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SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE IN THE
EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

REPORT

OF THE

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

TO THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS,

SECOND SESSION,

ON

SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

U.S. Congress, Senate



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SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

The Internal Security Subcommittee received throughout the session considerable evidence of Communist influences at work in the educational process of the United States. The evidence originated in all parts of the country and bore directly on Communist penetration of the Nation's colleges, high schools, and elementary schools. It was not until September 8, 1952, however, that a subcommittee made up of Mr. McCarran, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Ferguson held its first open session in New York City.

At the outset of the hearings, the subcommittee expressed its recognition of the fact that education is primarily a State and local function and declared that only forces affecting national security would be the object of the attention of the subcommittee. Senator Ferguson, speaking for the subcommittee, in his opening statement said:

The training of our youth today determines the security of the Nation tomorrow. The nature of this inquiry will be national in scope and will seek to determine whether or not organized subversion is undermining our educational system.

The subcommittee met on 7 days between September 8 and October 13, heard 41 witnesses and received 31 exhibits. It became apparent to the subcommittee that the scope of the work to be done was so vast that this subcommittee could only survey in a broad fashion the extent of Communist infiltration in the Nation's school and submit an interim report for consideration during the forthcoming session of the Senate.

EXTENT OF COMMUNIST INFILTRATION, 1940-50

The subcommittee received testimony that early in the 1940's there were approximately 1,500 Communist school teachers in the United States, with a very heavy concentration in the greater New York area. The testimony reflected that early in 1950 there were in New York approximately 500 teachers who were members of the Communist Party. Prior to that time and during the war when propaganda encouraged the expansion of the Communist organization, the number was estimated to reach 750 in Greater New York City. It is to be pointed out, however, that these figures do not reflect the full strength of the Communist organization. These are only the informed estimates of actual Communist Party members and do not include any of those who, while not actually party members, were Communist Party sympathizers, or teachers who performed under the influence of other Communists.

One former Communist Party organizer testified that in 1949 he was assigned to the task of organizing New York Communist school teachers into a secret underground network, modeled after an important Communist plan, brought to the United States from abroad by the then chairman of the Communist Party of the United States,

William Z. Foster. The witness testified that the organization had expanded through five layers of triangular units, organized on a geometrical progression. The top triangle unit consisted of three members: First, the political director; second, the organization leader; and third, the mass-organization specialist. Next lower in echelon were organized three units of subordinates who would take their orders from the top triangle members, each member of the three resulting triangles taking his orders from his counterpart in the higher triangle. In this fashion an organized Communist teacher would operate very effectively and yet know only six other Communists—his counterpart in the higher triangle, the other two members of his own triangle, and his three subordinate counterparts in the lower triangle. The witness testified that to his knowledge a penetration five deep indicated that the levels were made up of, respectively, 3, 9, 27, 81, and 243; thus comprising a total of 363 highly organized and highly disciplined Communist teachers.

This organization was undertaken by the party to protect its teacher members from exposure. The growing awareness of Government agencies to the danger of Communist expansion had commenced to express itself at this time.

Testimony before the subcommittee indicated specifically that Communist activity took place among teachers in Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, Buffalo, and Madison, Wis.; as well as reflecting the certainty of substantial Communist activity among teachers in other areas. Several universities also were cited in testimony as containing Communist units.

Communist influence in schools radiated far more extensively than the number of actual Communist Party members. Dr. Della V. Dodd, who rose to membership of the national committee of the Communist Party and who was legislative representative of the New York Teachers' Union, testified that that union, while under complete Communist domination, had a roster of 11,000 members, all of whom operated while in the union in an atmosphere created and controlled by the Communist Party.

At the same time, she estimated, there were 750, at the maximum, Communist members in the geographical area encompassed by the union.

Mrs. Rose Russell, the present legislative representative of the New York Teachers' Union, estimated that at the time of her testimony there were only "over 4,000" members in the New York local. She attributed the reduction in number to "inquisitorial investigation" and "witch hunting." When asked to give a careful estimate on the number of members in the locals in such places as Pennsylvania, Chicago, and California, Mrs. Russell was most evasive. All of the locals in question were locals of the United Public Workers which, the hearings disclosed, was expelled by the CIO as Communist-dominated. The Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City, as well as the American Federation of Labor, also expelled this union.

