that they could join. I learned in 1947 that a lot of people had moved into the organization who were repugnant to the original membership and that the organization, which had originally had about 200 members, dwindled down to around 25 or 30.

At the meeting where I was invited to attend, where I joined, I was invited to see if something could be done to neutralize the group that entered into the organization, who had practically taken it over. The situation on that particular night was that the organization was trying—I believe it was during a legislative session here—to put over a FEPA bill, a Fair Employment Practices Act, and that they were trying to propagandize the organization, this small element there, that there was need for a bill here to eliminate racial discrimination, and were trying to create the impression within the organization that racial discrimination was very, very wide in these islands. The group that I joined with there included Mr. Arnold Wills, of the National Labor Relations Board, and I remember specifically was trying to show that no evidence had been produced by this other element that there was rank discrimination against races in these islands and until such evidence could be produced before the legislature itself, it would be almost hopeless to get such a bill enacted. This element argued that regardless of whether there was any evidence of discrimination or not, I recall in this meeting, a bill like this should be forced through the legislature so that if any discrimination should develop here they would have an ax that they could chop someone's head off with, and so forth. Finally, as a result of this fight and conflict between what I would call the left-wing and right-wing groups of HACU, Hawaiian Association for Civic Unity, the organization just collapsed. In other words, the left-wing element lost its strength and it just went out of existence, and that was the end of HACU, toward the end of the legislative session of 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then, did you become associated or affiliated with another organization, that is known as NAACP, meaning National Association for Advancement of Colored People?

Mr. BERMAN. Yes, I did. Sometime in 1948 I got a call from a Mrs. Catherine Christopher, who lived at that time at Pearl City, whose husband was in the Government service, and also from a Miss Mary Noonan, who is secretary of the local Republican Club, and they asked me if I would not get into the NAACP, that the same elements who had once controlled HACU had moved into the NAACP, and she mentioned the Reineckes and the Fujimotos and a few others. I went out there to the first NAACP meeting, and I found that the same group that had been in the HACU meeting had now moved over to the colored people out there at CHA 3, out there at Pearl City, and had practically taken over that organization and were using that as a spring-

board for putting over an FEPC bill among the colored people who are working in the Government service. We got a few more people and moved in there and were soon in a position where our own strength was about equal to theirs. As a result of bringing in about 15 or 20 new people who could combat this group, there was an election held—I think the newspapers publicized it—for a left-wing president and a right-wing president, the right wing backing one and the left wing another, in which the election resulted in a tie vote. Following that, there was another election a few months later and again the election resulted in a tie vote. Both groups were trying to bring in people to offset each other. Finally, Walter White came through here, secretary of the NAACP, on the Denny Tour of the Air that was here last year. And as a result of a report made to him of the situation, members of the executive board of the NAACP received letters from the national headquarters as to Mrs. Catherine Christopher's position and not to hold a third meeting because of the situation in the NAACP, and we were asked to correspond with the organization. And as a result of correspondence back to New York, the charter of the NAACP was revoked over here.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you what purports to be a photostatic copy of a letter written by you on September 26, 1949, to Mr. Roy Wilkins, acting secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and I will ask you if you can identify that as a copy of your letter?

Mr. BERMAN. Yes. This is the letter that I wrote.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you read it, please?

Mr. BERMAN. This is dated September 26, 1949, and is addressed from Honolulu [reading]:

Mr. ROY WILKINS,

Acting Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West Fortieth Street, New York 18, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of the 16th, this is to advise you that I am a member of the executive committee of the Honolulu branch and believe that Mrs. Catherine Christopher, acting president of the Honolulu branch, NAACP, acted in good faith and for the best interest of the organization by not holding an election under the circumstances that prevailed here in Hawaii.

