



**INVESTIGATION OF
COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES
IN THE COLUMBUS, OHIO, AREA
AND THE PHILADELPHIA AREA**



**TESTIMONY OF
DR. BELLA DODD
TO HUAC, JUNE 1953**

Testimony of Bella Dodd to HUAC in June in Columbus¹ and November in Philadelphia² 1953

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE COLUMBUS, OHIO, AREA

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

JUNE 17 AND 18, 1953

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¹ Bella Dodd Testimony to HUAC, **Columbus, Ohio** June 17 & 18, 1953 (1741 - 1777):

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² Bella Dodd Testimony to HUAC, **Philadelphia PA**, November 16, 1953 (2886 - 2910):

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * **

PART 2-- RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWEES AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83d CONGRESS

HOUSE RESOLUTION 5, JANUARY 3, 1953

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, following standing committees:

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE
COLUMBUS, OHIO, AREA

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1953

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Columbus, Ohio.

PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:15 a. m., in hearing room 2, State Office Building, Columbus, Ohio; Hon. Gordon H. Scherer (acting chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Gordon H. Scherer, Kit Clardy, and Francis E. Walter.

Staff members present: Robert L. Kunzig, counsel; Donald T. Appell, investigator; and Thomas W. Beale, Sr., chief clerk.

Sergeant at arms: Claude Woodward.

Present as invited guest-observers: Hon. Samuel Devine, member of the Ohio Legislature and chairman of the Ohio Commission on Un-American Activities; and Sidney Isaacs, counsel for the Ohio Commission on Un-American Activities.

MR. SCHERER. The committee will be in session.

Let the record show that the Honorable Harold H. Velde, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States Congress has appointed the Honorable Kit Clardy of Michigan, the Honorable Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, and Gordon Scherer of Ohio as a subcommittee to conduct these hearings in Columbus, Ohio, on June 17, 1953.

Let the record show that all members of that subcommittee are present.

In the future when the word "committee" is used, it shall refer to this subcommittee as far as the record is concerned.

Also present are Mr. Robert L. Kunzig, counsel for the committee, Mr. Donald T. Appell, investigator, and Mr. Thomas W. Beale, Sr., the chief clerk of the committee.

At this time, the chairman appoints Mr. Claude Woodward as sergeant at arms for these hearings and the sergeant at arms shall have the right to appoint such assistant sergeants at arms as he may deem necessary.

The record will also show that the committee has invited as guest-observer at this hearing, the Honorable Samuel Devine, member of the Ohio Legislature and chairman of the Ohio Commission on Un-American Activities, and the counsel of that committee and director of that committee, Mr. Sidney Isaacs. [1739 -

1740]

At the opening of these hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities of the Congress of the United States, it seems proper and it might be helpful if the purpose and activity of the committee is restated.

The committee is charged by law with investigating the extent, character and object of un-American activities in the United States.

It is charged with investigating the diffusion in the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or is of a domestic origin, and attacks the principle and form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution.

The reason such duties are placed upon the committee is to aid the Congress in determining whether or not remedial legislation is necessary with respect to these activities and to help enlighten the American people with reference thereto.

Since our country is presently engaged in both a hot and cold war with Communist dominated countries, this committee of the 83rd Congress is primarily devoting its attention and work to investigating and revealing the Communist conspiracy in this country. It has been fully established in testimony before congressional committees and before the highest courts of our land that the Communist Party of the United States is part of national conspiracy which is being used as a tool or weapon by a foreign power to promote its own foreign policy and which has for its object the overthrow of the governments of all non-Communist countries, resorting to the use of force and violence if necessary.

The program for world domination has been clearly set forth by the leaders of the Kremlin conspiracy. All who read may know the means and methods by which this objective of world domination is contemplated to be brought about.

The official publications of the Communist conspiracy tell in minute detail of a new method of conquest, a new method of warfare, never attempted by those men or nations that sought world domination.

The Communist conspiracy provides for the infiltration of every phase and field of American life. Communist objectives are to create strife between labor and management and within the labor group itself, to cause people to be suspicious and distrustful of the Government and the law enforcement agencies thereof, to make them dissatisfied with the American way of life, particularly its economic system, to create doubts concerning their religious teachings, to set class against class, minorities against majorities, and even minorities against minorities when it suits their purpose.

It is a process of attempting to soften and weaken the American people and its institutions so that when the time comes to move in, the task will be so much easier to accomplish. This is not theory. The Soviet Union has brought behind the Iron Curtain 600 million people since 1933 by the use of these methods. Of course, such a conspiracy can act only through individuals. These individuals must promote the Communist program in the various American institutions with which they are identified since they cannot act in a vacuum. We find them active in the labor movement, in industry, in Government, in our educational institutions, in the entertainment field, and I am sorry to say, in some instances in the field of religion.

The committee is not investigating these institutions. As an example, this committee as such has no interest in the labor movement [1740 - 1741] or in labor's problems with management, or in labor's own inner conflicts. It has no interest as such in the personnel that teach in our schools or colleges, nor in the curriculum or type of textbooks used therein. These are matters that lie solely within the province of the administrators of our educational institutions.

We are engaged, however, in throwing light upon the nefarious and subtle activities of those individuals who are promoting the Communist conspiracy so that the average American may know them and recognize the activities and propaganda of a foreign power when he comes in contact with it, either in the shop, in school, in church, or in any other phase of everyday life.

Now, some persons say that the Communist menace is being exaggerated. However, within the last 60 days, J. Edgar Hoover, head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, testified under oath before the Appropriations Committee of the Congress. He said the Communists today are infiltrating every field of American activity, namely, civil rights, youth and veterans' groups, press, radio, television, motion picture, political organizations, schools, and colleges.

He further testified that espionage rings are working more intensely than ever before in the history of the United States. Remember this is the testimony of Mr. Hoover within the last 60 days.

There are those who argue that communism is only a political belief or a philosophy. It certainly is not a political party as we know political parties in this country. That is a misnomer.

It is a conspiracy dominated by a foreign power. True it is that the philosophy of communism appears to be an attractive philosophy. Christianity teaches the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. Communism purports to teach the brotherhood of man without God. However, the ideological phase of communism is used only to ensnare the masses. Behind it lies the age-old lust for power and domination by evil men.

Mr. Counsel, is your first witness ready?

Mr. KUNZIG. The first witness is **Dr. Bella Dodd**. Please step forward. Dr. Dodd. **[This link to Wiki on Bella Dodd]**

Mr. SCHERER. Will you raise your right hand Doctor?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give to this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. DODD. I do.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, are you accompanied by an attorney?

TESTIMONY OF BELLA V. DODD

Dr. DODD. I am not.

Mr. KUNZIG. You understand, of course, your rights to have an attorney here? The committee encourages anyone to have an attorney with them if they so wish. I take it that you

Dr. DODD. My attorney was unable to be here today and I decided to come alone.

Mr. KUNZIG. You are perfectly willing to testify without an attorney?

Dr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you give your full name please, for the record?

Dr. DODD. [Bella V. Dodd. \[1741 - 1742\] \[Bella Dodd link to Dodd's YouTube - "Bella Dodd Explains Communist Ducks" and, for more extensive YouTube, this\]](#)

Mr. KUNZIG. What is your present address?

Dr. DODD. 100 West 42d Street, New York City.

Mr. KUNZIG. Your profession?

Dr. DODD. Attorney

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you give the committee a resume of your educational background Dr. Dodd?

Dr. DODD. I went to the public schools. I went to public elementary and high schools and attended Hunter College, one of the public colleges in New York, from which I received my bachelor of arts degree. I did my master's work and worked toward the doctorate in political science at Columbia from which I received a master of arts degree.

Mr. KUNZIG. In what year did you receive that degree?

Dr. DODD. In 1927. I received doctor of jurisprudence degree from New York University and was admitted to the New York bar in 1931.

Mr. KUNZIG. And that ends your formal education in schools?

Dr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. I know you have had a lot more since then.

Dr. DODD, would you give the committee, for the record, a resume of your employment background, your occupation?

Dr. DODD. Well, I taught in the New York public schools and high schools for several months after graduating from college. I graduated from college in 1925, and in 1926 I was called back to Hunter College to teach in their political science and economics department, and I taught there from 1926 to 1938.

In 1938, I resigned from my job as instructor at Hunter College, and decided to go into the labor movement. I became an organizer and legislative representative of the New York Teacher's Union. It was a local union of the American Federation of Teachers.

Thereafter I organized the New York Federation of Teachers and became its organizer and continued with the teachers' movement until 1943 at which time I joined the Communist Party as an official member with a card.

At that time, I became a legislative representative of the Communist Party of the New York district. I resigned from my position as legislative representative of the Communist Party in 1946 and went back into the practice of law. I have been practicing law since then.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you tell the committee, please, what offices in the Communist Party you held, if any?

Dr. DODD. Well, I worked with the Communist Party from 1932 to 1943 in various capacities, but not known as a Communist. I did not carry a card. As a matter of fact, the Communist Party made it very emphatic that professional people engaged in public service who had public jobs were not to be exposed and were not to be card-carrying members. I was not even a part of a cell, but I worked with them in the trade-union movement since my union was an A. F. of L. union at the time. I served as part of the fraction in that union for the purpose of moving it in the direction of the Communist Party.

After the Teheran Conference and Yalta Conference, we were told the United States and the Soviet Union were going forward to a hundred years of peace.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you continue?

Dr. DODD. We were discussing my party activities.

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes. [1742 - 1743]

Dr. DODD. In 1943, when the theory of the party was that we were going into a period of mutual coexistence between the capitalist world and Communist world, we were told there would be peace for a hundred years to come between the two worlds, and each would learn from the other. At that time, I was approached by Gil Green, State chairman of the Communist Party.

Mr. CLARDY. In what State?

Dr. DODD. New York State. He approached me at a State hearing on the budget where I was representing my union at the budgetary hearings. He asked whether I would join the party and become its legislative representative. Simon Gerson, their representative at that time, was going into the Army. I said I would.

I became the legislative representative in 1944 and continued until 1946. I became a member of the State committee of the Communist Party. I became a member of the State secretariat consisting of three people, which met day by day to decide what was to be done. I became a member of the national committee of the Communist Party from 1944 to 1948. I remained a member of the State Communist Party of New York, 1944-48. I was expelled from the Communist Party publicly after much harassment in 1949; June 19, 1949.

Mr. SCHERER. I am going to have to interrupt.

It is, of course, very important that the press hear every word. They continue to indicate to me that they can't hear in the place they are seated. We will have to remedy that condition.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, I have a suggestion. Let's move them in front and perhaps they can hear.

We will take time out for that.

Mr. SCHERER. We will take a short recess.

(Short recess.)

Mr. SCHERER. The committee will be in session.

You may proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, due to the difficulties of acoustics, we have been requested, if you wouldn't mind, if you would kindly answer the last question again and give in detail your party offices and your position in the party through the years.

Mr. WALTER. Before doing that, Mr. Counsel, Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question of Dr. Dodd.

You have testified that you were instructed, as were other members of the professional group, not to carry your Communist Party card. Was that a uniform rule in existence throughout the United States or only in New York?

Dr. DODD. It was a uniform rule throughout the United States that professional people were to be protected. In many cases, they did not receive cards. If they were in very high and important positions, such as Government positions or civil service, no cards were issued. Cards were held by the secretaries, various membership secretaries, and they were held under a first name or a pseudonym. A card might be held under the name of Whitey, or Blackey, or Red, or Mary, or Jane, or Nancy.

Mr. WALTER. Then there is no significance to the fact that some people regarding whom we have evidence of being card-carrying Communists didn't actually have cards issued?

Dr. DODD. There was no significance whatever when it came to people important in the civil service or the professions. [1743 - 1744]

Mr. CLARDY. Carrying a card wasn't an essential part of the business of being a Communist?

Dr. DODD. It was not.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, would you go again, please, through the party offices you held?

Dr. DODD. I became associated with the Communist Party in 1932, when I first began to cooperate with the party. By 1936, I was not only cooperating with the party, but I was under discipline. By that, I mean I attended various fraction meetings of the various organizations to which I belonged. For instance, I was a delegate to the Central Trades and Labor Council for the American Federation of Labor in New York. I was a delegate to the State Federation of Labor conventions practically all of those years, and I attended the Communist fraction meetings for the American Federation of Labor.

I was a member of the Teachers' Union and leader of the Teachers' Union, and attended its fraction meetings of the executive board and various parts of the Teachers' Union.

By 1943, I was still a representative of my union. At that time, the party asked whether I wouldn't come forward publicly and become a member of the Communist Party, and an officer of the Communist Party.

Many of their men were going into the world war, and Si Gerson, whose place I took as legislative representative, was going into the Army. At that time, I was sold the idea that there would be mutual coexistence between the Communists and the western world. There would be a period of a hundred years of peace between the two different ideologies, and what was needed in this country was an antidote to Red baiting. Since I believed the Communists at that time were going ahead with improving the conditions of the world, I said I would do it.

Mr. CLARDY. You mean that was the party line at that time?

Dr. DODD. That is correct. That was the party line, and became the party line of many of the liberals of this country and much of the Government of this country. We received that kind of information from the party and also from Washington.

In 1943, since I believed the things which they said they stood for, I said I would be willing to serve as legislative representative. I be-came the legislative representative. I became a member of the State committee, and I was appointed as a member of the secretariat of the New York State party. There were three members of the secretariat. That was the group that met every day to decide what should be done by the State party. The secretariat served between meetings of the State board and the State board served between meetings of the State committee.

In 1944, I became a member of the national committee of the Communist Party. I attended the national convention of 1944, and be- came a member of the national committee.

In the spring of 1945, when the tremendous change in the party line took place because of the **Duclos** letter sent from France to the United States which said we American Communists had better stop playing the democracy game, stop working so closely with the liberals and democrats and get back to the job of preparing for revolution, at that time, I was a delegate to the convention in 1945. I was elected again to the national committee, and remained on the national com- [1744 - 1745] -mittee until 1948, when the new convention, of course, failed to elect me, because I had gotten into difficulties with the party in the interim.

Mr. CLARDY. Dr. Dodd, I would like to take up one little point that you mentioned in the middle of your last answer. You talked about fraction meetings within the A. F. of L. In order to correct any misapprehensions, you are not trying to say, of course, that the A. F. of L. was a Communist group; would you correct that further?

Dr. DODD. By no means. None of the big organizations in which they function may be Communist. For instance, within the A. F. of L. the few Communists who were in there were strongly organized, and this is the secret of the Communist movement: Centralization and organization.

You might have five delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention who were Communists, but they met in advance, decided what they were going to do in advance, discussed among themselves what they could accomplish at that convention, and they, at least, would be armed and would get something out of that convention when the others might not know what they were driving at.

Of course, they would always set the objectives as limited objectives.

For instance, they would ask that some resolution on war or peace be passed, depending on what the Soviet policy was.

Take, for instance, the women's club. I was a member of the women's committee and the committee on education and youth and labor. It was our function to get into all the women's organizations we possibly could. I don't say many of the women's clubs are Communist, of course they are not, but the Communists within those women's organizations function as a centralized unit, prepared in advance, coached in advance by the party leaders as to what their objectives, what their aims were, and what they could get out of these organizations.

That is the secret of their success, the fact that they are prepared in advance, have been coached in advance.

Mr. WALTER. Doctor, before you go further, can you give us the names of the New York State secretariat of the Communist Party?

Dr. DODD. At the time I functioned, Gil Green, who is now no longer in the United States, Israel Amter, and myself.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, I think the committee would be most interested in hearing how you became a Communist; the events and the things that happened in your life that led to your becoming an active Communist.

Dr. DODD. Well, I daresay that many of the people going through the same experiences that I went through might not have become Communists; many did not. Whatever weaknesses there were within me that made me a Communist, as I look back, these are the things which conditioned me.

My people were immigrants in this country. I was the youngest in a family of 10. The struggle for a living was a hard struggle. Our family lost touch with the culture of Europe and didn't become absorbed into the culture of the United States. We lived in a great, big city, where it was a question of dog eat dog, and the devil take the hindmost. Our family stopped going to church and having any connection with the church, which is an important part of its cultural background. [1745 - 1746]

We children, of course, went to the public school. I happened to be a bright child. I was encouraged to develop my mind to a great extent, and we had a great deal of pride in the fact that we could solve all the problems by the use of our minds. We tended to forget the whole question of the spiritual side based on the accumulated wisdom of western civilization.

In our public schools, by and large, they do not have, or did not have at that time, any real central ideal on which they were based, or central philosophy on which they were based. It was a question of acquiring facts and skills. You acquired a lot of information, but you had no standard by which to judge these facts.

I was a warm-hearted kind of person; my heart, like many Americans, went out to the underdog. In the early 1930's, the family had grown up, and I had the opportunity to go to Europe. I visited Italy and Germany. I was appalled by the growth of fascism in Italy and more distressed over what was happening in Germany. On the campus in Germany, I saw young men fighting with fists, guns, rocks, and so forth and so on.

I came back to the United States a firm and confirmed anti-Fascist. I was determined that that thing would not touch my country, the people I knew. When I got back, we were deep in the depression. Immediately after I got back, the banks closed. I stood on 42d Street and watched the Bowery Savings Bank close and watched the line of people scared stiff as to what was going to happen to them.

I was an easy person to approach. Nobody else approached me at that time, but the Communists were on my doorstep with the question, "We hear you are an anti-Fascist. Will you join the committee?"

I was the kind of person who felt if you believed in something strongly, you had to act. I was an anti-Fascist. They asked me to join a committee. I did. I did not know how they were functioning. The committee I joined was the Anti-Fascist Literature Committee. My job was to write leaflets against fascism, make speeches against fascism, and raise money for the underground movement.

I was approached by a woman named Harriett Silverman -- dead now; may her soul rest in peace -- she was an international operative for the Soviet Union. I didn't know that until after she died.

I was taken to Earl Browder in 1932 in order to check the fact that the money was being raised by a legitimate organization. Mr. Browder didn't do anything, shook hands and said, "I am glad you are going to fight against fascism." That is all.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know at that time who Mr. Browder was?

Dr. DODD. Yes, I knew he was chairman of the Communist Party. At that time, I didn't care about labels. I used to say, "If these people are against fascism, I am with them," just as, thereafter, I was, for instance, brought into a campaign to introduce legislation on social security, back in 1932, 1933, the fact that they were Communists didn't bother me. I felt that these things were right, and I would join them, and I think that is the way millions of Americans are sucked into supporting Communist projects because the thing which is shown to them is that which seems to be good, or

Mr. KUNZIG. Even those people who are not Communists, but who are sucked into and actually support what the Communists are after?