COMMUNIST METHODS OF OPERATION

Evidence was adduced that the Communists made an effort to use the classroom to carry on a program of indoctrination. Thus Dr. Bella V. Dodd testified. She had no doubt whatsoever that she had

used her position as a teacher to influence her students. The following testimony reflects her outlook:

Senator FERGUSON. When you were a teacher and really a Communist, what did you do to the students and the other teachers?

Mrs. DODD. God help me for what I did. I was not a member of the Communist Party, but there was no doubt in my mind—

Senator FERGUSON. But you had a philosophy and you served the cause.

Mrs. DODD. There is no doubt in my mind that I did a great deal of harm.

Senator FERGUSON. And how did you function among the students?

Mrs. DODD. I was their faculty adviser on many problems. I worked with individual students. I was particularly keen about my students. I was very sympathetic, and I was very popular among my students.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you think you may have convinced some of them to become Communists?

Mrs. DODD. I have no doubt that I did (p. 18).

Prof. Harry Albaum, of Brooklyn College, a professor who had been 10 years ago a Communist, testified very candidly before the subcommittee and was commended therefor by the chairman. A pertinent excerpt from his testimony follows:

Senator FERGUSON. All right. Now, did any of the teachers at times, in these meetings, say how they were slanting teaching?

Mr. ALBAUM. Well, there were some people. I remember one particular man who took great pride in showing how he could introduce the principles of Marxism into his particular area.

Senator FERGUSON. Give us an example of that.

Mr. ALBAUM. This particular area happened to be philosophy. The details of how he did it and what he did I don't remember.

Senator FERGUSON. But he did tell you how he was able to slant, and I use the word advisedly, along the communistic line?

Mr. ALBAUM. That is right. I want to emphasize again in this connection that I think, by and large many of these people made no attempt of this kind. I don't know for sure. I know that some people took pride in it, and my assumption is that the people who didn't talk about it are people who were either not successful or didn't want to.

Senator FERGUSON. But some people did explain to the other teachers, did take pride in, how they slanted their teachings?

Mr. ALBAUM. We were told, "This is how it was done."

Senator FERGUSON. So there was a party line in teaching?

Mr. ALBAUM. If it was possible to introduce it, by all means do so.

Senator FERGUSON. And you felt that in your particular science it was difficult to introduce it?

Mr. ALBAUM. And because of my mental reservations from the beginning, I felt that I couldn't do this in addition. Of course, the pressures were on me continually to do something.

Senator FERGUSON. For the party, you mean?

Mr. ALBAUM. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What were the pressures?

Mr. ALBAUM. Pressures were pressures of this kind: They probably felt that a fellow like me, who is a little bit reluctant, didn't have the feel of the party, which is essentially a working-class party. They felt that the way to get this feel is to go out and sell Sunday Workers. Some of the teachers did this. I could never see my way clear (p. 217).

The subcommittee received in evidence a number of extracts from the Teacher News, which was the publication of the completely Communist-controlled teachers' union which ran a column entitled "Road to Peace—New Material for Classroom Use." It contained abundant Communist propaganda and was obviously circulated by the Communists with the view toward encouraging Communist teachers, and teachers within the Communist orbit, to use it in the classroom. Some samples were:

EXHIBIT No. 6

[From New York Teacher News, March 23, 1946]

ROAD TO PEACE

(New material for classroom use)

Not since prewar days has world peace been so threatened as in recent weeks. The material of this week's column should stimulate constructive thinking about world peace.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

Hitler Germany, with its Goebbels propaganda outfit, could boast of no more vicious anti-Soviet hysteria than that which has been unleashed in our country in the past few days. Of a piece with all the dangerous anti-Soviet clamor is the attack of the House Committee on Un-American Activities upon the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

In a very incisive statement to the House committee the National Council proves that it cannot possibly be considered un-American, and that the attack is an attempt to strike at the roots of world peace, cordial American-Soviet friendship.