I was at one of the election meetings at which one Frank Marshall Davis, formerly of Chicago (and formerly editor of the Chicago Communist paper, the Star) suddenly appeared on the scene to propagandize the membership about our "racial problems" in Hawaii. He had just sneaked in here on a boat, and presto, was an "expert" on racial probes in Hawaii. Comrade Davis was supported by others who recently "sneaked" into the organization with the avowed intent and purpose of converting it into a front for the Stalinist line.

These others were the same party liners who tried to take over and dominate an organization known locally as the Hawaii Committee for Civic Unity. The organization collapsed, due to their tactics.

Having destroyed that organization they would now destroy the local branch of the NAACP.

They create a mythical racial problem here. They agitate with the same fervor that the Communist press does on the mainland. The result is discord and distrust, not unity.

We have no Harlems, little or big, in Hawaii. We have no Chinese quarter, or Japanese quarter, or Hawaiian quarter.

I am a Caucasian. A Hawaiian lives to my right: a Japanese family across the street from me and a Chinese family to my left. We are staunch friends.

There is no segregation here.

You have probably heard there are one or two disreputable barrooms on Nuuanu Street (slum area) that exclude Negroes. My answer to that is that no self-respecting citizen of African descent or any other race would go near

those places with a 10-foot pole. The Royal Hawaiian, the Moana, the Halekulani (there Walter White stopped) do not exclude Negroes or any other race.

The point I am making is that the Communist Party was deliberately trying to stir up racism in an area where there is fine racial unity and harmony.

It is better to have no organization than to have these tactics continue. Mrs. Christopher acted in good faith. She knew what was going on and it was her method of checking them. Already, scores of Negro members were frightened away from these meetings because of the influx of this element. Only by a reorganization with a policy that will check this infiltration, can we hope to get former members back into a local NAACP branch. We are going to have to have that authority over here—otherwise you'll have a branch exclusively composed of yelping Stalinists and their dupes—characters who are more concerned about the speedy assassination of Tito than they are about the advancement of the colored people of these United States.

Mr. WALTER. You ought to write that same kind of letter to Bill Boyle, chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the letter in evidence and mark it "Berman Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WALTER. It will be received.³⁵

Mr. TAVENNER. I now hand you a letter and ask you if that is an acknowledgment of the receipt of the former letter?

Mr. BERMAN. I received this subsequent to October 26, 1949. It is addressed to my law office [reading]:

DEAR MR. BERMAN: Your letter of September 26, addressed to Mr. Roy Wilkins, has been referred to me for submission to the committee on branches. The committee meets on November 4, at which time it will review the Honolulu matter.

Very truly yours,

GLOSTER B. CURRENT,
Director of Branches.

It is out of New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the letter in evidence and mark it "Exhibit Berman 2."

Mr. WALTER. Let it be marked and received for the record.³⁶

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a third letter and ask you if that represents the action taken by the national organization of the NAACP?

Mr. BERMAN. Yes. This is a copy of the letter I received, which is addressed to Mrs. Christopher, who was acting president of the Honolulu branch while these elections were going on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you read it?

Mr. BERMAN. It is addressed to Mrs. Christopher, acting president, Honolulu Branch, NAACP, 808 Fifteenth Street, CH A 3, Honolulu 60, T. H. [reading]:

DEAR MRS. CHRISTOPHER: The national board of directors, at its meeting on November 14, 1949, upon recommendation of the committee on branches, voted to revoke the charter of the Honolulu branch for the following reasons:

1. The officers of the Honolulu branch have, by their failure, refusal, or neglect to complete the holding of the election of officers as required by the constitution and bylaws for branches and as ordered by the national office, been guilty of conduct inimical to the best interest of the NAACP.

2. The difference in the problems of racial discrimination in the continental United States and their solution as contrasted with the problems of the Territory makes difficult the applicability of techniques and methods used by branches and the national office to effect the policy of the association in the Territory.

³⁵ Retained in committee files.

³⁶ Retained in committee files.

No. 6.

MEETING OF BUREAU, ANGLO-AMERICAN SECRETARIAT,
February 17, 1935.

