

O. BOWIE LUCKETT
SPEC. ASST. ATTORNEY GENERAL
1209 MURPHY BUILDING
BALTIMORE 2, MD.

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF MARYLAND

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

vs.

PHILIP FRANKFELD, also known as
Phil Frankfeld,
GEORGE ALOYSIUS MEYERS,
LEROY HAND WOOD, also known as
Roy H. Wood,
REGINA FRANKFELD,
DOROTHY ROSE BLUMBERG, also known as
Dorothy Oppenheim Blumberg, and
MAURICE LOUIS BRAVERMAN

Original No. 22322
Criminal No. 22322

TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

Before
HON. W. CALVIN CHESNUT
Judge

Monday, March 24, 1952

Volume XI

1643
(Page to page

FRANCIS T. OWENS
Official Reporter
537 Post Office Building
BALTIMORE 2, MARYLAND
Saratoga 7126

I N D E X

	<u>Page</u>
OPENING STATEMENT BY MR. WRIGHT	1647
OPENING STATEMENT BY MR. BUCHMAN FOR DEFENDANT MRS. FRANKFELD	1654

<u>Witness</u>	<u>Direct</u>	<u>Cross</u>
George Aloysius Meyers	1662(BU) 1719(W) 1725(BU)	1826(F)

EXHIBITS

<u>Defendants' No.</u>		<u>Page</u>
4	"President's Report to the Sixth Annual Convention of the Maryland and District of Columbia Industrial Union Council"	1677
5c	Statement of Appreciation for George A. Meyers adopted by Local 1874 TWUA dated January 20, 1943	1679
6	Leaflet, "A Communist? -- Yes, Indeed,"	1696
7	Leaflet "Mass Rally," Sunday, February 29, 1948	1706
8	Leaflet "Negro-White Unity" dated Sunday, February 12th	1709
9	Card entitled "Hell, Bomb or Peace" to be held at Workmen's Circle Hall, Sunday, Feb. 12th	1712
10	Constitution of the Communist Party of the United States of America	1719
11a & 11b	Two copies of "Our Party"	1740
12	Book, "The Twilight of World Capitalism" by William Z. Foster	1749

I N D E X (continued)EXHIBITS

<u>Defendants' No.</u>		<u>Page</u>
13	The Worker, dated February 27, 1949	1755
14	Book on "In Defense of the Communist Party and Indicted Leaders"	1759
15	Pamphlet entitled "The Fascist Danger and How to Combat It"	1761
16	Political Affairs, February 1951	1782
17(a)	Leaflet, "Victory at Sparrows Point Negro-White Workers Unity Can Win,"	1790
17(b)	Leaflet, "Facts for Steelworkers,"	1790
17(c)	Leaflet, "Appeal to Reason, February, 1951"	1790

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF MARYLAND

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	:	
	:	
vs.	:	
	:	
PHILIP FRANKFELD, also known as	:	
Phil Frankfeld,	:	
GEORGE ALOYSIUS MEYERS,	:	Criminal No. 22322
LEROY HAND WOOD, also known as	:	
Roy H. Wood	:	
REGINA FRANKFELD,	:	
DOROTHY ROSE BLUMBERG, also known as	:	
Dorothy Oppenheim Blumberg, and	:	
MAURICE LOUIS BRAVERMAN	:	

Baltimore, Maryland
Monday, March 24, 1952

The above entitled matter was resumed before His
Honor, W. CALVIN CHESNUT and a jury at 10 o'clock a. m.

A P P E A R A N C E S

For the Government:

MR. BERNARD J. FLYNN, United States Attorney
MR. JAMES B. MURPHY, Assistant United States Attorney
MR. FREDERICK J. GREEN, JR., Assistant United States
Attorney.

A P P E A R A N C E S (CONTINUED)For the Defendants Philip Frankfeld, Regina Frankfeld and Wood:

MR. HAROLD BUCHMAN

For the Defendant Blumberg:

MR. CARL BASSETT

For the Defendant Braverman:

MR. MAURICE BRAVERMAN

For the Defendant Wood:

MR. JAMES T. WRIGHT

For the Defendant Meyers:

MR. GEORGE ALOYSIUS MEYERS

Ow 10 a.m.

P R O C E E D I N G S

1

(The Clerk called the names of the jury, after which the following occurred:)

THE CLERK: Jury called, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Are the defendants ready to proceed?

MR. BASSETT: If Your Honor please, there is some work in connection with the case which I need to be doing in my office, and I would like to ask Your Honor's permission to be excused from the session this morning in view of the nature of the timely proceedings, and there is no necessity for me to be here.

My client, Mrs. Blumberg, has agreed, and counsel, Mr. Buchman, has agreed to my absenting myself subject to Your Honor's permission.

THE COURT: Well, it is a little unusual.

MR. BASSETT: Well, if it is, then I will not do it, but it was merely to get some paper work done. That was the only purpose.