Write to: National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

EXHIBIT No. 7

[From New York Teacher News, April 6, 1946]

ROAD TO PEACE

(New material for classroom use)

While the Iranian crisis is practically blown to war proportions before the present Security Council meeting, from all over the world come reports of new threats to world peace. The material in this week's column gives information about some real danger spots.

* * * * *

AMG IN KOREA

In the news letter released weekly by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, very valuable information about an important corner of the world is presented.

The March 21 issue is devoted to a discussion of AMG in Korea. Before the Americans assume supervision of the southern area of Korea and while Soviet troops were still occupying the country, the Koreans set up a people's committee. AMG officials, when they arrived, refused to cooperate with the elected committees of the liberation movement. Instead they set up a military government and appointed to prominent positions antidemocratic men and open Japanese collaborators. With this kind of AMG policy, it was not long before Korean quislings in the American zone took to circulating stories about atrocities perpetrated in the Russian zone.

Write to: Committee for Democratic Far Eastern Policy, 58 Park Avenue, New York 16.

EXHIBIT No. 9

[From New York Teacher News, April 20, 1946,

ROAD TO PEACE

(New material for classroom use)

In recent weeks newspaper reports on vital world and national issues have been anything but impartial—hence the value of some of the material listed below.

FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

An interesting project for English and social-studies teachers would be a comparison of newspaper reports on far eastern events with the newsletters issued by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. Last week's New York

Times reported that the results of the Japanese elections were in accord with British and American reconstruction policy in the Far East. The committee's April 10 bulletin furnishes some illuminating background information on Japanese political life. Gangsterism rather than police suppression is the technique used for attacking progressives in present-day Japan. Also, some on the purge list were permitted to direct the election campaign of one of the leading political parties.

Other issues dealing with United States policy in the Philippines and happenings in North China are equally as valuable.

Write to: Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy 58 Park Avenue, New York 16.

POLAND OF TODAY

Poland's progressive position at the U. N. Security Council meeting is incurring attacks from those who would use the U. N. as a weapon of intrigue against the Soviet Union. Authentic information on postwar Poland can be obtained in Poland of Today, a monthly bulletin issued by the library of the Polish Embassy. The March issue contains an article by Dr. Oscar Lange, Polish Ambassador to the United States, on Poland's foreign policy, other items on Poland's present economic and cultural status, and a report on Jewish communities in Poland.

Write to: Library of Polish Embassy, 151 East Sixty-seventh Street, New York 21.

The subcommittee feels that official records now contain enough probative evidence about the nature of a Communist to establish beyond question that a loyal Communist will use every opportunity to further the expansion of Communist influence and that if he is a teacher, he will use the classroom and his personal contacts with students for that purpose.

The evidence further supported the conclusion that Communist teachers were used to support other Communist Party projects such as the American Labor Party, Communist fronts, organization work for the Communist Party, Communist-indoctrinated schools, and trade-union activity. Dr. Dodd testified on this score as follows:

Mr. MORRIS. Dr. Dodd, could you tell us how you worked with some other organizations at the time to further Communist activity; that is, while you were legislative representative of the teachers' union and had such an intimate knowledge of Communist teachers?

Did the Communist Party use these teachers for other purposes, or did they restrict their activity to the schools alone?

Mrs. DODD. Teachers have always been a very important part of the Communist apparatus. As a teachers' union member, I was a delegate to the Central Trades and Labor Council and I was a delegate to the State Federation of Labor. I was a delegate to the Central Trades and Labor Council, and I was put in contact with Communist members of other unions who were to operate with me on the floor of the Central Trades and Labor Council. We would caucus. We would decide what should be stressed, what shouldn't be stressed; what we would approve of, what we wouldn't approve of; whom we would vote for, and whom we wouldn't vote for. So that we attempted to carry out the party line in the labor field.

We functioned on whatever levels the Communist Party uses teachers for, to get dues, to get finances. They are a stable group with an income and they are generous and conscientious.

Secondly, they use them for personnel. Teachers are well-equipped, I mean they are trained thinkers and if you can convince them that they would go out and fight for the cause, you can get them to go out and become section organizers, district organizers.

