

From Henry Wallace to William Ayers – the Communist and “Progressive” Movements

By Herbert Romerstein*

On March 24, 2008, *The Nation* magazine carried the announcement of “Progressives for Obama.” One of the leaders was Tom Hayden, a founder of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the group that spawned the Weather Underground communist terrorist organization.¹ For many years, groups aligning themselves with the Communists adopted the title “Progressives.” The Communists called them “sympathizers”, “fellow travelers”, “left-wingers” and “useful idiots.” Willi Muenzenberg, the propaganda expert of the Communist International, referring to the communist front organizations that he set up to attract these people, called them “Innocents’ Clubs.”² The modern terms are “mindless” or “clueless.”

Earl Browder, who headed the Communist Party in the 1930s until 1945, boasted in 1960 about the success of the communists under his leadership. He said, “Entering the 1930’s as a small ultra-left sect of some 7,000 members, remnant of the fratricidal factional struggle of the 1920’s that had wiped out the old ‘left wing’ of American socialism, **the CP rose to become a national political influence far beyond its numbers (at its height it never exceeded 100,000 members), on a scale never before reached by a socialist movement claiming the Marxist tradition. It became a practical power in organized labour, its influence became strong in some state organizations of the Democratic Party (even dominant in a few for some years), and even some Republicans solicited its support. It guided the anti-Hitler movement of the American League for Peace and Democracy that united a cross-section of some five million organized Americans (a list of its sponsors and speakers would include almost a majority of Roosevelt’s Cabinet, the most prominent intellectuals, judges of all grades up to State Supreme Courts, church leaders, labour leaders, etc.). Right-wing intellectuals complained that it exercised an effective veto in almost all publishing houses against their books, and it is at least certain that those right-wingers had extreme difficulty getting published.**”³ (emphasis added).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, documents from the Soviet archives became available showing that the Communist Party USA was receiving two to three million dollars a year until 1988.⁴

¹ See “Communism in Chicago and the Obama Connection”, America’s Survival, Inc., www.usasurvival.org.

² Quoted by Friedrich Adler, Secretary of the Labour and Socialist International, *The Anglo-Russian Report*, P.S. King & Son, Ltd, London, 1925, p47.

³ Earl Browder, “Socialism in America” in *International Communism, St. Antony’s Papers, Number 9*, Edited by David Footman, Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, Ill, 1960, p 101.

⁴ John E. Haynes and Harvey Klehr, “Moscow Gold: Confirmed at Last?” in *Labor History*, Spring 1992, published by the Tamiment Institute, New York, see Exhibit 1. The exhibit consists of a KGB memo dated April 14, 1988 to A.F. Dobrynin, head of the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party, reporting the delivery of three million dollars to Gus Hall. The International Department was the successor to the earlier secret department that replaced the Communist International. See also the two receipts signed by Gus Hall.



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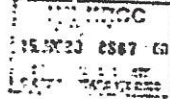
КОМИТЕТ
государственной безопасности СССР

ЦК КПСС

Первое главное управление

Товарищу Добрышкину А.Ф.

19.04.88 № 157/609



О направлении расписки

При этом направляем расписку о передаче руководству
Комитетской партии США 2 000 000 /TWO MILLION/
долларов США в счет ассигнований,
выделенных на 1988 год.

Передача осуществляется в соответствии с решением
П-97/88 от 30.12.87.

Приложение: расписка из 1 листа, без номера, от 19.03.88,
сов.секретно, на английском языке.

Заместитель начальника Первого
главного управления *Иванов* Н.С. Яковлев

28 АПР 88 00690-11

*Вручен
А.Ф. Добрышкину Р.Ф. Яковлеву
в архив.*

*5.04.88
Яковлев Н.С.*

RECEIVED \$ 2 000 000 (TWO million)
DOLLARS USA

14/3/87

Good Hall

0929

28 АПР 87 00306-11

RECEIVED \$ 3 000 000
(Three million US dollars)

*Good Hall
19.03.88*

(Exhibit 1)

CEAS 1992

The collapse of the Soviet Union had many effects but one was a split in the Communist Party USA. A number of Communist Party officials and activists, with the Soviet Union no longer there to offer instructions and funding, and disillusioned with the dictatorial rule of Party leader Gus Hall, left to form their own group, the Committees of Correspondence (CoC), also known as the Committees of Correspondence for Democracy and Socialism (CCDS). It held its first conference in Berkeley, California, July 17-19, 1992. Charlene Mitchell, who had been a leader of the California Communist Party, spoke at the conference and described its origin. She said, "In December 1991, barely half a year ago, a number of members of the Communist Party met in the now notorious Room 211. What began as a moment to take stock and ponder where to go from there has now become a very different entity. People from the Communist Party, from CrossRoads, from the Democratic Socialists of America, from NCIPA [National Committee for Independent Political Action], from Solidarity, from the Socialist Organizing Network and many others, including independent leftists and independent socialists, have come together here in Berkeley."

Mitchell, referring to the collapse of the Soviet Union, which she called "the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe", complained that it "left the United States in a near unchallenged position of world leadership." Ignoring the fact that the United States went into the Persian Gulf War to rescue Kuwait, which had been invaded and taken over by Saddam Hussein, who then threatened Saudi Arabia, and much of the world's oil supply, Mitchell complained, "Although there were some important demonstrations and actions in protest of the war, the progressive forces were nearly powerless in the face of an onslaught of demagogic, patriotic jingoism and yellow ribbons. This war, fought for no legitimate reason, was the crowning height of President Bush's New World Order."

According to Mitchell, "Previously, the Soviet Union helped to provide a certain balance to rein in the crazies in this country. Now, that balance is no longer there. It is now up to us, the American people, to rein in our own crazies. The left must take a major responsibility in organizing this task."

The targets of the Left, according to Mitchell, are, "The immigrant communities of Latinos, Caribbeans, Asians, Middle Easterners and Pacific Islanders, along with the communities of Native Americans and Mexican Americans, combined with the left's traditional base in the African-American community and the labor movement, must be important bases for organizing. When combined with other energized sectors of the population – the women's movement, the gay and lesbian movement, environmentalists and the differently abled – it is possible to constitute a new majority that can put forward progressive solutions to the country's problems."