Present: McIlhorne (chair), Mehring, Flake, Naumann, Brown,
Sherman, Levine, Bergmann, Massie, Gray, Porter,
Andrews, Brigadier, Wiley, Ahnstrom, Billett, Mingulin.

QUESTIONS DISCUSSED:

- 1. Hawaiian question.

Reporter: Flake.
Speakers: Shermann, Mehring,
Mingulin, Naumann.

DECISIONS:

- 1. To discuss the question with the American and Japanese comrades. To draw up a document which analyses the situation and the revolutionary tasks in Hawaii.

Responsible: Commission composed of comrades Flake, Mingulin, Porter, Sherman, representative of Eastern Secretariat.
Responsible for Commission: Com. Sherman.

Signed:

Sherman

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СБОРНИК

УТВЕРЖДЕНО 18
на заседании ЦК КПСС
Протокол № 117

1457 + 28 JUL 1985

July 7, 1935

LETTER TO THE CPUSA ON HAWAII.

The growing discontent of the masses of the population in the Hawaiian Islands with the regime of colonial oppression and the exploitation of American imperialism with its policy of militarisation of the Hawaiian Islands makes it essential for the CP USA to give every possible assistance to the development of the mass revolutionary movement in Hawaii, so that the foundations will be laid for the formation of a Communist Party as the leader of the emancipation movement in Hawaii. Due to the altogether insufficient information at present available, it is not possible at present to completely formulate all the tasks of the revolutionary movement, and all that can be done is to indicate the general line along which further investigation and discussion of this question should be conducted by the American Party.

The political slogans of the Hawaiian revolutionary movement should be based on the developing of the agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution, the struggle against the yoke of American imperialism, and the bourgeois landlord system, and for a workers' and farmers' republic. Although the slogans of the national liberation struggle cannot be exactly predetermined and will have to grow out of the creation and development of the national liberation movement itself, it is the first and foremost task of the American Party to assist this process and raise the slogan of "Right of Self-determination of the Peoples of Hawaii, up to the Point of Separation", to demand the withdrawal of the U.S. armed forces, and to expose the policy of the militarisation of Hawaii as part of the war plans of American imperialism.

The CP USA should discuss with the Hawaiian comrades what are the basic tasks of the agrarian anti-imperialist revolution, especially the solution of the land question, which, according to the material available, presents itself as the task of destroying the semi-feudal remnants, the confiscation of the big plantations which predominate in Hawaii (and are mainly owned by foreign imperialists), and the division of the land among the people.

In addition to the main political slogans of the national liberation struggle, the Hawaiian revolutionary movement should consider raising the following immediate partial demands, the struggle for which should receive the full support of the CP USA:

- 1) Full democratic rights for the people -- against the terror; freedom of speech, press, assembly, and the right to organise and strike; full electoral rights; and the right to organise and the American soldiers and sailor.
- 2) Equal rights for all nationalities and the coloured people (Hawaii).
- 3) Eight-hour day for industrial workers.

- 4) Abolition of the prohibition of the employment of the coloured people.
- 5) Cancellation of the laws against the workers.
- 6) Reduction of taxes on the farmers and share-croppers.

The CP USA should publish a central newspaper (by various groups, or making one

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Gesammelte Dokumente
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bis zum VII. Kongress der CPUSA

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COMMUNIST DOMINATION OF CERTAIN
UNIONS

REPORT
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SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR AND LABOR-MAN
RELATIONS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC W
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EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION
ON
COMMUNIST DOMINATION OF
CERTAIN UNIONS



Presented by Mr. HUMPHREY and ordered to be printed
(legislative day OCTOBER 1), 1951

UNITED STATES
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WASHINGTON : 1951

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REPORT OF EXECUTIVE BOARD COMMITTEE APPOINTED
BY PRESIDENT MURRAY TO INVESTIGATE CHARGES
AGAINST THE INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S
AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION

On November 5, 1949, William Steinberg, president of the American Radio Association and a member of the CIO executive board, advised that the policies and activities of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) are consistently directed toward the achievement of the program or the policies of the Communist Party rather than the objectives set forth in the constitution of the union. The charges were received by the executive board of the CIO and authorized President Murray to appoint a committee of the CIO board members to conduct hearings on the charges and to report to the board. President Murray designated O. A. Knight (chairman), James E. Fadling, and Joseph Fisher as a committee. Notice was given to ILWU of the filing of the charges and of the appointment of the committee. Thereafter Mr. Fadling advised President Murray that he would be unable to serve on the committee, and Mr. Moran was appointed Jack Moran to serve on the committee in place of Mr. Fadling. On April 18, 1950, O. A. Knight, as chairman, notified ILWU that the hearings on the charges against it would be held in the room at CIO headquarters and would begin on Wednesday, May 3, 1950. He also advised ILWU of the substitution of Mr. Moran for Mr. Fadling.

The committee, as constituted of Mr. Knight, Mr. Fisher, Mr. Moran, held hearings beginning at 11 a. m. on Wednesday, May 3, 1950, and continuing until Friday, May 19, at 6:30 p. m. Present at the hearings were Harry Bridges, president of ILWU; Robertson, vice president of ILWU; William Glazier, Washington legislative representative of the union, and several ILWU executive board members and local union members.

Mr. Steinberg, the charging party, made an introductory statement to the committee in which he gave the basis for his charges. He called 4 witnesses. Everett Kassalow, associate director of research for the CIO, presented detailed analyses of the policies of the Communist Party and of ILWU, supported by numerous documentary exhibits. Michael Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union of America and a member of the CIO executive board, and Mr. Hedley St. John, secretary-treasurer of the National Maritime Union of America, a member of the CIO executive board, testified that Harry Bridges had attended meetings of functionaries of the Communist Party and of representatives of Communist-controlled CIO unions at which party functionaries announced the policies which those present were to follow in their unions and in the CIO. George L. P. Weaver, assistant secretary-treasurer of CIO, testified as to statements and portions taken by Mr. Bridges in meetings of the CIO executive board.

CONVENTION ISSUE

No Convoys
No A. E. F.

VOLUNTEER FOR
LIBERTY



Exhibit 4

ISSUED BY THE CHICAGO POST OF THE VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE MAY, 1941

LINCOLN VETERANS CONVENTION FIGHTS CONVOY PLAN

SESSIONS AT MIDLAND HOTEL MAY 30th TO JUNE 1st WILL URGE ALL TO "DIG IN FOR PEACE"

Meeting at a time the forces for war in this country are straining every effort to involve the American people actively in a war for empire, the 3rd National Convention of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade will consider the problem of how best to bring the experiences of the organization in the recent Spanish War to the people of this country.

In a statement to the press, Major Milton Wolff, National Commander of the veteran's organization said. ". . . The American people look upon the veterans as the foremost champions of democracy and anti-fascism. We must utilize this prestige in the boldest fashion to explain the fundamental differences between this imperialist war—which we vigorously oppose—and the Spanish people's defense of democracy which we just as vigorously supported."

Wolff went on to recall how the British Non-Intervention policy and the Roosevelt Arms Embargo had left the Spanish people at the mercy of Hitler and Mussolini. And how the same policies had inevitably led to the infamous Munich Agreement.

"It is fashionable now," he continued, "in certain diplomatic circles in Wash-

ington showed that when we crossed the Atlantic to fight in Spain. We show it not by our support of China. But the present war is a struggle for empire. The Anglo-German war, democracy is slogan, not an issue.

Wolff also warned that "Efforts being made now to divert the real sentiments of the people into organizations like the America First Committee whose leaders are no more concerned with democracy than the German-American Bund. The American people should and must express their deep desire for peace but they can only do it through organizations which are genuinely concerned. The American Peace Movement is as yet the only true channel for this expression and Americans everywhere and in increasing numbers

Convention Ball
Veterans will sponsor a ball

No Convoys! No AEF!