Dr. DODD. Yes; the Communist support seems to be large because people are sucked into things which seem to be good in themselves. [1746 - 1747]

They don't recognize that the Communist Party uses these slogans, these generalizations, in order to break down their resistance, and ultimately they are tied in with the Communist movement.

Some were against discrimination. We are against repression, against war, against fascism, and the Communist Party takes our best instincts and uses them against us by twisting us into a program which they want us to follow.

Take, for instance, the whole question of antifascism. The Communist Party in this country set itself up as the one organization that was fighting fascism. Very few other organizations gave them a battle for that, and so the Americans got to feeling, "These are the anti-Fascists."

We only learn now, after reading the documents captured by the American soldiers in Germany, that throughout the time the Communists were calling themselves "anti-Fascists," they were working with the German high brass while Hitler was in power. They were meeting to decide on the division of Europe. When Molotov said the Soviet-Nazi pact was written in blood, he didn't mean the blood of the Soviet Union, but he meant in the blood of the Polish people, of the Czechoslovakia!! people.

I didn't know then what I know today, for instance. In 1935, I stood on the platform at Hunter College; I was an instructor then.

Mr. SCHERER. What college?

Dr. DODD. Hunter College. I was teaching at Hunter College from 1926 to 1938. In 1935, I stood up before the faculty, and the students, and made a speech which I will never forget. It was entitled, "Fascism Means War." I was going on the assumption that the Fascists and Communists were two different things. I didn't know then what I know now, that every drop of crude oil used by the Fascists in Italy to drop bombs on Abyssinia was sold to them by the Soviet Union.

Well, they took the anti-Fascist slogan and made themselves the protagonists of antifascism.

They did the same thing with the word "democracy." It became very difficult to oppose them because they posed everything in terms of the word "democracy." That was during the World War II period.

Now they are on a "Soviet peace propaganda" campaign. They say, "If you are against the Communists, you are for war." That is absolutely untrue, because just as antifascism of the Communists led to fascism, so the whole peace program of the Soviet Union, if you are realistic about it, will inevitably lead to war. We have to have our own peace program. It has to be an American peace program.

Mr. KUNZIG. You described to us, then, how you yourself became a member of the Communist Party. I would like to bring up one point. You mentioned a Gil Green. Is that the same Gil Green now a fugitive from justice after conviction under the Smith Act?

Dr. DODD. Yes. Mr. Kunzig, may I add one thing about becoming a Communist? One doesn't become a Communist overnight by getting a card. You become a Communist over a long period of time by acting with them little by little until you find yourself so enmeshed that you have lost your other connections with society except that group which operates in secret and operates together and establishes a comradeship which is a part of the fascination of the movement. [1747 - 1748]

Mr. CLARDY. Your getting out of the party is more or less a reversal of the process by which you go in. You come out slowly as you awaken to these things?

Dr. DODD. It takes just as long a time to come out of the party as it does to get in. It is much more painful. Getting in, you are somewhat excited because you are going into something secret and active, but getting out is a disillusioning process because you have nothing else to hold onto. You have no other standard of belief. You have no other standard by which to judge all activities, you find yourself out in a world of nothingness. That is why it is difficult for people to pull out. They have lost contact with friends and families, and move only within a restricted circle.

Pulling out, also, is painful because you are punished. The kind of punishment which the Communists mete out to the person trying to get out of the party is a terrific thing. There are hundreds of Americans who are in the Communist Party who would like to be out of it, but they are so entrapped they are afraid to get out. They are afraid of being anti-Communist and they remain in the party and shrivel up and become nothing.

Mr. WALTER. That I understand with uneducated people, but I can't understand it as it applies to people such as you or other professional people. They have their professions and their ability to analyze facts, truths, and it would certainly seem to me that if it takes them a long while, they are wondering whether or not they want to get out or ought to get out.

Dr. DODD. Well, Congressman Walter, communism is a way of life. It is a whole philosophy of being. If you believe in communism, then everything you do, you do with this philosophy. If once you lose that philosophy, you have to rethink your every single act and every statement you make. Where shall you stand on this question if you don't have a barometer by which to live?

Unfortunately, unless one has a religious background and a tremendous devotion and understanding of American history and the American system of Government, one is left floundering because one doesn't know where to go. The Communists make it very hard for you to get out.

First of all, they punish you. In 1946, when I tried to walk out of the Communist Party, Bill Norman, then secretary of the party in New York, said, "Dodd, nobody gets out of the party. We throw you out, but you don't get out by yourself."

Then you are told that everyone who gets out will ultimately disintegrate and become nothing but a stool pigeon. That is a hard word to live with. It is a hard word to live with.

Mr. WALTER. Now, just at that point -- and I think that dramatizes exactly what I am talking about -- you as an educated person know that this appellation applies to somebody who is talking about a political philosophy, an illegal act. You know you were doing what you were because of perfectly pure motives, so that when the threat is made to charge you with being a stool pigeon, why wouldn't you just dismiss that from your mind because you know that it isn't true?

Dr. DODD. You see, the newspapers, magazine articles (the party has tremendous influence with them) continue to use these words about "ex-Communists." They will use the regular words which we apply to the underworld, question of "stool pigeon," "rats," the person who "sings," and so forth and so on. [1748 - 1749]

It becomes an emotional thing, and not an intellectual process. Intellectually, the reason I made the break was because I felt I was in the wrong pew, and I had to find the way out, and I received a great deal of help from some very wonderful Americans who were filled with the spirit of charity, but not every one has people available to extend the hand to them and say, "Look, come on over," and what we need to do is to extend the hand of charity, to extend the hand of intelligence to people entrapped in this situation and say to them, "Look, nothing is going to happen to you. If you did it out of good motives, out of generosity, come on out and take your place in society." We try to do that in New York City in the school system.

We have said to the school teachers, "If you were in the party and are out now, nothing will be said publicly."

I am here to testify to this committee that as far as I know, no one in New York City has been hurt by the fact that he was in the party if he went to the superintendent and said, "I was a member. I am no longer."

His or her name hasn't been mentioned publicly. The people who got notoriety are those who asked for it by refusing to answer the question.

Mr. WALTER. That is largely attributable to the fact that those people are subconsciously, at least, willing to participate in a conspiracy to overthrow this Government?

Dr. DODD. I think that is the first thing that the Communist begins to accept, and you may ask, Congressman Walter, how does an intelligent person accept that?

Well, they divide your loyalty to the "country" from loyalty to the "people." They say, "We are the greatest Americans there are. We believe in supporting the people."

Who are the people? They are for the class society -- for the proletariat. They say, "The working class makes up 98 percent of the people. Therefore, we, in our desire to protect the people, are the greatest democrats that there are."

But they forget-

Mr. WALTER. That is a small "d," of course?

Dr. DODD. Yes; they forget to tell you that as far as they are concerned, before they are through taking power, they will kill off large sections of the working class if it doesn't go along with their program.

This is the thing which brought me back to my senses, the fact that they are ruthless, ruthless not only to people in different classes but ruthless to the workers themselves.

For instance, they say they have nothing to do with the people who are in the bourgeoisie or the owners of industry. Therefore, that class is out. Then the professional people or the middle class, the newspaper men, the writers, the doctors, the lawyers, those people are looked upon as expendable also because they are regarded as an unstable class.

Then you come down to the proletariat, the working class, and those who don't go along with the Communist theory are also expendable, so you find it is a program for the selected few who will go along with the self-appointed Communist Party, and the Communist Party is a group of self-appointed people. [35663--53 2] [1749 - 1750]

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, you were talking about the teachers of New York and the fact that nothing happened to those who assisted and worked with the school board and those who got out of the party. You talked about those who took the fifth amendment or refused to answer as the ones getting the notoriety. Do you have any observations, from your own experiences, knowing these people personally, on those who are today using the fifth amendment?

Dr. DODD. The people I know, and I knew practically everyone in New York City who appeared before the various committees, I know of no one who has appeared and claimed the fifth amendment, in New York City, who was not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. In other words, you are saying to us here this morning that every person that you saw take the fifth amendment in New York City and refused to answer, while protesting innocence, was to your knowledge a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. DODD. I do so say.

Mr. WALTER. Then that leads me to the conclusion that anybody who advises people to refuse to answer questions propounded by this committee is advising them very badly.

Dr. DODD. I am glad you made that observation. It is my opinion that those attorneys who advise their clients to take the fifth amendment are putting their clients into a noose.

First of all, they are throwing upon them the obvious color of being guilty and, secondly, they are making it difficult for them to get out when the time comes.

Practically all those people are invited to come to private hearings of the committees with their attorneys to discuss the matter with the committees. In good conscience, a person who is advising a client ought to only advise him to take the fifth amendment when answering will really incriminate him.

Mr. WALTER. That is exactly the point. This committee never set out to put anybody into trouble, and there isn't a person who has come before this committee with his or her attorney who couldn't in an executive session, testify to the things that we feel would be of help to us without having any publicity attendant to that appearance, and it is only because their lawyers don't cooperate with a duly constituted committee of this Government that people get into trouble.

Dr. DODD, May I just say one thing about the whole question of people being called before the committees. The Communist Party advises everyone who receives a subpoena from any Government agency, should it be a person who is connected with the party, a member of the party, or one who has worked with the party, to get in touch at once with his immediate superior in the party. Then he is advised as to which legal service to get.

Mr. SCHERER. Usually a Communist?

Dr. DODD. Or someone -- no, in many cases, lawyers who have worked with the Communist Party. Lawyers are men out to make a living.

Mr. WALTER. Maybe that accounts for the fact that the same lawyers appear for witnesses before this committee whether they come from California or Maine.

Dr. DODD. There are certain lawyers that the Communist movement will use. Many of them are not party members. [1750 - 1751]

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew these lawyers since you, too, are a lawyer; is that correct?

Dr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Mr. WALTER. Are those lawyers paid by the Communist Party?

Dr. DODD. Many times these lawyers give their services for nothing in cases of this kind because they expect to get cases later on, from the trade-union movements, the party influences, or from various other

Mr. WALTER. We have been informed that most of these lawyers charge \$1,500 apiece. I don't know whether to tell those people they have taken money under false pretense.

Dr. DODD. I doubt that. I don't believe it. One thing about the Communists, they don't squander money that way. They squander money only where it is going to tell.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, you mentioned how difficult it was to get out of the party and how you are hounded and harassed. Have you yourself had any personal experience along that line? Were you followed, for example?

Dr. DODD. It took me 5 years to get out of the Communist Party completely, and I only got out of the Communist Party completely, emotionally, when I found my way back to my own church.

During that time, I would rather not talk about it. My life was one of misery. I was hounded, publicized, and given the treatment that everybody gets who becomes a deserter from their cause.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you followed?

Dr. DODD. I was followed; my windows were broken; I had my clients taken away. They tried to make it impossible for me to make a living. They did everything they possibly could to --

Mr. SCHERER. You mean they engaged in blacklisting?

Mr. DODD, Well, the party itself -- I don't know whether the party at the top echelon does it, but the party consists of people and the one end are a group of crackpots. The Communist Party is the only party I know that knows how to use crackpots. It has many intelligent people, but it has the lunatic fringe. The lunatic fringe believes everything they say, and if they say that [Bella Dodd](#) has become a Fascist, as they said in their papers, the lunatic fringe then takes upon itself to take direct action. **[Bella Dodd link is to PDF of School of Darkness, and on Amazon]**

Mr. SCHERER. You are talking about newspapers; you mean the Daily Worker, the Communist papers?

Dr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, when you broke with the party, you obviously had many friends, close friends, that you have known over the years. Did they give you an opportunity to talk to them; did they ask you why you changed, why your viewpoint was different? I should think they would.

Dr. DODD. That is one of the real tragedies that I think Americans need to note. I worked with my union for a period of 9 years. I counted every one in the union my friend. I gave all my time to the union, all my energies to the union. Hundreds of people visited my home and whose homes I visited.

The day the Communist Party expelled me, that was the day which I was cut off from my union and cut off from all associations; even close personal friends. They refused, then, to have anything to do with me. [1751 - 1752]

I found that the union that I had actually built stopped sending its newspaper to me, dropped me from its list of past members, I have never had an invitation since. I never talked to the people whom I had trained in union work, and all the younger people I had trained for union positions. That was the end.

If the party says that this person is good, he is good; if the party says this person is bad, he is bad, regardless of your own intelligence. The thing which struck me was that, if the Communist movement can do that to human beings, that kind of movement is extremely dangerous. It is a movement which uses mass hysteria to control people's minds. It is a movement which we might well be worried about.

Mr. CLARDY. It "was that which caused so much difficulty, I take it, when the Hitler-Stalin pact was entered into? They had them all in one direction, and overnight, they had to reverse their field entirely; isn't that true?

Dr. DODD. Well, the Communist Party is very successful at doing that, however. It takes a little time, but not too long.

Take, for instance the question -- we used to have the American League Against War and Fascism. We were against war and fascism. We were almost a superpacifist group. We picketed the White House for peace.

Then came the invasion of the Soviet Union. Overnight, we had to change the name for -- the league's name

Mr. SCHERER. Could I interrupt because there is some future testimony. When was that that you picketed the White House?

Dr. DODD. I picketed the White House in 1940.

Mr. SCHERER. In 1940?

Dr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Could you fix that month; that is very important at this point. Doctor.

Dr. DODD. It was either in the late spring or early summer.

Mr. SCHERER. That is all.

Dr. DODD. It was in 1940. I may be in error.

Mr. SCHERER. That is close enough for my purposes; I just wanted to pinpoint the time that you picketed the White House.

Mr. KUNZIG. The invasion, as we all know, of Russia by Germany, was in June of 1941, and that was the time, I believe, not necessarily when you were there, but that was the time when the pickets marching around the White House were called home within 24 hours?

Dr. DODD. I was chairman of a trade-union committee for peace. I led a lot of women down there, and we picketed the White House for peace.

Then suddenly we were told we had to be for war. It took us at least 2 months to wash out the old idea and put in the new one.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, while you were in New York, while you were a member of the New York State Committee of the Communist Party, did you know an individual by the name of J. Peters -- and, before you answer, I would like to say something on the record about J. Peters. J. Peters, as you know, was the author of the instruction book on espionage. He has been established as head of the Soviet-controlled espionage organization which operated in America. Did you know J. Peters? If so, how did you know him?

Dr. DODD. Well, that is an interesting question, because I knew the J. Peters manual before; I had read it. It had been given to me [1752 - 1753] to read and study, and I knew a man by the name of Steve Miller, but Steve Miller was an insignificant little fellow who used to help with mimeographing at party headquarters. He was attached to the New York County committee. He was assigned from time to time to teach communism to some of the teachers, kind of take individual teachers who were rising in the party movement and give them special instructions. I thought he was just an insignificant little fellow until one day the authorities picked him up and I discovered he was J. Peters. He was engaged in using teachers throughout the United States for maildrop purposes, for revolutionary [sic] mail that was going back and forth from the Soviet Union into the United States.

They would approach a pretty innocent teacher who came close to the movement and say, "Would you mind if a letter comes to your address?"

Some mail would come to someone in Columbus or Cleveland or in California or in my section of New York, and the person would have no more relationship to that mail than the man in the moon.

That mail would be mail which the party was getting from overseas.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, I would like to turn to and delve deeper into your work in teachers' unions.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Kunzig, just before we get into that, could we have a 5-minute recess?

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. SCHERER. Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. We are ready to begin, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. DODD, I would like to turn now to putting a little more emphasis on your activities with teachers, professors, and the Teachers' Union. Could you explain how the Communists got control of the Teachers' Union; how that was worked?

Dr. DODD. Now, first let me make clear, the American Federation of Teachers, an A. F. of L. union, is not a Communist organization. In many cities, many towns and localities, you will have teachers' unions which are not Communist. In some cities and towns they will have no Communists in the community. I don't want to in any way detract from the efficacy and work the teachers' unions do throughout the United States.

My association with the teachers' unions were largely with the teachers' unions of New York and with some of the people who became officers of the American Federation of Teachers during the time that I was active.

I came to the Teachers' Union just naturally since I was interested in the conditions of work in various colleges and universities around New York. It was natural that I should help organize the teachers, instructors, professors -- largely the instructors -- tutors, and lower categories into an association for improving their conditions.

One thing we Americans must never overlook is that, where there are problems, it is our duty to try to better conditions, to make conditions worth while and consonant with the American way of life.

I had organized the instructors and tutors at Hunter College for the purpose of getting tenure for those people. I was interested in getting permanent tenure for the people in the City College. You could be fired at will. The public school teachers didn't have tenure, and so I had made it my duty to organize them for the purpose of getting tenure. I achieved that purpose. I was able to get a bill passed in the [1753 - 1754] State legislature, through some of the members that I knew in the State legislature on the education committee.

As soon as that bill was passed, the Communists became very friendly with me and their next question was, "Why don't we take this organization into a union," and pretty soon they said, "Of course, the labor movement would help the teachers get better conditions"; and, being pro-labor, I said, "No reason why we shouldn't join the Teachers' Union."

The Teachers' Union had existed in New York City, organized as a protest against what happened in the First World War. We joined that organization, but as soon as I got into that organization I recognized that the Communists were struggling with the non-Communists in a real fight for control. The non-Communists were not very bright about the struggle, and the Communists took over the entire situation.

When I came into the Teachers' Union, because I had that bill passed on tenure, they asked me to become a legislative representative of the Teachers' Union temporarily.

Well, my temporary stay there developed into a permanent stay because I was elected every year. I was elected because the Communists supported me. The Communists within the Teachers' Union operate the way they operate in every other organization, every other union.

First, they got rid of all those who were in opposition to Communists.

Mr. KUNZIG. How did they get rid of them?

Mr. DODD. Well, they got rid of them by organization, and they got rid of them also by using complete - you see, the first struggle was between the Communists -- the Lovestoneites, Trotskyists, and the Stalinists. The splinter groups within the Communist movement recognized what the Communists were.

First they organized against them, and in many cases they used completely innocent people who were not at all geared to understand this struggle that went on in the left-wing movement.

By bringing in many people who were not at all geared to left-wing ideology, they organized and got rid of the people in the splinter groups. However, the splinter groups made the mistake of becoming political and not taking up the issues of the people. The Communists would actually take a special issue like better wages for the substitute teachers and they would make themselves the protagonist for the group of underprivileged people. In that way they wiped out some of the splinter groups.

Once they took control, it was very hard for them to be dislodged because they would control the executive board, the delegate assembly, they would control all the committees and once you take control of a structure of an organization, it is hard to be pushed out.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did they then make the Teachers' Union work a basis for their own purposes and functions and only incidentally for the good of teachers?