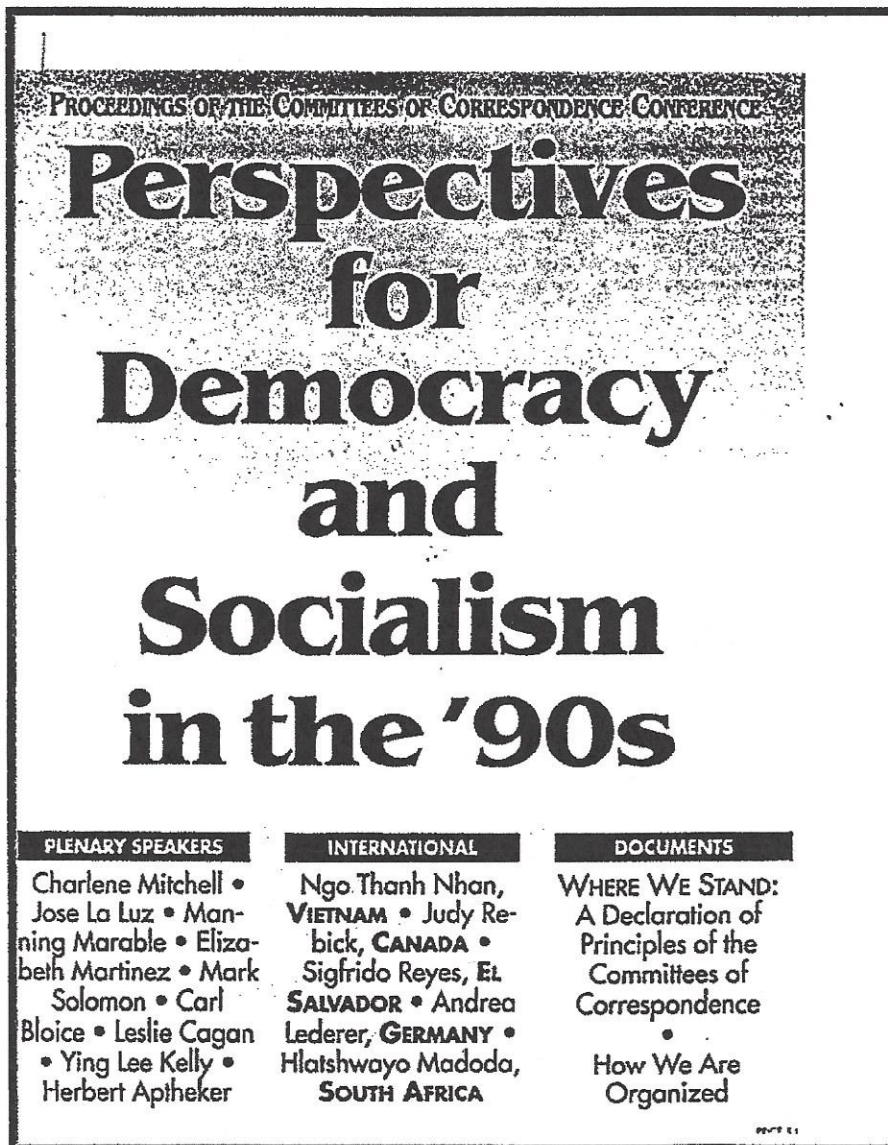
Mitchell said, "The left should be active in and play a leadership role in all of these movements in our unions and at our workplaces. And, we should be present at the community level in organizing around the needs of our communities. We must play a leadership role in bringing these movements into the electoral arena – not as hangers on, but as powerful blocs that can force politicians to speak to our collective agenda."

Another former Communist Party functionary, Carl Bloice, who spent five years as the Communist Party newspaper *Weekly Peoples World* correspondent in Moscow, complained at the conference that "The Democratic Party right wing has kicked its left and progressive

wing in the teeth. It was not a spontaneous thing. It has been in the making for a number of years. Progressive people, groups and movements were left with a feeble, protesting voice and no leverage.”

Leslie Cagan, one of the active supporters of the Communist Cuban dictatorship, described to the conference how “In the spring of 1970 I was organizing with the Venceremos Brigades to Cuba.... Today I am proud to speak to you as an out lesbian, whose work is to try to change U.S. policy toward Cuba.”

These quotes give us some indication of the thinking of the “Progressives” and of their movements which existed in the 1990s.⁵



(Exhibit 2)

⁵ *Perspectives for Democracy and Socialism in the '90s, Proceedings of the Committees of Correspondence Conference, Committees of Correspondence, New York, July 1992. The cover of this publication is Exhibit 2.*

Charlene Mitchell was elected to run the organization, and Carl Bloice and Kendra Alexander were elected as co-chairs. The National Coordinating Committee (NCC) included Barbara Lee, then a member of the California State Assembly and now a member of Congress. When *Human Events* exposed her involvement, the Committees of Correspondence panicked. At the February 1993 meeting of the CoC's National Executive Committee, Charlene Mitchell reported on the "right-wing attack". According to the minutes of the meeting, "Charlene reported that California State Assembly member Barbara Lee has been the target of a right wing redbaiting attack. Using her affiliation with CoC, Lee was named in a right-wing newsletter report that circulates in the state capital portraying Lee as a national leader of a Marxist Leninist organization said to be an offshoot of the Communist Party USA."

Of course, *Human Events* is a weekly newspaper. It hasn't been a newsletter for almost fifty years. And the truth is that the CoC was an offshoot of the Communist Party USA. The minutes continued: "Charlene reported that because of the attack on Lee, another NCC member proposed a non-public status for NCC members who wish their names to be unpublished." Exhibit 3 is a page from the official ballot for the CoC National Coordinating Committee. We have put three asterisks in front of Barbara Lee's name to identify her.

National Coordinating Committee Ballot

Check	First	Last	City	ST	Nationality	G	Biography
	Bill	Gallegos	Los Angeles	CA	Chicano	M	Writer, educational reform & community activist
	Marshall	Garcia	New York	NY	Cuban American	M	Exec vice president, Local 1199
	Gina	Garro	Atleboro	MA	white	F	Youth worker, youth caucus nominee
	John	Gibson	Los Angeles	CA	white	M	trade unionist
	Sidney	Gluck	NY	NY	white	M	Economist
	Yvonne	Golden	San Francisco	CA	African American	F	Former high school principal, peace & justice activist
	Marian	Gordon	Los Angeles	CA	white	F	political activist
	Dan	Halper	Mill Valley	CA	white	M	
	Pat	Harris	New York	NY	African American	F	1199 Vice President
	Karega	Hart	Oakland	CA	African American	F	Trade unionist active in anti-police brutality movement
	June	Hemmingson	Albany	OR	white	F	Oregon CoC organizer and activist
	Mary	Idosidis	Mill Valley	CA	white	F	CoC Calif conference coordinator
	Maurice	Jackson	Washington	DC	African American	M	Grad student, D.C. Advisory Neighborhood Commission
	Geoffrey	Jacques	NY	NY	African American	M	Associate editor, 1199 News, co-chair, US Peace Council
	Barbara	Jessie	Minneapolis	MN	white	F	Student, Minn Peace & Justice Coalition
	Linda	Kallin	Minneapolis	MN	white	F	AFSCME rank & filer, Minn CoC
	Betsy	Kano	San Francisco	CA	Japanese American	F	Artist, Japanese American community activist
	Michael	Kaufman	Los Angeles	CA	white	M	Activist in progressive secular Jewish org. & Rainbow co
	Keith	Kessler	College Park	MD	white	M	
	Arthur	Kinoy	Montclair	NJ	white	M	Co-Chair, NCIPA, attorney
	Jim	Knutson	Minneapolis	MN	white	M	Candidate, Minneapolis school board
	April	Knutson	Minneapolis	MN	white	F	Cuba solidarity, women's activist, Minn CoC
	David	Kranz	Irvington	NJ	white	M	1199 rank and file activist
	Jose	La Luz	New York	NY	Puerto Rican	M	Chair, DSA Latino Comm, ACTWU Ed Director
	Socorro	Laguerra	New York	NY	Puerto Rican	F	1199 rank and file activist
	Carol	Lambiase	New Haven	CT	white	F	UE Intl Rep, CoC labor network activist
	Knut	Larsen	Corvallis	OR	white	M	Professor, CoC activist
	Jim	Lauderdale	Los Angeles	CA	white	M	Carpenter, member of Solidarity
***	Barbara	Leo	Sacramento	CA	white	F	California State Assemblymember
	Elana	Levy	Syracuse	NY	white	F	New Jewish Agenda activist
	Erin	Libson	Philadelphia	PA	white	M	UE shop steward
	William	Mandel	Berkeley	CA	white	M	Author & radio commentator
	Manning	Marable	Boulder	CO	African American	M	Professor, author, columnist and speaker.
	Ray	Markey	New York	NY	white	M	President, AFSCME Local 1930
	Doris	Marquit	Minneapolis	MN	white	F	Women's studies teacher, WILPF activist.