The subcommittee received evidence to the effect that the teachers' union was completely controlled by the Communist Party. The New York State Legislative Committee (Rapp-Coudert committee) and other bodies looking into the school system had previously held this union to be Communist-dominated, even without the first-hand testimony of any such leader of the Communist fraction as Dr. Dodd. She was able to give the subcommittee an explanation of the inner

workings of the Communist Party as that organization manipulated members of the teaching profession. The disclosures added, to the accumulation already compiled by the Internal Security Subcommittee further evidence of cynical misdirection of man's yearning to correct social abuses, and ruthless suppression of man's free spirit. The subcommittee noted the following instance of Dr Dodd's disenchantment:

Mrs. DODD. Because I didn't know what communism was. I swallowed the hook, line, and sinker. I thought they were anti-Fascists. I thought they were for the working class. I thought they were for the underdog, and I was for the underdog.

You don't see the entirety of communism until you have had to wrestle with it. Communism shows itself at different levels to you at different times.

Senator FERGUSON. Then you are of the opinion that the Communists use these ideals, these humanitarian causes, the evils that are among men, for their own purposes rather than just curing the particular evil; is that right?

Mrs. DODD. That is absolutely right. And I discovered it to be so when I became the legislative representative of the Communist Party.

When I went into the apparatus at Twelfth Street as a legislative representative I thought that my job was to fight for good housing, milk, problems, the question of schools, and so on. I found that within the Communist Party there wasn't even a file on any of these social problems; that there wasn't any cumulative wisdom on the thing, that almost any program which you would pluck from the air which was popular at the moment was the thing you supported; that they weren't interested in carrying through on any of these problems; that these problems were important only as long as there was a group of dissatisfied people to whom this issue was important.

But as soon as that died down, then they were no longer interested in that issue.

Mr. MORRIS. That is literal testimony, is it. Dr. Dodd, that there wasn't literally a file on these sociological problems?

Mrs. DODD. The answer is "No." There wasn't a file. There were some old pamphlets thrown in one corner, and I then proceeded to try to create files on this question.

But then I discovered they were not interested in this particular thing. I tried for about 4 months to get the national committee to establish a committee on health for the study of the promotion of health legislation. I couldn't get it. They weren't too interested in that (p. 19).

After disillusionment had set in, the Communist who sought to break away from the organization was placed under severe pressure.

Dr. Albaum testified:

Senator FERGUSON. It was quite a shock to some academic people to have that somersault?

Mr. ALBAUM. That is right. They couldn't reconcile it with anything that had gone before. Of course, this added to my discomfort, my wanting to get out of this thing. I would come to meetings reluctantly. I would come to meetings infrequently. I would plead that I didn't have any money for the dues, that I had other commitments that were more important.

I was hoping that they would get rid of me.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you ever ask to resign?

Mr. ALBAUM. I said I wanted to get out of this thing, "I want to resign."

Senator FERGUSON. What was said?

Mr. ALBAUM. I was told, "Brother, you don't get out of this thing, you don't resign. All that can happen is you are expelled."

Senator FERGUSON. What did that mean to you?

Mr. ALBAUM. To me it meant that I was irrevocably committed to something which I could no longer get out of unless I did something so anti something in their eyes, that they expelled me.

Senator FERGUSON. Did that mean in effect that you were being threatened, that you had to stay in?

Mr. ALBAUM. In effect, this was a threat. This was a kind of blackmail. What this implied I can only conjecture.

Senator FERGUSON. How about your thinking at that time?

Mr. ALBAUM. It meant that I might be exposed anonymously. The stigma that was attached to this thing in the light of the Nazi-Soviet pact became greater. In other words, made people who were sympathetic to Russia before begin to have doubts of it, because of the pact.

Senator FERGUSON. Then you were told flatly that you could not resign?

Mr. ALBAUM. That one does not resign.

Senator FERGUSON. One does not resign?

Mr. ALBAUM. One can only be expelled (pp. 215-216).

As for John Lautner, who had been as late as January 1950 an organizer of the Communist Party (including Communist teachers), the departure from the organization was more brutal. Mr. Lautner testified:

Mr. MORRIS. And for how long did you remain a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LAUTNER. Up to the 17th of January 1950.