Dr. DODD. One of the things you must understand about Marxism' and Leninism and I think the trade-union people do understand this -- they didn't in the 1930's, but they do now -- Lenin once said:

We are not interested in unions as reforming organizations, we are interested in unions as politicalizing institutions. [1754 - 1755]

In other words, they regarded with contempt unions engaged in what is called "economism," that is, improving the economic conditions. It is only important if it can be politicalized. The Teachers' Union of New York City, unfortunately, came to be used as a real political weapon by the party, because the Teachers' Union was one of the few unions over which they had some control in the A. F. of L. They used it on every occasion in the State Federation and the National Federation of Labor.

They used us to get political resolution passed. For instance, I remember in 1938, the party was very much interested in unity between the CIO and the A. F. of L. Certainly that was a good slogan. When they came to me and said, "Will you fight for unity between the CIO and the A. F. of L.," I said, "Yes."

They said, "Would you introduce a resolution on that subject in the Central Trades and Labor Council?"

I said, "Yes."

There were other groups in the council other than teachers, but the teachers were compelled by the party to introduce the resolution on unity and call a conference of all unions for unity between the CIO and the A. F. of L.

As a result of that conference, we were expelled from the labor council -- kicked out of the State Federation of Labor because we had acted on the directions of the party.

As a result of that, we developed many problems within the American Federation of Teachers. Finally, on the question of peace, we were going along, the New York locals, the New York Teachers' Union, the WPA local, plus some of the Pennsylvania and Philadelphia and New Jersey locals were going along on the party's fight for peace. We opposed aid to England and France, and a struggle developed in the American Federation of Teachers between the pro-Communists and the anti-Communists.

As a result of that, we were expelled from the American Federation of Teachers because we had fought so strongly for the peace programs that the party insisted upon.

In other words, they used our union not to help the members to get better conditions, but they used it largely as a political wedge for the purpose of bringing forth political ideas.

Mr. WALTER. Dr. Dodd, do I understand you to mean that the Communists are not interested in the economic conditions of the workers?

Dr. DODD. They are interested in that insofar as they can use the slogans to attract thousands of people and bring them under their influence.

Mr. WALTER. In other words, their sole interest is political?

Dr. DODD. Their main interest is political. Actually, if they have to cut down on the benefits of the workers if a political problem is paramount, they will cut down on the economic interests of the workers.

For instance, you take the question of the Negro people. During the World War, the Communists, since we were fighting with Russia, since we were so much concerned about winning that war and protecting the Soviet Union particularly, that we were not interested, for instance, in improving the conditions of the Negro people in the Armed Forces or the Negro people in the trade unions. It was a [1755 - 1756] "natural" at that particular time during the war when there was a manpower shortage for the party to bring forth slogans to improve the conditions of the Negro people in the industries, in the trade unions, and in the Armed Forces, but the Communist Party advised, as a matter of fact, it penalized certain people for bringing forth those slogans. They said that those slogans were not to be brought forth in the midst of a political struggle.

Mr. SCHERER. They were interested in the problems of minority' groups generally in order to attract them to the Communist cause?

Dr. DODD. There is no more depressing problem than the way the party uses the minority groups for the purpose of creating chaos and division among the people, creating fear and hatred among themselves in order that the many Communist organizations may promote the things in which they are interested.

Mr. SCHERER. At one time, the Communist Party was opposed to anti-Semitism, is that right?

Dr. DODD. The Communist Party has always claimed it is against anti-Semitism, but at one time, it will support the establishment of an Israeli state and another time be against it. It depends on which way the Soviet policy is going whether it is for the establishment of the Israeli Government.

Mr. SCHERER. Today the Communist Party is violently anti- Semitic, isn't it?

Dr. DODD. Let me just put it this way. Congressman Scherer, to be fair, publicly they will say they are against it, but when the question arose, when the 10 or 12 doctors were arrested -- what happened in the Daily Worker, the unit which gives the line out to the party people -- the Daily Worker began using the same kind of lies which Fascist minded people might be using against the Jewish people. They kept saying, "Of course, there are Jews down in Wall Street, and therefore the doctors in the Soviet Union must be the same type of characters as those people."

In other words, they mouthed the same kind of anti-Semitism which we hear from people who are a real menace.

Mr. SCHERER. The Kremlin today is taking the position against the Jews because it wants to court the favor of the Arabs, doesn't it? The Russians are interested, perhaps, in Arabian oil?

Dr. DODD. There is no doubt in my mind that the Communist Party in America is trying to hold onto its slogan of being against anti-Semitism because it recognizes that Americans basically are against discrimination, but they will follow whatever line the Kremlin gives them.

If the Kremlin is interested in wooing the Arabs, they will follow that line, but they will confuse it sufficiently so that people in America don't know where they stand.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, just as a matter of interest, didn't the Daily Worker, after the doctors were set free, say, "This shows how fair justice is," just a few weeks after they denounced the same doctors?

Dr. DODD. No doubt about that.

Mr. KUNZIG. About how many Communist teachers would you say, within your knowledge, are there in the United States?

Dr. DODD. I have no knowledge now, but at the time I had knowledge, I would say conservatively, we had about 1,500 members of the Communist Party. [1756 - 1757]

Mr. KUNZIG. Is it possible for you to say, at least roughly, how many might have been in the State of Ohio?

Dr. DODD. It is impossible for me to say how many in the State of Ohio. I only knew of 2 or 3 people in the State of Ohio and the reason is that information of that kind is never made available to anyone. It was decentralized and kept in the hands of the professional people themselves.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are you suggesting that professional people and teachers are handled in a special way?

Dr. DODD. Yes, I said in the very beginning

Mr. KUNZIG. Could you explain that for us?

Dr. DODD. The party is very zealous in protecting the names of people in the professional groups, in the civil service, in government, in the State or National legislatures. They will say people are friends of the party, but they will not say that they are members of the party, and their cards, if there are cards in that locality, will be held by the party at the head of the group and not given to the secretary of the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. If there was a professor in a college anywhere, in Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Columbus, Ohio, for example, his Communist Party membership and his participation in Communist activities would be kept on a highly secret level?

Dr. DODD. Yes, it would.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you know that of your own knowledge, from your own experience in that party?

Dr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. What instructions, would you say, Dr. Dodd, would the party give him, this mythical Communist teacher or professor with regard to his own activities?

Dr. DODD. If they regarded him as an important person, they would tell him not to admit that he is a Communist Party member, and that he is to get instructions. Sometimes he met with a unit of 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, or 7 people; sometimes not with a unit, but with one person from the party headquarters who would bring him literature, give him instructions. Any time he had problems, he would go to that person and pay his dues to that person.

Mr. KUNZIG. How was he supposed to act with regard to outside organizations, with special reference to his membership in different groups?

Dr. DODD. Communism is like a religion. President Eisenhower said that the other day, but it is a religion without a God. If you believe strongly in communism, it is your duty to bring it into every phase of your life.

If you are a member of the American Association of University Professors, if you are a member of the association of your specialty, such as a member of the mathematical association, it is your duty to bring the party line into those organizations.

If you are a member of a fraternity, you are supposed to bring it into the fraternity, into any group where there is the privilege of discussion. If you are a teacher, you are supposed to live by the principles of Marxism and Leninism. You are not supposed, of course, to get yourself in trouble. The party warns you not to get your head knocked off; it warns you to stay within security and remain on your job. [1757 - 1758]

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you explain to us perhaps in a little bit more detail, so that it is perfectly clear what you mean exactly by "party line" and what you mean particularly when you talk about party discipline.

Dr. DODD. Well, the party line, of course, is a rough translation of the tactics of the party.

You know there is a strategy of the party and tactics of the party. The strategy of the party is world revolution. In a country like the United States which is in preparation, a non-Communist country, this country is being prepared for revolution. The revolution may not be a bloody one, it may be like the one they had in Czechoslovakia where they opened the doors to the Soviet Union. A party line is the tactic of the party. The tactic is the program that changes day by day that the party makes in order to advance its strategy or its ultimate objective.

The tactics may mean today we may be friendly with the CIO. Tomorrow we may be fighting the CIO. Today we may be for peace, tomorrow we may be for war. That is, the party line shifts constantly.

Today we may support coalition with the Democratic Party, tomorrow, a party of our own.

Those are the tactical changes and they change as they feel the pulse of the country. They are very astute about taking the pulse of the people of this Nation and depending on what the pulse tells them, they form their party line. Their line is the tactic which is followed and the tactic is to promote the strategy.

It is also in line with the ultimate objective of taking this country or any other country into revolution or into the world Communist fold,

Mr. WALTER. May I interrupt you at this point. Doctor? Isn't it a fact that since the expulsion of the Trotskyists in 1928 or 1929, the tactics have been directed from Russia so that whatever the tactics are in this country, they get the directions from Russia?

Dr. DODD. There is no doubt, at first, the Third International, the Comintern, which was in existence at that time, laid down the policy for all the world Communist Parties. For instance, the seventh world congress of the Comintern laid down the policy of the united front, laying down the anti-Fascist, united-front tactic of fighting the Fascists.

Then when the Soviet-Nazi pact was formed, we had to have a new line of approach which was, everything which would strengthen the Soviet Union was good for the working class all over the world -- even unity with the Nazis.

Of course, when the Soviet Union was attacked by the Nazis, there was the slogan of saving democracy. Then the United States, France, England, China, and the Soviet Union became the great democracies.

When in 1945, the policy in Russia was changed -- at that time the Comintern had been abolished as a concession, I think, to the United States -- because the United States said. "All right, we will have co-existence, but we don't want any Comintern directing the Communist Party in the United States." Then in 1945, the Soviet Union changed its line, which was not announced to the entire world, but came in the form of the Duclos letter to the Communist Party of the United States. No tactics for United States Communists from 1929 on were made by the Communist Party of the United States. [1758 - 1759]

That doesn't mean that the average Communist teacher was aware of that. We were also told that the party here was an indigenous radical party to support and promote the welfare of the American people. Most of us believed that. I want to get that on the record in all fairness.

People who were sucked into this movement, most of us believed it, until we stopped and began thinking contrary to the collective thinking that the Communist Party imposed on us.

Mr. CLARDY. The Duclos letter was obviously started on its journey from Russia and brought the message that the line had been changed and you should move in the opposite direction, but it came initially via France from Russia.

Dr. DODD. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, you have been talking about party line. Could you go into a little more detail on discipline and how it operates?

Dr. DODD. Discipline in the Communist Party is very strict. It is a strange kind of thing. You wonder why many Americans who are so accustomed to liberty would accede to the discipline.

Actually, if we believe a thing to be right, we want discipline. So, for instance, many Communists are held in line by the disciplinary actions of the Communist Party. Disciplinary action means that you are called before a board.

You see, the Communist movement has within itself its own police system, its own security committees. As a matter of fact, it has an equivalent of all the protective agencies which the Government has. It has its own security system, its own detectives, its own spy apparatus to see that the Communist members in key positions are not double crossing the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you ever called before one of those control com- missions?

Dr. DODD. Well, in 1945 and 19-18, I was called before three control Commissions.

Mr. KUNZIG. What happened? I think we would all be interested in knowing what happened at a meeting before a control commission.

Dr. DODD. First of all, they have information on what you have been doing.

Mr. CLARDY. You mean they had informers to tell them what you had been doing?

Mr. SCHERER. Stool pigeons?

Dr. DODD. For instance, my secretary who happened to be a member of the Communist Party, my secretary in my law office-- my office unfortunately came to be a place where people who were unhappy in the party began to drop in and say they were unhappy.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was that because you were becoming unhappy?

Dr. DODD. Well, I wasn't austere. I had a humanist approach to life.

What happened was that I would pat them on the back and tell them not to be unhappy about their work. I would just kind of cheer them on. I told them that many problems had arisen, just to sit still and wait, things might clear themselves up, but what happened was that my secretary had letters - - any letters I had written to anybody -- she would take letters out of my files. [1759 - 1760]

She had given testimony to the party and I was charged with some of the things which I was supposed to have said in my office.

At that time I was trying to pull out of the party. I recognized I was in the wrong pew. I recognized that there was danger but I didn't know how to get out. In my struggle to get out, I said certain things which were public.

Of course, certain people stayed at my home and I remember there was one old seaman who stayed at my home because he had no place to go, he was ill between trips and he had been called down to the waterfront section. They had taken testimony from him on me. He came back and said he didn't know why they were writing everything he said down.

All this testimony was used on the three occasions. All three times, I said, "Look, all I want to do is to practice law. Leave me alone. I will be a member of the committee until you select someone else to take my place."

Mr. KUNZIG. Would they threaten you at these hearings?

Dr. DODD. No, no, the gentlemen in charge of those committees -- they might others, but they didn't threaten me. I have known of others like Johnny Lautner, who were threatened, but I was not. All they did was ask pertinent questions. I wondered where they got the information. For instance, I made a speech at a branch meeting in 1947 about the establishment of the Cominform. That was established as a substitute for the Comintern, for the countries of Europe, and I had made a speech in which I had made a remark about it, and that remark had been taken to headquarters and repeated. I was charged with it.

They didn't say anything. They just asked me questions, and then they let me go, but I knew then that something was in the works.

Mr. CLARDY. Then, when the Communist Party or its members begin screaming about the method that this or other committees may use in having hearings, they are a little hypocritical; aren't they?

Dr. DODD. Oh, you gentlemen of the congressional committees don't begin to approach the tactics which they have in keeping their organization from being attacked by those who infiltrate it.

Mr. CLARDY. Are they careful to respect the thing we call academic freedom?

Dr. DODD. There is only one academic freedom to them, that is loyalty to the Communist Party. There is no room for a difference of opinion.

Mr. CLARDY. You agree or else?

Dr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. For a moment, getting away from teachers, is it your opinion from your own personal experience that hearings by legislative committees such as this one or such as the Ohio Committee hurt the Communist movement?

Dr. DODD. There is no doubt in my mind that if we can get before the public for thinking Americans the pattern of how this thing happens we are going to help to eradicate this danger from the American scene.

Mr. SCHERER. You are giving us that pattern very ably this morning, Doctor, I am sure.

Dr. DODD. I think that is all I can do. I am not here to hurt any one. I am not here to hound anyone. I am here to help the American [1760 - 1761] people understand how this thing works. When they are approached to sign a petition or to join a committee, they must ask themselves not only, "Is this immediately good, but in whose interest is this being done and by whom?"

Mr. KUNZIG. From your own experience and from practical examples, could you explain how hearings by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, for example, how they have hurt the Communist cause and have aided Communists to perhaps leave the party?

Dr. DODD. Well, first of all, of course, I don't think anyone in America -- I am certain no one in our Congress would be opposed to a man who got up and said, "Look, I am a Communist. This is what I believe."

No matter how unpopular his beliefs are, I am certain that you would protect his right to believe them. The thing which has made this so dangerous is that a man gets up and says, "I am a Democrat," or "I am a Republican. I believe in the thing called Americanism," and then he proceeds to put in the party line.

A country has a right to defend itself, and that is exactly what I think these committees are doing. I think they are exposing the way the pattern works and also taking the leading actors in the drama and making it impossible for them to work any further. It doesn't mean you are going to work on everybody in the conspiracy, but you immobilize certain people.

Mr. SCHERER. We immobilize certain Communist-front organizations by designating them as such. Then contributions from well-meaning people stop.

Dr. DODD. I think that is true also.

Mr. KUNZIG. Communists fight back against legislative committees because the committees really hurt them?

Dr. DODD. There is no doubt about that.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do they fight back by methods of fear, and if so, will you explain how that is done?

Dr. DODD. Anyone who opposes the Communist line, anyone who is going to hurt them in any way, is bound to get the full impact of the attacks of the Communists plus all of their friends.

The attack is always in high-sounding words. The congressional committees of the United States Government become the agents of Fascists, and therefore, everyone is asked to organize against the "agents of fascism."

Mr. KUNZIG. You mean that is what the Communists say?

Dr. DODD. That is what the Communists say.

Mr. SCHERER. That is "mild," Doctor, anyone who opposes them is called a Fascist or an America Firster.

Dr. DODD. Or it becomes a McCarranite, or a McCarthyite.

Let me assure you that these are just general smear words. They are emotional words. They are words which have no definition, and first you create a sense of fear and hatred and then you apply this word to everyone against you.

The Communist movement is a highly centralized and highly organized movement. One of the reasons why they have had such astounding success in countries even like the United States -- J. Edgar Hoover says there are 25,000. William Z. Foster, head of the party, says there are 70,000. Whether it is 25,000 or 70,000, that is a small number in comparison with 160 million Americans. Twenty thou- [1761 - 1762] sand Communists highly organized and placed in key positions, can create a tremendous amount of difficulty.

In smearing a committee such as your committee, what is done is this: First, you have to get the Communist Party in opposition. Then every trade union where there are Communists is immediately started to put out the line that if the attack is against the Communists, the next attack will be against labor. They get the trade unions to pass resolutions against anything that is against Communists. Then, they go into women's organizations and minority group organizations, the Negro people, the Jewish people, the foreign-born people, and stir them up. They charge that these committees are intended to annihilate them, and, therefore, they had better pass the resolution against investigations.

The Communists do have representation in practically every key area in America, in scientific societies, in intellectual circles, women's clubs, trade unions, and these organizations are all then made to adopt the resolutions against them.

How do they promote this resolution? First, they will get someone to make a statement. They get a Communist not known as a Communist. Take a person, let say a person who is outstanding in religious fields or educational fields. He will write

Mr. KUNZIG. You mean a Communist outstanding in a religious field?

Dr. DODD. Might be.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see,

Mr. CLARDY. But you say one not known as a Communist?

Dr. DODD. An outstanding professor not known as a Communist. He and 2 or 3 others will then get a telegram saying, "We are opposed to the investigation of this committee. It promotes the interest of the McCarthyites, and so on and so forth."

Then, that telegram is sent to, let's say, a thousand other people. They have lists. I have had them myself, lists of ministers, doctors, lawyers, and others.

Mr. SCHERER. You mean the lists are in the party headquarters?

Dr. DODD. Lists are in party headquarters and in some of the front committees, which they have established like the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, run by a secretary who is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. CLARDY. Are you talking about a list of Communists or non-Communists?

Dr. DODD. There will be a list of both, non-Communists and Communists, predominantly non-Communists, but people who they can use from time to time to respond to various causes.

Mr. CLARDY. People, you mean, who are occupying positions of some importance so that their ideas will carry weight?

Dr. DODD. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Give us such names.