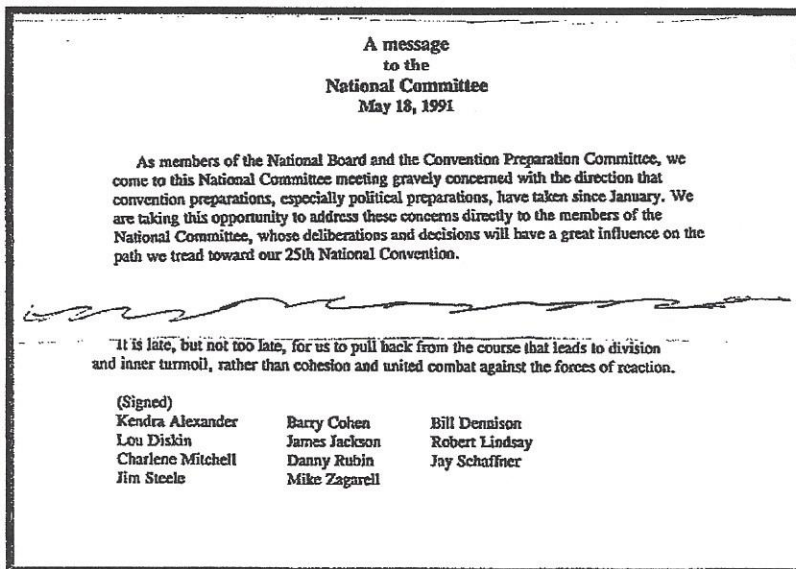
(Exhibit 3)

In 1999 the CoC sent each of its members the biographies of sixteen people recommended for the National Coordinating Committee. Two of them, Carl Davidson and Jay Schaffner, are now active in "Progressives for Obama".

Davidson supplied the CoC with the following biography: "Computer consultant to nonprofits, unions and small business. He teaches computer repair in afterschool programs and to prisoners with the Small Schools Workshop and the Prison Action Committee. He is a founder of Progressive Logan Square, a neighborhood political organization based on radical democracy, and of the Chicago Third Wave Study Group, which has been working for seven years on socialism theory and the impact of modern science and technology. He edits cyRev, a cyberMarxist theoretical journal, and directs Networking for Democracy, a group that gives away computers to low-income community centers. He is on the national steering committee of CTCNet, a grouping of more than 300 community technology centers nationwide. Member of the NCC 1992-99. White, male, Chicago CofC."

Jay Schaffner gave CoC his biography, which included: "Founding member of CofC, member of previous NCC and NEC, past national treasurer. Former coordinator of Metro NY CofC. Author of CofC affirmative action pamphlet, co-author of document for Third National Convention of CofC. Member of the CofC Labor Task Force. Active in peace, solidarity, equality and labor movements since 1960's. Currently on staff of Musician's Union. 'I believe the CofC need to be socialist, pluralist and activists; I want to help build a national organization whose members are involved in democratic struggles and that develops socialist analysis for today.' 47 yrs old. Metro NY."

Schaffner neglected to mention that he was a longtime member and functionary of the Communist Party USA. In May 1991, as a member of the Communist Party National Board, he sent a message of complaint about the Gus Hall leadership to the Communist Party National Committee. Among the other Communist Party National Board members who signed were Kendra Alexander and Charlene Mitchell. See Exhibit 4.



(Exhibit 4)

The American Communist Party had a checkered history. It was organized in 1919 and immediately adhered to the Moscow based Communist International. Throughout its history it obeyed the Comintern's instructions. Three times, in 1925, 1929, and 1945, Moscow decided to change the leadership for the American communists. At each change of Moscow's line the American communists slavishly responded.

The Comintern's line on the trade union movement from 1919 until 1929 was called "boring from within". The tiny communist parties, including the CPUSA, did not have enough members to take over the labor movement in the West. In 1929, Moscow changed the line and ordered each communist party to set up a dual union movement to oppose the legitimate labor movement. In the United States the CPUSA formed the "Trade Union Unity League". The TUUL was a member of the Moscow based "Red International of Labor Unions". Following Moscow's line, the TUUL attacked the American Federation of Labor, the legitimate American trade union organization. In return, the AF of L took an active position exposing the communists and opposing American recognition of the Soviet Union.

The TUUL was very unsuccessful. In 1930, the CPUSA reported to the American commission of the Comintern complaining about "...decline in the membership in many of our important revolutionary unions, their consequent loss of prestige amongst the masses, the failure of our Party to hold the newly recruited members,..".⁶ In January 1934, the Anglo-American Secretariat of the Comintern instructed the American communists to abandon the "red unions" and try to form a rival federation to the AF of L which would include non-communists but still be under communist control. The American communists were soon able to follow Moscow's instructions when non-communist labor leaders led by John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers Union decided to organize a rival federation to the AF of L later called the CIO.

The communists were very successful in infiltrating the new movement. Eugene Dennis, using his Comintern name of "Tim Ryan", reported to Moscow both the good news and bad news. He said, "For instance, in the course of the growth of the CIO movement and recent strike struggles, the Party has not only given maximum political support to the CIO campaigns, but it has actually released hundreds of its best section and unit organizers, as well as many district functionaries to work as CIO organizers (it has correctly made a heavy capital investment of its cadres in the industrial unions), especially in the Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and Pittsburgh districts. This policy has not only produced excellent results and helped to widen the base of strengthen the influence of the Party in the CIO and progressive movement, but it has also had its negative effects. The taking of large numbers of the most capable and experienced Comrades out of direct and open Party work as leaders of Party organizations, created new cadre problems which could not be immediately solved on the scale demanded. This particularly affected and weakened the work and life of scores of key sections and lower Party organizations."

Government Penetration

Starting in 1934, the American Communist Party carried out a program of penetrating the U.S. government. Led by Harold Ware, recently returned from Moscow, the Party set up

⁶ Comintern Archives, Moscow, Fond 495, Opis 37, Delo 68

“study groups” of government employees. Originally intending to influence government policy, they soon also morphed into spy rings. Among the earliest communist organizers of these groups were Alger Hiss and Lee Pressman. Whittaker Chambers was the courier between the spy rings and the Soviet intelligence officers that controlled them.

Lee Pressman left government service to become the General Counsel of the CIO. He reported this to Chambers and received the Party’s permission to change jobs. It was an indication of how important the CIO was to the communists that they would allow one of their members to leave the spy ring to take a leading position in the CIO.