THE COURT: Insofar as it is addressed to me as a matter of my discretion, I have no objection, of course, personally to your doing it. I only point out that it is unusual for counsel not to be present during the trial, the whole of it, just as the defendant has to be here.

I personally am disposed to allow you and your client to settle the matter as you wish.

2

MR. BASSETT: In view of Your Honor's comment I shall remain here.

THE COURT: Very well.

What is the first procedure?

MR. WRIGHT: May it please Your Honor, at this time I would like to request an opportunity to make an opening statement on behalf of the defendant Leroy Hand Wood.

THE COURT: Very well, proceed.

OPENING STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE
DEFENDANT LEROY HAND WOOD BY MR. WRIGHT

MR. WRIGHT: May it please the Court, members of the prosecution, Mr. Foreman, and members of the jury, I would like at this time to make an opening statement on behalf of the defendant Leroy Hand Wood who is sitting slightly behind the counsel table.

As the Court properly advised you at the outset of this case the purpose of an opening statement was merely to outline for you members of the jury what the defendant intends to offer by way of evidence to rebut and defend against the charge that is alleged against him.

I should first like to briefly state in substance what the indictment charges with respect to the defendant.

THE COURT: Just a moment, Mr. Wright. That has been gone into very fully once, and I do not see the necessity--

MR. WRIGHT: No, as Mr. Flynn started out with the

3

various allegations in the indictment which was an outline to you of their offer of evidence, so that the jury may more clearly understand it, and as you recall, members of the jury, in the opening statement by the Government, the indictment was read to you.

I do not propose to do that. I merely want to call your attention to two essential features of this indictment which is, as you know, an alleged violation of what is called the Smith Act which says that in substance that the defendant belonged with some other defendants, named, but not present together with the defendants who are sitting behind the counsel table, did conspire to teach and advocate, knowingly teach and advocate the duty and the necessity of overthrowing the Government of the United States by force and violence, and that in conjunction with others, others named but not present defendants, unlawfully sought to organize a group of people known as the Communist Party for the purpose of teaching and advocating the duty and necessity of overthrowing the Government of the United States by force and violence as speedily as circumstances would permit, and that in furtherance of that they did engage in a number of activities in pursuance of that.

Now, the evidence of the defendant that we intend to show you is that he was born on November 13, 1914, just about thirty-nine years ago, in Caldwell County, Idaho, and

4

the evidence will further show that his ancestry in the defense of democracy, the evidence will show what he did or thought or understood was in furtherance of the defense of democracy, and that one of the ancestry was in the Civil War and another in the Revolutionary War, and the evidence will further show that at the age of three, he was taken by his family to Boise, Idaho, where he received a normal, decent education such as any other child, and that after a while as any other young man he went out into the world to make his place to work and lead a decent normal life as an American Citizen, and thereafter he married and had a family, and has three children and is now presently living with his wife and family in Washington, D. C.

The evidence will further show that during a period of time he had several jobs, and that he worked for a while as a Western Union messenger boy and that for a while he was employed by the W. P. A. during the days of the depression, that he held some other jobs, of not much consequence to mention here, and that later on he was employed by the Social Security Board here in Baltimore, Maryland, that thereafter he was with the Merchant Marine, and that he spent several years in the Merchant Marine sailing to Europe, as he thought doing his part in the war effort, and that as a result of being with the Merchant Marine he received several decorations for his services.

5

The evidence will further show that after he came back and took a job at Sparrows Point. The evidence will further show that during these years based upon his understanding of social change he worked very extensively during that period to strengthen and extend democracy as he thought and as he understood it. The evidence will further show his activities and that he became a member of the Communist Party and his political and economic activities in it.

When he came back he took a job at Sparrows Point and he was active in the union there and became a member of the Communist Party, based on his experience, his experience as a man, based upon his readings, how he felt, and the evidence will further show that he joined the Party and as he thought to further the extension of democracy as he saw it.

The evidence will show that he became an organizational secretary of the Communist Party and for a while was in that position and acting as acting chairman and subsequent to that he was actually elected chairman of the District of Columbia of the Communist Party, a position which he probably holds today.

Now, the evidence will further show what the Party activities were during that period.

The evidence will further show that the defendant Wood as a member of the Communist Party never taught or

6

advocated the duty and necessity of overthrowing the government of the United States nor did he conspire with any of the defendants to do so.

The evidence will further show that during all these years he worked extensively to strengthen and extend democracy as he thought and as he understood it and we will show that what they did, they fought for better wages and working conditions, for lower prices, the abolition of Jim Crow in all its forms.

Hdg fls
10:10

H 1

The evidence will show that the main activities of the defendant was to promote world peace, and not to be engaged in force and violence. In fact, the evidence will show that the defendant, Ward, personally circulated and sought to get signatures on a document known as the Stockholm Peace Exhibit, the very purpose of which was to outlaw the use of the atom bomb in the world.

It will show that that there was no thought in his mind, as has been contended in the indictment, to make use of war, to carry it into civil war. The evidence will show, far from any secrecy as claimed was engaged in by the defendant or defendants, the defendant at all times was known by his own name. He went by it and was always identified it with the party after he became a member and an officer thereof. That, at all times, they sought to have public meetings, sought to present their grievances and their understanding of the extension of the democratic party to all people in a public way, on the radio and in the press.