Dr. Dodo. The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom had its headquarters in New York City. Its secretary was a young man by the name of Moe Finklestein. He was a very outstanding scholar, a history teacher. He was the secretary of this committee. He had lists of all the college professors, doctors, lawyers, and what not, who belonged to his committee. Most of them were [1762 - 1763] not Communists, but what he would do was to get 2 or 3 Communist Party people to draft a telegram or draft a letter and say, "Will you join with me in sending the following message to the President of the United States?" Or a letter to the Congress, or to the regents of the State Board of Education of New York.

Mr. SCHERER. Did they use this procedure you are describing when they wanted to smear somebody in public life, or as you said before, get rid of people in the Teachers' Union who were opposed to the Communist program?

Dr. DODD. They would use it.

Mr. SCHERER. That same tactic?

Dr. DODD. They would use the tactic both as a method of creating public opinion for something that they wanted and creating public opinion violently against either individuals or a line.

Mr. WALTER. Now, perhaps what you say, what you have just testified to offers an explanation for the action taken by the CIO at its national convention where it adopted the resolution:

The repeal of the McCarran-Walter Act on the grounds that it was an anti-Catholic, and anti-Semitic action.

At hearings held in Washington last week on other legislation, it was the privilege of the Committee on Immigration to hear the testimony of Monsignor Swanstrom, a very prominent Catholic clergyman. He was asked the question whether or not the immigration law was anti-Catholic and he said it was certainly not, and he had never even heard the charge made that it was.

The following day. Congressman Javits, a Republican from New York, testifying on behalf of all the Jewish organizations on this same measure was asked the question of wherein is this legislation anti-Semitic and he said, "In no respect whatsoever."

In view of the fact that these two very prominent men in the Catholic and Jewish religions have testified that this law is not anti-Catholic or anti-Semitic, I am wondering why and how the CIO adopted a resolution in which the charge was made that it was.

Perhaps you have today given us the explanation.

Dr. DODD. I can't speak for the CIO. I don't know why they adopted it, but I certainly agree with both the statements you have had on the Walter-McCarran Act.

Mr. SCHERER. We interrupted you, and I started it, when you were beginning to tell us the mechanics of getting out these telegrams, these petitions and resolutions, either to promote a cause or to smear an individual or a cause.

Dr. DODD. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. You got as far as saying that a group of Communists or non-Communists would get together and initiate a telegram or a resolution.

Now, would you continue from there, because it is important.

Dr. DODD. The secretary of the committee would send out the letter or the telegram or resolution to a thousand people, fifteen hundred, two thousand, and say, "Wire collect whether we may use your name on the list."

Mr. KUNZIG. Many of these were perfectly good citizens?

Dr. DODD. Yes, and the telegrams would be so framed that any intelligent person might go along with it. The telegram would be [1763 - 1764] so framed that it would be semiambiguous, but when the newspaper story was written, it would be written by the secretary of the committee. He would then say, "Five thousand people signed a letter protesting thus and thus," and at that time the story would be angled though the telegram itself might be mild. The story would be given a greater slant in the direction they wanted it to go.

Mr. SCHERER. And these people who were called upon to sign this telegram or go along with this resolution were usually members of the various Communist-front organizations?

Dr. DODD. Some of them were, some of them were just people in key positions who had in the past done something which was liberal or which they regard as liberal or progressive.

Mr. CLARDY. Would you say the series of lists were "sucker lists" that they could count on to respond when the button was pressed at Communist headquarters?

Dr. DODD. Practically all the organizations through which the party works, whether a political action committee or a committee for cultural freedom -- I don't mean to imply the last one, but there were committees of that kind -- practically all of these committees which were operated by some one Communist Party member on them had lists of people to whom they could appeal with telegrams of one kind or another.

There were different lists for different purposes.

Mr. Clardy. People they felt they could rely on to respond?

Dr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. Was Franz Boas -- was he a Communist?

Dr. DODD. He was not a member, but Moe Finklestein was the secretary of the committee.

Mr. WALTER. He was running the show?

Dr. DODD. Dr. Boas was a man of deep convictions about discrimination and things of that kind, but the work of the party was done by the people who were doers on the committee.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you name some people who might be perfectly decent people who were on these "sucker" lists and who would respond?

Dr. DODD. You probably know those names better than I do. They are the leading intellectuals of America, leading people of America. Christian Gauss, of Princeton University, was on that list. People like Einstein were on that list.

It is the list of the leading intellectuals in America who would be sent these telegrams. Sometimes they responded, sometimes they didn't.

Mr. WALTER. I remember on one occasion there was an automobile accident in Pittsburgh, and the local police came out with a lot of names which this committee went over and never made public, but among them were 60 or 70 of the most prominent clergymen in western Pennsylvania, priests, rabbis, and everybody else on the "sucker" list.

Dr. DODD. Sometimes they would send telegrams which said, "If we don't hear from you, we will add your name to the list."

Sometimes they got protests because they acted too fast.

Mr. KUNZIG. Well, Dr. Dodd, you talk about these names and how they were gotten together. Were some of them ever used without the consent of the particular person whose name was being used? [1764 - 1765]

Dr. DODD. As I said, sometimes the telegram was sent saying, "If we don't hear from you, we will add your name to the telegram."

I think sometimes people were quoted without giving permission.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do I interpret what you say correctly that the responsibility really in this type of situation falls on the individual citizen, who should think carefully before he leaps, so to speak?

Dr. DODD. I think there is a responsibility at present in America, the intellectuals, the professional people in America have a special responsibility because they are the ones who have been used. They have a special responsibility not to endorse telegrams, letters, or resolutions unless they know where it comes from and to what end it is going to be used because they are being used to confuse the American public. They are being used in order to divide and to confuse and to create chaos in American public opinion.

Mr. KUNZIG. Your description of this fantastic organization that the Communist Party has put together to influence people who are not Communists is most interesting. Would you say it therefore follows that anti-Communists and people fighting against communism are not as well organized as Communists are?

Dr. DODD. There is no doubt in my mind that the reason which explains the tremendous success of the Communists in this country and throughout the world lies only in one fact. We have a doctrine of life which is every bit as good as, and infinitely superior to, the doctrine of life of the Communists. The essence of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence -- there is nothing superior to that.

Mr. CLARDY. Don't we have one other factor? Don't we have a belief in God which they don't have?

Dr. DODD. That is right. The Declaration says, we hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal. They are endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights. The Creator gave them these rights.

There are also the doctrines which we have which are superior to the Communist doctrine. The reason why we are losing out and they are gaining is that you have to have an organized agency for the purpose of supporting the thing which you are interested in. The Communists have it, a highly centralized, highly organized, highly articulate agency with plenty of money, whereas we are leading our laissez-faire existence without organization, and if anyone attempts to fight communism, they are spread thin and there is danger that they will be smeared and destroyed.

Mr. CLARDY. Isn't that where committees like our own serve a useful public purpose?

Dr. DODD. That is right, and you need organized support on the part of the people back home, not only in your districts, but all over the country.

Mr. CLARDY. We need the kind of support you are talking about?

Dr. DODD. Yes, if you do something worthwhile in America, and someone gets up and writes a telegram, good; that is fine.

Mr. SCHERER. A couple of those telegrams would help the morale of this committee occasionally.

Mr. WALTER. We get the other kind. [.35663-- .53 3] [1765 - 1766]

Mr. CLARDY. May I say that during the Los Angeles hearings held some months ago, we received a total of around 5,000 letters and telegrams and only an infinitesimal percentage were antagonistic. We had the advantage there of good press coverage, and good radio coverage, and good television coverage, and the message apparently got across.

Dr. DODD. We used to send telegrams in the Communist Party. If we were going to do something, we would have telegrams mimeographed. We would spread the mimeographed telegrams and get people to sign their names, pay their 33 cents, and we would send them.

Mr. CLARDY. Congressmen got those messages constantly on almost every issue.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, turning back to teachers, would you say a Communist teacher is a free person?

Dr. DODD. A free person, no; a Communist is not a free person, although he thinks he is free. He thinks he is free because he is defying what is established society, but unfortunately, no Communist is free. He must live within the incubus of the Communist line, and if he doesn't follow it, some pretty sad results will be visited upon his head, so that he is not free to think as he wants to, to act as he wants to, or to operate within his profession as he wants to. He is urged to join certain organizations. He must conform to what the party asks him to do.

Mr. SCHERER. What you say is true, Doctor, because we have had similar testimony from a number of fine witnesses before this committee.

I am thinking of one in the Los Angeles area who had advanced to a high place in his profession as a writer, but when he became a member of the Communist Party, he was willing to submit his writings to functionaries of the party, who blue-penciled that writing and said, "This doesn't conform to the party line."

Men with education far inferior to his were able to edit his work. He freely admitted that happened to him on occasions. Certainly, that wasn't academic freedom as we know it.

Dr. DODD. If you wrote at all, even if you wrote within your own field, a physicist or a teacher, if you wrote a book on how to teach and were a member of the party, you had to submit it to the group, the collective, for their opinion and their instructions. Even if you wrote a novel, you had to submit it for approval, and if it was not then approved and you insisted upon publishing it, you were subject to expulsion and to getting all the reprisals of getting bad reviews by those who are writing reviews on books.

Mr. SCHERER. Weren't there certain members of the party, or functionaries of the party, that were assigned to that particular task within the party of reviewing works such as we have been talking about?

Dr. DODD. Well, yes; there was a cultural committee.

Mr. CLARDY. They extended this censorship in the field of science and music?

Dr. DODD. Into every activity of the members. Even on the question of art, if you were an artist and your paintings did not conform with the Marxist-Leninist approach, you would be criticized by the group to which you belonged which was a group of artists. If you didn't change your line of tactics, if you didn't conform to the criticisms, you would find yourself out. [1766 - 1767]

Mr. SCHERER. You gentlemen recall the testimony of the director in Hollywood who told about the show that was being rehearsed where Hitler and Stalin were dancing, Hitler had a knife at the back

of Stalin and Stalin had a knife at the back of Hitler, and the Communist Party functionary in control of these people made them take the knife out of the hand of Stalin.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, you would say, then, wouldn't you, that freedom and freedom of speech and so forth, as it is used today in this constant discussion of academic freedom, has no application in the sense in which it is specifically being used when referred to Communist school teachers?

Dr. DODD. Only one freedom the Communist teacher has. Once he joins the movement, he is within the collectivity. He performs according to the collective. There is this semblance of freedom which may delude teachers, because it is the function of the Communist Party to create a defiance of government and defiance of the established institutions of this country, the teacher is permitted to exhibit that defiance against all legally constituted authorities.

Mr. CLARDY. That is what they want him to do?

Dr. DODD. That is what they want him to do, but he doesn't recognize that. He thinks the party is giving him great freedom. The Communist Party is pushing him in the line of defiance and creating this defiance against the regularly established institutions, but he doesn't dare say "boo" when it comes to the question of the Communist Party or anything the Communist Party sets down.

I remember once I was at a convention of the American Federation of Teachers, 1937, and the great question was whether the American Federation of Teachers should go into the CIO or not, and the party had laid down the rigid rule that unless we had 90 percent of the members of the union, or 85 percent of the members of the union interested in going to the CIO, we should stay with the A. F. of L.

We happened to have 60 percent of the delegates who wanted to go into the CIO. In spite of the fact that most of us wanted to go to the CIO, we were compelled because we had two party leaders in the hotel there practically holding a whip over us -- we stayed with the A. F. of L. against our better judgment and better instincts, but we had to conform to the policy of the party.

Mr. CLARDY. Did Communists, and did you when you were working with the Communists, make use of teachers to infiltrate political organizations?

Dr. DODD. Teachers are an extremely valuable part of the Communist Party.

First, they are great people for raising money and contributing money to the party. Secondly, they are an articulate group and good to look at. You can send them into any organization, and they can stand on their own two feet and speak up and be heard. One of the things we did was to use teachers in the various political parties.

In New York State, we used them in the American Labor Party, and in the Progressive Party. There have been places where we sent them into the Democratic Party or the Republican Party to operate as Republicans and Democrats, you know, but to operate as Communists within their organizations.

Mr. CLARDY. How do Communists on a college campus function? [1767 - 1768]

Dr. DODD. Where there was a unit of at least three or more members, they would meet regularly and function as a unit. They would get instructions from the person in charge of the county or city on which the campus was located. They would pay their dues to that person. At their meetings, they would discuss first the party line, get education on the Marxist-Leninist line and, second, they would discuss the

question of how to penetrate other organizations. If there was no union on the campus, they would form a union.

If it was too difficult to form a union, they would form a loose association in which the common problems might be discussed. They would attach themselves or form some connection with the youth, the young people, with the students on the campus.

If there was a parents' organization, they would join the parents' organization. They would discuss their meetings and how to function in each of the organizations attached to the college. Some of them would be used for special work by the party. Some might be used for special work in writing, doing research work for the party. The party has to get out a lot of literature. Much of the research was work done by the members on the campus to be sent in and used as the party saw fit.

If the party wanted to issue something on the monetary system or on the question of immigration, or some other question or whatever it might be, the people who were specialists on the college campus were asked to send in research material.

Mr. KUNZIG. How would the Communist professor attempt to influence students and other people?

Dr. DODD. Well, as I said before, communism is a way of life, and it is almost like a religion. It becomes a part of you. It affects your entire thinking. It affects your attitude toward your students, toward your government, affects your attitude toward things that are happening day by day. Most Communist college professors begin by being very much interested in their students, and if they have a Communist philosophy, they pass it on.

Many of them try to influence their students to become Communists. Any number of students have become Communists because they admired a professor who was going in that direction. Then he functions within all the other organizations on the campus in affecting their thinking, the question of choosing books for the library, the question of establishing curricula for the college.

For instance, if you go through the catalogs of various colleges of America, you find from the period of 1925 to about 1948 or 1949 that most of the colleges, for instance, have dropped all their courses on ethics or religion; you will find most of the colleges dropped their courses -- even the law schools dropped their courses -- on constitutional law. That is a strange kind of thing, even in New York State. Many law schools dropped the courses on constitutional law.

Mr. SCHERER. I didn't know that.

Dr. DODD. That is true. That change in curriculum is an interesting thing because it changes your method of approach. If your law schools drop their courses on constitutional law, how much more do the liberal arts colleges do it? Within the Constitution, within the Bill of Rights, we are very fortunate in that they were written at a particular time by a particular group of men. We have the whole [1768 - 1769] genius of the American type of government. Unless the American people understand it and appreciate it, they can't fight to defend it. When the Communists come along with something that seems so superior, they have nothing with which to oppose it.

Mr. CLARDY. You say some of the law schools you are acquainted with in New York have actually dropped the study of constitutional law?

Dr. DODD. In most places, it was not a compulsory part of the curriculum.

Mr. CLARDY. It is compulsory in the school I graduated from at Ann Arbor.

Dr. DODD. It wasn't compulsory in the school I went to.

You will be interested in noting the catalogs about ethics [sic], courses on religion, courses on the Bible; they have practically been dropped out of the college curricula.

It is a method of despiritualizing the American people.

Mr. CLARDY. A part of the overall movement?

Dr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Why are teachers, above all, so desired by communism?

Dr. DODD. Well, I guess the Communists know that the old people living in America today are not going to make the revolution. They are not the people who are going to count. They count on the young people, and those who control the youth are the people who control the future of this country.

Mr. CLARDY. That is the reasoning that Hitler used, isn't it?

Dr. DODD. That is the reasoning that any people have who are out to control.

Mr. CLARDY. Seize the minds of the youth, and you will have them in due course to control the Nation?

Dr. DODD. For better or for worse. I am for the Americans seizing the minds of the youth and giving them standards to live by which are part of the western culture.

Mr. CLARDY. May I ask a question on a related subject? I had occasion to answer a question on this subject myself, and I would like to have yours. Do you agree that it would be a wholesome thing if not only constitutional law and the American system as a whole were taught, but that the youth were taught all about communism, all about socialism, all about the various isms, so that they might be able to draw a real conclusion as to which was the better?

Dr. DODD. I certainly believe the American people have got to stop fooling around with just fighting communism in the abstract. They have got to know what the thing means, why they are against it, and how to fight it.

Mr. CLARDY. Teaching it, not advocating it, of course, but teaching it so that the pupils from an early age will understand what it is all about, would be one of the most effective ways of combating it, don't you think?

Dr. DODD. I think it is absolutely essential. When 37 people out of 100 are living in a Communist regime, certainly we ought to know what it means and our people ought to understand it and pose it against the things we believe.

Mr. CLARDY. I learned one thing in the hearings at Los Angeles that still has me staggered. It was to the effect that the Communists [1769 - 1770] actually took nursery rhymes and treated them to follow the party lines so they might seize the mind of youth even in the kindergarten stage?

Dr. DODD. That is not unusual, is it? After all, if you are going to seize the minds of children, you seize them as early as possible.

That is one of the things the Communists have done. I am for nursery schools for working women, certainly, but the Communists have come out with a program for nursery schools for everyone.

In the nursery schools, you begin by affecting the children by emphasizing material values. You eliminate, for instance, from the nursery school rhymes and anything that has to do with religion. At Christmas you deal with Christmas as a pagan holiday. You choose the rhymes, choose the activities, and you follow the educational philosophy which says the child is just a blank page. He learns only by doing. You adopt that philosophy and implement it.

Mr. CLARDY. The party is dedicated, then, from the beginning, to destroying all belief in God, all belief in religion, all belief in man's right to be an individual, in fact, just destroying everything that we think is worthwhile in life?

Dr. DODD. There is no doubt about the fact that the first enemy of the Communist is a belief in the fact that you are created by a Divine Creator. That they have to get rid of before anything else. If they can wipe that out, then it is easy, because if you don't believe in a God, all you believe in is better material advancement, and the Communists promise greater material advancement for all.

Mr. SCHERER. Because we believe in America as so stated, our inalienable rights come from the Creator?

Dr. DODD. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, teachers, then, obviously play an important part in the Communist scheme of things in teaching youth. Contrary-wise, do teachers as such, intellectual people as such, do they play an important part in the higher realms of party control? In other words, do they want such people there, or do they not want such people there?

Dr. DODD. Well, there are a few teachers who become topnotch party leaders.

Mr. KUNZIG. Such as yourself?

Dr. DODD. But, by and large, teachers are used. Intellectuals are used because the Communist Party distrusts all bourgeois education. They would much prefer to take a man who has had a third or fourth grade education, send him to a national training school of the Communist Party, and give him the slogans and the ideologies of Marxism and Leninism and have him become the important person who becomes the leader of the party.