Mr. MORRIS. And what happened at that time to cause your termination of membership?

Mr. LAUTNER. I read in the Daily Worker that I was expelled for protecting enemy agents in the ranks of the Communist Party, and being myself an enemy agent of long standing in the ranks of the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you mean the Communists said that you were an enemy?

Mr. LAUTNER. An enemy agent of the party; that is correct.

Senator FERGUSON. In other words, they thought you were a traitor to their cause in their ranks?

Mr. LAUTNER. In fact, the heading of the article was "Traitor," and I was accused of being a Government agent in the ranks of the party.

Senator FERGUSON. I understand, then, that the Communist Party has a loyalty program.

Mr. LAUTNER. Oh, yes.

Senator FERGUSON. And they see to it that all of their members are loyal to the Communist Party?

Mr. LAUTNER. To the Communist Party and the program of the Communist Party.

Senator FERGUSON. Now, do they grant you a hearing on your loyalty?

Mr. LAUTNER. I had a "hearing," in quotation marks, in a cellar in Cleveland, Ohio, with guns, butcher knives, and rubber hoses and hot and cold running water, and the like, and a lie detector and a tape recorder and plug-uglies—that was the hearing I got.

Senator FERGUSON. Was that before it was printed in the paper that you were expelled?

Mr. LAUTNER. This was printed on the 17th of January, on a Tuesday morning, and my hearing was the previous Saturday, in Cleveland, Ohio.

Senator FERGUSON. Was your life threatened at Cleveland, Ohio, at your hearing?

Mr. LAUTNER. My life was threatened. That is the reason I didn't give my full address over here today.

Senator SMITH. What building were you in?

Mr. LAUTNER. I was in a section in Cleveland, Ohio, known as Kingsbury Run, down in that industrial hole where at least 13 or 14 unsolved murders were committed in the last 15 years (p. 244).

SOURCES OF EVIDENCE

This short series of hearings once again demonstrated to the Internal Security Subcommittee the value of the sincere ex-Communist. Proceeding on the understanding that the committee's duty is to uncover present danger from subversion and not to expose to punishment for past wrongdoing, it heard among its 41 public witnesses three former Communists who clearly demonstrated their break from the party. It heard these and others in executive session, and still others in staff interviews. From these sources the committee was able to obtain first-hand evidence and was well

prepared to examine the various teachers as they appeared before the committee. All of the teachers and professors concerning whom there was varying evidence of Communist membership and association, when called, invoked their constitutional privilege against self-incrimination.

(Two of the teachers called, when asked, denied Communist membership. On one of these witnesses there was executive committee information that the person was not a Communist (that is, that the Communists decided she should not be a Communist) and on the other there was information that he was believed not to be a Communist. The committee heard these two witnesses because they were officials of the union and the committee wanted to present to the public record all officers of the union and not just the officials concerning whom there was evidence of Communist membership.)

The sincerely disassociated and contrite ex-Communist is a more informed person generally on the issue of communism and generally has acquired antibodies against further infection. They are of inestimable value as a source of evidence, and everything possible should be done to encourage their divorce from the Communist periphery and their escape from lonesome isolation. Accepting such persons wholeheartedly into the community of freemen is reconcilable with and even dictated by every precept of the Judaic and the Christian religions. If all the secrets now possessed by ex-Communists were made available to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and this committee, long strides would have been taken to expose fully the Communist conspiracy in the United States.

The New York Board of Education has recognized this. George Timone, chairman of the Law Committee of New York City testified:

* * * We have had a number of cases where a teacher has come in and has said, "Yes, I was a member of the Communist Party." And they give us the time and the teacher then says that he got out. And where his subsequent conduct and activity has not been inconsistent with that resignation, we have accepted it.

It is the policy of the superintendent and of the board not to bring charges against those teachers where we believe that they are sincere in their change. And there have been a number of cases precisely along that point.