When Whittaker Chambers testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1948, he identified a number of members of the communist underground spy rings, including Hiss and Lee Pressman. When Pressman testified before the Committee he invoked the Fifth Amendment.⁷ In 1950, he again appeared before the Committee. He only admitted his membership in the Communist Party but would not admit to spying.⁸ Information from the Moscow archives and the intercepted Soviet communications in Venona tell us much more about the World War II Soviet spy networks and identified many of the spies.⁹

The communists played an important role in the Roosevelt coalition. Of particular importance was their influence in the CIO and the CIO Political Action Committee. Communist control of the CIO-PAC gave them influence far beyond their relative small membership. They were even able to have some of their members elected to Congress on the Democratic ticket. In 1939 Dimitri Manuilsky, a top-ranking Comintern official, asked Pat Toohey, then the American Communist Party representative to the Comintern, for the names of the members of Congress who were secret Communist party members. Toohey answered in a confidential memo, “I am unable to provide you with additional and specific information on the question of Communist members of Congress, State and City legislatures. I personally do not know how many there are or where they are all at. This information only Comrade [Earl] Browder, and possibly Comrades [Jack] Stachel, [William Z.] Foster and [Eugene] Dennis of the Polburo, knows. It has never been reported to the Central Committee and is not discussed in Party circles.... It was assumed that in the last Congress there were several Communists, and at present one, who may not be, for certain reasons, technically a card-carrying member of the Party, but is conscientious in following the line of the Party.”¹⁰

Communists in Congress

Years later, John Abt, a Communist Party attorney who had been active in the espionage apparatus, revealed the names of Communist members of Congress. In his autobiography, Abt said, “The two Communists who were elected to Congress—Johnny Bernard from Minnesota and Hugh DeLacy from Washington State—were elected as Democrats. [Vito] Marcantonio, who was a friend of the Party but never a member, was

⁷ House Committee on UnAmerican Activities, “Hearings Regarding Communist Espionage in the United States Government,” August 20, 1948, pp 1022-28.

⁸ *Ibid*, Part 2, August 28, 1950, pp 2850-79.

⁹ Herbert Romerstein & Eric Breindel, *The Venona Secrets, Exposing Soviet Espionage and America’s Traitors*, Regnery Publishing, Inc., Washington, DC, 2000

¹⁰ Comintern Archives, Fond 495, Opis 74, Delo 470.

elected as a Republican, a Democrat, and as the ALP [American Labor Party] candidate.”¹¹ Abt’s book was published posthumously. Perhaps if he had lived he might have deleted this revealing information.

The communists continued to support the Roosevelt Administration until August of 1939 when Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany signed an alliance and attacked and divided Poland. The Communist Party USA followed the Soviet line and opposed Roosevelt’s anti-Nazi stance. In its report to Moscow on its role in the 1940 elections, it said, “The Party, in the campaign, carried on as its central task the aggressive mobilization of the masses to keep the U.S. out of the imperialist war, and against the war drive of the Government and the bourgeoisie, which was determined to bring the United States actively, as a belligerent, into the imperialist war. The Party strove to unite the working class forces in the concrete struggle around its people’s programme, for peace, jobs, security and civil rights, and to crystallize the movement for independent political action of the working class. It carried on an aggressive exposure of both capitalist parties as fully dominated by the most reactionary sections of Wall Street, with a practically identical war programme. And the Party strove within the trade union movement to expose the Roosevelt demagoguery.... One remark with regard to the Congressional elections: One of the most significant results of the Congressional elections was the fact that the Party played the main role in bringing about the re-election of Congressman Marcantonio, the head of the I.L.D. [International Labor Defense – a communist front] in America, who had, within Congress and outside among the masses, carried on a militant and constant fight against the war drive, and who was violently opposed by the forces of reaction, by Roosevelt and the reformists and social-democrats in the labour movement.”¹²

After the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union, the Communist Party resumed its support for the Roosevelt Administration and adopted a super patriotic line.

In 1943, Moscow suddenly announced that the Communist International had been dissolved. What really happened was described by John Gates, probably the smartest of the Communist Party members. He had left the Party in 1957 after the Khrushchev secret speech denouncing Stalin. The speech devastated the Communist Parties. The American Communist Party lost about half of its membership and most of its intellectuals. One of John Gate’s comrades, Joseph Starobin, had written a book called *American Communism in Crisis, 1943-1957*¹³ and asked Gates for his comments on the manuscript. Gates sent back a fifteen page letter. Discussing the Comintern, which he called the CI, Gates wrote: “Dissolution of CI – in retrospect those who saw it as primarily a tactic were more accurate. The fact that Communists took it very seriously should not be exaggerated. Communists continued to look to Moscow for guidance and approval. As you yourself detail later on U.S. Communists supported Browder because they thought he had Moscow approval and completely reversed themselves as soon as they found he had not – then at every stage they sought out Moscow’s opinion. The CI symbolized not an association of Communist equals but a source of the Moscow (Stalin) line. Perhaps that was why Communists did not mourn the

¹¹ John J. Abt, *Advocate and Activist, Memoirs of an American Communist Lawyer*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago, 1993, p 117

¹² Comintern Archives, Fond 495, Opis 20, Delo 540.

¹³ The book was published by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1972.

dissolution of the CI – they knew instinctively it was only a rubber stamp for the Russian CP which had certainly not been dissolved.”¹⁴

Although John Gates remained a liberal after breaking with the Communist Party, he was an honest one and told the truth about the communists, although he never testified before Congress. He was absolutely right about what happened with the Comintern. The section of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was set up to handle the foreign Communist Parties. George Dimitroff, the head of the Comintern, became the secret head of the new Soviet Communist Party Department. The work continued. The American Communist Party representative to the Committee at that time was called Maria Aerova. Her real name was Manya Reiss and she had served since 1919 in various Communist Party USA functions. In August of 1944, Aerova wrote a memo to Dimitroff about a new book promoting the Yugoslav Communist leader Joseph Tito. The book was called *The Incredible Tito Man of the Hour*, by Communist Party member Howard Fast.¹⁵

The Comintern secret radio, which broadcasted to the foreign Communist Parties, continued to exist until the end of the war. British intelligence intercepted those messages, which they gave the code name “MASK”. Many of the messages came from Dimitroff.

Moscow continued to pretend to be friendly to the United States until the war ended and Stalin had taken possession of half of Europe. The other half, particularly France, Italy and Greece, were the next targets. Communist guerrillas were fighting for control of Greece and communists in France and Italy threatened the stability of those countries. In the United States, the Soviets intervened in the American Communist Party, removed the leader, Earl Browder, and set the Party on a Cold War course.

By September 1947, the Cold War was well underway when the Soviets established the Cominform, an organization of the ruling Communist Parties of Eastern Europe plus the French and Italian Communist Parties. It was obvious where Russia intended to move.

President Harry Truman reluctantly began to fight back with the Marshall Plan, to provide economic support to Europe, and the Truman Doctrine, to provide military aid to Greece and Turkey, who were threatened by Russia.

The American communists, particularly through their influence in the CIO, tried mainly to mobilize public opinion against Truman.

Communist Point Man

Henry Wallace, who had been Vice President in Roosevelt’s third term (1940-44), became the point man for the communist assault on the Truman Administration. Wallace had been dropped from the ticket in 1944, replaced by Truman, because he was widely regarded as something of a crackpot. We found in the papers of Harry Hopkins, Roosevelt’s closest adviser, the letters written by Wallace to a mystic guru named Nicholas Roerich. Wallace

¹⁴ Special Collections Department, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA, Philip J. Jaffe Papers, Box 10, Folder 2.