While they use it all the time, they are contemptuous of bourgeois education. Very few from the intellectual groups become leaders of the Communist Party. In 1935, I was a member of the cadre committee; a cadre committee.

Mr. CLARDY. What is that name?

Dr. DODD. Cadre committee. That committee was supposed to screen all the past leadership and decide whether they should remain as leaders or not. I was a young person and put on that committee; I don't know why; just nominated from the floor, and when we went through the list of people who came before us, I was aghast when each [1770 - 1771] one repeated the same type of story: "My mother took in washing," or, "My family was poor,"

They made themselves poor. They said they were poor, that they only went to the third grade, "but I became a leader." If you had an education, you really became a little embarrassed about it.

I remember at that time asking Alexander Trachtenberg about this phenomena, and he said that was just so much talk, that Stalin studied for the priesthood, and Lenin was a lawyer. That gave me a sense of the dishonesty of it, then, that they would constantly belittle themselves to emphasize the fact that proletarians were capable of rising to leadership.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you try to infiltrate not only teachers in universities and also infiltrate teachers' schools -- in other words, teachers who taught the teachers?

Dr. DODD. The rule was, wherever possible, you made contacts and you tried to place people into positions of influence.

Communists don't like to be in jobs which don't have influence. They don't like ordinary workers' jobs.

Mr. CLARDY. They are seeking after power, aren't they?

Dr. DODD. Yes. Teachers' institutions are very powerful institutions because if you are teaching teachers, and they go out and teach others, the realm of your influence is very great.

Mr. CLARDY. That sucker list theory, just expanded?

Dr. DODD. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. I would like to ask you a personal question, if I may, Dr. Dodd, to this effect: You talked previously about how Communist teachers influence their students. Do you feel that you yourself as a Communist teacher influenced students?

Dr. DODD. There is no doubt in my mind that I influenced students. I was teaching economics; I was teaching political science, history. These are subjects which are very easily influenced by a Marxist-Leninist approach. I was teaching during the period of the depression, and during that period the Communists said the reason for the depression was the breakdown in the capitalist system and the only thing which would obviate any future depressions would be elimination of the system. Change the system, and you would have no more depressions.

Unfortunately, there were no other answers being given at the time. The Communist answer was the easiest answer to give. It was easy to just push the students in that direction.

Mr. CLARDY. Wouldn't you say. Doctor, that it is just simply impossible for a genuine Communist to divide himself, more or less, and isolate the Communist thinking from his other thinking when he goes into the classroom?

Dr. DODD. It is impossible for him to divide himself. He is a Communist primarily.

Mr. CLARDY. When he goes in the classroom, he is entirely a Communist and anything he thinks is bound to influence what he does and says about things, isn't it?

Dr. DODD. And what he influences the students to do.

Mr. SCHERER. He can't teach objectively?

Dr. DODD. It is impossible. You talk to your students; you can't tear yourself apart. [1771 - 1772]

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, if I might suggest it, this might be a good moment for a break.

Mr. SCHERER. We will recess, then, gentlemen, until 1:30.

(Thereupon, at 12:20 p. m., the hearing was recessed to reconvene at 1:30 p.m. same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(At the hour of 1 :45 p. m., of the same day, the proceedings were resumed, the same parties being present.)

TESTIMONY OF BELLA V. DODD-- Resumed

Mr. SCHERER. The committee will be in session.

You may proceed, Mr. Counsel, with the witness.

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. Dodd, you were talking before about the Communist purpose, what they do. Could you describe further the Communist sense of participation for world good, so to speak; how they are led into this type of thinking and their belief in what they themselves are doing?

Dr. DODD. Well, the Communist movement does give to the individual person who feels sort of lost in this world a sense of participation in something which is much bigger than himself. He has a sense of belonging to a world movement so that if the Chinese are making a revolution he feels a part of that Chinese movement. He not only feels a part of it but he pledges his own loyalty and his own support.

This is one of the explanations why the Communist movement has grown so rapidly among people, particularly among people who are dispossessed, people who do not feel a part of things in this world, people who have given up any real belief in a fundamental philosophy of life or religion. They give themselves a sense of participation in great things in the world.

Mr. KUNZIG. If they feel they are doing great things and good things -- and everyone likes to feel that what he is doing is good -- how does a Communist interpret the millions of people in concentration camps under the heel of the Russian Government?

Dr. DODD. Mr. Counselor, I want to assure you that genuine Communists don't believe that. They believe that is nothing but propaganda issued by the imperialists or capitalists. They do not believe there are any people in the concentration camps of the Soviet Union. If you brought them statistics, they wouldn't believe it. They believe only their own propagandists, or those who will make statements similar to their own propagandists.

Mr. CLARDY. Even when Dave Dallin or someone comes from Russia and tells them?

Dr. DODD. One of the sorriest examples I can give you is myself. As late as 1949, I was asked the question, "How about the people in the concentration camps in Russia?"

I said, "I am not aware of the fact that there are concentration camps in Russia. I don't know."

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, having been, as you just said, a personal victim of the Communist conspiracy, what would be your message of warning to the teachers of this Nation on this problem?

Dr. DODD. I have a great deal of respect for both the public and private schools of America. American education, by and large, has [1772 - 1773] given us a wonderful body of people, trained and skilled to make the wonders of American industry.

I think, however, that the American teachers have to understand that education must have a basic philosophy and they must themselves drink deep of the political genius of America as embodied in the *Declaration of Independence* and the *Bill of Rights*.

They must have a philosophy consonant with the Hebraic-Christian tradition, which has been the basis of western civilization. I think teachers must understand that they are the guardians of America's future; and, by and large, I think the teachers have been fulfilling and will fulfill this duty. The unusual persons in their midst who get trapped in the Communist conspiracy, they must recognize, they must label, and they must help that person as a person.

I don't mean that the teachers on the campus are to hurt the Communist teachers, but they must label them so that they are out in the open. That is the thing which the teachers of America can do. They know who the Communists are on the campus. They know better than any investigating committee could ever know. They are the ones who can avert this great danger which faces America.

Mr. KUNZIG. But, at least to all signs at present, they have not done it, have they?

Mr. DODD. Well, it is an uneven thing. In some communities they have, and in other communities they have not. In some communities they have allowed themselves to be pulled into a group whom they call "liberals"; and, on the ground of the right of every person to believe as he sees fit, they have allowed themselves to become supporters of the very members of this conspiracy.

This is not liberalism, not liberalism in the finest sense of the word. This is just allowing the Communist to pull them into a propaganda environment which says that "anyone who is close to the Communist is a liberal. I do not believe that is the definition of "a liberal."

A liberal is a person who believes in the right of the individual to function. The Communist does not believe in the right of the individual. They believe only in the right of the collective. The individual is only part of a collective group, and whenever he doesn't move according to the collective he is ousted from the group.

Mr. KUNZIG. So you would say that when so-called liberals today, self-denominated liberals, support and work with the Communist program, they are being deluded into thinking they are helping a liberal cause when it is not liberal.

Dr. DODD. One of the great tragedies today is that these Americans do not realize that this would take civilization back to a barbarism which existed long before the Christian era.

Mr. KUNZIG. I wanted to ask you a little bit about another country which I always felt personally was one of the greatest free countries in Europe, and that is the country of Czechoslovakia. Certainly it was one of the finest democracies in the world at one time, was it not?

Mr. DODD. Yes, and took many of its ideas from the American Constitution.

Mr. KUNZIG. That country was formed in Philadelphia in front of our Liberty Bell in the days of President Wilson.

That country fell. I wanted to ask you whether you feel that America might some day succumb to the same type of thinking that [1773 - 1774] communism hands out unless we are able to break up this thought that they have.

Dr. DODD. There is no doubt in my mind that Czechoslovakia didn't fall before an armed force, but fell because the intellectuals and professional groups in Czechoslovakia came to the conclusion that communism was their salvation. They are the ones who opened the door to the Soviet Union. It is quite possible in the United States to have -- it is not a very difficult thing for a country to fall. It isn't a question -- we must get away from the idea that a country falls by guns alone. A country falls when we adopt Communist ideas and move in the direction of communism. The battle for America is house by house, street by street, city by city. It is a question of asking our- selves what ideas and ideals are we living by?

The Communists have a way of changing names and labels. When the old names become discredited, they change these names. They change the name of the Communist Party. In some South American countries, you have any number of parties that do not go under the name of Communist Party.

How shall we recognize them, then? We can only recognize them by the fact that they believe that there is no God; that a person is just born, grows, dies, decays, and that is the end. They believe that the individual doesn't matter; that the collective matters. They believe that certain people should have the power to run a country.

When these principles are evident, no matter what labels they are under, we recognize them as signs of communism. It is not up to the teachers alone, but to each father and mother. Each person within our country has the job of defeating Communist ideas. It is up to Congress to ferret out the organized agents of communism. It is up to our FBI to do that. The rest of us have the job of building a strong America, strengthening the family life, strengthening the virtues of the individual.

If you have a strong family life, and you obliterate some of the social inequities that exist, and I want to add that, because I think the Communists feed upon social inequities; whenever there is injustice, discrimination, against a Jewish person, foreign born persons or Negro persons, they grow. It is up to us to eradicate those injustices. If we do that, we needn't fear communism.

Mr. KUNZIG. I wondered, Dr. Dodd, if you possibly recall an experience you had recently at the University of Connecticut with regard to this situation you had there? Do you want to tell the committee that? It was with regard to what happened to a boy in Czechoslovakia.

Dr. DODD. I didn't know you heard that story. I was at the University of Connecticut not long ago, and I had a lot of questions asked me pro and con. Many of the people were saying, "How about freedom of thought and so on?"

After answering the questions to the best of my ability for about an hour and a half, a boy got up. He had on a leather jacket. In rather broken English, he said, "You fellows here at the university are speaking exactly as we talked in Czechoslovakia 5 years ago. It is too late for us, but it isn't too late for you."

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, I wanted to ask you if you would read to the committee and into the record from a publication called The Com- [1774 - 1775] -munist, the theoretical magazine of the Communist Party, an article written in 1937 at the time the Teachers' Union was at its peak, an article called, The Schools Are the People's Front. This was written by a man called Richard Frank. If you have no copy, I have one here. I wanted to ask you if you would give the committee the exact words from this article to show what the viewpoint of the Communist is.

Dr. DODD. This was an article written by a young Communist who was recruited from the University of Virginia and who became a functionary of the Communist Party. This article was written in 1937, in the magazine called *The Communist*, which was the theoretical organ for the Communist Party.

This had to do with the duties and functions of the teachers in education -- Communist teachers in the educational system.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is why I think it is important to present this to the committee.

Dr. DODD. These are just excerpts from it.

That which is most immediately apparent to anyone who studies public education must be the fact that the public school system is part of the state machinery, and the function of the state machinery being to subjugate the proletariat and the toiling masses in general to the rule of the bourgeoisie, the role of the public school system cannot be isolated from this general function of the capitalist state.

This merely means that the Communists believe that our Government [sic] is the instrument of class domination. That the rule is made by the employers, not by the employees; by the owners of the property, but not by those who are without property, and therefore, the schools, being a part of the state apparatus are also instruments of oppressing the proletariat.

On the next page, Frank says --

Because of the economic hardships of their home life, the majority of the children develop a feeling of hatred for the bourgeois public school system. This hatred develops that spirit of rebelliousness which is to be found in every public schoolroom.

The rebelliousness of the school children directed against a part of the state machinery itself is something that Communists cannot afford to ignore. This, together with their desire for knowledge and social life, must form the starting point for our work among the students in the schools. The problem is rather how to guide and direct that spirit of rebelliousness which already exists.

And then, of course, he makes certain recommendations, that we ought to get the student into the Young Communist League.

The Young Communist League must endeavor to raise the spirit of rebellion found among school children to a level of higher consciousness by educating the student on the basis of their own experience to a realization of the class basis for the oppressive nature of the schools and to a realization of how the school system under a workers' and farmers' government would deal with the immediate problems of the majority of students, imparting to them, with the utmost solicitude for their own interests, that warm and friendly culture of their own class.

In other words, this emphasizes the class structure thesis of the Communists. Then, he goes on to say --

The task of the Communist Party must be first and foremost to arouse the teachers to class consciousness and to organize them into the union.

Communist teachers are therefore faced with a tremendous social responsibility. They must consider not merely their own teaching problems, but the problems of the children. They must

take advantage of their position without exposing themselves, to give their students, to the best of their ability, the working-class education. [1775 - 1776]

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, how much money, may I ask, did you earn with the party?

Dr. DODD. Well, I think --

Mr. KUNZIG. Per week or per month?

Dr. DODD. One of the things Americans must understand, the large number of Americans that get "sucked" into the Communist Party, do it through idealism. I was an instructor at Hunter College when I resigned. I resigned because I wanted to go into the labor movement. I went in the Teachers' Union and I received \$60 a week. I never took more than \$60 a week for all the 8 or 9 years I was with the Teachers' Union. When I was asked to serve as the legislative representative of the Communist Party, I received the sum of \$50 a week as pay, and that was \$42 a week take-home pay. You may say, "Weren't you foolish, with your education, to take that kind of money?"

We weren't doing it for pay. We were doing it because we really believed in it. That doesn't close my eyes to the fact that there were people in the party who were getting a great many economic advantages by being in the party because salaries were uneven. It depended upon what your needs were or what the party leaders thought your needs were. The more idealistic you were, the more they kept you in this stage. That was the reason why we took the salary we did. Most of the men who worked in the party worked for very low salaries.

Mr. KUNZIG. Doctor, while you were a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, were you ever sent around the United States to coordinate the units by settling strifes or things that may have been evident, and if so, were you ever sent to Ohio?

Dr. DODD. Yes; I was in Ohio in early 1945 or late 1944. I was a member of the national committee. I was sent to Cleveland and within about 75 or a hundred mile radius, I stopped in the various places where the party was having problems and tried to coordinate, tried to eliminate strife, and tried to clarify the line for them.

At that time, we were just at the end of the war period and beginning this new postwar era, and the party was uncertain as to what line we should follow. This was just before we got the Duclos letter and much strife had risen in the party at that time. It was my duty to talk to party functionaries, to party union leaders, and to various other functionaries of the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, Herbert Philbrick, who was an undercover agent of the FBI, testified the Communist Party ordered the members in white-collar positions, to seek employment in factories. This has been followed, obviously, because Communist investigations have shown some individuals who were proven Communists were holders of Ph. D.'s, for example, and were working in factory assembly lines.

Can you explain this situation?

Dr. DODD. Well, I tell you, the directions of the party differed. In general, the party tried to proletarianize the educated members of the party. They tried to get them to feel like workers, to be with the workers and to actually live the life of the workers, but at the same time, the party selected certain of the intellectuals to go into higher positions.

Let me assure you that just as many Communists as you had going down into the ranks of the workers, you also had many people who [1776 - 1777] were being put into very elegant situations, I mean Communists who were very comfortable in dinner jackets and in high society.

In other words, the party knew how to distribute its forces, but in general, they attempted to proletarianize their white-collar workers, feeling that they had nothing to lose but their chains, feeling that they had more in common with the workers of the world than with citizens within their own country.

Mr. KUNZIG. I would like to have you remove a doubt in case any exists as to the fact that a majority of the teachers support communism. Of course, that isn't so. I would like to have you comment on that.

Dr. DODD. There are many teachers in America, and 99.99 are against communism if they know anything about it, and they are loyal Americans. The small percentage who are Communists are effective because they are so well organized, so well sychronized [sic] and that is the group we want to reach.

Mr. KUNZIG. I certainly hope and I feel sure that your testimony here today will reach many of these people and make them realize the problems of communism.

I have no further questions.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. CLARDY, do you have any questions?

Mr. CLARDY. No, I do not.

I want to present to you, Mrs. Dodd, the feeling which I have which I am sure is reflected by other members of the committee. I think you have made an important contribution to the committee's work, the work of the Congress in combatting this evil of communism.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. WALTER.

Mr. WALTER. I want to join with my colleague, Mr. Clardy, but I think you have done more than that. I think your contribution today has been equal to that, perhaps, of a division of American soldiers in this fight against communism, and I only hope that what you have done, which wasn't easy, I know, will give enough courage- to other educated people, so that they will do what must be done.

Mr. SCHERER. Dr. Dodd, my two colleagues have expressed very ably the sentiments of the committee, and I want to thank you for coming here.

You are discharged from further attendance under the subpoena. [end - 1777]

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE PHILADELPHIA AREA - Part 1

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

NOVEMBER 16, 1953

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
United States House of Representatives

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Public Law 601, 79th Congress

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2-- RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Rule X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

Rule XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83D CONGRESS

House Resolution 5. January 3, 1953

* * * * *

Rule X

STANDING COMMITTEES

I. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

* * * * *

Rule XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE
PHILADELPHIA AREA -- Part 1

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1953

United States House of Representatives,
Subcommittee of the Committee on Un-
American Activities,
Philadelphia, Pa.

PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:37 a. m., in courtroom No. 1, United States Courthouse, Ninth and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia, Pa., Hon. Harold H. Velde (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Harold H. Velde, Kit Clardy, and Francis E. Walter.

Staff members present: Robert L. Kunzиг, counsel; Earl Fuoss, and C. E. McKillips, investigators; and Juliette P. Joray, acting clerk.

Mr. VELDE. The subcommittee will be in order.

Mr. Reporter, let the record show that under the authority of the House of Representatives I am designating for the purpose of this hearing a subcommittee composed of Representatives Kit Clardy of Michigan, Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, and myself, of Illinois, as chairman.

Hearings relating to Communist activities in the Philadelphia area were instituted by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in October 1952. At that time the hearings dealt largely with the Communist efforts and their success in infiltrating into the vital defense industries in the Philadelphia area. The hearings which are commencing today are a resumption of those hearings and are based on investigations which have been conducted by the staff of the House Committee on Un-American Activities over the past year.

There has been some question raised particularly by the critics of the committee as to what right we have in holding hearings in the Philadelphia area and elsewhere. I should like to make it absolutely clear at this time that the committee is operating not solely on a right but more specifically on a duty which has been assigned to it by the Congress of the United States to ascertain the scope and success of subversive activities and propaganda both of foreign and domestic origin.

The committee is, therefore, charged with the responsibility of investigating subversion wherever it might be found relating to the United States of America.

During the course of the hearings which will follow, the committee intends to call a number of witnesses who have, through the course of the committee's investigation, been identified as either present or past [2885 - 2886] participants in a subversive organization, the Communist Party. It is the hope of the committee in calling these witnesses that they will add to the information already possessed by the committee of the operation and intent of the Communist Party as relates to the Philadelphia area.

