Research Collections in American Radicalism General Editors: Mark Naison and Maurice Isserman

RECORDS OF THE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD,

1950-1972

Part I: Communist Party USA

Part II: Communist-Action and

Communist-Front Organizations

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Microfilmed from the holdings of the National Archives and Records Administration

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INTRODUCTION

The Internal Security Act of 1950

It all began with Richard Nixon. Even before his dogged pursuit of Alger Hiss made him famous, Nixon had begun to specialize in anticommunism. In the spring of 1948 he collaborated with his colleague on the House Un-American Affairs Committee (HUAC), Karl E. Mundt, in drafting a law to cripple the Communist party (CP). The Mundt-Nixon Bill, as the measure came to be called, required the party and the organizations under its control—the so-called front groups—to register with the federal government. The measure also made it illegal for Communists to obtain passports or work for the federal government. For years, conservatives had demanded that the federal government outlaw the CP, but the obstacles had been too great. Forcing the CP to register and then providing criminal sanctions in the event that it did not was seen as a way to put the party out of business without having to confront the practical and constitutional problems that an outright ban might entail.

The concept of making unpopular groups and individuals register with the government was not new. Registration was first used to control Chinese immigrants in the 1890s. New York state applied it against the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s, and Congress resuscitated it in the Corrupt Practices Act of 1925 and again later in the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 and the Voorhis and Alien Registration Acts of 1940. The precedents were clear and presumably constitutional. In addition, registration seemed particularly applicable to the CP, which had a long history of secrecy and underground operation. The exposure that accompanied registration would, Congressman Mundt noted, "bring out of the black night of seductive secrecy the operations and activities of those conspiring to change the American way of life by stealth."

Yet popular as the Mundt-Nixon proposals were, it took two years before they became law. The House passed the measure by an overwhelming majority on May 9, 1948, but the Senate let it lapse. It was reintroduced the following June and assured of passage in the summer of 1950 when the outbreak of the Korean War intensified the anti-Communist furor in Congress. The Republicans put the measure on their "must" list; few of the Democrats who opposed the bill were willing to do so publicly and endanger their political careers by appearing soft on communism. On the contrary, a group of the most liberal Democrats in the Senate attacked the Communist registration provisions of the Mundt-Nixon Bill as, in Hubert Humphrey's words, a "cream-puff special." They tried to prevent passage of the bill by substituting a more stringent measure that would set up emergency detention camps for suspected subversives. The liberals' run around right end backfired when their substitute provisions were folded into a larger package of legislation that included the registration proposals as well as a batch of anti-subversive measures that the Justice Department had slipped into the bundle. Only seven senators dared oppose the Internal Security Act, or McCarran Act, as the new legislation came to be called, and only ten supported the President's veto when the vote was taken to override.

Truman had few hesitations about vetoing the bill, even though he knew that it would not prevent its passage. He and his staff felt that the measure was both unjust and unwise. It would, he explained in his veto message, "put the United States government in the thought control business." Like most other opponents of the measure, Truman and his aides feared that it could be the first step toward a greater limitation of dissent. A more repressive regime might apply the law to labor unions, pacifist groups, or other non-Communist organizations espousing unpopular ideas. There was also the fear that state and local governments would follow the lead of the federal government and enact similar or even more repressive statutes—as indeed some did.6

In addition, Truman and his advisers felt the measure, and especially its registration provisions, would not work. There was no reason to believe that the CP and the groups and individuals associated with it would register voluntarily and it was assumed that years of litigation would be required before any sanctions would take effect. The administration stressed that its own anti-Communist activities, in particular the prosecution

of the eleven top leaders of the CP under the Smith Act, would achieve all the benefits that were being claimed for the legislation. In addition, the Justice Department and the FBI had long opposed the registration provisions of the bill because it would encourage the party to go underground and intensify the problem of keeping it under surveillance. The public hearings required by the act would force the FBI to reveal the identities of its secret informers and, thus, further hamper the bureau's intelligence-collecting capabilities. Finally, as J. Edgar Hoover himself noted, the measure might enable the Communists to gain sympathy, "if they were made martyrs by some restrictive legislation that might later be declared unconstitutional."

Establishing the Subversive Activities Control Board

The McCarran Act targeted two different types of groups: "Communist-action" and "Communist-front" organizations. The former, which was a category specifically designed for the CP, was an organization "substantially directed, dominated, or controlled by the foreign government or foreign organization controlling the world Communist movement" and that "operates primarily to advance the objectives of such world Communist movement." Communist fronts were groups which, in the words of the act, were "substantially directed, dominated, or controlled by a Communist-action organization ... for the purpose of giving aid and support to a Communist-action organization, a Communist foreign government, or the world Communist movement." The Communist Control Act of 1954 amended the McCarran Act by adding a third category to the first two, "Communist-infiltrated" organizations, a category designed for labor unions that were close to the party. The responsibility for deciding which organizations fell into these categories and then registering them belonged to the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB).

The SACB was the main novelty of the McCarran Act. The Mundt-Nixon Bill had assigned the task of registering subversive organizations to the attorney general. In all other respects, however, the mechanics of the two measures were the same. Registration required each group to keep records and submit an annual report listing its officers, finances, and members (in the case of a Communist-action organization). There was, of course, little likelihood that any group would voluntarily comply. An organization that refused to register could be fined \$10,000 for every day that it defied the law; its officers faced similar fines and five years in jail. Communist-infiltrated labor unions did not have to register; they would lose all their privileges before the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). In addition, individual members of Communist-action organizations had to register themselves, if the organization did not, and were liable to similar fines and prison sentences. Communist organizations were also deprived of all tax exemptions and had to label all the material they mailed as being from a Communist organization. Individual members could not get passports or work for the federal government.9

According to the McCarran Act, the SACB was to contain five members, no more than three of whom could belong to the same political party. Like other regulatory agencies, the board was destined to become a source of patronage, a sinecure for defeated politicians and unambitious bureaucrats. At first, however, the board was difficult to staff. Truman's initial appointments were cautious ones. In addition to Seth Richardson, the highly respected head of the Loyalty Review Board and a former assistant attorney general under Herbert Hoover, the other candidates for the board included Peter Campbell Brown, an attorney from the Justice Department; David J. Coddaire, a member of the U.S. Maritime Commission; Kathryn McHale, the director of the American Association of University Women; and Charles A. LaFollette, a former chair of the Americans for Democratic Action. Senate confirmation should have been a pro forma affair, but Pat McCarran, the powerful chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, opposed every candidate who had been even mildly critical of the act that bore his name. Richardson, who had testified against the Mundt-Nixon Bill in 1948, withdrew his nomination. The Judiciary Committee rejected LaFollette despite the fact that he had been successfully chairing the board on an ad hoc basis for several months. 10

A few years later, when the Senate was in more liberal hands, the Eisenhower administration's nomination of John Wood, the former chairman of HUAC, ran into similar trouble and had to be withdrawn. The other board members were less controversial, with one exception—Harry P. Cain, a former Republican senator from Washington whose record as an anti-Communist led to demands that he disqualify himself from several hearings. Ironically, Cain's service on the SACB turned him into a civil libertarian and he began to speak out against the injustices in the government's anti-Communist crusade. Cain, however, was unique and was not reappointed. Most other board members were less ambivalent about their work and attracted less attention, largely because, as the anti-Communist furor died down, the SACB's functions became increasingly marginal.

The McCarran Act spelled out the procedures that the registration process would entail. The SACB's first

and most important task was to register the CP as a "Communist-action" organization. Until that was accomplished, it would not be possible to compel individuals or front groups to register. Because of concerns about the constitutionality of the registration provisions, the authors of the McCarran Act included more safeguards than most anti-Communist measures contained. All the groups and individuals facing registration were guaranteed an open hearing before the SACB with the right to cross-examine witnesses and to appeal the SACB's orders to the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia and the Supreme Court. In order to preempt criticism from liberals and ensure that its actions would not be reversed for lack of due process, the board and its staff also decided not to hear any secret testimony. Though the SACB was legally a separate organization, it depended heavily on the Justice Department. The attorney general was responsible for deciding which organizations and individuals to register and initiating proceedings against them. In addition, because the board had neither the resources nor the desire to develop its own sources of information, its members tended to rely heavily on the material presented by the Department of Justice. The SACB always granted the government's petitions. The alternative, which would have required rejecting the anti-Communist assumptions of the day, was never an option.

The Subversive Activities Control Board and the Communist Party

Despite its opposition to the McCarran Act, the Truman administration did not hesitate to enforce it. The Justice Department put thirty of its most experienced attorneys on the case and within a month after the McCarran Act had gone into effect they had drawn up a petition against the CP. The party's attorneys, led by former New York City Congressman Vito Marcantonio, responded with a series of delaying actions. Between November 23, 1950, when the attorney general filed his petition, and April 23, 1951, when the hearings before the board began, the government and the party had filed a total of twenty-seven separate legal motions. This pattern of legal procrastination was to characterize most proceedings before the SACB and was ultimately to prove the strongest weapon that the otherwise beleaguered left-wing organizations and individuals had.

Substantively, the government's case against the party was a partial rerun of the Smith Act prosecution. The government produced many of the same witnesses and documents, yet the charges were different. While the Smith Act jury had only to assess the role of the individual party leaders in a conspiracy to "teach, advocate or encourage the overthrow or destruction of ... the government by force or violence," the SACB's mandate was much broader. The McCarran Act listed eight criteria that the board could apply in reaching its decision that the CP was under Soviet control. The most important was the extent to which orders from Moscow determined party policy. Other activities that the board was mandated to take into consideration included the foreign training of cadres, the failure of party policies to deviate from those of the world Communist movement, and the CP's attempts to conceal its operations.\footnote{14}

The Justice Department's petition relied heavily on these criteria and contained a detailed outline listing some eighty-five separate activities that would be proof of CP conspiratorial practices and subservience to foreign domination. As in the Smith Act trial, the government's exhibits, nearly five hundred of them, included all the classic texts of Marxism-Leninism as well as whatever clippings from the party press and ephemera the Justice Department felt would bolster its case. ¹⁵ The descriptions of the documents that the SACB files contain, together with the testimony of government witnesses, are quite revealing, about both the history of the American CP and the government's own preconceptions of communism.

The hearings lasted for over a year, from April 23, 1951, to August 2, 1952. Most of the government's twenty-one witnesses were professionals—the former party members and FBI plants who regularly testified at Smith Act trials, congressional hearings, and deportation proceedings. Louis Budenz, Paul Crouch, Benjamin Gitlow, Manning Johnson, Joseph Kornfeder, Mary Markward, Harvey Matusow, Herbert Philbrick, and others offered the SACB the same, often unreliable, stories they had been purveying, in some cases for over a decade. The sensation of the SACB hearings, however, was the debut of John Lautner, a former party security official who had been expelled from the CP after the Smith Act trial and whose appearance before the SACB was to launch him into an important career as a professional witness. ¹⁶

Because the thrust of the government's case was on exposing the links between the CP and the international Communist movement, the government sought to present evidence about actual international exchanges as well as to show how closely the party followed the Soviet line. Thus, for example, Lautner and the other government witnesses talked at length about their experiences at party schools both in the United States and, especially, in the Soviet Union. There was a lot of attention given to the activities of Gerhart Eisler, a rather shadowy German Communist, who, it was claimed, had been the Comintern's representative to the American

CP. The government also produced one of the nation's leading Soviet experts, Columbia professor Philip E. Moseley, who testified about the conformity between the party's policies and those of the Soviet Union. Though some of the testimony of the government witnesses is suspect, taken as a whole and with the requisite amount of salt, it is a useful source of information about the party's policymaking and activities.

The Communists presented three witnesses, *Daily Worker* editor John Gates, National Board member Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and historian Herbert Aptheker. They tried to show that the party was a more nuanced and independent organization. They offered ninety-two pieces of evidence, many of them designed to point out discrepancies in the testimony of the government's witnesses. The party's lawyers, Marcantonio and later John Abt and Joseph Forer, also focused on those discrepancies as they cross-examined the informers, questioning them at length about the way in which they were recruited and paid. While not necessarily strengthening the CP's case, these interrogations constitute an unparalleled source of information about the careers of professional witnesses.