Of course, however, if a teacher should receive from Mr. Moskoff a notice to come in and be questioned, let's say, in September 1952, and 3 days after the teacher receives the notice he then resigns from the Communist Party, we would be a little naive and gullible if we thought that that were a sincere repentance, a sincere change. We are not swallowing that kind of a resignation.

Now, we have had a number, a dozen or more, resignations from teachers who have been called in for questioning and who, rather than submit to questioning, have resigned (p. 43).

TACTICS OF WITNESSES

When the various teachers and professors were called to the stand, they invoked constitutional amendments in order to avoid answering questions about their Communist membership. Even though the chairman had made clear that he would allow only the invocation of the fifth amendment which provides that a person shall not be required to be a witness against himself, some witnesses even went so far as to claim the privilege under the first, sixth, and even the thirteenth amendments. The teachers invoking their privilege, together with the two who denied membership, all were abusive of the committee, evasive to the border of contempt in their responses, and profuse in

their invective against all forces who were opposing Communist expansion. In all, 30 teachers invoked in open session the fifth amendment when asked about Communist Party membership. Other teachers had invoked their privilege in executive session, but the committee was not able to hear them publicly.

The subcommittee submits that a professor's or a teacher's refusal to answer before a proper tribunal and under oath whether he is or was a member of the Communist Party, and therefore an active participant in the Soviet conspiracy against the free world, is violative of the trust and fiduciary relationship imposed upon him by virtue of his office and should be grounds for dismissal.

VALUE OF LEGISLATIVE INQUIRY

The hearings brought out that the New York State legislative inquiry into subversion in the schools in 1940-42 (Rapp-Coudert committee) was very effective in temporarily halting Communist expansion in New York schools and in causing significant disruption in the Communist ranks. The testimony showed that 52 teachers were removed from the New York schools as a result of that inquiry. As a wry corollary, it was brought out that all of those obtained more lucrative employment elsewhere through the Communist Party, and none experienced any economic detriment.

Dr. Dodd was asked about this:

Mr. MORRIS. This question is asked now in connection with legislation along these lines, Mr. Chairman.

Did you, as a matter of fact, find that the investigation carried on by the New York State Legislature at that time did weaken the Communist force in the teaching field?

Mrs. DODD. It most certainly did.

Senator FERGUSON. You have indicated here that any real publicity of Communist activity in a union or in any organization has a tendency, then, to weaken or destroy communism in that organization.

Mrs. DODD. I think any honest investigation which brings the issues to the fore and lets all decent and honest people, whether they are the teachers who are trapped in this organization, or not, really look at the issues, will help to eliminate that which is evil.

Senator FERGUSON. You think, then, that the facts were such that there were many innocent teachers not realizing what was being done on the so-called back-stage caucuses by the members of the Communist Party that belonged to the union, getting their instructions; by calling in Communist members at the time to get instructions; that this was not known to the mass—rank and file, let me call them—of the teachers; is that correct?

Mrs. DODD. That is absolutely correct, Senator Ferguson.

One of the real problems is that not only the members of the union didn't know, but a large number of the teachers who became Communists didn't really know what it was all about. I myself, so long as I functioned on the trade-union level in the teachers' union, why, my heavens, I was one of the staunchest of the Communists and would have called your committee a committee to smash the schools. It wasn't until I entered the Communist Party as a functionary in the Communist Party that I saw that it was a full, true, cynical conspiracy and something which is so thoroughly evil that I would like to spend the rest of my days to tell the teachers who are entrapped in this thing how to get out.

Senator FERGUSON. In other words, until you obtained the knowledge as to what actually was taking place as far as the Communist Party was concerned, how they functioned to get control of labor unions, whether it be teachers or others, or any organizations, you, as an advocate of labor, were so firm in your opinion as to the justification of the needs of labor, that you did not see the Communist activity until you became directly connected with it; is that a fair statement?

Mrs. DODD. That is correct (pp. 8-9).

Also Dr. Dodd said:

At the same time the New York State Legislature adopted a resolution calling for the investigation of the schools. That resolution was to investigate the finances of the schools, but, in addition, to investigate the subversive activities of the New York City school teachers.

That was popularly called the Rapp-Coudert investigating committee.