In accordance with the power granted me by the committee, I have given permission for the televising of these hearings. This permission is given with the clear understanding that any such televising can be done only on a public-service basis. The committee appreciates the courtesy which has already been extended by the city of Philadelphia and other authorities in the Federal courthouse "here. We appreciate it more than they know. It has been a pleasure to be here so far and we expect it to be a continued pleasure to be here.

Mr. Counsel, will you proceed with your first witness?

Mr. KUNZIG. I call Dr. Bella Dodd." Will she please step forward?

Mr. VELDE. In the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee, do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so "help you God?

Dr. DODD. I do.

TESTIMONY OF BELLA V. DODD

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you state your full name, please, Dr. Dodd?

Dr. DODD. Bella V. Dodd.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is your present address. Dr. Dodd?

Dr. DODD. One hundred West 42d Street.

Mr. KUNZIG. In New York?

Dr. DODD. New York City.

Mr. KUNZIG. You understand, of course, your right to have an attorney. I take it you do not have one here this morning and so you prefer to testify without an attorney?

Dr. DODD. My attorney could not be here this morning.

Mr. KUNZIG. You are an attorney yourself, is that right?

Dr. DODD. I am.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you state. Dr. Dodd, a resume of your educational background for the record?

Dr. DODD. I am a product of the public schools of the city of New York, both elementary and high school.

I went to the Hunter College where I received my A.B. I did my master's work at Columbia University. I worked toward a doctorate in philosophy and then I switched into the legal division and went to New York University where I received a degree of doctor of jurisprudence.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you then give the committee a resume of your employment background?

Dr. DODD. I was employed by the city of New York as a high school teacher for a brief period of several months upon graduation from Hunter College.

I then became employed by Hunter College as an instructor, first as a tutor and then instructor of political science. I taught at Hunter College from 1926 to 1938.

In 1935 I became interested in the Teachers' Union movement and began organizing, on a voluntary basis, with the Teachers' Union in 1936. [2886 - 2887]

In 1938 I took a full-time job as an organizer for the Teachers' Union and became its legislative representative and State organizer for a period from 1938 to 1943, or the end of 1943 or the beginning of 1944.

Mr. CLARDY. State organizer in New York?

Dr. DODD. Yes, I became the State organizer for the State Federation of Teachers' Unions in the State of New York.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you continue, please?

Dr. DODD. Yes, sir; in 1944 I became an employee of the Communist Party and was the legislative representative of the New York district of the Communist Party.

As a member of the national committee I remained as a member of the national committee until 1948.

Mr. KUNZIG. As a member of the national committee of what?

Dr. DODD. Of the Communist Party. I remained until 1948. But my employment with the Communist Party ended, from a salary point of view, in 1946.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see. Please continue.

Dr. DODD. Since then I have been practicing law as a private entrepreneur.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, I want to ask you: Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. DODD. Yes, I have been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Obviously you were if you were a member of the national committee of the party. During what years were you a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. DODD. Well, because I was in the professional field, membership and working with the Communist Party kind of merged with each other. I didn't become a member of the Communist Party until the end of 1943, but before then I had worked with the Communist Party from 1932 on, and by the time I became affiliated with the Teachers' Union I was under discipline from the Communist Party, a voluntary discipline in many respects, but I worked with the Communist Party from 1935 in its inner workings on until I got out.

Mr. CLARDY. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. Yes, 'Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. You say you officially became a member at a certain time. By that do you mean that you became a card-carrying member? Explain that a little more, please.

Dr. DODD. Well, Mr. Clardy, this question of card carrying has been overemphasized in the public mind.

Mr. CLARDY. I know it. That is why I am asking the question.

Dr. DODD. Most of us who were professionally connected with or had some key position in the national organization were practically [sic] told not to carry cards. Some of us became members and some just worked with the party, attending its secret meetings, attending its fraction meetings, and attending its inner meetings without actually being members of a cell or unit.

We gave contributions to the Communist Party at mass meetings or to one individual. These were not called dues so the question of the relationship of a person in a key organization or an important person professionally in the Communist Party never just depends upon card carrying, and I became a card-carrying member of the [40168--53--pt.1---2] [2887 - 2888] Communist Party when I officially and openly joined the Communist Party and was put in as one of their officers.

Mr. CLARDY. You were received in the circle without the card prior to that time?

Dr. DODD. As a matter of fact, I might state that I was a much more influential and important member during the years when I did not carry a card, influential as far as the mass organizations were concerned. I became more influential in the inner circles when I was selected to the national committee.

Mr. CLARDY. Thank you.

Mr. VELDE. Dr. Dodd, it has always been interesting to me as a member of the committee, and I am sure it has to the other members and I think it is interesting to the loyal American people to learn just how a person becomes a member of the Communist Party, to find out what is in a person's mind, how he is indoctrinated, and I believe you can very efficiently and very ably tell the committee what was in your mind and how you were indoctrinated into the Communist Party.

Dr. DODD. People join the Communist Party for different reasons, but I think the large mass of young people both in the colleges and in the trade-union movements and in other mass organizations are trapped into the Communist Party little by little and on immediate issues rather than upon the fundamental philosophy of communism.

For instance, I myself was a young teacher in 1932. I had come back from Germany where I had seen fascism. I knew fascism was wrong and I am proud of the fact that I opposed both fascism and nazism at that time. But the Communists were very clever in giving us two alternatives, which really were not alternatives. They put themselves at the head of the anti-Fascist movement. They said "We are the great anti-Fascists" and since you wanted to fight fascism you fell into the trap of working with the Communists.

In 1932 they first approached me on the question of uniting in the fight against fascism, and since I had been to Germany and seen the terrible things they could do, I fell for the propaganda line of the Communists. I know now, as practically all Americans are beginning to realize, that these alternatives are false and propaganda alternatives, that actually the Communist movement is nothing but a more intensified kind of fascism, but at that time it was difficult to tell. I know now that every single drop of crude oil used by the Italian armies in fighting Abyssinia was sold to them by the Soviet Union. That was not common knowledge nor did they tell anyone that was what they were doing.

Mr. VELDE. You have mentioned other reasons why someone might get into the Communist Party. What were some of those other reasons?

Dr. DODD. If you are in a trade union, that might be one of the reasons, because the trade union is bedeviled with racketeering. The Communists say "We will cleanse it of the racketeering."

They do work very hard until they gain control. Once they gain control, they have no objection to anything, including racketeering, to hold onto their power. But you do not see the entire picture. You are attracted to communism step by step by the immediate issues which seem good in themselves.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

Mr. VELDE. Yes. [2888 - 2889]

Mr. WALTER. The thing that disturbs me is that after all the membership of certain labor unions is aware of the fact that the leadership is Communist and that they keep that leadership.

For instance, recently in the election or the convention of the United Electrical Workers they elected well-known Communists to office in that union. How can that happen?

Dr. DODD. Well, it happens for two reasons. You put your finger on perhaps the most important single organized Communist group in America, which is the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America. The leadership of that is a very strong party leadership trained in Moscow. They have a great deal of money and are tightly knit. The ordinary worker does not have too much time for politics in a union.

He goes to work and if his salary is inadequate he maybe takes a job after work. Maybe he has home duties, but the Communists make a 24-hour-a-day job of this thing.

When it comes to elections they are beginning to control who shall hold a job in these industries and who shall not; people are frightened of moving the union leadership out of power for fear of losing their own jobs.

May I add that some of our industrialists are not being very wise about the relations they had with the Communists because the Communists, as far as the industrialists are concerned, provide a leadership which provides stability for the industrialists. They are perfectly willing to deal with them and therefore they work on the idea that the union is accepted by the industrialists.

Mr. WALTER. Isn't it a fact that some of the corporations in which the United Electrical Workers Union is a bargaining agent are satisfied to retain that sort of a union because the leadership cannot be militant and the workers are not actually faring as well with the Communist leadership as they would with other leadership?

Dr. DODD. I am convinced of that, Congressman, but the people are not as yet. I know that when the Communists took control of a union they were militant as could be until they got control. They fought the racketeers and they fought bad conditions. Once they got control they spent all of their time tying the workers into welfare plans of the union, educational plans of the union, but seldom actually putting up the kind of fight which is needed for the improvement of economic conditions of these workers.

Mr. CLARDY. What this is leading up to apparently is the fact that Congress perhaps should be giving some thought to further erecting barriers against dealings between Communist unions on the one hand and employers on the other hand.

Dr. DODD. I think the members themselves ought to be drawing some conclusions as to where they are leading the American people by dealing with the strong Communist unions. It isn't the unions themselves, but the top leaders.

Mr. CLARDY. You are making it quite clear to me that perhaps there is need for some additional leadership that will make it apparent to even the dumbest of the industrialists that their relations with the Communist leaders of the unions can have nothing but bad effects.

Mr. WALTER. Isn't it true with respect to the defense contracts? Don't you think Congress should give consideration to the advis- [2889 - 2890]-ability of making it impossible to award a contract to a company that has relationships with a Communist-dominated union?

Dr. DODD. I certainly do. I understand that we are giving war contracts for the manufacture of war materials to Communist unions in northern Italy. In other words, we are taking employment from here and giving it to Europe. Stuff is being manufactured and is being of great help to building up the Communist unions there and the Communist leaders in Italy are able to say to their workers in their unions "Look, we got the work for you."

Mr. WALTER. You have been correctly informed and I have just returned from Europe and it is a fact. It is perfectly shocking to me. What we are doing is nurturing a movement which is inimical to the interests of the free peoples of the world.

Mr. CLARDY. I concur with what you have just said.

Mr. VELDE. I concur with both you gentlemen. But we have a lot of difficulty in identifying a Communist-dominated union. Who shall be the authority to identify a Communist Party union as such? Now in order to pass such a law we would have to have quite a bit more information.

As an able lawyer and as a former member of the Communist Party I think you could give us some advice on that.

Dr. DODD. I think both the American Federation of Labor and the CIO and the Railroad Brotherhoods of America could, working with Congress, I think, find a formula whereby this thing can be done. Everyone knows which are the Communist-dominated unions, only everyone is afraid to put their finger on them.

Mr. VELDE. This matter I understand will come up at the next session of Congress in the Labor Committee, of which I am also a member, when it attempts to amend the Taft-Hartley law.

One of the points is to amend it so that we can more effectively handle this Communist domination of the labor unions. We will appreciate any advice that you and also your distinguished colleagues can give us on that.

Mr. CLARDY. I think it will come up with my bill to outlaw the Communist Party when that is up for consideration by either this committee or your committee or some other committee.

Mr. VELDE. Please continue, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, could you please tell the committee what offices you have had in the Communist Party? Tell us in detail.

Dr. DODD. I was a member of the State committee in New York from 1944 to 1948.

I was a member of the national committee from 1944 to 1948.

I was a member of the State secretariat of the New York district which consisted of Gil Green, Bill Lawrence, Israel Amter, and myself.

That was from the period of late 1943 to 1946. The membership changed during that period but I was on until 1946.

I have been a member of various committees of the party such as the women's commission, the labor commission, the youth commission, the legislative commission, and any number of other committees which arise.

The Communist Party on the inside doesn't have any rigid organizational pattern. It has committees which can be easily set up and taken apart. It is very mobile as far as organizational structure is concerned. [2890 - 2891]

On the fronts of the party I served in many capacities. As a matter of fact it would be impossible to enumerate the number of committees initiated by the party on which I served.

Mr. KUNZIG. Explain a little bit, if you will, how these Communist fronts operate.

Dr. DODD. Well, the pattern I guess is about the same in all, but the Communist Party decides that a certain bit of propaganda shall take hold of the minds of the people. They set up committees and everything is geared toward building that line. Assume that they set up a committee to fight the Velde committee, the Un-American Activities Committee. They have for a long time. Then all you do is build up a number of seemingly nonpartisan people. For instance, you might get a college professor who is a party member but not known as a party member. He then sends a telegram to 1 or 2 or 3 other professors and then they establish themselves as a temporary committee to fight the Un-American Activities Committee. To facilitate that they send out 1,000 or so communications to different names they have and ask such a question as, "Will you join us to fight this?" And then they set up the committee.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would the Communist Party use a list of names of good, decent American citizens who were, shall we say, gullible or willing to agree to almost anything that would come to them, and did they use that list of names, if you know?

Dr. DODD. The Communist Party in its various divisions had lists of many people who had been sympathetic or who could be used on various Communist-front organizations.

As a matter of fact, if I were put in charge of a committee to build the Un-American Activities campaign, I would be given a list of ministers, teachers, trade-union people, newspapers, writers, actors, dancers or what will you, politicians, people in public life. These names would be given to me and telephone numbers and addresses, and I would be free to go ahead and consult with them about serving on my committee.

Mr. KUNZIG. And these names would be given to you by the Communist Party; is that correct?

Dr. DODD. By some one person in the Communist Party in charge of that division. There is no centralized list of these things because they avoid centralization because of the danger that there is to it.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Is it the general idea through that apparatus you have described to then, by the mere punching of a button, so to speak, make it appear that all over America there is a concerted desire, for example, that this committee be abolished or that McCarthy be condemned to perdition, and so on?

Dr. DODD. You can set up a committee like that in a week and have the newspaper publicity for it almost immediately.

You can have 500 names listed in a week of people who support you.

For example, you send a telegram or a letter saying: "Dear Professor, we are setting up such-and-such a committee. May we hear from you? If we don't hear from you we will add your name to the list."

A lot of people, by reason of inertia, do not reply. Then the committee does publicity work and it appears in the New York Times, the Herald Tribune, and all the leading papers, and this would have a [2891 - 2892] tremendous impact upon the public, the publication of the list of names of 1,000 or 500 college professors all across the country.

Mr. CLARDY. Trying to create the impression of a storm of protest, whereas it is a tempest [sic] in a teapot?

Dr. DODD. This is what makes it so difficult to know what are the facts in the case.

Mr. WALTER. I recently had my attention called to a committee in Chicago whose purpose it was to advocate the repeal of the McCarran-Walter immigration law. This committee is composed of many representative people, including 99 clergymen, which is the point that was stressed. What is not known, but I know it and can prove it, is that this committee is being financed by one of the oldest Communist-front organizations in America. Yet here are these 99 clergymen lending themselves to this movement.

Dr. DODD. That is quite the usual pattern. You see you might have a committee which was set up by them, a front committee, yet which was so closely identified with the Communist Party that they can manipulate public opinion in that way.

Mr. KUNZIG. I would like to turn the discussion for a moment to the professional group. Were there such organizations within the Communist Party for professional groups such as teachers and other professional men and women?

Dr. DODD. Yes; the Communist Party was very, very keen about organizing teachers, professors, educators, the intellectuals, because these are the molders of public opinion and these are the people who make the shift in public opinion for the country.

Very often it depended upon what period of history you were in as to whether the professional people became identified with the Communists or not. During a period when the Communist Party is in danger the professional people are more or less placed underground. As a matter of fact, one of the things we used to smile about -- that is, those of us who became openly known as party people -- was the

fear the professional people had, the timidity they had, and we would constantly egg them on to become open and known Communists, but at the same time we would protect those who were important to the

Mr. KUNZIG. Did I understand you to say that the teachers group was more closely knit and secret than others?

Dr. DODD. Teachers group and, for instance, other groups like doctors, lawyers, scientists, what will you, had their own separate organization and teachers particularly, since they were large in number, had to worry about the question of security and the question of losing their jobs, and they would be organized by themselves in certain periods of the party history.

During the period of the extreme united-front movement, the teachers were to join in street branches under different names and to merge themselves with housewives and others, but most of the time that I knew the party the teachers had their own special organization with just teachers. They never went to party headquarters and never went anywhere near where the party might be identified, but meetings were organized and held in out-of-the-way places, in private homes.

Mr. KUNZIG. You know, do you, as a matter of fact, from your own personal knowledge in your position as one of the national [2892 - 2893] leaders of the Communist Party, that there were Communist teacher groups throughout the United States of America?

Dr. DODD. I certainly do.

Mr. KUNZIG. Since it is obvious that the great majority of teachers in America are fine, loyal, and decent citizens, could you give the committee, if it lies within your knowledge, any estimate of the number of Communist teachers that there may have been during this period of time or when you were a member of the national committee of the party?

Dr. DODD. Well, in contrast to the fact that there are 1 million teachers in America, or a little more than 1 million teachers at present, from my knowledge the highest number of Communist Party members that we had among the teachers was never much more than 1,500. That is a very small group, but you must bear in mind that in America there are only, according to J. Edgar Hoover, 25,000 party members at present among 160 million citizens.

William Z. Foster in his book says there are 75,000 party members. But whether there are 75,000 or 25,000, it doesn't matter. The number is insignificant compared to the total population, yet we worry about the Communist situation.

But the same thing is true about the teachers. These 1,500 were all strategically placed and were so instructed and so alert to the problems which the party wanted to bring forward, that you cannot count their number. You must see the intensity with which they work and the training which they had in revolutionary techniques.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you have any connection with the teachers' unions during your period of time in the Communist Party?

Dr. DODD. Well, my connection with the unions preceded my real integration into the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Could you describe, Dr. Dodd, in detail how a teachers' union operates and your experience with the Teachers' Union?

Dr. DODD. Well, teachers' unions operate the same as all other unions. They are a branch of the large number and there is nothing wrong with teachers' unions. I have known of some very effective work done on behalf of teachers by Teachers' Unions.

The difficulty arises that when Communists take over a teachers' union they are not only interested in the economic welfare of the teachers but they begin to use the union for a political purpose, and that is where the real problem comes in because the Communists control the teachers' unions which they do infiltrate.

Teachers' union just operate the way any other unions operate. They are part of an international organization.

If you are familiar with the American Federation of Labor and the CIO and some of those which are independent, you will understand that they operate on the basis of affiliation with and support of the labor union and getting support from labor. Again I want to repeat that there is nothing wrong with teachers' unions as such.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you have any personal connection with the teachers' unions now existing in Philadelphia, particularly the one which has gone through a rather strenuous career? In 1940 and 1941 it was part of the American Federation of Labor and was known as local No. 192.

It is my understanding, and investigation on the part of the committee has shown, that they later were ousted from the American [2893 - 2894] Federation of Labor and there was quite a hearing and I understand that a Dr. Dodd, which I assume is yourself, represented the Teachers' Union at that time. I am interested in knowing whether you did represent the Teachers' Union and also whether this union employed or had as its representative a top Communist, yourself?