The Party Appeals Its Registration Order

The SACB took a year to deliberate, but the 137-page report that it finally issued on April 23, 1953, ordered the CP to register. As expected, the party appealed the order. On December 23, 1954, the U.S. Court of Appeals upheld the SACB—and more importantly the constitutionality of the McCarran Act—by a 2-1 vote. The Supreme Court granted certiorari a few months later and delivered its opinion on April 30, 1956. As they were doing in the many other cases of the time that involved the volatile issue of communism, the Justices sought a procedural rather than a substantive solution. Thus, instead of ruling on the constitutionality of the McCarran Act, the Court remanded the case to the SACB with instructions to review the apparently perjured testimony of three government witnesses. The three witnesses—Crouch, Johnson, and Matusow—had already been revealed as unreliable in other proceedings and Felix Frankfurter, who engineered the Court's near-unanimous decision, was delighted to find a technical way of dealing with the ticklish case. The Court, however, would eventually have to confront the constitutionality of the McCarran Act. David Bazelon, the dissenting judge on the Court of Appeals, foreshadowed the eventual solution in his opinion that the registration provisions conflicted with the Fifth Amendment's prohibition on self-incrimination, but such a ruling was still far in the future. Is

The SACB excised the testimony of the tainted witnesses and, on December 18, 1956, it released a modified report that still required the CP to register. The party appealed again and the case repeated its ascent through the federal judiciary. Once more, technical issues allowed the courts to avoid a substantive ruling. This time it was the precedent created by the Supreme Court's June 1957 decision in the case of *Jencks* v. *United States* that forced the government to let the defense look at FBI records of its dealings with a government witness (the inventive Harvey Matusow). Because the party claimed that its case against the SACB involved similar issues, the Court of Appeals sent the case back to the board, this time with instructions to produce the FBI's records of interviews with Markward and Budenz. Instead, the board reexamined Markward, excised some of Budenz's testimony, and again ordered the party to register. The party appealed again.

It was a bitterly divided Supreme Court that finally ruled on the constitutionality of the McCarran Act on June 5, 1961, and by a 5-4 vote decided to uphold the SACB's registration decree. The SACB case was one of several 1961 decisions in which the Court's majority reverted to its earlier reluctance to confront Congress over the sensitive issue of communism. There had been an enormous outcry against the Court's ruling in Jencks and some of the other decisions of the 1956–1957 term, and the Court, already under attack from the Right for its civil rights decisions, may well have decided to pull in its horns. The SACB decision, which Frankfurter wrote, was a tortured piece of reasoning that deferred to considerations of national security and relied heavily on a literal reading of the McCarran Act. In finding that the registration provisions of the McCarran Act were constitutional, Frankfurter specifically postponed a ruling on any Fifth Amendment issues. Registering the party was registering an organization and until individual members themselves risked self-incrimination, such a decision was, he claimed, "premature at this time."

The decision paved the way for the government to prosecute the party for refusing to register. What had up until then been a hypothetical problem—the danger of self-incrimination on the part of party officials—now became a real one. The party appealed its first criminal conviction. In its 1963 decision, the Court of Appeals upheld that appeal. It would be impossible, so the decision went, for any officer or member of the CP to fulfill his obligations under the McCarran Act without at the same time running the risk of self-incrimination. The government could not compel registration unless it could find somebody in the party

willing to waive his or her privilege and register. The Supreme Court denied certiorari. Nonetheless, the Justice Department brought a new indictment, this time arguing that it could fulfill the Appeals Court's conditions by producing two FBI informers who were willing to register the party. Again the CP appealed its conviction.²³

It is hard to understand why the Justice Department continued to press the case, because the Supreme Court had by then decided that the registration provisions of the McCarran Act violated the Fifth Amendment. The case that prompted this ruling had developed out of the government's attempt to enforce the sections of the McCarran Act that required individual members of a Communist-action organization to register if the organization did not. On May 31, 1962, the Justice Department filed petitions with the SACB seeking to register ten well-known party leaders from New York and California. None of these people—or the thirty-four others whom the attorney general sought to register by 1965—were strangers to governmental harassment. Some were defendants in Smith Act and perjury trials; they had appeared before congressional committees and grand juries; and the foreign born among them had been threatened with deportation.²⁴

All the hearings followed the same pattern: a handful of FBI informers identified the individuals as party members, usually by claiming that they had attended party meetings with them. Because it was necessary to have evidence about activities that took place after 1959 when the SACB issued its final order on the party, the hearings produced a new crop of witnesses. Most of them were rank-and-file party members or low-level cadres who had been spying for the FBI since the late forties. Their testimonies are particularly valuable, offering an unusual glimpse of party life during the period of its decline when, plagued by sectarianism, defections, and an all-too-justifiable concern about FBI infiltration, the party dwindled into a remnant of the once vibrant organization it had been. Because the party's lawyers cross-examined these witnesses at length about their careers as informers, the transcripts of these hearings are also a good source of information about the operations of the FBI.

The SACB, which seemed as oblivious to the demise of the CP as some of the party's literature did, ordered all the individuals to register.²⁵ The two test cases, those of New York and California leaders, William Albertson and Roscoe Proctor, respectively, quickly reached the Supreme Court. Its unanimous decision in 1965 that the individual registration provisions of the McCarran Act were unconstitutional was not unexpected. Throughout the McCarthy period, the Court had always upheld the Fifth Amendment's privilege against self-incrimination. It was, in fact, the only protection that the otherwise cautious majority consistently offered the targets of the anti-Communist crusade and, by the mid-1960s, upholding it yet again was hardly controversial.²⁶

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Once the Court had decided that individual registration was unconstitutional, it was clear that the SACB's attempt to register the party was doomed as well. On March 3, 1967, the Court of Appeals cited the Albertson decision and ruled that the registration provisions of the McCarran Act were unconstitutional because they were "hopelessly at odds with the protections afforded by the Fifth Amendment." This time, the Justice Department gave up and, recognizing that the Supreme Court would not overrule its own unanimous decision, dropped the case. The CP's sixteen-year struggle against the McCarran Act was at an end.²⁷

The Front Groups and the SACB

The organizations that the attorney general attempted to register as Communist-front groups did not, however, fare as well. Their battle with the SACB was ultimately to put most of them out of business. On April 23, 1953, the same day that the SACB ordered the CP to register, the Justice Department submitted petitions seeking the registration of twelve groups as Communist fronts. All of these organizations—the Labor Youth League, International Workers Organization, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, Civil Rights Congress, Jefferson School of Social Science, Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, Council on African Affairs, United May Day Committee, American Slav Congress, and the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy—were close to the CP. Many of their leaders were party members. More importantly, these groups constituted that constellation of organizations whose activities created and sustained the broader movement of which the CP was the organizational center. These were the groups through which the old Left involved itself in the causes of the day and created its distinctive culture.

Each group had its separate mission or appealed to a separate constituency. The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (JAFRC), for example, tried to sustain American support for the anti-Franco cause in Spain. The Civil Rights Congress (CRC), which was formed in 1946 by the merger of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the International Labor Defense, and the National Negro Congress, functioned as the

party's main legal and political defense group. It defended the—primarily red and black—victims of legal injustice, taking on the case of Willie McGhee, a black Mississippian put to death for the attempted rape of a white woman, as well as the cases of some of the main Communist defendants of the period. The American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Bom (ACPFB) helped political radicals fight deportation. The International Workers Order (IWO) was a conglomeration of left-wing ethnic fraternal societies that organized cultural activities and offered low-cost insurance. The Jefferson School was a Marxist adult education center. Together, these groups reflected and promoted the values and culture of the old Left. To destroy them, as the SACB was to do, was to undermine the entire Communist movement.

Most of these groups were already under pressure from other state and federal bodies. Their leaders were among the most fiercely persecuted individuals of the McCarthy era. The executive director and the entire board of the JAFRC went to jail for contempt for refusing to surrender the organization's records to HUAC. Over the next few years, the leaders of the CRC, ACPFB, and National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (NCASF) were also jailed for contempt, usually because they would not turn over lists of members or contributors to the government. In addition, these people were subjected to the standard harassments of the day: subpoenas from HUAC, threats of deportation, and the loss of jobs.²⁸

Besides the leaders, the organizations were also harassed. Most were on the attorney general's list. Some lost their tax exemption and at least one of them was shut down for back taxes. The New York state legislature and attorney general deprived the ACPFB of its status as a charitable organization. The New York state superintendent of insurance dismantled the IWO by taking over and then dissolving its insurance program on the grounds that its Communist ties destroyed its legitimacy as an insurer.²⁹ The organizations struggled as best they could, but the harassment was debilitating, primarily because it affected their ordinary members. In many cases, mere membership in a front group could stigmatize people. They could lose their jobs, especially if they worked for the government or a defense contractor; if they were foreign-born, they risked deportation.³⁰ As a result, most of the non-Communist supporters of these groups began to fade away. The groups—and more importantly, the ideas and causes that they represented—became increasingly marginalized in American society.

The SACB proceedings against these organizations pushed many of them over the edge. At first, they fought back. Just as the CP had done, the groups utilized every delaying tactic and legal technicality available to keep the SACB from registering them. In the case of the Labor Youth League (LYL), the party's unofficial youth organization, there were some forty-seven different motions and orders filed between the time the attorney general petitioned for registration on April 22, 1953, and the time the SACB hearing finally began on November 30, 1953. The LYL even challenged the legality of the attorney general's petition because the organization's copy did not contain the correct signature. Washington attorneys Joseph Forer and David Rein, who represented many of the other front groups, mounted a similarly aggressive campaign against the proceedings. They challenged the impartiality of several board members, claiming, for example, that Watson B. Miller, the former commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), would be unable to deal objectively with the ACPFB because that organization's defense of radicals threatened with deportation brought it into constant conflict with the INS. These and similar challenges bought time, but otherwise had little effect in preventing the SACB proceedings from taking place.

The actual hearings before the SACB were similar to the CP hearings. They too lasted for months. The government presented many of the same witnesses—Budenz, Kornfeder, Lautner, Markward, Matusow, Philbrick—and many of the same documents. There were some new witnesses as well, including one FBI plant who served as secretary of the Los Angeles branch of the ACPFB and stole its files. The transcripts of these hearings are, like those of the CP, an invaluable source of information about the American Left. Though the testimony of many of the witnesses is unreliable at times and skewed to the purposes of the prosecution, much of it offers useful descriptions of each of the organization's activities, as do the SACB's digests of the documents produced in evidence. The materials also give considerable insight into the concerns of SACB staff members. The analysis of the lyrics of an LYL song sheet, for example, notes that the spiritual "Ain't Gonna Study War No More" "needs no adaptation for this purpose of 'peace' propaganda." "33

The McCarran Act specified that the SACB was to consider the extent to which each group was controlled by the CP and the extent to which the organization's activities furthered the Communist cause. Accordingly, the government's case often depended on witnesses who not only identified front-group officials as party members, but also claimed that the party decided what the groups should do. The government's exhibits—pamphlets, leaflets, and clippings from the Daily Worker and other party publications—were used to show that

the positions that the organizations espoused did not deviate from the party line. The outcome of the hearings was never in doubt. Except in those cases in which the organizations folded before the SACB could come to a decision, the board ruled that every group had to register as a Communist front.³⁴

The ruling raises many issues. The government's witnesses and exhibits produced ample evidence that the organizations in question supported the party line, but it is by no means clear that they proved dictation rather than ideological affinity. Certainly, the groups were useful to the CP. In palmier days they attracted recruits to the movement; they also serviced individual party members and contributed to the party's defense. Dayto-day leadership was almost always in the hands of individual party members. To that extent, they were "controlled" by the CP. Yet direct orders from party headquarters were usually unnecessary; the men and women who were active in the front groups saw no conflict between their groups' activities and those of the CP. At the same time, however, it is important to realize that the party was not as monolithic as either its enemies or its leaders presumed. Although the front-group activists were good Communists, their primary loyalty was often to their own organizations. This was certainly the case with many Communist union leaders who defied party orders injurious to their unions. How other front-group leaders might have responded in similar situations is unclear. By the 1950s, unlike the unions, they no longer had a constituency outside party circles. Moreover, evidence from the archives of those few organizations whose records are still extant indicates that there may have been considerable variation in the amount of party control over these groups. The Civil Rights Congress, for example, seems to have been very much under party control; the ACPFB, though largely staffed by party members, was a more independent operation.