¹⁵ Manya Reiss’ biography is in Comintern Archives, Fond 495, Opis 74, Delo 483 and her memo to Dimitroff is in the same Archives Fond 495, Opis 74, Delo 487.

addressed his letters to "Dear Guru". The letters contained such insights as "May the Light of Northern Shamballa lead you and the Guru and the true expedition toward the eternal glory of the New Age. May strength, power and righteousness surround you. I have no definite cause for worry but certain extraordinary warnings are manifest." In another letter, Wallace referred to some disciple of Roerich and said, "I have as you know an enormous respect for F whose whole being has been centered to serve the Masters. That also is the center of my being..." Worry about these letters and Wallace's erratic behavior led to the decision to replace him as Vice President with Harry Truman.

Wallace was given the booby prize of Secretary of Commerce. He had been making speeches referring to a possible World War III by saying "That war will be probable in case we double-cross Russia ... or if fascist interests get control of our government." When he made a pro-Soviet speech at Madison Square Garden in September 1946, Truman removed him as a Cabinet member.¹⁶

The communists adopted him and decided to run him as a third party candidate. Wallace became the Progressive Party candidate for President in the 1948 elections. As John Gates wrote to Joseph Starobin, "The Communists did not merely endorse the decision of Wallace to form a third party. They were also most instrumental in influencing Wallace to make such a decision."¹⁷

A 1948 election manifesto of the Communist Party USA said:

"In this crucial 1948 election, the American people have a fateful decision to make: Shall America follow the path of peace or war, democracy or fascism . . .

"The Communist Party is not nominating a presidential ticket in the 1948 election campaign. In 1944 we Communists supported Roosevelt to help win the anti-Axis war. Similarly, in 1948 we Communists join with millions of other Americans to support the Progressive ticket to help win the peace. The Communist Party will enter its own candidates only in those districts where the people are offered no progressive alternatives to the twin parties of Wall Street."

In reality, many Communist Party operatives were in control of the Progressive Party. Before it was even formed the Communist Party merged two of its front organizations, the National Citizens Political Action Committee (NC-PAC) and the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts and Sciences, to form the Progressive Citizens of America (PCA), which became the organizing tool for the Wallace campaign. See Exhibits 5 and 6.

C.B. Baldwin (called Beanie by his friends) was the Assistant Director of the CIO-PAC and the Executive Director of its spin off, the National Citizens Political Action Committee.¹⁸ He became Wallace's campaign manager and the controlling functionary of the Progressive Party. In Gates' letter to Starobin, he said, "The statement by [Curtis] MacDougall that Beanie

¹⁶ *The Story of Henry Wallace*, published by the National Wallace for President Committee, 1948, p 12.

¹⁷ *OpCit*, Philip Jaffe Papers

¹⁸ Curtis D. MacDougall, *Gideon's Army*, Marzani & Munsell, New York, Three Volumes, 1965, Volume 1, pp 20 and 22.

Baldwin worked tooth and nail to get Wallace to commit himself is accurate. What MacD did not know was that BB was a Communist and was the chief agent of [Eugene] Dennis and [Albert] Blumberg [the head of the Communist Party in Washington DC and Maryland] in influencing Wallace.¹⁹ Gates knew all about this as he was a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party and one of its inner circle.


JO DAYTON
FRANK KINGDON

HERMAN SHUMLIN

MICHAEL M. NISSelson

C. B. BALDWIN
HANNAN DOBNER

VAN WYCK BROOKS
ELMER A. BENSON
EVANS F. CARLSON
BARTLEY C. CRUM
NORMAN CORWIN
CLARE FOLLMAN
LILLIAN HELLMAN
GENE KELLY
ROBERT F. KENNY
JACK KROLL
FREDRIC MARCH
DR. JOHN F. PETERS
PAUL ROBESON
DR. HARLOW SHAPLEY
PAUL TISHMAN
A. F. WHITNEY
BISHOP R. L. WRIGHT
J. RAYMOND WALSH
(partial list)



Progressive Citizens of America

205 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N.Y. MU 3-5580

February 3, 1947

Dear Mr. Coles:

Overnight America's political picture has been turned upside down. The conservative forces who once paid lip-service to social progress are now so arrogant in their power that they openly boast of wiping it out.

In Georgia, race-hating mobs seize the state government. In Washington, Ball and Taft vie with each other for the privilege of forcing us back into an economic jungle. Their cohorts approach the critical field of international relations with blinders over their eyes and isolationist dynamite in their hands. And from New York to California, liberal radio commentators are fired almost weekly.

In the light of this, the progressive can do either of two things: he can crawl into a cyclone cellar and hope the storm will strike someone else; or he can rear up and join with the hundreds of thousands of others who see America's heritage endangered and fight back.

We at National Citizens PAC chose the latter course.

That's why on December 29 we merged with the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions and other voters' groups to form the new Progressive Citizens of America, for well we know that in unity there is strength. We're "rearing up" already and fighting back, and I am confident we will win - if we all do our part.

Each of us has a role to play in this decisive, intense struggle between progress and reaction. With new community groups springing up all over the country to reinforce the old and with a half-dozen specialized divisions, there's every opportunity for you to play your part.

I hope with all my heart that you will join with us in laying a strong foundation for the new Progressive Citizens of America. Your confidence in democratic political action, expressed now, at the decisive beginning of PCA, will be all-important to its success.

I am enclosing an application for PCA, which is a membership organization. By returning it to us immediately, you will be joining in the fight and will become a charter member of the organization which I know has the best chance yet to make progressive political history. And any additional contribution you can make will be put to use immediately in the field.

I am looking forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,
Frank Kingdon
Frank Kingdon

(A)
uopwa #16-55

(Exhibit 5)

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

39 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK 16 NY MURRAY HILL 6-5300

Chairman

ELMER A. BENSON

*Secretary and
Campaign Manager*

C. B. BALDWIN

Vice-Chairmen

ALBERT J. FITZGERALD
PAUL ROBESON

Vice-Chairmen

MRS. ELINOR GIMBEL
ALVIN JONES
JERRY O'CONNELL
FRED W. STOVER

Treasurer

CLARK FOREMAN

October 7, 1948

Dear Friends:

On Tuesday evening, October 26th at Madison Square Garden the last rally of the 1948 campaign will take place, just one week before Election. We know that every progressive in New York will want to be there and participate in one of the most historic meetings of the Progressive Party. We are therefore asking you as we have on so many occasions before to serve as an usher at this rally. If you can help please return the enclosed card IMMEDIATELY.

Your admission card will be sent you very shortly.

Sincerely yours,

Theodora M. Peck
Theodora M. Peck
Sara Gottlieb
Sara Gottlieb

uopwa # 16
enc: 1

FOR PEACE * FREEDOM * AND ABUNDANCE * WALLACE AND TAYLOR IN '48

(Exhibit 6)

Curtis MacDougall, a professor of journalism at Northwestern University and author of the college textbook, *Interpretive Reporting*, had been active in the Progressive Party. His book *Gideon's Army* was published by Marzani & Munsell in 1965. Carl Marzani had been the official film maker for the Progressive Party. According to MacDougall, he had been hired by Beanie Baldwin. There was, however, a problem about Marzani, who had been convicted of lying to the government as a State Department employee and sentenced to three years in prison. Having lied about his membership in the Communist Party, Marzani was serving the Progressive Party while awaiting the start of his prison sentence.²⁰

Marzani had served in the OSS, the predecessor of CIA, during World War II. He was in reality a Soviet agent with the code name "Kollega". He shows up in the Venona messages from the KGB officers in the United States reporting to Moscow. As late as the 1960s Marzani was still receiving Soviet money to finance his publishing house. That was revealed by retired KGB General Oleg Kalugin in his autobiography.²¹

Quite a few Soviet spies had penetrated OSS. Another OSS officer, and Communist Party member, who may have been a Soviet spy was Lillian Traugott, who, according to MacDougall, was an employee of the National Citizens Political Action Committee then active in the Progressive Party. In early 1948 she married Beanie Baldwin. The Communist International Archives in Moscow contain requests from the Soviet Intelligence Service, NKVD (later called the KGB), to the Comintern to check out the names of people that they intended to recruit for espionage. Most of those people appear in other sources as Soviet agents. On September 30, 1944, the NKVD wanted Lillian Hoell "an employee of the Office of Strategic Services" checked out. On November 17th NKVD asked about "the American citizen (female) Traugott, supposedly a member of the Comparty (Communist Party) since 1937... Her brother is an active member of Comparty in New York."²² Hoell was the maiden name of Lillian Traugott. There is no indication in other sources that she was recruited by Soviet intelligence.