Dr. DODD. My first acquaintance with the Philadelphia local of the Teachers' Union came back in 1936 when the American Federation of Teachers held their convention here in Philadelphia. I got to know some of the local people here who were in the Teachers' Union. I also began recognizing almost from the very beginning in my career in the Teachers' Union that the New York local, the WPA teachers movement, the college teachers of New York, the Philadelphia local and a number of the other locals on the eastern seaboard were being manipulated and being guided and directed by the Communist Party.

The history of the Philadelphia local which is almost the history of the local union, has had almost the same pattern. The reason is obvious. During the period that I knew it, it was led, guided, and instructed by the same people.

Mr. KUNZIG. Whom you knew also to be members of the Communist Party?

Dr. DODD. Whom I knew to be leaders of the Communist Party. They were very much concerned about the Communist control within the American Federation of Teachers.

Around the period of the Stalin-Nazi pact in 1939 there were certain other forces of the American Federation of Teachers who decided to fight the Communist influence and, whereas they had not had much success during the Stalin-Nazi pact, they had a great deal of influence in fighting the Communist influence and they began pushing the Communist influence out of office in the American Federation of Teachers and forcing them out of positions of influence and ultimately ousting them, expelling them from the American Federation of Teachers.

It was during this period when I mistakenly thought that the attack was one upon free public education and I, with some help from the Communist Party, began to equate the attack upon the grounds as an

attack upon public education. I merged the two and in merging them I gained the sympathy of many people not Communists and got them to help the Communist Teachers' Union to get support in their fight against being ousted by the American Federation of Labor. We were ousted from the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. KUNZIG. The Philadelphia local was finally ousted?

Dr. DODD. Yes; and the New York local, too. Thereafter we remained independent for awhile and that was the Philadelphia and the New York locals, and the independent floundered around because the Communist Party at that time was shifting its policy into support for the war which we were entering, and during that period we were not eager to make any enemies or to attack anyone in the labor union, and the union remained expendable and the Teachers' Union became almost extinct, became very small during that period.

Mr. KUNZIG. Why was local No. 192 of the Teachers' Union here in Philadelphia thrown out of the American Federation of Labor? Was it for Communist activities?

Dr. DODD. All of those locals were thrown out because they were Communist-dominated unions. [2894 - 2895]

Mr. KUNZIG. And you as a member of the Communist Party at that time, testifying today before this committee, knew and now know that they were Communist dominated?

Dr. DODD. Yes, as a person who was teaching in the Communist conspiracy at that time, I knew that they were working to try to keep the Communist unions within the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. VELDE. Can you give us the date that the Philadelphia union was thrown out of the American Federation of Labor?

Dr. DODD. I am not certain whether it was late 1940 or the beginning of 1941

Mr. KUNZIG. I believe it was 1941 Then the group remained not affiliated for some period of time and finally became local No. 556 of the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America, CIO. They were finally accepted by the CIO; is that correct?

Dr. DODD. There again the negotiations for being affiliated with the CIO were carried out jointly by a joint committee of the Philadelphia and the New York locals and we hoped we could find someone and we shopped around for someone to take us into the big organization. At that time we approached the CIO and they would have nothing to do with us. We asked for them to establish a teachers' union and then we shopped around for the State, County, and Municipal Workers which was Communist led at that time and they agreed to take the ousted local of the American Federation of Labor into the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America.

Mr. KUNZIG. This State, County, and Municipal Workers of America became the United Public Workers of America, and on February 16, 1950, the United Public Workers of the CIO withdrew from the CIO and became independent.

Dr. DODD. Withdrew?

Mr. KUNZIG. Withdrew, and I say that with quotation marks around it. Do you know why they left the CIO?

Dr. DODD. That was the time that Philip Murray was determined to cleanse the CIO of the Communist-led unions.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you knew that that was one of the Communist-led unions, from your personal experience?

Dr. DODD. I certainly did.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew that because you were with those people.

Dr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. The Teachers' Union had gone through all these various committees and unions and national affiliations, and do you know as a matter of fact whether this is the same group of people, the same union as it was all during those years?

Dr. DODD. Well, I guess it has some change in membership but as an organized group it is the same.

Mr. KUNZIG. And it would have the same policy and the same leadership?

Dr. DODD. That I cannot tell you because I have not been close to it since I was there, but I would assume that it would.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, what instructions would the party give, if any, to Communist teachers?

Dr. DODD. The Communist Party is not interested in unions per se just to improve the working condition of the workers, and that includes the teachers as well as any other unions. [40168--53--pt.1---S] [2895 - 2896]

The Communist Party, in accordance with Lenin's theory of trade unionism, is that a union is important not for its economic force but for its political force and political power. Therefore, the Communist teachers who really were Communist Party members would have to understand that their union would have to play a political role and they would push them into the position of putting forth and supporting the Communist political objectives.

As far as the teaching of the children was concerned, there would have to be certain ideology. The children would have to be taught in accordance with the directives of the Communist Party. If the Communist Party directives are to eliminate the private ownership of property, children would have to be taught in that direction.

If the Communist Party believes -- and it does -- in eliminating all religion and all belief in God, then the Communist teachers would have to promote the Communist Party program as far as they possibly dare to do so and of course it was a question of judgment as to how far you could go without getting fired.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can a Communist teacher teach children and still be free to teach them all sides of every question, major sides of questions?

Dr. DODD. It is absolutely impossible for a person to tear himself apart and say "I am a Communist today but I am teaching geography or history tomorrow and therefore I will teach the non-Communist history or the non-Communist geography."

You may ask, is there a Communist geography to teach? Is there a Communist history to teach? The answer is obvious. A teacher teaches children. It is the things you say, the way you greet the children, the time you spend with them after hours, the books you recommend and the newspapers you recommend. That is where the Communist teacher is very clever in putting forth her ideology and making it a part of the pattern of the child's mind.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. We ran across a situation in Los Angeles where they even perverted the Mother Goose rhymes to promote the Communist Party line.

Dr. DODD. You would be surprised at just how some of the great heroes of America have been perverted to promote the Communist Party line.

Mr. CLARDY. Lincoln was a Communist, according to them.

Dr. DODD. They always quote from Jefferson on those things which promote their revolution. They seldom quote Lincoln's great spiritual messages but they quote those things which promote their idea.

It is time we recaptured our own national heroes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Before I ask the next question I want to make clear for the record that there are approximately 4 teachers' unions in Philadelphia and we have been talking only about 1, entitled "The Teachers' Union of Philadelphia," formerly known as local No. 192 or some time later known as local No. 55G or the Jennings union. That is the only union we are talking about.

How is a Communist teacher supposed to act with, respect to outside organizations, membership in other organizations, and so forth?

Dr. DODD. It is the Communist teacher's duty to join as many organizations as we possibly can in order to influence and to bring [2896 - 2897] the line of the party into those organizations. And this is particularly true of her professional organizations. Thus a teacher might be a member of the Communist Party, of her union, then of a broad professional organization like the Association of Mathematics Teachers or the Association of Social Studies Teachers or the Association of English Teachers.

Then into as many of the political organizations to which teachers might belong and, if they are women, into as many women's organizations as they can. Thus one Communist Party teacher gets the equivalent of 10 or 12 memberships and becomes not 1 person but 10 or 12 different people because she operates in 10 or 12 different organizations. That is where the intensity comes in. In other words, she is not just a member of the Communist Party. She brings into those organizations the same program, the same resolutions, whatever the party has decided upon, and it is very beautifully done. For instance, if they are going to support certain legislation they will bring this thing into 10 different organizations at 1 time and you have the feeling that this is a spontaneous merger of public feeling.

Mr. CLARDY, You mean one rotten apple can spoil a whole barrel of apples.

Dr. DODD. That is right.

Mr. VELDE. At this point we will declare a short recess. (Whereupon, at 11:22 a. m., the hearing was recessed for 17 minutes.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order. Proceed Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, could you give us in more detail and explain to the committee just what is meant by the party line and by the phrase "party discipline" which you mentioned earlier this morning?
Dr. Dodd. We have to be able to distinguish between party strategy and party tactics. The strategy of the Communist movement is world domination of all peoples of the earth.

The party strategy in the United States is to make the United States a Soviet country. The question of how to reach that strategy, reach that objective, are the tactics and the tactics will change as the temper of the country changes.

If for instance the country is very violently anti-Communist, the tactics will change in order so that some people will even say that they are anti-Communists in the hope of pushing forward their ultimate objective. In a period in which the Soviet Union changes its foreign policy, as for instance during the time of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the tactics in the United States were different than they would be at a time when the United States was in alliance with the Soviet Union. The tactics should and are constantly being changed. The strategy is always the same and the Communist does not lose sight of the fact that the strategy is the same. The ultimate objective is a Soviet world.

Mr. CLARDY, Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. That is what Lenin had in mind when he said if it was necessary to kill two-thirds of the people to save the other one-third for communism, he would go along with it. [2897 - 2898]

Dr. DODD. I think that gives us an idea of how much in danger the peoples of the world are, not only spiritually and mentally but also physically. The peoples of the world are in dreadful danger because of this menace.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you feel that there is a lack of understanding of the problem from your own experience and from your own knowledge as a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. DODD. Lack of understanding on the part of the American people?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Dr. DODD. I do not think the American people are aware of how deep this thing is; how all-pervasive it is; how it has permeated the very marrow of our bones; and how sometimes we do not recognize the party line. We have got to understand the basic philosophy of this thing.

Americans have got to stop thinking about the immediate issues of this thing and go to the fundamental thing. It is a movement for the destruction of the life of the human individual.

Mr. CLARDY. Isn't it perfectly apparent that a great many people in the country expect the Communist movement to, in effect, erect neon lights to call our attention to it whereas as a matter of fact the Communists do exactly the opposite, they conceal and attempt to prevent us from finding out.

Dr. DODD. I was told by Gil Green, chairman of the party in New York State, that if ever communism came to America it would not come under the Socialist label or the Communist label but it would come under a label palatable to the American people.

I said "What do you mean?"

He said "It might be liberty or democracy or something of that kind."

In other words, they will hide themselves under labels which the American people will think are their own.

Mr. CLARDY. They define everything they do as a liberal movement, something in a liberal direction.

Dr. DODD. They will use words with a definition which you and I do not use. For instance, they regard themselves as the most democratic. I was always told that the American form of democracy is only a limited democracy. The most perfect democracy is the democracy of the Communist movement and of the Soviet Union, so when they use the word "democracy" they are obviously not using the same terms that we are using. The word is the same but the meaning is different.

Mr. VELDE. There could be no question but what the membership, numerically, of the Communist Party in this country is going down, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover mentioned recently that there were only 25,000 Communist Party members in the United States where several years ago there were as many as 100,000 Communist Party members.

Do you believe, therefore, and this question has been asked of me both officially and unofficially, do you believe, therefore, that we are making progress? Is there any need to continue the fight? Is there any need for this committee, for instance, or any committee of Congress to continue the fight against communism because the numbers have been going down? [2898 - 2899]

I am sure that some people, and especially those who have pro-Communist viewpoints, feel that 25,000 compared to 165 million people is so small that it is ineffective as a weapon to infiltrate us as a nation.

May we have your views on that point?

Dr. DODD. I think America is in greater danger now than it has been, and the reason for it is that the spreading of the Soviet imperialism has increased the strength of the Soviet bloc. It is the lure of success, the lure of the bandwagon. Nothing succeeds like success.

We used to have only the Soviet Union. Now you have 500 million Chinese and 100 million eastern Europeans under that. The fact that you only have 25,000 members in the Communist Party is not the significant thing, although it is important to reduce the actual number of people tied to them.

The Soviet Union, when Lenin landed in St. Petersburg, had only 23,000 members of the Communist Party. Yet, those 23,000 members, highly organized, highly centralized, well financed, were able to take over 180 million people of the Soviet Union.

The same thing was true in Italy for instance in 1941. I would say that at that time you did not have more than 15,000 party members in Italy. You now have a party of 2^{1/2} million, and the question arises as to what made it blossom out like that? Well, it is the strength of the Soviet Union, the increasing financial support which the Communist movements of the world are getting, and the fact that they are able to change their labels.

You are undoubtedly aware of the fact that in Guatemala you have four political parties, all of them controlled by the Communist movement but not carrying the Communist label.

So the 25,000 members here are only for the purpose of keeping the word "communism" alive, sort of an intellectual goal. But actually the number of people involved in pushing forward the Communist ideology is very great and I think it is not just a question of going after the individual party members but as this congressional committee has done and the others, showing the people of America what this pattern is so that they can protect themselves.

The fight is no longer around the individual members but it is a house-to-house fight and a street-to-street fight and a town-by-town fight.

What in our town is pushing forward this Communist movement, what in our street, what in our home? They are trying to pervert all of those divisions.

Mr. VELDE. This committee, since 1938 has, along with its regular duties to investigate subversive activities, another important ex officio duty and that is to inform the people as to what the Communist conspiracy actually is.

In light of that we have huge files. We have sent out millions of copies of pamphlets and reports of hearings and annual reports and so forth.

In line with that, would you say that the Un-American Activities Committee has made some contribution to the fighting of the Communist conspiracy? I am not trying to pat myself on the back because this committee began a long time before I was a member of it.

Dr. DODD. I was one of the committee who fought the Un-American Activities Committee very violently for many years. I fought it [2899 - 2900] because your committee was being very effective in disclosing things which we did not want disclosed.

Mr. CLARDY. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. Velde. Yes, Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. As I gather from what you say, Dr. Dodd, you are emphatically of the opinion that despite outward appearances, as indicated by a numerical decline in the number of recognized Communists, the threat is greater than ever today.

Now would you say that is due largely to the fact that they have been able to enlist under their banner a great many people who do not even know they are fighting for the Communist cause and they have been able to whip up an almost hysterical feeling that this committee and other committees investigating it are deliberately setting out to destroy academic freedom, to destroy the civil rights guaranteed under the Constitution?

Wouldn't you say that they have succeeded and are becoming more dangerous simply because they have succeeded in selling a lot of good people totally false impressions and false ideas? Would you say that is a fact?

Dr. DODD. Yes; I think so. I think the Communist movement in America would have been smashed a long time ago if people in important positions -- and I do not mean just politicians but I mean in

our economic system, politically and in our cultural society did not give support and even financial support to this thing. It is not just a question of the small people.

Mr. CLARDY. The term "witch hunters" originated with the Communist Party. That is typical of what we all know. Those types of phrases are being spread broadcast by a good many good people. Would you not say that is one of the most effective ways of blocking the Communists too?

Dr. DODD. The Communist cause is highly geared to propaganda. They understand it even better than Dr. Goebbels did. Propaganda is the most effective weapon in the hands of the Communists in beclouding the minds of American citizens.

Mr. CLARDY. We ought to keep our eye on the ball, in other words.

Dr. DODD. The question of propaganda and the question of who is channelizing propaganda in America is something we should pay attention to.

Mr. CLARDY. The other day I read a statement by someone who said that the anti-Communist is more dangerous than the Communist. That is what I had in mind when I asked the question. That is promoting the line purely and simply.

Dr. DODD. Let me say this to you on the question of anticommunism: The Communists are not adverse to putting on a cloak of anticommunism if it serves their purposes in promoting the party line. They will smear all genuine anti-Communists and make them look like Fascists or benighted people.

Mr. KUNZIG. You have talked about the party line. How is the party line spread to the teachers? How would a teacher get the party line?

Dr. DODD. There is no such thing as a democratic arrival of opinion in the Communist Party. The party is geared and run by democratic centralism. [2900 - 2901]

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you explain democratic centralism and how the party line is spread?

Dr. DODD. The dissemination of centralism and all programs originate from the top, from the national committee, people from overseas who work with the leaders of the national party. They set the line and once they formulate the line it is sent down to the national committee and sent down to the State committee and to the various counties and finally it reaches the smaller committees and the individual members. But those groups have only the power to accept. Because if anyone dared to challenge the basic line which had been sent to them from the top that person would be isolated and ousted from the party.

What they can do is to discuss how they will apply this decision which has been made on top in their own individual bailiwick.

For instance, if they are teachers and the line has come that we must now push the fight for mutual coexistence with the Soviet Union, trade with the Soviet Union, or the admission of Red China into the United Nations, the teachers take that line which came from the top and decide how they will promote it among the teachers, first among the Communist teachers and then among the union teachers, whatever unions they happen to be in, then among the mass of teachers and then among all other groups.

Mr. KUNZIG. Let us make a hypothetical case. Suppose you are Dr. Bella Dodd and let us assume just for the purpose of discussion that you are teaching history at Olney High School in this city. How

would you, in your daily life, and remember you are a member of the Communist Party and you are interested in everything that has to do with the Communist way of life -- how do you get the line? Who tells you? Where do you hear about it?

Dr. DODD. If I am a member of the Communist Party I may belong to a unit. If I am an ordinary teacher and not a leader, the unit meets maybe once or twice a month.

Mr. KUNZIG. With other teachers?

Dr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where would those meetings be?

Dr. DODD. In someone's home, in some out-of-the-way place, and if someone should happen to come in that evening it would be a discussion group. They would change the program. That is, if someone came to the house.

Mr. KUNZIG. Accidentally?

Dr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. But those who came to the real meeting held at such a private home, they would be Communists?

Dr. DODD. Yes, and there is a chairman of the unit who has already attended a meeting before this one and who has gotten his instructions from the county leader of the party or from the Statewide teachers' leader of the party. The organization will differ in different counties. He will either get his directions from the county party leader or someone in charge of the citywide teachers' group. They get it from the higher committee. There is a series of committees going up to the top.

When it comes down to the ordinary teachers to discuss the question, the problem, and answer questions, there is already literature ready to help assist them. The question is how can we spread it. [2901 - 2902]

As an ordinary teacher I can spread it by going to my union meeting and seeing that a resolution is voted on.

Mr. KUNZIG. This might be a union not necessarily Communist-dominated.

Dr. DODD. That is right. As a teacher in my classroom, let us suppose the question is the admission of Red China into the United Nations. I have a bulletin board with clippings and I begin putting clippings on the bulletin board which are pro and if I put some against, I put more of those that are pro.

The children raise the question and I discuss it with them back and forth and with a show of impartiality and I weight the thing in favor of the line which I want adopted.

If I am teaching history it becomes logical. I take a question such as "When do we recognize a country which has changed its form of government?"

I show that there has been a legitimate effort after a certain period of time to recognize a de facto government. In other words, I show that as a normal course of relationships on international problems that we would recognize a country of that kind.

In other words, I try to make it as natural as possible for the students to accept the line I am promulgating, but I know what I am doing is promoting the ideas which I have.

Communism is the total philosophy of life and if you believe in it strongly you carry it into every phase of your life. It is like a religion, but most people have gotten lukewarm about their religion. If you are a real Communist or a real Jew or whatever you may be its basic philosophy will affect all your dealings with people.