In any event, even before the first twelve cases were decided, the government opened new ones. In 1955, the Department of Justice filed petitions against the Washington Pension Union and the California Labor School. In 1956, it sought to register the American Peace Crusade and the Negro Labor Council. The government also filed petitions against the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers and the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America (UE)—the government's first, and only, attempt to enforce the Communist Control Act of 1954 and register labor unions as Communist-infiltrated organizations. There were a few more petitions filed in 1957, but, by then, the drive against the front organizations had run out of steam. Though there were dozens of potential targets, most of them were tiny local groups whose registration would serve little purpose. Moreover, the endless litigation that the SACB proceedings spawned constituted a considerable drain on the Justice Department's resources. Most importantly, the FBI was becoming increasingly concerned about exposing its informants at SACB hearings. These disclosures not only destroyed the informants' cover but also goaded the party into taking greater precautions against future infiltration.³⁵

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At the time, few of the organizations involved viewed the SACB's proceedings from Hoover's perspective as a boon to the party. They were all consumed with the problems of simply staying afloat. Some of the organizations perished before the SACB could hold hearings on them. Because the IWO was about to be dissolved by the New York state insurance commissioner at the time its SACB hearings were scheduled, it did not send anyone to the sessions. Nonetheless, the SACB issued a registration order, but the organization's former officers appealed and the SACB dropped the case. The JAFRC, the Council on African Affairs, the American Slav Congress, and the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy also folded before hearings could be held. From the point of view of the Justice Department, the collapse of these groups before their hearings was the best of all possible outcomes. The organizations' activities had been curtailed without having to commit the resources in money and personnel that months of hearings would have entailed and without having to reveal the identities of undercover agents.³⁶

Though most of the other groups succumbed after their hearings, the SACB's attempt to register the survivors was soon mired in litigation. Every group appealed its registration order. The outcome of their cases, however, depended on that of the CP. In the spring of 1958, the Court of Appeals ordered the attorney general and SACB to suspend proceedings against the front groups until the party's case was settled. That was to take several years and by the time the board again attempted to make the front groups register there were very few left. The surviving organizations—the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and the Washington Pension Union—decided to pool their limited resources and offer a joint defense.³⁷

The American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born became the test case. The SACB had held hearings on the ACPFB in 1955, but, partly because of the delays imposed by the CP's appeal and partly because the American Committee challenged the veracity of so many of the government's witnesses, the

SACB did not order the group to register until June 1960. The board's report not only cited the party affiliations of the ACPFB's leaders, but also focused on the group's defense of Gerhart Eisler as an example of its assistance to the world Communist movement. The ACPFB, of course, appealed. By the time the case was brought before the Supreme Court, in the spring of 1965, it had been ten years since the hearings had taken place. Much of the government's case had rested on testimony about the Communist connections of Abner Green, the ACPFB's executive secretary. Green had died in 1959. Thus, instead of ruling on the admittedly "serious constitutional questions" involved in registering an organization as a Communist front, the Court found the evidence too stale for a decision and sent the case back to the SACB for a new hearing. For a while, it appeared as if the Department of Justice might reopen the case; among the new charges that it was preparing to make against the ACPFB was the organization's opposition to the Vietnam War. But, faced with the probability that the Court would rule against registration on Fifth Amendment grounds as it had just done in the Albertson case, the Justice Department dropped the case. The SACB officially vacated the attorney general's petition on April 6, 1966.³⁹

The SACB and the "Communist-infiltrated" Unions

The drive to register the two left-wing unions, Mine-Mill and UE, as Communist-infiltrated was a similarly lengthy and equally unsuccessful process. Both unions were already heavily beleaguered. Not only were their officers vulnerable to the usual congressional subpoenas and deportation proceedings, but they were also being prosecuted by the government for perjury in connection with their signing of the non-Communist affidavits required by the Taft-Hartley law. It was the Supreme Court's decision in the perjury case of Mine-Mill official Clifford Jencks that had caused so many delays in the SACB proceedings of the late 1950s. In addition, both unions were being red-baited by employers and raided by other unions. One author has listed seven different types of harassment that Mine-Mill faced during the McCarthy years. ⁴⁰ Perhaps the most ironic affliction came from the CP, which in 1955 ordered the UE's leaders to dissolve the union and lead their members back into the mainstream of the labor movement. ⁴¹

The SACB proceedings followed the usual pattern. Mine-Mill hearings took place in 1957, but were interrupted, first, to wait for the outcome of the CP case and, then, to wait for the outcome of a criminal conspiracy case against fourteen of the union's officers. When the registration order finally reached the U.S. Court of Appeals, the judges decided that the evidence was too "stale" and shipped the case back to the SACB for a new hearing in December 1965. As with the ACPFB, the government then decided to drop the case. The UE's case was complicated by the union's split with the party. Nonetheless, hearings began in 1957, but were immediately entangled by demands on the part of several locals to dismiss the proceedings. Before the Supreme Court could rule on the matter, the attorney general decided to dismiss the case. The government did not concede the merits of the UE's position; it dropped the action because several key witnesses had died and it would have had trouble producing the others. **

Even though it was obvious by the mid-1960s that the Justice Department would probably never be able to force any individuals or organizations to register with the SACB, the government did not disband the board. Moribund though it was, the SACB did have its advocates, and, since one of them was the powerful Senate minority leader Everett Dirksen, Congress came to the board's rescue by revising the McCarran Act to accord with the Appeals Court decision of 1967. Instead of registering Communist organizations and their members, the SACB was now to "disclose" them. Because Dirksen justifiably feared that Attorney General Ramsey Clark, who had long opposed the SACB, would not bring any cases before the board, he inserted language into the bill that essentially forced Clark to initiate proceedings. The Justice Department responded by initiating cases against a handful of obscure individuals. "Two years later, President Nixon issued an executive order giving the SACB the task of advising the attorney general about the subversive nature of specific organizations, and the attorney general initiated two more cases—this time against the party's Center for Marxist Education and the Young Workers Liberation League. These were the last attempts to enforce the McCarran Act. In January 1973, just as Watergate was beginning to unravel, Nixon decided to abolish the SACB in order to save money. It had now joined history.

The Impact of the SACB

Even though no Communist organizations or individuals ever registered with the SACB, the McCarran Act of 1950 was a success. As early as 1956, the government claimed that, as a result of the SACB proceedings, the CP had "virtually abandoned the concept of the broad front organization." True, the CP survived; but its influence was destroyed. We can hardly credit the SACB with much responsibility for that outcome. Many

factors, including the other forms of government repression, the revelations of Stalin's crimes, and the party's own internal failings, brought that about. However, as the government well knew, the SACB did make a major contribution to the destruction of the front groups. Faced with the problems of maintaining themselves in a hostile environment, the prospect of fighting a protracted and expensive legal battle against the SACB was more than most of these organizations could handle. Except for the unions, only two of the front groups that were attacked in the 1950s still exist: the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

For the historian, however, SACB records, in particular the transcripts of the party and front-group hearings are invaluable. Using them will make it possible to reconstruct a more rounded picture of the Communist movement, one that pays attention to what was happening in the front groups and on the rank-and-file level. Until recently, historians of the American Left have concentrated on the party's leaders and have not, perhaps because of the paucity of material, looked at the middle-level cadres and activists whose participation in the Communist movement made it the most important force in the American Left in the 1930s and 1940s, e.g., the front groups and Communist-led unions. Because many of them folded and did not preserve their records very well, SACB materials may possibly be the most important source of information about their activities. In addition, the transcripts of the individual cases offer considerable information about rank-and-file activities. It is no exaggeration to state that no other single collecton of documents is as rich a source of information about the entire Communist movement as the SACB records. Perhaps that is the most positive legacy of the McCarran Act.

Though most of the material in the SACB Files will be of value to historians of the Left, they also contain information that historians of the FBI should find of interest. In particular, the transcripts of the cross-examinations of the government's witnesses disclose considerable information about the activities of the FBI's undercover agents, even though these people's testimony should be treated with considerable skepticism. There is not, however, much information about the other elements of the government's campaign against the CP. The filmed records do not include the board's administrative files, which are available in the National Archives, nor do they include the presumably more important records of the FBI and Justice Department. For that kind of material, Freedom of Information Act requests may produce the best results. Fortunately, the information about informers contained in the SACB transcripts may make such a request more productive.

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- 2. Michael H. Hunt, The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914 (New York, 1983), 94.
 - 3. Karl E. Mundt quoted in Cart, The House Committee on Un-American Activities, 226; Ambrose, Nixon, 161.
- 4. Stephen J. Spingarn, memorandum, July 21, 1950, in Stephen J. Springarn Papers, Harry S Truman Library, Independence, Missouri (hereafter HSTL), Box 31, Internal Security File, National Defense ... Vol. I, folder 1 of 2.
 - 5. Tanner and Theoharis, "Legislative Politics and 'McCarthyism'," 182-86.
- 6. Spingarn, memorandum, Sept. 25, 1950, Spingarn Papers, HSTL, Box 32, Internal Security File/ National Defense and Individual Rights, Vol. III (1 of 2); Minority Report, in Senate Report 1358–2, 81st Congress, 2d Session; Harley Kilgore to Pat McCarran, Mar. 6, 1950, Harry S Truman Official File (hereafter HST OF), HSTL, Box 1003, file 482 "Subversive Activities"; Tanner and Theoharis, "Legislative politics and 'McCarthyism'," 180–181, 327–328.
- 7. Spingarn, memorandum, Sept. 20, 1950, Spingarn Papers, HSTL, Box 28, Assistant to the President/ White House Desk Manual, Internal Security; Peyton Ford to Pat McCarran, Jan. 4, 1950, Peyton Ford to John Wood, Mar. 21, 1950, Spingarn Papers, Box 31, Internal Security File, National Defense ... Vol. I, folder 1 of 2; J. Edgar Hoover, quoted in Tom C. Clark to Alexander Wiley, June 16, 1948, Spingarn Papers, Box 31, Internal Security File, National Defense ... Vol. I, folder 1 of 2.
 - 8. Internal Security Act of 1950, 64 Stat. 987 (1950); Communist Control Act of 1954, 68 Stat. 775 (1954).
 - 9. Ibid.
- 10. Donald Dawson to Charles Murphy, Jan. 27, 1951, Charles LaFollette to Truman, Oct. 22, 1951, HST OF, Box 1003, File 2750-D Subversive Activities Control Board.
- 11. Thomas J. Herbert, memorandum, June 10, 1955; John S. Wood, telegram to Dwight D. Eisenhower, July 27, 1955, in Dwight D. Eisenhower Official File (hereafter DDE OF), Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas (hereafter DDEL), Box 233, 50 SACB (2); Harry P. Cain to Sherman Adams, Nov. 14, 1955, DDE OF, Box 223, 50 SACB (2); Cain to Eisenhower, May 7, 1956, DDE OF, Eox 233, 50 SACB (4); Cain to Adams, Aug. 2, 1956, DDE OF, Box 233, 50 (5).
- 12. Frank R. Hunter, Jr. and George Gallagher to Howard C. Wood, March 23, 1951, LaFollette to Richardson, Dec. 11, 1950, Records of the Subversive Activities Control Board, Research Collections in American Radicalism, Mark Naison and Maurice Isserman, eds., (Frederick, Md., 1988) (hereafter SACB Records), Part II, reel 1, frames 282-97.
- 13. J. Howard McGrath report, Jan. 31, 1951, J. Howard McGrath Papers, HSTL, Box 99, Attorney General Records, Correspondence I #2; James P. McGranery, Report, May 29, 1952, in Spingarn Papers, HSTL, Box 28, file Assistant to the President/ White House Desk Manual, Internal Security.
 - 14. Internal Security Act of 1950, 64 Stat. 987.
- 15. Text of Petition, J. Howard McGrath v. Communist Party of the United States, Nov. 22, 1950, SACB Records, Part I, reel 2, frames 431-47; Exhibition Reports, SACB Records, Part I, reel 3, frame 870-reel 4, frame 644.
- 16. Recent scholars of the McCarthy era have dealt only tangentially with the careers of the professional witnesses. The most useful older study is that of Herbert L. Packer, Ex-Communist Witnesses (Stanford, 1962). Now that FBI and SACB materials are available, it is time for a new study of the witnesses.
- 17. Communist Party of the United States v. S.A.C.B., 351 U.S. 115, 156; Felix Frankfurter to "Brethren," April 2, 1956, Felix Frankfurter Papers, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Box 84, file 6.
- 18. CP v. SACB, 223 F. 2d 531 (D.C. Cir. 1954) in Thomas Emerson, David Haber and Norman Dorsen, Political and Civil Rights in the United States (Boston, 1967), I, 161.
 - 19. Jencks v. United States, 353 U.S. 657.