Make This Cry Ring in the Ears of the President and Congress.

The President promised on October 30, 1940:
"And while I am talking to you, fathers and mothers, I give you one more assurance. I have said this before, but I shall say it again, and again, and again. Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars."
Mrs. Roosevelt, on April 20, 1941, reveals the President's real intentions:
"Any American who will not fight any place his country asks him to fight is not an American."
During the debate on H.R. 1776, the Lease-Lend Bill, Roosevelt himself declared:
"Convoys mean shooting and shooting means war."
Roosevelt's spokesmen in the cabinet, Knox, Hull, and Wickard, and Vice-President Wallace, have followed Stimson's call for convoys on May 6, recognizing fully the consequences in terms of actual military involvement in the war. The "aid-short-of-war" policy, stripped of all "peace" pretense, stands forth clearly as the "path-to-war" policy.

A stylized globe showing the Americas. A hand is holding a sign that says "gone East will be back shortly - Hitler".

**WESTERN FRONT
NOW!**

By

MILTON WOLFF

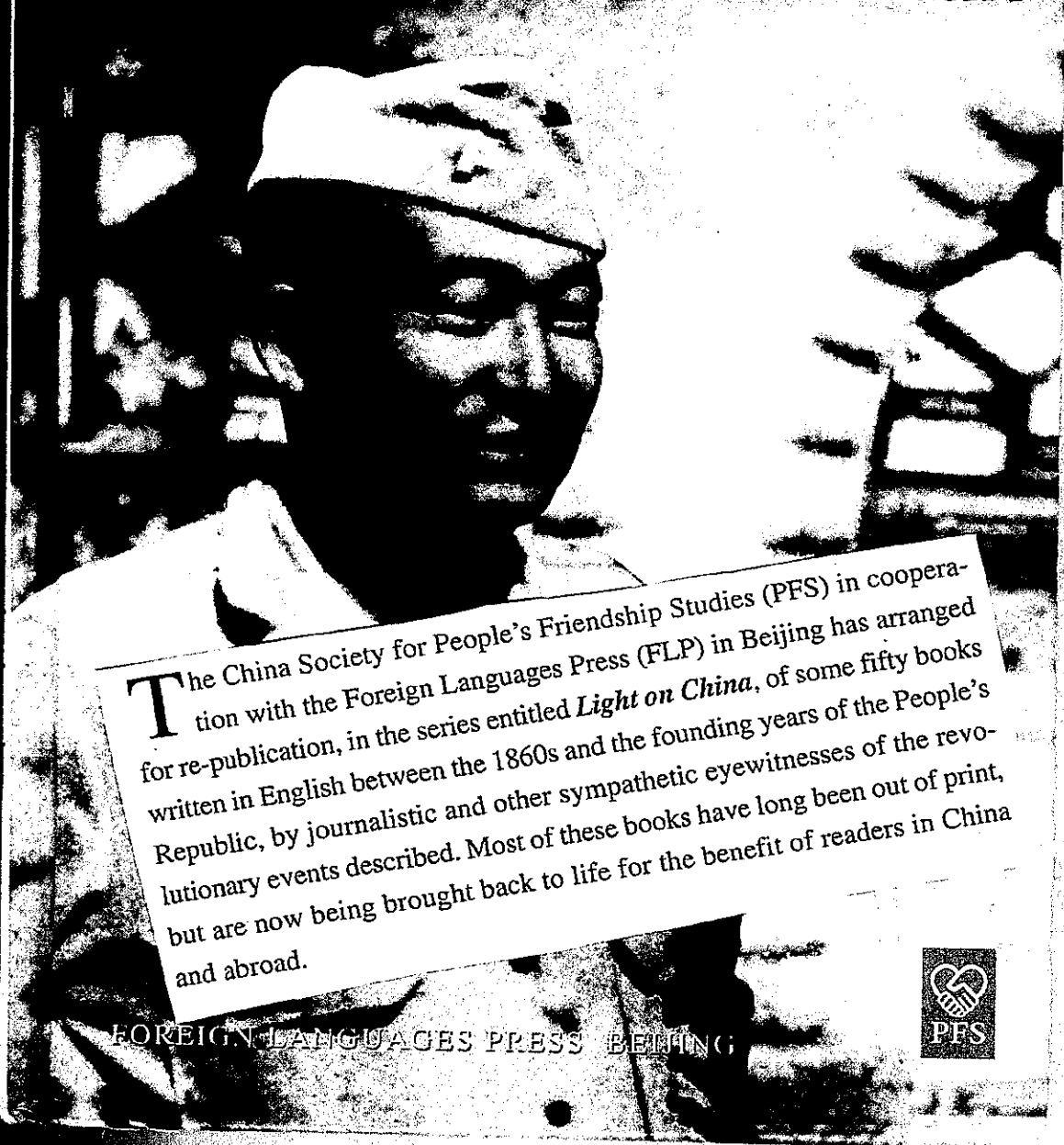
VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