So with communism; it affects all your thinking and dealings with people.

Mr. KUNZIG. You are trying to say that a Communist teacher who sincerely believes in this, has it as a religion, as you say, could not possibly not try to carry it into effect in daily life wherever he or she goes?

Dr. DODD. A Communist teacher is dedicated to seeing that communism is spread and that it becomes the successful form of government in their life and in everyone else's life.

Mr. KUNZIG. It has been said that a Communist teacher might have some effect in a history or a civics class or a geography class but that it does not make any difference whether a teacher is a teacher of art or woodworking or mathematics. What is your opinion about that? Can a teacher have some effect?

Dr. DODD. As I said before, we teach children and not subject matter. You not only see a child in the classroom in which you teach, you see him in your offclass period and in his group relationships.

The best Communist teacher I know was a mathematics teacher because the social studies heads weeded out the Communists. The mathematics teachers are not expected to have those opinions. They served on committees to select textbooks, for establishing curricula, for mass participation of the students in civic affairs. They use it in every way possible.

Mr. VELDE. Actually as far as classroom teaching and indoctrination in the classroom went, it had very little influence, I take it? [2902 - 2903]

Dr. DODD. I don't know if you remember some of your own teachers but I remember the teacher who had taught me. For instance, the teacher who teaches arithmetic, just by general remarks and the things that they said after the hour was over, the effect of that was very great. We do not just teach arithmetic and then run out of the classroom.

Mr. CLARDY. Would you say that the point that you are trying to make applies with equal force to all professional people and for a still different reason, and that is that the people in the professions, the law, for example, occupy a little different position in the public mind so that their utterances on subjects other than that connected with their actual teaching or practice or whatever it is carries a little more weight and maybe a little more impact on the public awareness?

Dr. DODD. Certainly, the professional people are the molders of public opinion.

Mr. CLARDY. That is what I had in mind. You would say that this is a powerful weapon in the hands of the Communists if they can get hold of those people?

Dr. DODD. If the Communists didn't think the teachers were so important they would not have worked so hard to get us into it.

Mr. CLARDY. Isn't that one of their prime objectives?

Dr. DODD. It has been and is important. Teachers are an extremely important group to them.

Communist Party high-school teachers made a special effort during the war to keep in touch with their boys going into the Army. The reason was to give them an approach to the postwar peace program. The Communist teacher takes her responsibility very seriously.

Mr. CLARDY. This program you are talking about is applied with redoubled force in Russia itself, at least every one of us who studied it knows that. Hitler used the same ideas of seizing the minds of the youth.

Dr. DODD. All totalitarian governments are essentially the same in that respect, how the state can control the individual. Hitler was not as successful as the Communists have been in that respect, however.

Mr. CLARDY. And they are patient.

Dr. DODD. They have a long-range program and are looking to take hold of the minds of today's youth in the hope that when they grow to adulthood they will be in a position to take over.

As a matter of fact they are training the youth not for today but for the tomorrow which they expect will be a Soviet world.

Mr. VELDE. You mentioned that you fought nazism. I am sure that all loyal Americans did at that particular time, and now are fighting the Communist conspiracy.

Do you have any way of comparing the techniques of the Nazis with the techniques of the Communist Party and its attempt to get control of the minds of the youth?

Dr. DODD. The Communists are of course an older movement and they have a body of literature which the Nazis did not have. The Nazis came to power sort of suddenly and had to write their bibles and books on ideology very fast.

The Communist movement since 1848 has been permeating practically the entire world. Karl Marx was not only in Germany and England, but here in the United States. Some of the first meetings [40168--53--pt.1----4] [2903 - 2904] of the Communist International were held in New York and Philadelphia.

Karl Marx wrote a weekly article on labor for the Herald Tribune in the 1860's.

From 1848 to 1953 is a long period of time. The one is really much more efficient than the other. The Nazis just kind of stole from the most obvious techniques that the Communists have.

The Nazis betrayed the individual man by the synthetic use of a mystical thing called the race. They said in the interest of a pure German race everyone was expendable who did not fit into their goal.

The Communists use another mystical thing. They teach a mystical thing called the proletariat, the race of proletariats, the industrial class will rule, and in the interests of that everything else is expendable, farmers, professional people. As a matter of fact, they make appeals to the youth and the minority national groups which they played havoc with.

I think you will find that the Nazi movement was nothing but a paper cardboard movement in comparison with that of communism as far as being an organized thing is concerned.

The Nazis, of course, in using the mystical thing called purity of the German race did violence to most of us Americans because we understand that there is no such thing as a pure race. We are a nation in America with strength because we have so many people, but practically all of us fall for the idea that we are part of the working class. When the Communists say all power to the working class, and 98 percent of us in America are the working class, therefore in the name of the mystical thing called the proletariat they destroy the working class.

Mr. CLARDY. Don't they say that the individual is as of nothing, that all that counts is the group, the body, and that in the end is the state, so that to them the killing off of millions is only one of the things that just necessarily must be done and the fact that the individual suffers a horrible fate doesn't affect them at all.

Dr. DODD. The peoples of the world are not only in danger spiritually and mentally, but they are in physical danger of annihilation.

I was not aware of that when I was a member of the Communist Party. I would like to read to you from this book published in 1949 called *The Twilight of World Capitalism* by William Z. Foster.

On page 150 he says, "Communism is inevitable in America."

He dedicates it to his grandson who will live in a Communist America.

Under the chapter entitled "The Advent of Socialist Man" on page 150 of his book, William Z. Foster has the following to say:

Man will free himself, under socialism, from the burden of weakness and disease that has nursed him for so long and which is such a distressing feature of present-day society.

Man, too, for the first time disregarding foolish religious taboos, will boldly solve the population problems, both in respect to the size of his own individual family and that of the number of people in the nations generally.

How do they expect to solve the problem of population in the nations generally? How are they going to solve the problem of 500,000,000 Chinese and 300,005,000 people in India and one-hundred-and-fifty-some-odd million people in America? [2904 - 2905]

He goes on to say:

The vital matter of the evolution of mankind is not one that can any longer be left to chance, especially a capitalist society is now having such a negative effect on the development of the species. The law of natural selection, which built the marvelous complexities of plant and animal species, no longer can work spontaneously. Now the evolution of the human species must be done artificially, by the conscious action of man himself.

Mr. CLARDY. That is what they meant when they said killing off 100 million people would be a good thing.

Dr. DODD. There is no doubt in my mind that this is a program for reorganizing and rebuilding mankind, according to their own peculiar pattern.

Mr. KUNZIG. We hear a lot of discussion today specifically about academic freedom and respecting academic freedom. Of course everyone wants to respect academic freedom. My question to you is: Does the Communist Party have any respect for academic freedom?

Dr. DODD. The Communist Party doesn't know what academic freedom means. If a person criticizes the party or raises a question, that person is suspect. It is academic freedom for the Communists to say what they want to say, but not academic freedom for anyone else.

Maybe you will remember the professors who raised some question of linguistics and genetics. Those men have disappeared from the intellectual and cultural life of Russia. And we are aware of the fact that many of the finest scientists and finest linguistic professors have been unwilling to accept chairs of learning in Russia because of the professor who disagreed with Stalin on what should be done with languages and what should be done with genetics.

Mr. KUNZIG. What would this mathematics teacher we were talking about a little while ago and who comes to the meetings two times a month or so, what position would she be in if she disagreed with the line handed her from above?

Dr. DODD. First, they would try to cajole and convince her that she was wrong.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who would try?

Dr. DODD. The other party members in the union and the leader of the union, and if she still persisted they would probably bring in the county leader of the Communist Party to talk with her.

But if she persisted in it, the next tiling would be to expose her and expel her from the party. Sometimes that expulsion is very violent. Sometimes it isn't. The more important the teacher the more violent the expulsion [sic]. They wouldn't worry about whether she lost her job or reputation and wouldn't worry about charges. I have seen charges discussed against people which were just brutal.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mean discussed by members of the Communist Party?

Dr. DODD. Discussed by the control commission, the disciplinary commission.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know whether the Communist Party has its own security system, its own detectives, its own shall we say spy apparatus to see that Communist members in key positions are not double-crossing the party?

Dr. DODD. The party functions with its own security apparatus at all levels, practically. [2905 - 2906]

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you describe that, please?

Dr. DODD. When I was in the Teachers' Union I was one of the official leaders of the Teachers' Union. Yet the party placed, as secretary to the Union or as the office manager, someone who was in the employ of the party apparatus. I never knew that she was a member of the Communist Party. I never knew that she was getting instructions and yet I was a member of the party also.

In other words, they set one person to spy on the other.

Also from the point of view of security I happen to know the person in the New York district who was in charge of setting up the Communist Party security apparatus. It is a government within a government. They have their own court system whereby a person violating the Communist Party code is brought for

trial and punishment is meted out to him just as it would be in an open court, only this is a private court. This is the emergence of the new type of Soviet government which they expect will some day take over.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you personally ever called before one of these control commissions?

Dr. DODD. During the period from 1945 to 1947 I was called before the control commission three times.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you describe that, please, as to what happened?

Dr. DODD. Of course, since I was a person they were a little bit afraid of because they were afraid to admit anyone really breaks with the party and because I was speaking in terms of really, being very upset by the things that were going on, they tried not to provoke me, but they called me on the carpet for something I had said in a unit meeting. I said something about the new Cominform one night. The next day I was before the control commission. They wanted to know what I meant by it.

Another time they tried to inquire into certain personal affairs, and each time I was not cleared but was told to come to a meeting at a certain hour and I was made to wait until I was psychologically conditioned and disturbed, and a lot of questions were asked of me. No decision was made while I was there but I daresay that the decision was reported to people higher up and those three hearings probably ultimately brought to the conclusion my final expulsion from the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. I imagine. Dr. Dodd, that you have had the same experience getting out of the party. You stated that getting into the party can be a gradual process and I imagine that leaving the party must be in some way a gradual process of becoming disillusioned.

Dr. DODD. Leaving the party can be as a result of not paying dues. As a matter of fact, it took me years to eradicate some of the beliefs that I had because your whole philosophy of life becomes changed. Your attitude toward art and movies, your attitude toward friends and your family and your country is different. That is very basic. It had to change from the time you leave the party until the time you become an American citizen again. My whole attitude toward my country while I was in the party was that my country was run by a group of people who were very interested in profits and were selfish and the only thing that would save this country would be the establishment of a Communist society. Therefore it is only in the light of losing my belief in the Communist objectives which I now realize are fraudulent and are propaganda that you begin to realize what a [2906 - 2907] great value we have in the great Constitution of ours and the Bill of Rights and the rights which our people have achieved over the centuries which the Communists would topple over indiscriminately.

Sometimes that knowledge comes too late. In my case I thank God it came within time.

Mr. KUNZIG. May I ask you, within your own knowledge do you feel that when you were a teacher you did influence students along the Communist line?

Dr. DODD. I would have been a very bad Communist if I did not, I certainly influenced students. I taught economics.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where was this?

Dr. DODD. At Hunter College. I taught from 1926 to 1938 and taught many generations of freshmen. I hope I am undoing some of the things I did at that time. There is no doubt in my mind I taught a whole generation of students. Maybe I did not influence them enough so that they joined the Communist Party but I taught some of them to be disposed to accept the whole philosophy of the Communist Party.

It always seemed so attractive because I was helping them to solve the problems of the people, the immediate problems in the framework that the Communists wanted us to present to the people.

Mr. CLARDY. You helped to undermine, I take it, the natural inclination of the average American to be a good, religious sort of person? You undermined that more or less by the subtle methods that you described?

Dr. DODD, There is no doubt about the fact that atheism is part of the web and woof of communism and your general attitude is that since there is no God it is up to man himself to solve his problems. They place all the emphasis upon the fact that man must solve the problems by himself.

Mr. CLARDY. Wouldn't you say that the gravest threat that a Communist teacher may impose is that he undermines man's faith in his God and in his religion?

Dr. DODD. That is fundamental to the entire Communist conspiracy,

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Dodd, teachers then obviously play an important part in the Communist scheme of things. I would like to ask you whether teachers, intellectuals, are on the key positions, whether they play an important part in the higher realms or higher control? Does the party want top-ranking intellectuals in positions of control?

Dr. DODD. The Communists need teachers and intellectuals to fill the jobs which have to be handled by the Communists. They need them as experts in the field of labor, law, science, education, and so forth. The intellectuals are really important to them in order to create the leadership of the proletariat group. You may say "But I thought the Communist Party was a workers' movement."

Well, that is the propaganda. That is the slogan, but actually it is the educated, the intellectuals, who were used in top positions for influencing the mind of the country. Behind the scenes they may have some power people from the international movement, but the people who promote the conspiracy are those who are put in key positions. The professors, the intellectuals, are in a better financial position to help the party. [2907 - 2908]

Hollywood for a long time was a tremendous source of revenue for the Communist Party.

Some of the doctors that we have in the Communist Party, doctors, dentists are a tremendous source of financing of the party.

Mr. CLARDY. That is still true today, isn't it?

Dr. DODD. It was when I last had contact with the party. I do not profess to know that today.

Mr. KUNZIG. In your personal knowledge were Communist teachers urged to get into unions and to attempt to gain control?

Dr. DODD. It was the function of every teacher to join a union, and particularly the union which the party told them to join. There was a choice of two. The party might decide to send people into both unions but it might instruct certain special professors to have nothing to do with the Red union in order to preserve them for greater service to the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. At this point I should like to read into the record some quotes from a publication called the Communist, a theoretical magazine of the Communist Party. This is an article written in 1937 at the

time the Teachers' Union was at its peak, an article called the Schools Are the People's Front. This article was written by Richard Frank and some of the sentences I think confirm exactly what the witness has said this morning. I am now quoting from this magazine of the Communist Party as follows:

That which is most immediately apparent to anyone who studies public education must be the fact that the public-school system is part of the state machinery, and the function of the state machinery being to subjugate the proletariat and the toiling masses in general to the rule of the bourgeoisie, the role of the public-school system cannot be isolated from this general function of the capitalist state.

Now on the next page of his article Frank says as follows:

Because of the economic hardships of their home life, the majority of the children develop a feeling of hatred for the bourgeois public-school system. This hatred develops that spirit of rebelliousness which is to be found in every public-school room.

The rebelliousness of the school children directed against a part of the state machinery itself is something that Communists cannot afford to ignore. This, together with their desire for knowledge and social life, must form the starting point for our work among the students in the schools. The problem is rather how to guide and direct that spirit of rebelliousness which already exists.

Then he goes on to make certain recommendations with respect to getting the students into the Young Communist League, and he has this to say:

The Young Communist League must endeavor to raise the spirit of rebellion found among school children to a level of higher consciousness by educating the students on the basis of their own experience to a realization of the class basis for the oppressive nature of the schools and to a realization of how the school system under a workers' and farmers' government would deal with the immediate problems of the majority of students, imparting to them, with the utmost solicitude for their own interests, that warm and friendly culture of their own class.

And finally he says this:

The task of the Communist Party must be first and foremost to arouse the teachers to class consciousness and to organize them into the union.

Communist teachers are therefore faced with a tremendous social responsibility. They must consider not merely their own teaching problems, but the problems of the children. They must take advantage of their position without exposing themselves, to give their students, to the best of their ability, the working-class education. [2208 - 2909]

Do those quotations fit in with your personal knowledge of the situation, Dr. Dodd?

Dr. DODD. Yes; that was the approach. The schools were to be instrumentalities of the class struggle and they were to train the young students in school as to what the class struggle was and to make him feel emotionally that he belonged with the working class in that class struggle, and I might say that this man who wrote the article whom I knew quite well was later taken to task because he had been too frank in stating this thing because it caused a little bit of embarrassment, not because he was wrong but because he was too frank.

Mr. KUNZIG. I want to emphasize once more for the record the conclusions heard this morning are those of one who was a Communist teacher because you worked in this movement personally and therefore the testimony you have given so ably this morning is from your own personal knowledge.

Dr. DODD. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, as you know, we have vitally important executive testimony from Dr. Dodd and others given to us in executive session going into greater and more specific detail on the subject. But that of course is for the committee and remains in executive session.

I have no further questions.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy, do you have any further questions?

Mr. CLARDY. I have no questions, but I think there is one thing that perhaps we ought to emphasize, something that Dr. Dodd said at the outset, that the percentage of teachers who have been infected with this virus is relatively small.

Would you not agree with me that in all probability the percentage is at least as low if not lower than that for example in my own profession of the law or any of the others?

Dr. DODD. Certainly. I think the teachers of America, once they catch on to the meaning of this conspiracy, are going to be the great leaders in protecting America.

Mr. CLARDY. You are not in any way attempting to indict the teaching profession or any other profession in the United States. You are merely pointing out the pitfalls and the danger and the possibilities?

Dr. DODD. The American teachers have had a great role in the history of America and they will again. I think that some of them mistakenly think they have to protect this conspiracy. Once they realize that this is a conspiracy which will destroy the schools as we have known them in the history of America, I think the American schoolteachers will come to the defense of their country.

Mr. Clardy. Would you not agree that while this committee has a proper duty and function in exposing the machinations of the Communist Party and letting people see how it functions and what it will do to them, would you say that the real battle against communism has got to be carried on in two fronts, one in the school and the other in the churches?

Dr. DODD. That is right. Those two are very important and I think also on the industry front. I think that it is very important that our economic system become aware of this.

Mr. CLARDY. I appreciate that but the group that is going to carry the message are the others because this is, after all, a battle for the [2909 - 2910] minds of man. Wouldn't you say that those two groups are the ones that are really going to have to carry the real burden in this fight?

Dr. DODD. Plus the home, the fathers, and the mothers. Build good, strong homes, and this thing won't affect us.

Mr. CLARDY. At least you will agree with me that they are important?

Dr. DODD. I certainly do.

Mr. CLARDY. Thank you.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Walter, do you have any questions?

Mr. WALTER. I have no questions.

Mr. VELDE. I have no questions, either. Dr. Dodd, but I would like to say this, that the committee, and I am sure loyal American people everywhere appreciate the dignified and sincere and learned manner in which you have outlined the Communist conspiracy, with emphasis on the conspiracy in the field of education.

We know it is an ordeal for you to appear and give the information which you have and we are aware of the struggle which you had within your own conscience in getting into the Communist Party and getting out, and we want you to know that we as a committee of Congress appreciate the efforts you have been making in the past and the efforts we know you will make in the future to make America secure and safe from the Communist conspiracy.

The committee will stand in adjournment until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 12:32 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned until 2:09 p. m., the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION [end - 2910]