- 20. Modified Order of the Board, Feb. 9, 1959, SACB Records, Part I, reel 5.
- 21. For a discussion of the broader context of the Supreme Court's 1961 decisions, see Robert G. McCloskey, The Modern Supreme Court, (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 221-32.
 - 22. Communist Party of the United States v. S.A.C.B., 367 U.S. 1, 107.
 - 23. Alfred H. Kelly and Winfred A. Harbison, The American Constitution, 5th ed. (New York, 1976), 912-14.
- 24. Of the original ten SACB individual cases, six (William Albertson, Arnold S. Johnson, Betty Gannett [Tormey], Louis Weinstock, Dorothy Healey, and Albert Jason Lima) had been indicted under the Smith Act. Gannett and Weinstock also faced the threat of deportation and Weinstock had been indicted for perjury in conjunction with the Taft-Hartley Act. The most useful single source of information about these cases is David Caute, *The Great Fear* (New York, 1978), passim.
- 25. "Board Report and Order" cases I-45-69 and I-46-69, Robert Archuleta and Wayne Dallas Holley, Nov. 21, 1968, pp. 13-16, SACB Records, Part I, reel 7, frames 967-70.
 - 26. Albertson v. S.A.C.B., 380 U.S. 503.
 - 37. Decision in appendix to Senate Report #513, 90th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 12-23.
- 28. All the main secondary sources on the McCarthy period contain information about the various travails of the front group leaders, as, of course, do all the archival collections. For a full discussion of Rose Chernin's denaturalization case, for example, see Press release, 8/30/56, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born Papers, Labadie Collections, University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor (hereafter ACPFB), Box 14, Area/Ethnic Cal. Los Angeles Correspondence 1956.
- 29. On the tax issue see Minutes, Executive Board, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, Sept. 20, 1946; Commissioner, Internal Revenue Service, to JAFRC, Jan. 22, 1948, both in Charlotte Todes Stern Papers, Tamiment Library, New York University, Box 2; Ann Fagan Ginger and David Christiano, editors, *The Cold War Against Labor* (Berkeley, 1987), 564–66.

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Material about the ACPFB's troubles is in Press release, 3/1/55, ACPFB, Box 14, Legislation, State Legislature, New York.

For the IWO's woes, see Confidential Report, March 16, 1950, in McGrath Papers, Box 99, Attorney General Records, Correspondence, I, No. 2; "Report of the Attorney General to the President and the Congress of the United States with Respect to the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950," Herbert Brownell to the President, June 1, 1954, DDE OF, DDEL, Box 659, 113-E Internal Security, Subversive Activities (2).

- 30. Abner Green to Friend, n.d., ACPFB, Box 1, Administrative, Legal Counsel, 1948-60; J. Howard McGrath to "Jim", July 31, 1950, McGrath Papers, HSTL, Box 99, Attorney General records, Correspondence, I, No. 2.
 - 31. Brownell, "Report," June 1, 1954.
- 32. Joseph Forer and David Rein to Pauline Royce, et al., Jan. 8, 1953, Forer to Abner Green, May 18, 1953, Forer and Rein to JAFRC, et al., Oct. 14, 1953, ACPFB, Box 11, SACB Notebook 1953 (2).
 - 33. Digest of Exhibits, Labor Youth League, SACB Records, Part II, reel 2, frame 434.
- 34. SACB, Report and Order of the Board, William P. Rogers v. American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, June 27, 1960, p. 18, in ACPFB, Box 11, SACB case, General 1956-59.
- 35. Lawrence E. Walsh, Acting Attorney General, to Eisenhower, June 1, 1960, DDE OF, DDEL, Box 662, 133-E-10, Blacklisted Organizations (6).
- 36. Herman Levinson to George Gallagher, April 23, 1956, SACB Records, Part II, reel 1, frames 203-25; unsigned memorandum, Sept. 12, 1957, SACB Records, Part II, reel 1, frames 385-89.
- 37. Marvin (?) to Louise (Pettibone Smith), June 16, 1961, in ACPFB, Box 11, SACB case, General 1956-59; Forer and Rein to Pauline Royce, et al., Jan. 8, 1953, Forer to Abner Green, May 18, 1953, Forer and Rein to JAFRC, ACPFB, NCASF, Oct. 14, 1953, ACPFB, Box 11, SACB Notebook 1953 (2).
 - 38. American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born v. S.A.C.B., 380 U.S. 503-5.
- 39. Annette Provinzano to Lawrence Speiser, Dec. 21, 1965, Forer to Annette Provinzano and Blanch Freedman, April 7, 1966, ACPFB, Box 11, SACB general, 1965-66.
- 40. Ginger and Christiano, eds., *The Cold War Against Labor*, 592-611; Bert Cochran, *Labor and Communism* (Princeton, 1977), 288-96, 331.
 - 41. Ronald Schatz, The Electrical Workers (Urbana, 1983), 230-32.
 - 42. Ginger and Christiano, eds., The Cold War Against Labor, 611-12.
- 43. Lawrence Walsh, Acting Attorney General to DDE, June 1, 1960, DDE OF, DDEL, Box 662, 133-E-10, Blacklisted Organizations (6).

- 44. Author's interview with Ramsey Clark, July 14, 1988; H.R. Report #1038, 90th congress, 1st Session, Dec. 12, 1967.
- 45. Herbert Brownell to the President, Oct. 6, 1956, DDE, Ann Whitman, Administration File, DDEL, Box 8, Brownell, Herbert, Jr., 1955–56 (1).
- 46. There is considerable debate among the historians of American communism about the reasons for the Party's decline. Each of the participants in that debate, though conceding that no one factor was entirely responsible for the CP's fate, nonetheless does tend to emphasize one or another element. See Michal Belknap, Cold War Political Justice (Westport, 1977); Maurice Isserman, If I Had a Hammer (New York, 1987); David Shannon, The Decline of American Communism (New York, 1959); and Joseph Starobin, American Communism in Crisis (Cambridge, 1972).

NOTE ON SOURCES

The material contained in parts I and II of this micropublication has been reproduced from the holdings of the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. Records of the Subversive Activities Control Board are part of Record Group 220, Records of Temporary Committees, Commissions, and Boards.

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SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

University Publications of America (UPA) has divided the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB) papers into two parts. Part 1: Communist Party USA includes documents from the first case before the SACB. The Attorney General of the United States v. The Communist Party USA was the pivotal case for the SACB. The final ruling said that the Communist Party USA (CPUSA) was controlled by the Soviet Union and therefore the party must register as an agent of a foreign country. Because of this ruling, the SACB could force any organization to register if its leaders were members of the CPUSA. When the Party refused to register and went underground, the Department of Justice began to bring cases against individual CPUSA members before the SACB. The cases against individual party members have also been included in Part I.

Part II: Communist-Action and Communist-Front Organizations includes the twenty-six cases brought before the SACB against organizations believed to be controlled by the Communist Party USA.

The editor selected for inclusion into this micropublication those series of documents within the records of the SACB that contain historical information on the CPUSA and the Action and Front Organizations. UPA has microfilmed these files in their entirety. Only duplicate copies of documents have been excluded from this micropublication. Below are the series included in parts I and II with a brief description of their contents.

Office of Reports Analysis and Office of the General Counsel, Digests and Indices

To assist the SACB board members in their decisions on various cases, the Office of Reports Analysis (and later the Office of the General Counsel, Digests and Indices) produced for the Communist Party USA case and for most of the cases against the Action and Front Organizations, digests of witnesses' testimony and exhibits. Because of the massive amount of testimony for these cases, the digests and indices are important access tools. In addition, the digests to exhibits reproduce specific passages cited in the testimony.

Case Indices

The case indices series contains material relative to both parts I and II, but it has been filmed only in Part II, as that is where the preponderance of materials for those cases is found. These indices for the docket register, hearing officer assignments, and biographies of witnesses were compiled for all cases brought before the SACB. Of special interest is the Biography of Witnesses A-Z, which gives both a short biography and a list of SACB cases in which the witnesses testified.

Reports and Orders from the SACB

Each case that was heard before the SACB has a report and order. The report portion gives a history of the organization or individual and its relationship to the Soviet Union or Communist Party USA. The order is the formal notification that the organization or individual is an agent of a foreign power and must register as such with the Department of Justice. For most cases there is a recommended decision, which is a draft copy of the report and order that were circulated to the board members. In addition, for many of those cases that were appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals and returned to the SACB on remand, a modified report and order were issued.

Transcripts of Hearings

The SACB acted as an administrative judge for the cases brought before it by the U.S. Department of Justice. Evidence for these cases was presented through the testimony of witnesses and the submission of exhibits. Transcripts were kept for all the hearings before the SACB.

The series of SACB material not included in this microform publication deal with administrative, organizational, and legal affairs. In addition, the seventy-six archival boxes of the exhibits series that mostly contain issues of Communist periodicals such as *The Daily Worker* were not included.

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KEY TO DOCKET NUMBERS

The following is a listing of organizations and individuals by SACB docket number. The first number is the docket number and the second refers to the year in which the number was assigned. Three-digit docket numbers were assigned to organizations beginning with number 101 and continuing up through 129. Docket numbers for cases brought against individuals are prefixed by an "I" and were assigned numbers 1 through 54. For an alphabetical listing of cases included in the Records of the Subversive Activities Control Board, 1950–1972, Parts I and II, and for the Reel and Frame number locations of those cases on the microfilm, see the Cumulative Respondent Index at the end of this guide.

Organizations

Docket No. 101-51

Rogers v. Communist Party of the United States of America

Docket No. 102-53

Kennedy v. Labor Youth League

Docket No. 103-53

Brownell v. International Workers Order, Inc.

Docket No. 104-53

Brownell v. National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.

Docket No. 105-53

Brownell v. Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee

Docket No. 106-53

Brownell v. Civil Rights Congress

Docket No. 107-53

Kennedy v. Jefferson School of Social Science

Docket No. 108-53

Brownell v. Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade

Docket No. 109-53

Kennedy v. American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

Docket No. 110-53

Brownell v. Council of African Affairs, Inc.

Docket No. 111-53

Brownell v. United May Day Committee

Docket No. 112-53

Brownell v. The American Slav Congress

Docket No. 113-53

Brownell v. Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy

Docket No. 114-55

Kennedy v. Washington Pension Union

Docket No. 115-55

Kennedy v. California Labor School, Inc.

Docket No. 116-56

Kennedy v. International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers

Docket No. 117-56

Kennedy v. American Peace Crusade

Docket No. 118-56

Brownell v. National Negro Labor Council

Docket No. 119-56

Rogers v. United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America

Docket No. 120-57

Rogers v. Colorado Committee to Protect Civil Liberties

Docket No. 121-57

Rogers v. Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights

Docket No. 122-57

Brownell v. Save Our Sons Committee

Docket No. 123-57

Rogers v. California Emergency Defense Committee

Docket No. 124-57

Brownell v. Committee to End Sedition Laws

Docket No. 125-62

International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers v. Kennedy Docket No. 126-63

Kennedy v. Advance and Burning Issues Youth Organizations, Formerly Known

Docket No. 127

Not used by the SACB.

Docket No. 128-71

Mitchell v. Center for Marxist Education, Inc.

Docket No. 129-71

Mitchell v. Young Workers Liberation League

Individuals

Docket No. I-1-62

Kennedy v. Albertson

Docket No. I-2-62

Kennedy v. Friedlander

Docket No. I-3-62

Kennedy v. Johnson

Docket No. I-4-62

Kennedy v. Patterson

Docket No. I-5-62

Kennedy v. Tormey

Docket No. I-6-62

Kennedy v. Weinstock

Docket No. I-7-62

Kennedy v. Healey

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Kennedy v. Lima

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Kennedy v. Proctor

Docket No. I-11-63

Kennedy v. Davis Docket No. I-12-63

Kennedy v. Lightfoot

Docket No. I-13-63

Kennedy v. Hall

Docket No. I-14-63

Kennedy v. Kushner

Docket No. I-15-63

Kennedy v. Meyers

Docket No. I-16-63

Kennedy v. Nabried

Docket No. I-17-63

Kennedy v. Edelman

Docket No. I-18-63

Kennedy v. Potash

Docket No. I-19-63

Kennedy v. Weinstone

Docket No. I-20-63

Kennedy v. Rubin

Docket No. I-21-63

Kennedy v. Stanford

Docket No. I-22-63

Kennedy v. Dobbs

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Kennedy v. Taylor

Docket No. I-24-63

Kennedy v. Gabow

Docket No. I-25-63

Kennedy v. Libson

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Kennedy v. Libson

Docket No. I-27-63

Kennedy v. Tormey

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Katzenbach v. Johnson

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Katzenbach v. Timpson

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Clark v. Archuleta

Docket No. I-46-69

Clark v. Holley

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Mitchell v. Laconich

Docket No. I-48-69

Mitchell v. Beer

Docket No. I-49-69

Mitchell v. Patrick

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Clark v. Boorda

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Mitchell v. Applehans

RECORDS OF THE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD, 1950–1972

Part I: Communist Party USA

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REEL INDEX

The frame numbers on the left hand side of the page indicate where specific file folders or volumes of transcript pages begin. Indented frame numbers show the location and description of documents and testimony found within folders or volumes. The major groups of documents found in the collection are described below.