C.B. Baldwin remained involved in the Communist Party for many years. Morris and Jack Childs were high level officials of the American Communist Party. One of their jobs was organizing the transfer of Soviet funds through the KGB to the Communist Party USA. At the same time, they were undercover informants for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Morris Childs' FBI code name was "CG-5824". His brother, Jack, was "NY-694". The FBI name for the entire operation was "Operation Solo".²³ The KGB code name was "Brooks". Boris Yeltsin in his book, *The Struggle for Russia*²⁴ refers to Morris Childs as "Brooks (a well-known American Communist figure and KGB agent)". Yeltsin did not tell the reader (and maybe he didn't even know) that "Brooks" was Morris Childs.

When the Communist Party USA spent the Soviet money, they would report to one of the Childs brothers on the expenditure for an item report to Moscow. After the November

²⁰ *OpCit*, MacDougall, Volume 2, p 486.

²¹ Oleg Kalugin, *The First Directorate*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1994, p 45.

²² Moscow Archives, Fond 495, Opis 74, Delo 285. This was first reported by the researchers Harvey Klehr and John Earl Haynes in their book *The Secret World of American Communism*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1995, pp 307-308.

²³ For an excellent account of the valuable work done by the Childs brothers on behalf of the United States see John Barron, *Operation Solo, the FBI's Man in the Kremlin*, Regnery Publishing Inc., Washington DC, 1996.

²⁴ Boris Yeltsin, *The Struggle for Russia*, Random House, New York, 1994, p 307

1963 assassination of President Kennedy, Arnold Johnson, a Communist Party official, reported to Jack Childs that "JOHNSON had been instructed by GUS HALL to contact C. B. BALDWIN either in Connecticut or in Washington in order that BALDWIN might provide ARNOLD JOHNSON with a personal and political evaluation of President LYNDON B. JOHNSON. According to ARNOLD JOHNSON, C. B. BALDWIN knows President JOHNSON 'very well'". (FBI NYAirtel to Bureau dated 11/26/63)

Another FBI air telegram to headquarters dated 12/6/63 said:

"(President) Johnson has retained throughout the years a close personal friendship with many of the old new deal core, like Beanie Baldwin and Aubrey Williams. This may have some significance in the coming period of the Administration.

"NY 694-S [Jack Childs] advised that according to ARNOLD JOHNSON on 12/13/63, JOHNSON approached C.B. BALDWIN and give BALDWIN money to travel to Washington, D.C. pursuant to GUS HALL's instructions that BALDWIN be contacted since he might provide JOHNSON with a personal and political evaluation of President LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

"BALDWIN went to Washington, but did not undertake to see or speak with the President. According to ARNOLD JOHNSON, BALDWIN felt that he had no valid reason for attempting to see the President at the time. However, BALDWIN did talk with GUS HALL and provide HALL with an evaluation of President JOHNSON. According to ARNOLD JOHNSON, the Party is of the opinion that it may be able to secure a further evaluation of President JOHNSON through JOSEPH RAUH of the Americans for Democratic Action."²⁵

Curtis MacDougall's book lists other people active in the Progressive Party. A number of them have been identified by other sources as agents of the Soviet Intelligence Service. These include Lee Pressman, who left his job as General Council of the CIO to become a top official of Wallace's Progressive Party; John Abt, later to become the attorney for the Communist Party USA; and Victor Perlo and Charles Kramer were also active. All were identified as Soviet agents. In my book *The Venona Secrets* I reproduce a memo from the NKVD to the Comintern asking that a group of members of the American Communist Party be checked out. Among them were Kramer and Perlo. See Exhibit 5.²⁶ All the names in the document were identified by other sources as Soviet agents.

On May 31, 1946, J. Edgar Hoover wrote an official letter from the Federal Bureau of Investigation to Harry Truman through George E. Allen. He wrote:

"I thought the President and you would be interested in the following information concerning the activities of Charles Kramer.

²⁵ U.S. National Archives, J.F.K Assassination Collection, FBI Records No. 124-10079-10226. Names all in capitals are in the FBI originals.

²⁶ This document was originally found in the Comintern Archives in 1992 by Harvey Klehr. In 1993, my wife and I worked in the Moscow Archives and obtained this copy of the document. See Exhibits 7, 7A, and 7B.

"Charles Kramer, who at the present time is on loan from the Office of Price Administration to Senator Claude Pepper's Wartime Health and Education Subcommittee, has been identified by an unusually reliable source as a known Soviet espionage agent operating within the United States Government offices in Washington. You may further recall that on March 20, 1946, Senator Claude Pepper delivered before the United States Senate a formal speech contained in the Congressional Record dated March 20, 1946 in which he strongly criticized the United States Foreign Policy for the Soviet Union and advocated the destruction of all United States facilities capable of producing the destructive forms of atomic energy. In addition, in this speech Senator Pepper advocated that the United Nations Security Council be afforded the right of examination of all United States facilities of research in the atomic energy field.

"Information has been received from a highly confidential and reliable source that Charles Kramer either wrote Senator Pepper's above-mentioned speech in its entirety or assisted the Senator to a large degree in preparing it. In this connection, on the evening of March 18, 1946, it is known that Charles Kramer contacted his wife and told her that he would be at his office for another two hours since he had to rewrite the speech for Pepper. On the evening of March 19, 1946, Kramer advised his wife that he would be late as he was revising the speech which Senator Pepper would give at noon, March 20, 1946.

"It is of interest to note in addition that on the morning of March 20, 1946, Senator Pepper's secretary contacted the Soviet Embassy in Washington and advised that Senator Pepper would make a major speech of Foreign Policy on that day and that he wanted the Ambassador to know about it. Senator Pepper's secretary was informed by the Soviet Embassy that the Ambassador was out of town."²⁷

Kramer was very close to Senator Pepper and served as Staff Director for Pepper's subcommittee of the Committee on Educational Labor, United States Senate, 1945. There he wrote a bill to establish a National Health Program, which in 1946 was adopted by President Truman as the Truman Health Care Bill. It failed to pass. Its opponents called it socialized medicine.

With the disastrous 1948 election campaign, the Communist Party lost much, including their base in a trade union movement.

The activities of the Communist Party members from the Trade Union Movement in the Progressive Party encouraged the CIO to expel them. In 1949 and 1950, the CIO expelled eleven of their member unions, which had been found to be Communist dominated. Nine of the CIO reports were published in 1951 by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the United States Senate at the request of Senator Hubert Humphrey (see Exhibit 8).