5 cents

Edited by Hugh Deane

Exhibit 6

Remembering Koji Ariyoshi: An American GI in Yanan



The China Society for People's Friendship Studies (PFS) in cooperation with the Foreign Languages Press (FLP) in Beijing has arranged for re-publication, in the series entitled *Light on China*, of some fifty books written in English between the 1860s and the founding years of the People's Republic, by journalistic and other sympathetic eyewitnesses of the revolutionary events described. Most of these books have long been out of print, but are now being brought back to life for the benefit of readers in China and abroad.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS BEIJING



THE
TRUTH
ABOUT
COMMUNISM
IN
HAWAII



BY
ICHIRO IZUKA
A Former Communist

PREFACE

Dear Reader:

Wherever I go in these Islands, I find people w
turbed by all the rumors and the radio propaganda a
munists in Hawaii. Some think every labor leader w
for better wages and working conditions is a Con
Others who calls themselves liberals scoff at the id
Communists have influence in Hawaii Nei. The Comm
nism is merely anti-labor, red-baiting.
You good people need to know the truth about the C
themself situation in Hawaii. You must wake up. Especially union men
they operate. Hawaii must wake up. If you are a union member it is exceed
bers must wake up. If you are a union member it is exceed
ingly important that you know what the Communist Party
is, and whether Communists are in your union today, getting
control over its membership and property.