The Office of Reports Analysis compiled information to show how the testimony of witnesses answered specific charges in the petition for an order requiring the Communist Party USA to register under the provisions of the McCarran Act. Digests by witness report the relevant testimony of each witness as it related to the petition. Two reports were compiled for each witness to indicate direct and subsequent testimony. Reports are numbered one through forty-six, with reports one through forty covering the twenty witnesses for the petitioner (direct examination and cross-examination for each witness), and reports forty-one through forty-six cover the three witnesses for the respondent. The petition as filed by the attorney general is included in the collection as is the amended answer of the Communist Party USA. A guide to the issues in the petition was also prepared. Petitioner's witnesses digests by issue show how the successive points raised in the petition were addressed in reports one through forty. Respondent's witnesses digests by issue similarly duplicate or restate the information presented in reports forty-one through forty-six. Petitioner's and respondent's exhibit reports describe the exhibits, indicate the transcript page numbers, and show the relevant issues addressed by each exhibit.

The work of the Office of Reports Analysis was superceded by the Office of General Counsel, which compiled subsequent digests and indices. *Petitioner's exhibit digests* show the parts of the exhibits offered in evidence, testimony offered with regard to exhibits, brief descriptions of the contents of exhibits, and the admissibility of exhibits and the reasons therefor.

Reports and orders from the SACB include both the recommended decision provided by the member of the board or hearing examiner sitting on the cases as well as the actual reports and orders adopted by the SACB.

The transcripts of hearings is the largest section of the collection, containing the official report of proceedings before the SACB. Each volume of the transcript shows the date, time of day, page numbers included, and the city in which the hearing was held. Indented entries in the user guide list the witnesses or names of individuals offering argument in cases brought before the SACB. Most hearings were held during normal business hours, wherein a.m. refers to the period before the lunch recess and p.m. refers to the following period. On rare occasions hearings were reconvened for evening sessions to accommodate a particular witness. The numbering of transcript pages is, for the most part, sequential. Preliminary hearings and some sessions devoted to arguing points of order are numbered separately. Large gaps in the pagination indicate a resumption of hearings following remand from the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. Transcripts of these appeals, however, are not part of Record Group 220, Records of the SACB.

A key to docket numbers assigned by the SACB may be found at the beginning of this guide. Cumulative indexes to the respondents and witnesses called before the SACB are located at the end of the guide. Law memoranda and case indices prepared by the SACB are included in *Records of the Subversive Activities Control Board*, 1950–1972, Part II: Communist-Action and Communist-Front Organizations, although both the memoranda and the indices relate in part to cases included in Part I.

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REEL INDEX

The frame numbers on the left-hand side of the page indicate where specific file folders or volumes of transcript pages begin. Indented frame numbers show the location and description of documents and testimony found within folders or volumes. The major groups of documents found in the collection are described below.

The Office of General Counsel compiled law memoranda. Law Memoranda consist of documents produced or used by SACB staff and board members to establish policy and keep abreast of the legal issues. Memoranda discuss issues ranging from salaries of board members to the impact on SACB procedures of the Jencks v. U.S. decision. Also included are articles from legal journals, decisions from the United States court system, and abstracts of congressional mandates. A topical index to the individual documents included may be found in the beginning of Folder 1 within each volume.

Another duty of the Office of General Counsel was the compilation of digests and indices for large or complicated cases. The massive Communist Party USA proceeding, docket 101-53 found in University Publications of America's microfilm edition of Records of the Subversive Activities Control Board, 1950–1972, Part I: Communist Party USA, received the greatest level of analysis. Cases included in Part II that also merited attention were: Labor Youth League; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.; Civil Rights Congress; Jefferson School of Social Sciences; International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers (respondent); California Emergency Defense Committee; International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers (petitioner); and Advance and Burning Issues Youth Organizations. Each of these cases received somewhat different treatment by the office, but the general thrust in each was the identification of witnesses and exhibits in relation to the allegations presented in the petitions of the attorney general for orders requiring the respondents to register under the provisions of the McCarran Act.

Case indices include docket registers for docket numbers 101-51 to 119-56. These registers identify the hearing officers and counsel of the parties and provide a resume of the progress of the cases. Hearing officer assignments provide alphabetical listings of officers, showing the cases with which they were involved. The alphabetical index of cases lists vital facts and relevant dates from the development of cases up through hearings, appeals, and outcomes of actions. This particular index, however, includes only those cases filed up through 1964 and consequently does not include docket numbers 128-71; 129-71; I-38-65; I-39-65; I-40-65; I-41-65; I-42-65; I-43-65; I-44-65; I-45-69; I-46-69; I-47-69; I-48-69; I-50-69; I-51-69; I-52-69; I-53-69; and I-54-69. Biographies of witnesses, also covering only those cases up through 1964, show the case(s) and transcript pages in which the testimony of each witness may be found, as well as biographical information and a summation of the testimony.

Reports and orders from the SACB include both the recommended decision provided by the member of the board or hearing examiner sitting on the cases as well as the actual reports and orders adopted by the SACB. Cases for which reports and orders from the SACB were not issued or were dismissed on appeal are docket numbers 103-53; 105-53; 110-53; 118-56; 122-57; 124-57; 128-71; and 129-71.

The transcripts of hearings is the largest section of the collection, containing the official reports of proceedings before the SACB. Each volume of transcripts shows the date, time of day, page numbers included, and the city in which the hearing was held. Indented entries in the user guide list witnesses or individuals offering argument in cases brought before the SACB. Most hearings were held during normal business hours, wherein a.m. refers to the period before the lunch recess and p.m. refers to the following period. On rare occasions hearings were reconvened for evening sessions to accommodate a particular witness. The numbering of transcript pages is, for the most part, sequential, across volumes. Preliminary hearings and some sessions devoted to arguing points of order are numbered separately. Large gaps in the pagination indicate a resumption of hearings following remand from the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. Transcripts of these appeals, however, are not part of Record Group 220, Records of the SACB. Docket number 122-57 is the only case for which there is no transcript, as the petition was dismissed on motion of the attorney general and no hearing was held on the matter. Transcripts of certain other cases are very brief as they were dismissed following preliminary hearings.

A key to docket numbers assigned by the SACB may be found at the beginning of this guide. Cumulative indexes to the respondents and witnesses called before the SACB are located at the end of the guide.

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| 0853 | January 5, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 837-988. Washington, D.C. 158pp. | | | |
| | 0859 Jacqueline Wilson [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 33pp. | | | |
| | 0892 Jacqueline Wilson [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 91pp. | | | |
| | 0983 Dennis L. James [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 27pp. | | | |

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| 0152 | January 7, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1136-1238. Washington, D.C. 107pp. | |
| | 0159 Maurice Fischer [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 22pp. | |
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| | 0241 Maurice Fischer [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 5pp. | |
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| 0259 | January 11, 1954, a.m. Pages 1239–1267. Washington, D.C. 33pp. | |
| | 0264 Matthew Cvetic [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 26pp. | |
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| | 0298 Carl W. Schramm [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 10pp. | |
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| 0414 | January 13, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1385–1514. Washington, D.C. 134pp. | |
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| 0548 | January 14, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1515–1626. Washington, D.C. 117pp. | Γ. |
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| (| 0161 ` | April 7, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 4095-4252. New York, New York. 163pp. |
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| | 0178 Frank Straus Meyer [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 140pp. | |
| 0318 | January 6, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1254–1370. Washington, D.C. 121pp. | |
| | 0323 Frank Straus Meyer [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 10pp. | |
| | 0333 Frank Straus Meyer [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 97pp. | |
| | 0430 Frank Straus Meyer [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 4pp. | |
| | O434 Frank Straus Meyer [Witness for the Petitioner, Recross-examination]. 3pp. | |
| 0439 | January 7, 1954, a.m. Pages 1371–1423. Washington, D.C. 56pp. | |
| | 0443 Mary Stalcup Markward [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 20pp. | |
| | 0463 Mary Stalcup Markward [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 29pp. | |
| | 0492 Mary Stalcup Markward [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. | |
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| 0495 | January 12, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1424-1542. Washington, D.C. 121pp. |
| | 0499 Ralph Clayton Clontz, Jr. [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. |
| 0616 | January 13, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1543-1656. Washington, D.C. 115pp. |
| | 0621 Ralph Clayton Clontz, Jr. [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 79pp. |
| | 0700 Ralph Clayton Clontz, Jr. [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 31pp. |
| 0731 | January 14, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1657-1768. Washington, D.C. 116pp. |
| | [Nonsequential page numbers in the original; no material is omitted.] |
| | 0736 Ralph Clayton Clontz, Jr. [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 30pp. |
| | 0766 Ralph Clayton Clontz, Jr. [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 9pp. |
| | 0775 Ralph Clayton Clontz, Jr. [Witness for the Petitioner, Recross-examination]. |
| | 4pp. |
| | 0786 Dewey Clyde Price [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 61pp. |
| 0847 | January 15, 1954, a.m. Pages 1770-1819. Washington, D.C. 53pp. |
| | 0851 Dewey Clyde Price [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 28pp. |
| | 0879 Dewey Clyde Price [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 1p. |
| | 0880 Dewey Clyde Price [Witness for the Petitioner, Recross-examination]. 1p. |
| 0900 | Febuary 16, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1820-1903. Washington, D.C. 87pp. |
| | 0904 Hearing on Evidentiary and Procedural Matters. 83pp. |

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| | Docket No. | 107-53 Jefferson School of Social Science cont. |
|---|------------|---|
| | 0001 | April 13, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1904-2024. New York, New York. 124pp. |
| | | 0007 Howard Selsam [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 118pp. |
| | 0125 | April 14, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2025-2140. New York, New York. 119pp. |
| | | 0129 Howard Selsam [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 115pp. |
| | 0244 | April 15, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2141–2262. New York, New York. 126pp. |
| | • | 0249 Howard Selsam [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 121pp. |
| | 0370 | April 20, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2263–2408. New York, New York. 149pp. |
| | | 0373 Howard Selsam [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 146pp. |
| | 0519 | April 21, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2409-2552. New York, New York. 148pp. |
| | | 0523 Howard Selsam [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 46pp. |
| | | 0569 Howard Selsam [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 98pp. |
| | 0667 | April 22, 1954, a.m. Pages 2553–2634. New York, New York. 85pp. |
| | | O671 Howard Selsam [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 81pp. |
| | 0752 | May 13, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2635–2760. New York, New York. 130pp. |
| • | | 0757 Howard Selsam [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 125pp. |
| | 0882 | May 14, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2761–2893. New York, New York. 134pp. |
| | | 0885 Howard Selsam [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 131pp. |

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| Docket No. 107-53 Jefferson School of Social Science cont. | | | |
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| 0001 | May 15, 19 | 954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2894–2978. New York, New York. 88pp. | |
| | 0005 | Howard Selsam [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 56pp. | |
| | 0061 | Howard Selsam [Witness for the Respondent, Redirect Examination]. 10pp. | |
| | 0071 | Howard Selsam [Witness for the Respondent, Recross-examination]. 18pp. | |