²⁷ Truman Library, Independence, MO, FBI File (Declassified)

Г-н. ДИМИТРОВУ.

Просьбу сообщить какими сведениями Вы располагаете на следующих членов компартии Америки:

1. Чарльз Флато / Флато /, в 1943 г. работал в Администрации Экономической войны США.
2. Дональд Уиллер / Виллер /, работает в Управлении Стратегических Служб.
3. Краймер / Краймер /, работает в Вашингтоне в одном из правительственных учреждений.
4. Эдвард Фитцджеральд, работает в УДВП.
5. Магдофф, работает в УДВП.
6. Харольд Глазер, находится в командировке за пределами США.
7. Перло, работает в УДВП.

1/2/16796

Ф И Т И Н.

1/29

29 сентября 1944 года.

Handwritten signature

A 1944 memo, in Russian, from Pavel Fitin to George Dimitroff, head of the Comintern, asking for information on new agents referred to as "Members of the Communist Party of America." The memo is typed, but Fitin filled the names in himself, since secretaries were not allowed to know the identities of agents. The names are given as: Charles Flato, Donald Wheeler, [Charles] Kramer, Edward Fitzgerald, [Harry] Magdoff, Harold Glaser, and [Victor] Perlo. These names track closely with those Akhmerov provided in his May messages. (1 page)

(Exhibit 7)

~~TOP SECRET~~

- 2 -

1/NBP/1521, Re-issue

4. [B' PLONE [LOT]](ix), an old FELLOW COUNTRYMAN, reliable, works on the KILCO...[x] Committee

[62 groups unrecoverable]

AROMA's apartment.

[64 groups unrecovered]

Donald WHEELER "IZBA"(xi), has been a FELLOW COUNTRYMAN for several years, [B' + Trade-Union] official, capable, works in the Labor Division Research and Analysis Branch of IZBA(xii)

[6 groups unrecovered]

[Part II]

[34 groups unrecovered]

he did not[a] maintain contact with

[53 groups unrecovered]

about this group from SOEND [ZVUK](xiii) [3 groups unrecovered] material on them.) CHAR...[xiv].

[39 groups unrecoverable]

. (He is everywhere in

[14 groups unrecovered]

For this purpose the Trade Unions [8 groups unrecovered] Trade Unions, working class and [B' progressive] contacts of the local FELLOW COUNTRYMEN.

[9 groups unrecovered]

[B' He] maintains a close friendship with MUSE[WUZA](xv) and has repeatedly tried to marry her. He is a close friend of [B' SLAN(c)] [B' SLAN(c)](xvi) [3 groups unrecoverable] and often comes to TIRE[TIR](xvii) with her([b] SLANT[SIYU] has spoken very well of his). Harold GLASER(xviii), an old FELLOW COUNTRYMAN. Temporarily abroad (evidently STORM knew him well). Concerning the remaining members of the group we will advise later.

MAYOR[MER](c)(xix)

No. 419
30th May

- Notes:
- [a] The original suggests that this clause was introduced by some such phrase as "if" or "provided that".
 - [b] Inserted by the translator.
 - [c] The signature, sent at the end of Part I in accordance with normal practice, was sent as MAJ, but was corrected in a service footnote at the end of Part II to MER.

[Continued on leaf]

1/NBP/1521, Re-issue

~~TOP SECRET~~

161.

(Exhibit 7A)

Venona document. Venona was the NKVD (KGB) messages between their officers in the United States and Moscow headquarters during World War II. They were intercepted and decrypted by United States intelligence and released by the National Security Agency.

VENONA

~~TOP SECRET~~

- 3 -

1/28/752, Re-issue

- Comments: [i] VIKTOR: Lt. Gen. P. M. FITZ.
- [ii] TED: Probably Edward Joseph FITZGERALD.
- [iii] FELLOW COUNTRYMAN: Member of the Communist Party.
- [iv] DEPOT: War Production Board.
- [v] KATY: Harry Samuel MAGDOFF.
- [vi] RAIDER: Victor PERLO.
- [vii] ARENA: Probably Mary Wolfe PRICE.
- [viii] STORM: Unidentified cover name.
- [ix] PHUMB: Possibly Charles KRAGER.
- [x] KILCO: Senator KILGORE was Chairman of the War Mobilization Sub-Committee of the U.S. Senate Military Affairs Committee.
- [xi] IZBA: Also mentioned in MOSCOW's No. 954 of 28th September 44 (1/28/74988), NEW YORK's 582 of 28th April 44 and 1244 of 31st August 44 (not published) and NEW YORK's 1325 of 15th September 44 (1/28/727) and 1389 of 1st October 44 (1/28/796).
- [xii] IZBA: Office of Strategic Services.
- [xiii] SOUND: Jacob GOLOS.
- [xiv] CHAR...: Unidentified. May be a cover-name or a real name.
- [xv] KUNE: Unidentified cover-name.
- [xvi] SLANG: Jane SLATOVSKI.
- [xvii] TYRE: NEW YORK, N.Y.
- [xviii] Harold GLASER: Harold GLASSER.
- [xix] MAYOR: Possibly Iskhak Abdalovich AKHMEROV.

1/28/752, Re-issue

~~TOP SECRET~~

VENONA



162.

(Exhibit 7B)

COMMUNIST DOMINATION OF CERTAIN
UNIONS

REPORT
OF THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR AND LABOR-MANAGEMENT
RELATIONS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
UNITED STATES SENATE
EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION
ON
COMMUNIST DOMINATION OF
CERTAIN UNIONS



Presented by Mr. HUMPHREY and ordered to be printed October 10
(legislative day October 1), 1951

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1951

0475

(Exhibit 8)

The loss of the Communist controlled unions was devastating to the Communist Party but led to the merger of the CIO and A.F. of L. In subsequent years the Communist Party attempted to re-penetrate the trade union movement.

In 1950, the communists even lost Henry Wallace. When Stalin ordered North Korea to attack South Korea, thus precipitating the Korean War, Henry Wallace had enough. Wallace issued a statement published in the Social Democratic magazine *New Leader* on August 26, 1950. Wallace said, "I resigned from the PP [Progressive Party] because I felt the party should support the U.S. and the UN in the Korean war. My mail convinces me that fully half of the rank and file of the party is with me, but I know that the top leadership is almost

100 per cent against me. Therefore, I could no longer serve the cause of peace through the PP."

The communists had lost their base, not only in the labor movement, but in the Democratic Party. Just as they attempted to re-penetrate the Labor Movement, they sent communist cadre into the Democratic Party. One such, Frank Marshall Davis, was elected Assistant Secretary of his Democratic Party Club in Hawaii. He was also elected as a delegate to the Territorial Democratic Convention.²⁸

Miriam Friedlander was a National Committee member of the Communist Party. She hid her communist membership when she became a member of the New York City Council. In 1982, *The New York Times* reported that she had organized a group of her fellow City Council members to write a letter to the House Judiciary Committee to demand the exoneration of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, the two atomic spies. The committee took no action.