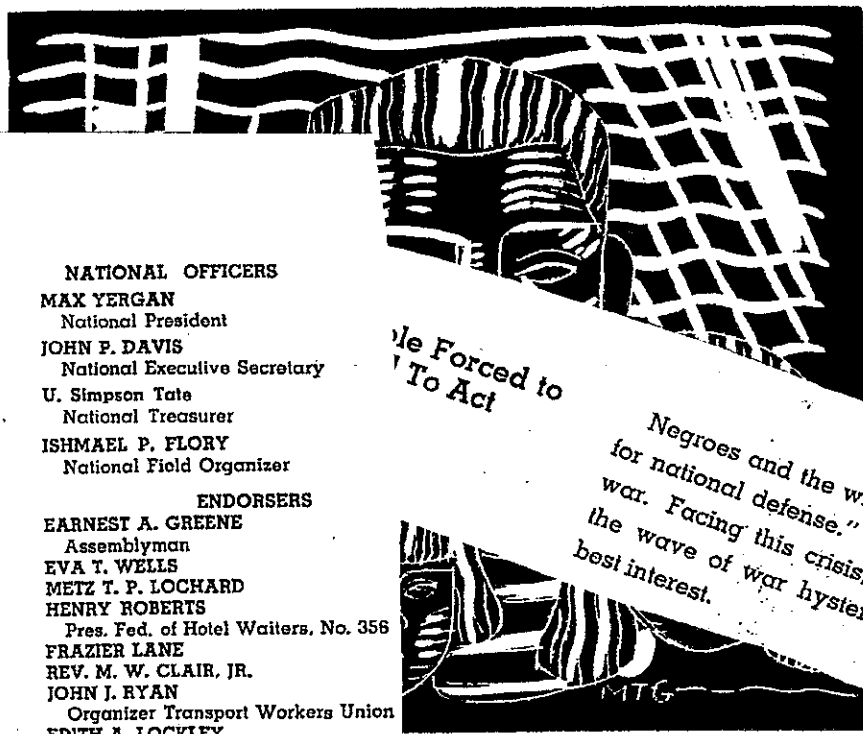
I am an ex-Communist. I know what the Party in Hawaii
is doing. I know it from the inside. Only last November I
left it after nine years association with the Communists named
in the pages which follow. I was treasurer of the Communist
cell to which I once belonged, and was also an active worker
on Kauai while I lived there, having joined the Party in 1938
while I was an employee of Kauai Terminal, Ltd. at Port Allen.
I believed in the sincerity of the Party's efforts to help the
workers of Hawaii. I knew how much they needed help, and
I mistakenly thought the Party was the only place to aid
them. My faith was strong for a long time, but this story
will tell you how it was undermined. I see the Party now
as it really is, a conspiratorial party, working against the wel-
fare of the people of my native Islands.
Because of all that I did to strengthen the Party in the
days of my blindness, I desire now to tell you the truth of my
experience whatever the consequences may be to myself. You
must know what is among you before it is too late. This is
my warning.

During these months when I have been openly opposing the
Party there have been threats against me, and my character
has been attacked. When this story is printed the threats
and lies will increase on every side. There may be libel suits.
Hate is a weapon the Party knows how to use and does use to
the fullest extent.
But here is the truth about Communism as I know it in
Hawaii.

2714 Liliha St.
Honolulu, T. H.
November 15, 1947

Ichiro Izuka, American

NEGROES and NATIONAL DEFENSE



NATIONAL OFFICERS
MAX YERGAN
 National President
JOHN P. DAVIS
 National Executive Secretary
U. Simpson Tate
 National Treasurer
ISHMAEL P. FLORY
 National Field Organizer

ENDORSERS
EARNEST A. GREENE
 Assemblyman
EVA T. WELLS
METZ T. P. LOCHARD
HENRY ROBERTS
 Pres. Fed. of Hotel Waiters, No. 356
FRAZIER LANE
REV. M. W. CLAIR, JR.
JOHN J. RYAN
 Organizer Transport Workers Union
EDITH A. LOCKLEY
FRANK MARSHALL DAVIS
ROBERT TAYLOR
PERCY L. JULIAN
BLANCHE LOWENTHAL
M. A. MAHONE
DR. ROSCOE C. GILES
ELMER HENDERSON
REV. MARY G. EVANS
IRENE McCOY GAINES
MARJORIE STEWARD JOYNER
PETER DAVIS
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RUTH M. SMITH
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L. GAINES
 Modern Book Shop
PETER POLLACK
RICHARD W. SMITH
ST. CLAIR DRAKE
WILLIAM JONES

le Forced to
To Act

Negroes and the whole American people are being called upon to "sacrifice for national defense." Our country may soon be actively engaged in another war. Facing this crisis, the people are forced to think and to act lest, under the wave of war hysteria, they be bludgeoned into situations against their best interest.

Negro Or-

1st Illinois Conference of the National Negro Congress

Saturday and Sunday

November 9th - 10th, 1940

WABASH Y.M.C.A.

Corner 38th & Wabash

Chicago, Illinois

- Discrimination
- Restrictive Covenants
- Lynching
- Poll Taxes

"The whole history of the progress of Liberty shows that all concessions have been born of earnest struggle. If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing ground. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and never will."—FREDERICK DOUGLAS

Exhibit 9

November 23, 1949

THE PATTERSON - WILKINS CORRESPONDENCE

Note to Editors and Commentators: The following is for your information and for whatever use you may wish to make of it. You may have already received the complete text of Mr. Patterson's letter.