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| 0089 | May 18, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2979–3153. New York, New York. 178pp. O094 Robert S. Cohen [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 81pp. O175 Robert S. Cohen [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 58pp. O236 William E.[B.] Du Bois [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 10pp. O246 William E.[B.] Du Bois [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 21pp. |
| 0267 | May 19, 1954, a.m. Pages 3154–3186. New York, New York. 37pp. 0272 Broadus Mitchell [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 23pp. 0295 Broadus Mitchell [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 5pp. |
| 0304 | June 15, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 3187-3322. Washington, D.C. 139pp. 0312 Herbert Romerstein [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 62pp. 0374 Herbert Romerstein [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 61pp. 0435 Herbert Romerstein [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 8pp. |
| 0443 | June 25, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 3323-3432. Washington, D.C. 112pp. O447 Adrian B. Fink, Jr. [Oral Argument for the Petitioner]. 51pp. O498 Howard Selsam [Oral Argument for the Respondent]. 14pp. O512 Harry Sacher [Oral Argument for the Respondent]. 33pp. O545 Adrian B. Fink, Jr. [Oral Argument for the Petitioner]. 10pp. |
| 0555 | April 15, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 3433-3525. Washington, D.C. 96pp. O559 Howard Selsam [Oral Argument for the Respondent]. 19pp. O578 Doxey A. Wilkerson [Oral Argument for the Respondent]. 17pp. O595 Harry Sacher [Oral Argument for the Respondent]. 31pp. O626 Benjamin C. Flannagan IV [Oral Argument for the Petitioner]. 15pp. O641 Harry Sacher [Oral Argument for the Respondent]. 10pp. |
| 0651 | January 25, 1962, a.m. Pages 4266–4280. Washington, D.C. 19pp. 0656 Hearing on Procedural Matters. 14pp. |
| 0670 | February 19, 1962, a.m. Pages 4281–4307. New York, New York. 30pp. 0681 Harry Sacher [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 7pp. 0688 Harry Sacher [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 10pp. |
| 0700 | February 26, 1962, a.m. and p.m. Pages 4308—4416. New York, New York. 113pp. 0705 Harry Sacher [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 6pp. 0712 Doxey A. Wilkerson [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 18pp. 0730 Herbert Aptheker [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 73pp. |
| 0813 | May 10, 1962, a.m. and p.m. Pages 4417–4511. New York, New York. 98pp. 0819 Henry L. Klein [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 3pp. 0822 Sidney Finkelstein [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 5pp. 0827 A. Jack Gossett [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 5pp. 0832 Charles Markowitz [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 3pp. 0835 A. Jack Gossett [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 1p. 0836 A. Jack Gossett [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 1p. 0837 Bernard Ades [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 13pp. 0850 Bernard Ades [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 6pp. 0856 Bernard Ades [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 2pp. 0860 Harry Sacher [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 7pp. 0861 Herbert Romerstein [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 12pp. 0870 Herbert Aptheker [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 12pp. 0881 Herbert Aptheker [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 11pp. 0895 Herbert Aptheker [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 5pp. |
| 0911 | May 11, 1962, a.m. Pages 4512-4555. New York, New York. 47pp. 0915 Harry Sacher [Oral Argument for the Respondent]. 29pp. 0944 Benjamin F. Pollack [Oral Argument for the Petitioner]. 14pp. |

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Transcripts of Hearings cont.

| Docket No | o. 108-53 Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade | |
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| 0001 | May 13, 1953, p.m. Pages 1-10. Washington, D.C. 13pp. | |
| | 0005 Hearing on Motion for Extension of Time. 9pp. | |
| 0014 | May 3, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 11-120. Washington, D.C. 113pp. | |
| | 0018 Hearing on Procedural Matters. 33pp. | |
| | O051 John Lautner [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 76pp. | |
| 0127 | May 4, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 121-220. Washington, D.C. 105pp. | |
| | 0134 John Lautner [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 98pp. | |
| 0232 | May 5, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 221-287. Washington, D.C. 69pp. | |
| | 0237 John Lautner [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 59pp. | |
| 0301 | May 6, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 288-398. Washington, D.C. 115pp. | |
| | 0305 John Lautner [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 5pp. | |
| | 0310 John Lautner [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 102pp. | |
| | 0412 John Lautner [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 4pp. | |
| 0416 | May 10, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 399-469. Washington, D.C. 74pp. | |
| | 0423 James Wood Henderson [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 9pp. | |
| | O432 James Wood Henderson [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 4pp. | |
| * | 0436 James Wood Henderson [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 2p | p. |
| | 0439 Sara T. Malloy [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 9pp. | |
| | 0451 Louis Silverstein [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 35pp. | |
| | 0486 Louis Silverstein [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 4pp. | |
| 0490 | May 11, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 470-595. Washington, D.C. 128pp. | ţ. |
| | - 0494 William Herrick [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 90pp. | ÷ |
| | 0584 William Herrick [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 34pp. | |
| 0618 | May 12, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 596-700. Washington, D.C. 107pp. | • |
| | 0629 William Herrick [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 77pp. | |
| | 0706 William Herrick [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 12pp. | |
| | 0718 William Herrick [Witness for the Petitioner, Recross-examination]. 6pp. | ٠-, |
| 0725 | May 13, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 701–801. Washington, D.C. 105pp. | 7 |
| | 0729 Morris Maken [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 101pp. | e 2 |
| 0830 | May 17, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 802-902. Washington, D.C. 105pp. | <u>*</u> |
| | 0835 Morris Maken [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 100pp. | w. |
| 0935 | May 18, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 903-1001. Washington, D.C. 101pp. | |
| | 0938 Morris Maken [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 43pp. | |
| | 0981 Morris Maken [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 55pp. | |

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| Docket No. 108-53 Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade cont. | | |
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| 0001 | May 19, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1002-1111. Washington, D.C. 113pp. | |
| | 0005 Morris Maken [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 109pp. | |
| 0114 | May 20, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1112-1229. Washington, D.C. 120pp. | |
| | 0118 Morris Maken [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 24pp. | |
| | 0142 Morris Maken [Witness for the Petitioner, Recross-examination]. 15pp. | |
| | 0157 Morris Maken [Witness for the Petitioner, Further Redirect Examination]. 1p. | |
| | 0158 Edward M. Horan [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 76pp. | |
| 0234 | May 21, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1230-1339. Washington, D.C. 114pp. | |
| | 0239 Edward M. Horan [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 109pp. | |

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| 0348 | May 24, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1340–1429. Washington, D.C. 93pp. 0352 Edward M. Horan [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 65pp. 0417 Edward M. Horan [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 24pp. |
| 0441 | May 25, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1430–1535. Washington, D.C. 110pp. 0445 Edward M. Horan [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 33pp. 0480 Robert Gladnick [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 71pp. |
| 0551 | May 26, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1536–1650. Washington, D.C. 118pp. 0555 Robert Gladnick [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 61pp. 0616 Robert Gladnick [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 53pp. |
| 0669 | May 27, 1954, a.m. Pages 1651–1689. Washington, D.C. 43pp. 0674 Robert Gladnick [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 19pp. 0693 Robert Gladnick [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 13pp. |
| 0712 | June 7, 1954, p.m. Pages 1690-1744. Washington, D.C. 58pp. 0716 Harvey Marshall Matusow [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 54pp. |
| 0770 | June 8, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1745–1878. Washington, D.C. 137pp. 0774 Harvey Marshall Matusow [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 1p. 0775 Harvey Marshall Matusow [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 102pp. 0877 Harvey Marshall Matusow [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 3pp. 0880 Mildred Blauvelt [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 27pp. |
| 0907 | June 9, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1879–2000. Washington, D.C. 125pp. 0911 Mildred Blauvelt [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 21pp. 0932 Mildred Blauvelt [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 34pp. 0967 John Huber [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 47pp. 1014 John Huber [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 18pp. |

| Docket No. | . 108-53 Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade cont. |
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| 0001 | June 10, 1954, a.m. Pages 2001–2032. Washington, D.C. 36pp. |
| | 0006 John Huber [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 24pp. |
| | 0030 John Huber [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 6pp. |
| 0037 | June 15, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2033-2163. Washington, D.C. 133pp. |
| | 0041 William Henry Harris [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 112pp. |
| | 0153 William Henry Harris [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 17pp. |
| 0170 | June 16, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2164–2261. Washington, D.C. 101pp. |
| | 0175 William Henry Harris [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 56pp. |
| | 0231 William Henry Harris [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 7pp. |
| | 0238 William Henry Harris [Witness for the Petitioner, Recross-examination]. 1p. |
| | 0239 Hearing on Evidentiary Matters. 32pp. |
| 0271 | June 21, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2262–2376. Washington, D.C. 118pp. |
| | 0276 Stephanie Horvath [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 68pp. |
| | 0344 Stephanie Horvath [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 42pp. |
| | 0386 Stephanie Horvath [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 1p. |
| | 0386 Stephanie Horvath [Witness for the Petitioner, Recross-examination]. 1p. |
| 0389 | June 22, 1954, a.m. Pages 2377–2426. Washington, D.C. 54pp. |
| | 0394 Herbert Romerstein [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 33pp. |
| | 0427 Herbert Romerstein [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 14pp. |
| | 0441 Herbert Romerstein [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 2pp. |

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| 0443 | June 28, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2427–2546. Washington, D.C. 123pp. 0447 Leo Hecht [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 94pp. 0541 Leo Hecht [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 25pp. | |
| 0566 | June 29, 1954, a.m. Pages 2547–2589. Washington, D.C. 46pp. 0570 Leo Hecht [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 38pp. 0608 Leo Hecht [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 2pp. | |
| 0612 | July 19, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2590–2698. Washington, D.C. 112pp. 0629 Louis Francis Budenz [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 95pp. | |
| 0724 | July 20, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2699–2818. Washington, D.C. 124pp. 0729 Louis Francis Budenz [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 5pp. 0734 Louis Francis Budenz [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 100pp. 0834 Hearing on Evidentiary and Procedural Matters. 14pp. | |
| 0848 | July 21, 1954, a.m. Pages 2819–2845. Washington, D.C. 29pp. 0851 Hearing on Evidentiary and Procedural Matters. 26pp. | |
| 0877 | July 29, 1954, a.m. Pages 2846–2921. Washington, D.C. 79pp. 0881 Hearing on Motion to Dismiss. 75pp. | |

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| Docket No. | 108-53 Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade cont. |
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| 0001 | September 13, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2922-3070. New York, New York. 162pp. |
| | 0010 Milton Wolff [Opening Statement for the Respondent]. 42pp. |
| | 0052 Jose Asensio [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 24pp. |
| | 0076 Jose Asensio [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 15pp. |
| | 0091 Evan Biddle Shipman [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 47pp. |
| | 0138 Evan Biddle Shipman [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 14pp. |
| 0153 | September 14, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 3071-3194. New York, New York. 127pp. |
| | 0158 Jose Asensio [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 32pp. |
| | 0190 Jose Asensio [Witness for the Respondent, Redirect Examination]. 16pp. |
| | 0206 Jose Asensio [Witness for the Respondent, Recross-examination]. 9pp. |
| | 0215 Evan Biddle Shipman [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 57pp: |
| | 0272 Evan Biddle Shipman [Witness for the Respondent, Redirect Examination]. 6pp. |
| | 0278 Evan Biddle Shipman [Witness for the Respondent, Recross-examination]. 2pp. |
| 0280 | September 15, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 3195-3346. New York, New York. 154pp. |
| | 0284 Crawford Morgan [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 63pp. |
| | 0347 Crawford Morgan [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 87pp. |
| 0434 | September 16, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 3347–3416. New York, New York, 73pp. |
| | 0438 Crawford Morgan [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 58pp. |
| | 0496 Crawford Morgan [Witness for the Respondent, Redirect Examination]. 5pp. |
| | 0501 Crawford Morgan [Witness for the Respondent, Recross-examination]. 4pp. |
| 0507 | September 20, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 3417-3543. New York, New York. 129pp. |
| | 0514 Milton Wolff [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 122pp. |
| 0636 | September 21, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 3544–3662. New York, New York. 123pp. |
| | 0641 Milton Wolff [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 117pp. |
| 0759 | September 22, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 3663-3768. New York, New York. 109pp. |
| | 0763 Milton Wolff [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 105pp. |
| 0868 | September 23, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 3769-3861. New York, New York. 96pp. |
| | 0872 Milton Wolff [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 92pp. |