We couldn't withstand the two attacks—that is, of the A. F. of T. and the A. F. of L. and the Rapp-Coudert committee, and the influence of the union declined considerably during that period.⁵

Another aspect of evidence on the subject of the Rapp-Coudert committee was the fact that the Communists, in retaliation against the exposures of the Communists by the committee, put on a large-scale propaganda drive against State Senator Frederic R. Coudert, Jr., who was chairman of the committee responsible for the activity. As Dr. Dodd put it:

Mr. MORRIS. Dr. Dodd, will you get back to this State legislative committee? That committee was in 1940-41, was it not?

Mrs. DODD. The Rapp-Coudert committee?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mrs. DODD. The resolution was adopted in 1939, the investigation began in 1940.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you active in opposing that investigation?

Mrs. DODD. I opposed it with everything I had in me.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did that opposition last?

Mrs. DODD. The opposition continued throughout the 2 years, that is, throughout 1940-41, and it carried into 1942, when Senator Coudert ran for—

Mr. MORRIS. Was it State senator?

Mrs. DODD. No. The first time he ran for Congress, wasn't it?

Mr. MORRIS. He ran for State senator. My recollection, Mr. Chairman, is that he was running for State senator in 1942. And you say you participated in that campaign?

Mrs. DODD. Yes, I did.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the purpose of that?

Mrs. DODD. The purpose of that was to see to it that anyone who attempted to "smear" the schools, as I thought—putting this in quotation marks—because I thought the Rapp-Coudert committee was to destroy the public-school system, that anyone who attempted to "smear" the school system should not be allowed to go back into public office, and that everything should be done to defeat him.

Mr. MORRIS. Actually, what was the real reasoning behind that campaign?

Mrs. DODD. Well, after all, the fight of the Rapp-Coudert committee was to expose Communist teachers. The Communist Party just couldn't permit a person of that kind, who had taken such a toll, to remain in public life.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know whether the Soviet Union actually intervened in this fight?

Mrs. DODD. I wouldn't know whether the Soviet Union intervened. I had a little incident happen which might be of interest to you.

Mr. MORRIS. What was that, Dr. Dodd?

Mrs. DODD. One of the gentlemen in this city, who represented some of the Russian business interests, made a contribution to the campaign against Senator Coudert.

Mr. MORRIS. What was his name?

Mrs. DODD. Charles Recht.

Mr. MORRIS. Is he the attorney?

Mrs. DODD. He was the attorney for Amtorg. I don't know whether he is now.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he say anything to you at the time he made that contribution?

Mrs. DODD. He gave me some information about the Coudert law firm, Coudert & Coudert law firm. He said they represented many of the White Russians.

Mr. MORRIS. And he was giving you that information for what purpose?

Mrs. DODD. He knew that I was going to use it during the campaign (p. 11).

RESULTS OF THE INQUIRY

Even though only a few hearings were held, the results were significant. The New York City charter provides—

that if any employee of the city of New York shall refuse to testify or to answer any question regarding the property, government, or affairs of the city * * * or regarding the official conduct of any officer or employee of the city * * * on the ground that his answer would tend to incriminate him * * * his employment shall terminate * * *

The Feinberg law provides:

No person shall be appointed to any office or position in the service of the State or of any civil division or city thereof, nor shall any person presently employed in any such office or position be continued in such employment, nor shall any person be employed in the public service as superintendents, principals, or teachers in a public school or academy or in a State normal school or college, or any other State educational institution who:

(a) By word of mouth or writing willfully and deliberately advocates, advises, or teaches the doctrine that the Government of the United States or of any State or of any political subdivision thereof should be overthrown or overturned by force, violence, or any unlawful means; or

(b) Prints, publishes, edits, issues, or sells any book, paper, document, or written or printed matter in any form containing or advocating, advising, or teaching the doctrine that the Government of the United States or of any State or of any political subdivision thereof should be overthrown by force, violence, or any unlawful means, and who advocates, advises, teaches, or embraces the duty, necessity, or propriety of adopting the doctrine contained therein;