On November 14, William L. Patterson, national executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, wrote a lengthy letter to Roy Wilkins, acting NAACP secretary, offering the "support" and "cooperation" of the CRC in the NAACP-initiated Civil Rights Mobilization and asking why the CRC had not been included in the list of organizations invited by the NAACP to participate in the mobilization as co-sponsors. Although Mr. Patterson did not indicate in his communication that it was an open letter, mimeographed copies were distributed to the public and press.

On November 22, Mr. Wilkins answered Mr. Patterson's letter. The complete text of that answer follows:

Dear Mr. Patterson:

I have your seven page letter of November 14 which obviously is not merely a request for information on the Civil Rights Mobilization of the NAACP, and an offer of cooperation. It is plainly a declamation on the current philosophy of the Civil Rights Congress on what it chooses to classify as civil rights.

Although your letter was not labelled as an open letter, we have since learned that it was mimeographed and strategically, if not widely, distributed. This tactic is not either surprising or alarming, and merely tends to confirm our estimate of the real purpose of the communication.

Without using up seven pages we can say at once that the NAACP planning committee, which carried out the mandate of our annual convention, agreed not to include the Civil Rights Congress on the list of organizations to be invited to participate.

We remember the Scottsboro case and our experience there with the International Labor Defense, one of the predecessors of the Civil Rights Congress. We remember that the present Civil Rights Congress is composed of the remnants of the ILD and other groups. We remember that in the Scottsboro case the NAACP was subjected to the most unprincipled vilification. We remember the campaign of slander in the Daily Worker. We remember the leaflets and the speakers and the whole unspeakable machinery that was turned loose upon all those who did not embrace the "unity" policy as announced by the Communists.

We want none of that unity today.

We of the NAACP remember that during the war when Negro Americans were fighting for jobs on the home front and fighting for decent treatment in the armed services we could get no help from

JOINT COMMITTEE TO SECURE
A FAIR TRIAL OF THE TRENTON SIX

DR. EDWARD S. CORWIN
Professor Emeritus of Jurisprudence
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

BISHOP FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL
THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
Co-Chairmen

DR. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
Professor, School of Theology
BOSTON UNIVERSITY

CANON ROBERT D. SMITH
President
New Jersey Welfare Council
DIOCESAN HOUSE, TRENTON, N. J.
Co-Treasurers

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS
HAYS, ST. JOHN, ABRAMSON
AND SCHULMAN

THURGOOD MARSHALL
Special Counsel, N.A.A.C.P. Legal
Defense and Educational Fund.
Of Counsel

FIFTH FLOOR
20 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

April 5, 1951

Dear Friend:

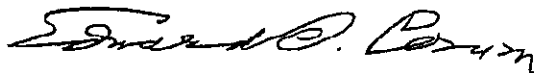
Six Negroes, are on trial for their lives for the third time. They are the now famous Trenton Six, whose case has attracted international attention. The facts appear in the enclosed statement.

This joint appeal is undertaken by two cooperating groups who have engaged extraordinarily able counsel to defend these men in the third trial. This counsel is unanimous in the belief that all the defendants are innocent.

We have taken over the defense from a Communist-controlled organization. We believe it is time for patriotic Americans to undertake the defense of innocent men instead of leaving these cases to those who too often exploit them for propoganda purposes. Every man, whether Negro or white, is entitled to a fair trial, and the Supreme Court of New Jersey held that the first trial of the Trenton Six was "tainted with error."

We shall carry this case, if need be, to the United States Supreme Court. To us equal justice is not a shibboleth. It is a large part of the whole which makes America great. We ask for your financial help in our struggle to save the lives of innocent men.

Sincerely yours,



Dr. Edward S. Corwin



Bishop Francis J. McConnell

Co-Chairmen