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| Docket No. | . 108-53 Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade cont. |
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| 0001 | September 24, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 3862-3933. New York, New York. 75pp. |
| | 0005 Milton Wolff [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 68pp. |
| 0076 | September 27, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 3934-4065. New York, New York. 146pp. |
| | 0081 Milton Wolff [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 141pp. |
| 0212 | September 30, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 4066-4166. New York, New York. 104pp. |
| | 0216 Milton Wolff [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 98pp. |
| 0316 | October 4, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 4167-4263. Washington, D.C. 100pp. |
| | 0320 Milton Wolff [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 96pp. |
| 0416 | October 5, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 4264-4358. Washington, D.C. 99pp. |
| | 0420 Milton Wolff [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 70pp. |
| | 0490 Milton Wolff [Witness for the Respondent, Redirect Examination]. 24pp. |
| 0515 | October 6, 1954, a.m. Pages 4359-4411. Washington, D.C. 56pp. |
| | 0519 Milton Wolff [Witness for the Respondent, Redirect Examination]. 23pp. |
| | 0542 Milton Wolff [Witness for the Respondent, Recross-examination]. 28pp. |
| 0571 | October 12, 1954, a.m. Pages 4412-4421. New York, New York. 13pp. |
| | 0575 Hearing on Evidentiary and Procedural Matters. 9pp. |
| 0584 | October 18, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 4422-4522. New York, New York. 104pp. |
| | 0588 G. Bromley Oxnam [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 26pp. |
| | O614 G. Bromley Oxnam [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 55pp. |
| | 0669 G. Bromley Oxnam [Witness for the Respondent, Redirect Examination]. 4pp. |
| | 0673 G. Bromley Oxnam [Witness for the Respondent, Recross-examination]. 4pp. |
| | 0677 Hearing on Evidentiary and Procedural Matters. 11pp. |
| 0688 | November 2, 1954, a.m. and p.m. Pages 4523–4556. Washington, D.C. 37pp. |
| | 0692 Hearing on Evidentiary and Procedural Matters. 33pp. |
| 0725 | November 8, 1954, a.m. Pages 4557–4564. Washington, D.C. 10pp. |
| | 0728 Hearing on Evidentiary and Procedural Matters. 7pp. |
| 0735 | November 9, 1954, a.m. Pages 4565–4580. Washington, D.C. 19pp. |
| 0554 | 0739 Hearing on Evidentiary and Procedural Matters. 15pp. |
| 0754 | November 16, 1954, a.m. Pages 4581–4584. Washington, D.C. 6pp. |
| 0.00 | 0757 Hearing on Evidentiary and Procedural Matters. 3pp. |
| 0760 | December 20, 1954, p.m. Pages 4585–4663. Washington, D.C. 82pp. |
| | 0765 Thomas A. Daly [Oral Argument for the Petitioner]. 20pp. |
| | 0785 Homer C. Clay [Oral Argument for the Respondent]. 37pp. |
| 00.40 | 0822 Robert H. Purl [Oral Argument for the Petitioner]. 20pp. |
| 0842 | September 9, 1955, a.m. Pages 4664–4724. Washington, D.C. 64pp. |
| | 0846 Homer C. Clay [Oral Argument for the Respondent]. 38pp. |
| _ | 0884 Troy B. Conner, Jr. [Oral Argument for the Petitioner]. 12pp. |
| • | 0896 Homer C. Clay [Oral Argument for the Respondent]. 2pp. |
| 0006 | 0898 Troy B. Conner, Jr. [Oral Argument for the Petitioner]. 1p. |
| 0906 | July 13, 1965, a.m. Pages 5558–5617. Washington, D.C. 64pp. |
| | 0912 Hearing on Remand from U.S. Supreme Court. 59pp. |

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| Docket No. | 109-53 American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born |
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| 0001 | May 14, 1953, a.m. Pages 1-17. Washington, D.C. 16pp. |
| | 0005 Hearing on Motion for Extension of Time. 12pp. |
| 0017 | June 30, 1953, a.m. and p.m. Pages 18-175. Washington, D.C. 161pp. |
| | 0021 Hearing on Evidentiary and Procedural Matters. 158pp. |
| 0178 | June 21, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 176-318. Washington, D.C. 146pp. |
| | 0184 Malcolm F. Knight [Opening Statement for the Petitioner]. 6pp. |
| | 0194 Abner Green [Opening Statement for the Respondent]. 27pp. |
| | O222 Carl Hacker [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 68pp. |
| | 0290 Carl Hacker [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 28pp. |
| | 0318 Carl Hacker [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 3pp. |
| 0324 | June 22, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 319-446. Washington, D.C. 130pp. |
| | 0328 Reuben Jesse Hardin [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 48pp. |
| | 0378 Reuben Jesse Hardin [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 76pp. |
| 0454 | June 23, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 447-608. Washington, D.C. 165pp. |
| | 0459 Reuben Jesse Hardin [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 160pp. |
| 0619 | June 24, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 609-754. Washington, D.C. 148pp. |
| | 0623 Reuben Jesse Hardin [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 80pp. |
| | 0703 Reuben Jesse Hardin [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 10pp. |
| | 0713 Reuben Jesse Hardin [Witness for the Petitioner, Recross-examination]. 15pp. |
| | 0728 Reuben Jesse Hardin [Witness for the Petitioner, Further Redirect Examination]. |
| | 5pp. |
| | 0733 James W. Glatis [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 34pp. |
| 0767 | June 28, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 755-903. Washington, D.C. 151pp. |
| | 0772 James W. Glatis [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 26pp. |
| | 0798 James W. Glatis [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 120pp. |
| 0918 | June 29, 1955, a.m. Pages 904–975. Washington, D.C. 75pp. |
| | 0923 James W. Glatis [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 65pp. |
| | 0988 James W. Glatis [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 4pp. |

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| 0001 | June 29, 1955, p.m. Pages 976-1029. Washington, D.C. [Transcript cont.] 54pp. |
| | OOO1 John Lautner [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 46pp. |
| 0055 | June 30, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1030–1167. Washington, D.C. 139pp. |
| | O059 John Lautner [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 44pp. |
| | 0103 John Lautner [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 91pp. |
| 0194 | July 1, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1168-1312. Washington, D.C. 148pp. |
| | 0199 John Lautner [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 143pp. |
| 0342 | July 6, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1313-1431. Washington, D.C. 123pp. |
| | 0349 Bereniece Baldwin [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 60pp. |
| | 0409 Bereniece Baldwin [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 56pp. |

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| 0465 | July 7, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1432-1571. Washington, D.C. 143pp. |
| | 0469 Bereniece Baldwin [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 116pp. |
| | 0585 Bereniece Baldwin [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. Spp. |
| | 0590 Bereniece Baldwin [Witness for the Petitioner, Recross-examination]. 7pp. |
| | 0597 Barbara Hartle [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 11pp. |
| 0608 | July 8, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1572-1706. Washington, D.C. 137pp. |
| | 0612 Barbara Hartle [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 27pp. |
| | 0639 Barbara Hartle [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 106pp. |
| 0745 | September 8, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1707-1838. Washington, D.C. 135pp. |
| | 0750 Barbara Hartle [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 74pp. |
| | 0824 Barbara Hartle [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 9pp. |
| | 0833 John Lautner [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 47pp. |
| 0880 | September 9, 1955, a.m. Pages 1839-1846. Washington, D.C. 10pp. |
| | 0883 Hearing on Procedural Matters. 7pp. |
| 0890 | September 28, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1847-1969. Washington, D.C. 135pp. |
| | 0894 Anzelm A. Czarnowski [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 131pp. |

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| 0001 | September 29, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1970-2089. Washington, D.C. 122pp. |
| | O005 Anzelm A. Czarnowski [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 66pp. |
| | O071 Anzelm A. Czamowski [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 52pp. |
| 0123 | September 30, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2090–2236. Washington, D.C. 149pp. |
| | O128 Anzelm A. Czarnowski [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 144pp. |
| 0272 | October 4, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2237–2344. Washington, D.C. 109pp. |
| | 0278 Anzelm A. Czarnowski [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 86pp. |
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| | 0374 Marian Miller [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 7pp. |
| 0381 | October 5, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2345–2477. Washington, D.C. 138pp. |
| | 0385 Marian Miller [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 131pp. |
| 0519 | October 6, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2478-2610. Washington, D.C. 129pp. |
| | 0525 Marian Miller [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 77pp. |
| | 0602 Marian Miller [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 45pp. |
| 0648 | October 7, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2611–2760. Washington, D.C. 151pp. |
| | 0652 Marian Miller [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 147pp. |
| 0799 | October 11, 1955, p.m. Pages 2761–2829. Washington, D.C. 71pp. |
| | 0803 Marian Miller [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 67pp. |
| 0870 | October 12, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2830–2945. Washington, D.C. 117pp. |
| | 0874 Marian Miller [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 108pp. |
| | 0982 Marian Miller [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 4pp. |
| | 0986 Marian Miller [Witness for the Petitioner, Recross-examination]. 1p. |

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| 0001 | October 13, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2946–3087. Washington, D.C. 145pp. |
| | 0013 Clark McLinder Harper [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 40pp. |
| | 0053 Clark McLinder Harper [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 93pp. |

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| 0146 | October 14, 1955, a.m. Pages 3088-3135. Washington, D.C. 51pp. |
| | 0150 Clark McLinder Harper [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 47pp. |
| 0197 | October 18, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 3136–3265. Washington, D.C. 133pp. |
| | 0201 Mary Stalcup Markward [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 33pp. |
| | Mary Stalcup Markward [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 82pp. |
| | 0316 Mary Stalcup Markward [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 10pp. |
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| 0330 | October 19, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 3266-3393. Washington, D.C. 133pp. |
| | 0334 Herman E. Thomas [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 35pp. |
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| 0463 | October 20, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 3394-3509. Washington, D.C. 120pp. |
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| 0583 | November 21, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 3510–3646. Washington, D.C. 142pp. |
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| 0725 | November 22, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 3647–3775. Washington, D.C. 132pp. |
| | 0729 Alfro Lawson [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 26pp. |
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| 0857 | 0813 Max Weinnman [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 44pp. November 23, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 3776–3855. Washington, D.C. 82pp. |
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| | 0987 Hearing on Motions to Strike Testimony, 58pp. |

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| 0001 | December 20, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 3957-4081. New York, New York. 128pp. |
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| 0129 | December 21, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 4082-4226. New York, New York. 147pp. |
| | O133 Louise Pettibone Smith [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 93pp. |
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| 0276 | December 22, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 4227–4386A. New York, New York. 165pp. |
| | O281 Louise Pettibone Smith [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 147pp. |
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| 0441 | January 4, 1956, a.m. and p.m. Pages 4387–4524. Washington, D.C. 141pp. O445 Anton Julius Carlson [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 55pp. O500 Anton Julius Carlson [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 76pp. O576 Anton Julius Carlson [Witness for the Respondent, Redirect Examination]. 3pp. O579 Anton Julius Carlson [Witness for the Respondent, Recross-examination]. 3pp. |
| 0582 | January 5, 1956, a.m. and p.m. Pages 4525–4662. Washington, D.C. 140pp. 0605 Sadie Saltzman [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 69pp. 0674 Sadie Saltzman [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 44pp. 0718 Sadie Saltzman [Witness for the Respondent, Redirect Examination]. 4pp. |
| 0722 | January 6, 1956, a.m. and p.m. Pages 4663-4793. Washington, D.C. 135pp. 0727 Horace Spencer Meldahl [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 72pp. 0799 Horace Spencer Meldahl [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 54pp. 0853 Horace Spencer Meldahl [Witness for the Respondent, Redirect Examination]. 4pp. |
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| 0140 | anuary 12, 1956, a.m. and p.m. Pages 5057-5165. Washington, D.C. 111pp. |
| | O147 Abner Green [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 103pp. |
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| 0624 | anuary 24, 1956, a.m. and p.m. Pages 5528–5655. Washington, D.C. 132pp. |
| | 0629 Harvey K. McArthur [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 23pp. |
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| 0756 | anuary 25, 1956, a.m. and p.m. Pages 5656-5781. Washington, D.C. 130pp. |
| | 0760 Abner Green [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 126pp. |
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| | 0890 Charles A. Hill [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 24pp. |
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| | 0967 Charles A. Hill [Witness for the Respondent, Recross-examination]. 3pp. |
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| 0001 | January 27, 1956, a.m. and p.m. Pages 5919-6032. Washington, D.C. 117pp. |
| | 0005 Abner Green [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 113pp. |
| 0118 | January 31, 1956, a.m. and p.m. Pages 6033-6163. Washington, D.C. 133pp. |
| | 0123 Abner Green [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 128pp. |
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| | O255 Abner Green [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 115pp. |
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| 0537 | February 8, 1956, a.m. and p.m. Pages 6446-6600. Washington, D.C. 158pp. |
| | O542 Abner Green [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 153pp. |
| 0695 | February 10, 1956, a.m. and p.m. Pages 6601-6742. Washington, D.C. 145pp. |
| | O699 Abner Green [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 141pp. |
| 0840 | February 15, 1956, a.m. and p.m. Pages 6743-6878. Washington, D.C. 139pp. |
| | O846 Abner Green [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 133pp. |