(c) Organizes or helps to organize or becomes a member of any society or group of persons which teaches or advocates that the Government of the United States or of any State or of any political subdivision thereof shall be overthrown by force or violence, or by any unlawful means;

(d) A person dismissed or declared ineligible may within 4 months of such dismissal or declaration of ineligibility be entitled to petition for an order to show cause signed by a justice of the supreme court, why a hearing on such charges should not be had. Until the final judgment on said hearing is entered, the order to show cause shall stay the effect of any order of dismissal or ineligibility based on the provisions of this section. The hearing shall consist of the taking of testimony in open court with opportunity for cross-examination. The burden of sustaining the validity of the order of dismissal or ineligibility by a fair preponderance of the credible evidence shall be upon the person making such dismissal or order of ineligibility.

3022. *Elimination of subversive persons from the public school system.*—1. The board of regents shall adopt, promulgate, and enforce rules and regulations for the disqualification or removal of superintendents of schools, teachers, or employees in the public schools in any city or school district of the State who violate the provisions of section 3021 of this article or who are ineligible for appointment to or retention in any office or position in such public schools on any of the grounds set forth in section 12 (a) of the civil-service law and shall provide therein appropriate methods and procedure for the enforcement of such sections of this article and the civil-service law.

The New York City Board of Education had adopted a rule that it had, under the Feinberg law, the authority to dismiss a Communist school teacher, and the concomitant right to ask a teacher whether he or she had been, or was, a member of the Communist Party. The board acted on that and has suspended eight teachers. The teachers' union appealed to the New York State commissioner of education and a stay was imposed on the city board from April and was in effect on September 9 when George Timone, chairman of the law committee, took the stand to testify about it. After his testimony Mr. Timone received a letter postmarked 1:30 p. m., September 8, lifting the stay.

Thereafter the New York City Board of Education proceeded to take a long series of steps which were designed to remove Communist teachers. Seven of the teachers who were removed were among those who refused to answer questions when before the subcommittee.

The subcommittee is not cognizant of any similar action on the part of the New York City Board of Higher Education. However, six professors and teachers in the city colleges were dismissed by that board as a result of their invoking their privilege against self-incrimination before this subcommittee. Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, Rutgers University, and New York University dismissed professors of their colleges for refusing to answer questions on Communist affiliation on the grounds that their answers might incriminate them.

During the course of the hearings Konstantin Radzie, of the control or disciplinary commission of the Communist Party, was recognized among the audience in the New York courtroom. He was called to the stand to account for his presence at hearings of school teachers and college professors. Radzie invoked his privilege against self-incrimination, but subsequent testimony by John Lautner brought out that Radzie had been a member of the Communist organization for more than 20 years and had been assigned to disciplinary duties in the party. Because he was thus shown to have been a Communist at the time of his naturalization in 1938, Immigration and Naturalization has commenced denaturalization proceedings (on December 15 of this year).

CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the evidence so far adduced, the committee has concluded that:

1. Despite the unquestioned loyalty and self-sacrificing devotion to duty of the preponderant bulk of America's teachers, there are yet many hundreds of teachers who are Communists.
2. Communist teachers radiate an influence much greater than their proportionate number.
3. Their influence has reached out into the community, among youth and parent-teacher organization and Communist-front groups.
4. The New York Teachers Union is an organization that is an instrument of the Communist Party and has been used to implement the Communist conspiracy.
5. Legislative committees either of the State or of Congress have aided local school authorities by sketching a pattern of Communist activities and by exposing Communist teachers.
6. A Communist is not a fit person to be placed or retained in a position to influence the minds of the youth of America.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The subcommittee makes the following recommendations:

That the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate continue in the Eighty-third Congress its investigation in this field.

That State legislatures give consideration to undertaking investigations such as that made by the New York State Legislative Committee of 1939-42 (Rapp-Coudert committee).

That school authorities, colleges, and local boards of education institute positive programs, not under the direction of Communists

or Communist sympathizers, to teach both teachers and school pupils the nature of the Communist conspiracy that is attacking the whole structure of our society.

That boards of education give study to the program being undertaken by the New York City Board of Education to rid the schools under its jurisdiction of Communist teachers.

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WILLIS SMITH.
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