Friedlander had been exposed as a secret communist as early as 1962 when Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy portioned the Subversive Activities Control Board to find that she was a Communist Party member. See Exhibit 9. The Board held hearings and found her to be a Communist Party member. During the Johnson Administration, the Justice Department made an agreement and vacated the SACB decisions in all of the Communist Party cases, including hers.²⁹

Many people who had been enamored with the Communist Party felt disillusioned as the Party shrunk in size. N.S. Khrushchev's secret speech denouncing Stalin upset even more. Some of those disaffected communists joined other communist organizations outside of the Soviet orbit. Some became Maoists, others Trotskyites. By the 1960s many "small c" communists gravitated to the Students for a Democratic Society. There they could publicly announce their support of Communist Cuba, China, and particularly North Vietnam. A number of them traveled to those communist countries. Large numbers went down to Cuba as part of the Venceremos Brigade where some of them received political and terrorist training from the Cuban Intelligence Service, the DGI. The FBI released an extensive report on this activity which can be found on the FBI web site, under the designation "Weather Underground Organization". Additional investigation of these subversive and terrorist groups was done by the House Committee on Un-American Activities/Committee on Internal Security and the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security.

In the 1970s and 80s, a number of groups of SDS members, sometimes using different names, were part of the Weather Underground. Among the names used were Red Guerrilla Resistance, Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, The New World Liberation Front, The Symbionese Liberation Army, United Freedom Front, Armed Resistance Unit, and the May 19th Communist Organization.

²⁸ See "Who was Frank Marshall Davis?" published and distributed by America's Survival Inc. This report can be accessed on www.usasurvival.org

²⁹ *Reports of the Subversives Activities Control Board*, Vol. 3, pp 493-508 and Vol. 4, p 641.

MIRIAM FRIEDLANDER
Cite as 3 SACB 492

493

ROBERT F. KENNEDY, ATTORNEY GENERAL
OF THE UNITED STATES, Petitioner

v.

MIRIAM FRIEDLANDER, Respondent

Docket No. I-2-62

November 2, 1962

Registration of member of Communist Party; findings and conclusions.

The Board finds and determines from the preponderance of the evidence that respondent is a member of the Communist Party of the United States. There is in effect a final order of the Board requiring the Communist Party to register under Section 7(a) of the SACA as a Communist-action organization, more than thirty days have elapsed since such order became final, and such organization is not registered. Respondent, who has not registered or filed a registration statement with the Attorney General pursuant to Section 8 (a) and (c) of the Act is in fact required to do so. [p. 17]

Registration of member of Communist Party; findings and conclusions.

Upon uncontroverted evidence to the effect that, *inter alia*, respondent was elected a member of National Committee of the Communist Party; that only members of the Party in good standing for at least 5 years were eligible for such election; that she was nominated to the New York State Committee of the Party; and that she was present at, and actively participated at various meetings of the Party, the Board finds that the Party, during the two or more years immediately preceding the filing of the petition, recognized and considered respondent to be a member of the organization, and that respondent had the desire and intent to be a Party member. [p. 16]

Reliance in answer upon privilege against self-incrimination operating as denial.

Pursuant to Rule 201.7(a), revised, of the Board's Rules of Procedure, the reliance in respondent's answer to the petition upon the constitutional privilege against self-incrimination operates as a denial for purposes of the Board proceeding. [p. 2]

Informants; credibility of testimony.

In a proceeding to require registration of individual alleged to be a member of the Communist Party, where (1) petitioner's four witnesses served as paid informants for the FBI; (2) full opportunity for cross-examination of the witnesses was afforded and pertinent copies of their prior reports to the FBI were delivered to counsel for respondent for use in cross-examination; (3) cross-examination was directed mainly to items, such as money received from the FBI, going to possible interest of the witnesses; (4) there was no rebuttal testimony of any of the testimony given by the witnesses, and their testimony was mutually consistent and corroborative; and (5) respondent's proposed findings did not raise specific matters going to the credibility of any of the witnesses, the Board, having observed the witnesses and considered the entire record, credits the witnesses. [p. 6]

(Exhibit 9)

The Weather Underground in 1974 issued a lengthy statement called *Prairie Fire, The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism*. Signed by Bernardine Dohrn, Billy Ayers, Jeff Jones, Celia Sojourn, it explained "PRAIRIE FIRE is written to communist-minded people, independent organizers and anti-imperialists; those who carry the traditions and lessons of the struggles of the last decade, those who join in the struggles of today. PRAIRIE FIRE is written to all sisters and brothers who are engaged in armed struggle against the enemy. It is written to prisoners, women's groups, collectives, study groups, workers' organizing committees, communes, GI organizers, consciousness-raising groups, veterans, community groups and revolutionaries of all kinds; to all who will read, criticize and bring its content to life in practice. It is written as an argument against those who oppose action and hold back the struggle."

It explained:

"We are a guerrilla organization. We are communist women and men, underground in the United States for more than four years. We are deeply affected by the historic events of our time in the struggle against US imperialism.

"Our intention is to disrupt the empire...to incapacitate it, to put pressure on the cracks, to make it hard to carry out its bloody functioning against the people of the world, to join the world struggle, to attack from the inside."

***Prairie Fire* complained that "The CP [Communist Party] had lost its capacity to fight. Tens of thousands of supporters and Party members deserted the struggle." They went on to say, "We have much to learn from the experience and wisdom accumulated over the years by CP workers of that period. The CP in its early history was a great advance in the US revolution. Its reversals and wrong directions are defeats for us all – that is why the lessons must be drawn sharply."**³⁰

Bombings of government buildings by the terrorists became frequent occurrences.

On October 20, 1981, the terrorists were responsible for the robbery of a Brinks armored car, which resulted in the murders of three people. A number of the terrorists were captured, including Weather Underground activists Judy Clark, David Gilbert and Kathy Boudin. A Grand Jury investigated the groups involved in the robbery and murders, subpoenaed a number of Weather Underground members, as well as members of a cooperating group that called itself "The New African Independence Movement", which was also involved in the robbery.

Most of the witnesses refused to testify and were given jail sentences. One of the Weather Underground groups, the May 19th Communist Organization, published a statement called "Stop the Grand Jury! Defeat the Federal RICO Indictment!" It was reprinted in *BREAKTHROUGH, Political Journal of Prairie Fire Organizing Committee*, in the Winter of 1983. It said, "By refusing to talk to the grand jury, Shaheem Jabbar, Alan Berkman, Eve

³⁰ PRAIRIE FIRE, *the Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism, Political Statement of the Weather Underground*, published by Communications Co., (no place) 1974, Introduction and pp 1 and 75.

Rosahn, Silvia Baraldini, Bernardine Dohrn, Jerry Gaines, Asha Sundiata, Aisha, Yaasmyn Fula, Fulani Sunni-Ali and Iliana Robinson are building a wall of silence protecting the armed clandestine movement.”

Among those who received jail sentences was Bernardine Dohrn. She is the wife of William Ayers. Dohrn and Ayers raised the son of the imprisoned Kathy Boudin.

Some of the New Left were red diaper babies; their parents had been active in the Communist Party. Kathy Boudin's father Leonard was a communist attorney and served as the legal counsel in the United States for the Castro Communist government. Judy Clark's father, Joseph, was the foreign editor of the *Daily Worker* until he left in 1956.

We described earlier the 1991 split in the Communist Party which resulted in the creation of the Committees of Correspondence. The remnants of these ultra-left groups still retain the ideology and methodology that they held as communists. Now some of them show up in “Progressives for Obama” and other leftist organizations.

They are the inheritors of the “Progressive” traditions of the American left.

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

Please go to www.usasurvival.org to read our other reports on communism in America and contribute to our educational efforts online.

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