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| 0001 | February 16, 1956, a.m. and p.m. Pages 6879-6982. Washington, D.C. 107pp. |
| | O007 Abner Green [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 99pp. |
| 0108 | February 20, 1956, p.m. Pages 6983-6998. Washington, D.C. 17pp. |
| | 0111 Hearing on Motion to Take Depositions. 15pp. |
| 0126 | March 13, 1956, p.m. Pages 6999-7069. Salt Lake City, Utah. 74pp. |
| | O131 Arthur W. Moulton [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 33pp. |
| | O164 Arthur W. Moulton [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 36pp. |
| 0200 | March 29, 1956, p.m. Pages 7070-7095. Washington, D.C. 29pp. |
| | 0204 Roy M. Cohen [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 6pp. |
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| 0229 | December 9, 1957, a.m. and p.m. Pages 7096–7189. Washington, D.C. 97pp. |
| | 0234 Joseph Forer [Oral Argument for the Respondent]. 57pp. |
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| | 0314 Joseph Forer [Oral Argument for the Respondent]. 12pp. |
| 0326 | March 13, 1959, a.m. Pages 7190-7248. Washington, D.C. 62pp. |
| | 0330 Joseph Forer [Oral Argument for the Respondent]. 15pp. |
| | 0345 James Lee Weldon, Jr. [Oral Argument for the Petitioner]. 20pp. |
| | 0365 Joseph Forer [Oral Argument for the Respondent]. 13pp. |
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| 0388 | September 21, 1959, a.m. and p.m. Pages 7249-7295. Washington, D.C. 50pp. |
| | 0392 Hearing on Evidentiary and Procedural Matters. 46pp. |

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| 0438 | November 12, 1959, a.m. and p.m. Pages 7296–7446. Washington, D.C. 156pp. O444 Clark McLinder Harper [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 53pp. Clark McLinder Harper [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 10pp. |
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| | 0522 Reuben Jesse Hardin [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 58pp. |
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| 0594 | February 11, 1960, a.m. Pages 7447-7509. Washington, D.C. 65pp. |
| | 0597 James Lee Weldon, Jr. [Oral Argument for the Petitioner]. 36pp. |
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| 0659 | January 12, 1962, a.m. Pages 8206–8243. Washington, D.C. 41pp. |
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| 0700 | January 23, 1962, p.m. Pages 8244–8295. Washington, D.C. 55pp. |
| | 0707 Steve S. Carter [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 25pp. |
| | 0732 Steve S. Carter [Witness for the Petitioner, Further Direct Examination]. 10pp. |
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| 0755 | January 24, 1962, a.m. and p.m. Pages 8296–8387. Washington, D.C. 86pp. |
| 0733 | 0759 Robert E. Mason [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 31pp. |
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| 0841 | January 25, 1962, a.m. Pages 8388-8390. Washington, D.C. 5pp. |
| | 0844 Hearing on Evidentiary and Procedural Matters. 2pp. |
| 0846 | February 1, 1962, a.m. Pages 8391-8447. Washington, D.C. 60pp. |
| | 0850 L.E. Broome [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 13pp. |
| | 0863 Joseph Forer [Oral Argument for the Respondent]. 23pp. |
| | 0886 George B. Searls [Oral Argument for the Petitioner]. 15pp. |
| | 0901 Joseph Forer [Oral Argument for the Respondent]. 4pp. |
| 0906 | July 13, 1965, a.m. Pages 8480-8539. Washington, D.C. 64pp. |
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| 0001 | May 14, 19 | 953, a.m. Pages 1–11. Washington, D.C. 14pp. |
| | 0005 | Hearing on Motion for Extension of Time. 10pp. |
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| 0015 | July 16, 19 | 53, p.m. Pages 1-79. Washington, D.C. 83pp. |
| | 0020 | John J. Abt [Oral Argument for the Respondent]. 35pp. |
| | 0055 | Thomas A. Daly [Oral Argument for the Petitioner]. 22pp. |
| | 0077 | John J. Abt [Oral Argument for the Respondent]. 15pp. |
| | 0092 | Thomas A. Daly [Oral Argument for the Petitioner]. 6pp. |
| 0098 | July 12, 19 | 55, a.m. and p.m. Pages 80-179. Washington, D.C. 104pp. |
| | 0118 | John J. Herrick [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 7pp. |
| | 0125 | Boris Cohen [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 71pp. |
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| 0202 | July 13, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 180–266. Washington, D.C. 91pp. O207 Sarah T. Malloy [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 9pp. O216 Sarah T. Malloy [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 1p. O217 Frank Sorace [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 3pp. O256 Frank Sorace [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 2pp. O258 Frank Sorace [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 3pp. O261 Joseph C. Schiotis [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 10pp. O271 Joseph C. Schiotis [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 2pp. O273 Watkin T. Parry [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 12pp. O285 Watkin T. Parry [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 8pp. | |
| 0293 | July 14, 1955, a.m. Pages 267–342. Washington, D.C. 79pp. O298 Ralph Dworkin [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 49pp. O347 Ralph Dworkin [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 1p. O348 Arthur James Taylor [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 24pp |) . |
| 0372 | July 20, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 343-515. Washington, D.C. 176pp. O379 Anthony T. Ulasewicz [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 15p O394 Anthony T. Ulasewicz [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 2pp O396 Anthony T. Ulasewicz [Witness for the Petitioner, Recross-examination]. 1 O397 Anthony T. Ulasewicz [Witness for the Petitioner, Recross-examination]. 7p O404 Anthony T. Ulasewicz [Witness for the Petitioner, Further Redirect Examination]. 3pp. O407 Anthony T. Ulasewicz [Witness for the Petitioner, Further Recross-examination]. 1p. O408 Edward William Cardiff [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 4pp. O412 Byron Brown Ralston [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 1p. O423 Byron Brown Ralston [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 1p. O424 Mildred Blauvelt [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 82pp. O506 Mildred Blauvelt [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 9pp. O515 Herbert Romerstein [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 32pp. | pp. |
| 0548 | July 21, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 516–604. Washington, D.C. 89pp. O553 Daniel Byrne [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 6pp. O559 Herbert Romerstein [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 12pp. O571 Herbert Romerstein [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 1p. O572 John C. Tyrell [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 44pp. O616 Joseph M. Busch [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 3pp. O619 Michael J. Dudonis [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 6pp. O625 Clarence Summerhill [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 11pp. | |
| 0637 | July 22, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 605-698. Washington, D.C. 96pp. 0641 John C. Tyrell [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 2pp. 0643 Seth M. Milliken [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 10pp. 0653 Seth M. Milliken [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 5pp. 0658 Irving Sillins [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 10pp. 0668 Harold F. Doherty [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 65pp. | |
| 0733 | August 3, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 699–828. Washington, D.C. 135pp. 0738 George A. Dean [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 17pp. 0755 George A. Dean [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 5pp. 0760 Eugene H. Becker [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 8pp. 0768 Stephanie Horvath [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 72pp. 0840 Stephanie Horvath [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 6pp. 0846 Joseph Zack Kornfeder [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 15 0861 Joseph Zack Kornfeder [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 7pp | |
| 0868 | August 4, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 829–904. Washington, D.C. 80pp. 0873 Anthony R. Villano [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 72pp. | |

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| 0948 | August 11, 1955, a.m. and p.m. Pages 905-1054. Washington, D.C. 153pp. |
| | 0954 Mary Stalcup Markward [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 8pp. |
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| | 0967 Mary Stalcup Markward [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 1p. |
| | 0968 George Nasdahl [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 4pp. |
| | 0972 Benjamin Cooper [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 3pp. |
| | 0975 Benjamin Cooper [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 4pp. |
| | 0979 Benjamin Cooper [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 1p. |
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| | 0842 | Bessie Honig [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 1p. | |
| | 0843 | Bessie Honig [Witness for the Petitioner, Recross-examination]. 2pp. | |
| | 0845 | Sylvia Gillespie Hill [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 45pp. | |
| | 0890 | Sylvia Gillespie Hill [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 47pp. | |
| 0937 | | , 1956, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1792–1879. San Francisco, California. 92pp. | |
| | 0941 | Sylvia Gillespie Hill [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 1p. | |
| | 0941 | Sylvia Gillespie Hill [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 1p. | |
| | 0942 | Dickson P. Hill [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 23pp. | |
| | 0965 | Dickson P. Hill [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 14pp. | |
| | 0979 | Hearing on Evidentiary and Procedural Matters. 50pp. | |

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| Docket No. 115-55 California Labor School, Inc. cont. | | | |
| 0001 | January 27, 1956, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1880–2032. San Francisco, California. 156pp. | | |
| | 0005 Dorothy M. Jeffers [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 42pp. | | |
| | 0047 Dorothy M. Jeffers [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 103pp. | | |
| 0157 | January 30, 1956, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2033–2170. San Francisco, California. 141pp. | | |
| | 0166 Timothy Evans, Jr. [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 46pp. | | |
| | 0212 Timothy Evans, Jr. [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 51pp. | | |
| | 0263 Timothy Evans, Jr. [Witness for the Petitioner, Redirect Examination]. 5pp. | | |
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| 0298 | January 31, 1956, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2171–2360. San Francisco, California. 194pp. | | |
| | O302 George William Smith [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 37pp. | | |
| | 0339 George William Smith [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 66pp. | | |
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| | O415 Adele Kronick Silva [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 31pp. | | |
| | 0446 Adele Kronick Silva [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 46pp. | | |
| 0492 | February 1, 1956, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2361–2511. San Francisco, California. 154pp. | | |
| | 0497 Adele Kronick Silva [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 53pp. | | |
| | 0550 Bessie Honig [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 45pp. | | |
| 0646 | 0595 Hearing on Evidentiary and Procedural Matters. 51pp. | | |
| 0646 | February 2, 1956, a.m. Pages 2512–2551. San Francisco, California. 42pp. | | |
| 0600 | 0651 Hearing on Evidentiary and Procedural Matters. 37pp. | | |
| 0688 | February 20, 1956, a.m. Pages 2552–2570. San Francisco, California. 21pp. | | |
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| 0775 | February 23, 1956, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2634–2726. San Francisco, California. 95pp. | | |
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| 0870 | April 16, 1962, a.m. Pages 3048–3085. San Francisco, California. 41pp. | | |
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| | 0136 Ralph H. Rasmussen [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 62pp. |
| 0208 | February 26, 1957, a.m. and p.m. Pages 202-285. Washington, D.C. 87pp. |
| | 0214 Ralph H. Rasmussen [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 81pp. |
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| 0227 | April 2, 1957, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1252-1370. Washington, D.C. 123pp. |
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| | 0482 Rowena R. Paumi [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 29pp. |
| | O511 Carmen Phyllis Wilson [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 2pp. |
| | O513 Rowena R. Paumi [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 74pp. |
| 0592 | April 9, 1957, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1607-1722. Washington, D.C. 120pp. |
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| | 0620 Rowena R. Paumi [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 71pp. |
| | O691 Harold A. Kent [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 19pp. |
| 0712 | April 10, 1957, a.m. and p.m. Pages 1723-1836. Washington, D.C. 117pp. |
| | 0716 Harold A. Kent [Witness for the Petitioner, Direct Examination]. 1p. |
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| 0334 | April 30, 1957, a.m. Pages 2258-2325. Washington, D.C. 73pp. | | |
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| 0543 | May 2, 1957, a.m. Pages 2459–2507. Washington, D.C. 52pp. | | |
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| 0595 | May 3, 1957, a.m. Pages 2508–2543. Washington, D.C. 39pp. | | |
| | 0599 Ralph W. Locke, Jr. [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 26pp. | | |
| | 0625 Ralph W. Locke, Jr. [Witness for the Respondent, Direct Examination]. 4pp. | | |
| | 0629 Ralph W. Locke, Jr. [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 2pp. | | |
| 0.604 | 0631 Ralph W. Locke, Jr. [Witness for the Respondent, Redirect Examination]. 2pp. | | |
| 0634 | May 7, 1957, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2544–2620. Washington, D.C. 80pp. | | |
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| 0714 | May 8, 1957, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2621–2726. Washington, D.C. 109pp. | | |
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| 0823 | flay 9, 1957, a.m. and p.m. Pages 2727–2842. Washington, D.C. 119pp. 0828 Ernest Richard Everingham [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination] 42pp. | . |
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| 0116 | May 15, 1957, a.m. and p.m. Pages 3055-3145. Washington, D.C. 95pp. | |
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| | 0343 Bellarmino J. Duran [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 98pp. | |
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| | 0195 Arthur Moralez [Witness for the Petitioner, Cross-examination]. 91pp. |
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| | 0038 | Arthur W. Stuart [Witness for the Respondent, Cross-examination]. 6pp. |
| 0044 | October 17 | 7, 1960, a.m. Pages 5889-5934. Washington, D.C. 50pp. |
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