And at no time the evidence will show, that he personally sought to engage in any devious practices, to try to hide or conceal any of his activities as a member of his party. The evidence will further show the teaching and advocacy of Socialism was totally inconsistent with force and violence. Further, the very activities in which he engaged, the very things which he said and did himself were totally inconsistent in every measure with any notion of the teachings

of force and violence.

The evidence will further show that the defendant, at no time in his study of any of the books and documents which have been presented to you, thought or taught that they were based on any notion of violent overthrow or revolutionary means of achieving Socialism as he understood it.

In fact, each and every activity, the evidence will show you, in which this defendant and the other defendants engaged was totally inconsistent with any notion of force and violence, and that his study and his reading of the books which have been distributed and shown to you here was study only as a means of history and was study purely in every historicay country, and that alone, and that at no time did he or any of the defendants believe or state it would be necessary to use force and violence to achieve the notion of full democracy in the United States.

When we have shown you this, and, indeed, no effort is made to seek your sympathy for the Defendant Wood, or any of the defendants, for, indeed, I have considerable disagreement with them myself, that is not important, but I do say to you when we have shown to you the evidence which I have briefly outlined to you, at the proper time I will ask you for a proper verdict in this case, against the charge, which should be, "not guilty."

Thank you.

MR. BUCHMAN: If the Court please, I would like to

make an opening statement on behalf of Mrs. Frankfeld.

THE COURT: Very well.

MR. BUCHMAN: If it please the Court, Mr. Foreman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Jury:

At this time I would like to tell you what we are going to prove regarding my client, Mrs. Regina Frankfeld. We are going to show you what she actually did teach and advocate during the period covered by this indictment. And, further, we are going to show you that everything that Mrs. Frankfeld has done in her life proves that there is no basis whatsoever for the charges made in this case, because I want to say at the outset that we emphatically deny that Mrs. Frankfeld has, at any time in her life, advocated or taught the duty or necessity of use of force and violence to accomplish any change in the Government.

We will show that this charge simply turns day into night and night into day. This is because we are going to prove that Mrs. Frankfeld and the Communist Party have done everything in their power at all times to protect the people daily from violence, cruelty, injustice, and bitterness, that so many sections of the population, in so many periods of time have suffered in this country.

Rather, to ease the life of human beings, to try to find an answer to the problems of war and poverty, and discrimination, these are the things we will show she has done

And we will show that she is working for a world in which there would be the brotherhood of man for employment, peace, and security. In other words, to her it means sincerely Socialism. And that is what she has been teaching all of these years, and to accomplish that in a democratic way with the will and free choice of the majority of the people.

Now, Mrs. Frankfeld is the mother of two children. One is thirteen, a boy. And another is a daughter, age nine. She comes from a family of moderate means. She is a college graduate, and, as a matter of fact, majored in Fine Arts and Ancient Society in college, and was advanced on a career of Archeology, when current events changed the course of her life.

She went to Germany in 1929 and 1930, where the family of her mother and the family of her father both lived.

And what she saw there, although up to that time politics had not entered her mind, what she saw there with her own eyes as she watched the rise of Hitler, made a deep and lasting impression upon her, and affected the future course of her life, because she saw Germany at that time in a crisis, with heavy unemployment, high taxes, Storm Troopers marching through the streets shouting anti-semitic slogans.

She saw the German nation disintegrate and fall into the hands of the Nazis. And she learned financing by the industrial financing of Nazi Germany. And she saw violence

H5

committed by the Nazis. She met the Communists and the non-Communists, artists, and the intellectuals. And she watched the Communists try to stem the tide against the Nazis, holding demonstrations for relief and unemployment benefits, and trying to find a way out for the German people.

And it was there she became aware of the philosophy of Communism. Socialist and non-socialist philosophies were a matter of common daily discussion in Germany at that time.

Her family, mother and father, on both sides, were wiped out in concentration camps in Germany. And it was her experience there that convinced her that it was not enough to be a good wife or a good mother, but that every man and woman, and particularly women had a duty to society to work for a better way of life.

On leaving college, Mrs. Frankfeld, like so many others, was trapped in the depression. She worked on W.P.A. projects. She worked in the union and on other projects, and finally her experience brought her to join the Communist Party.

End 10:20

Cavey fls Hdg
10:20am

1

And we will show that all of her political or public activities as a Communist since 1935 have been exactly the opposite of what the Government has charged.

She has worked for peace and not for war. She has worked to strengthen democracy and not to weaken it. She is working for civil liberties, for extending the rights of people to speak, with opposition to any form of discrimination and she has done this because she and the Communist Party believe they are serving the interests of the American people, and she sincerely believes that socialism, which to her means the public ownership of mines, mills and factories and not private property and socialism to her also represents the solution to war and unemployment in a democratic way and to the will of the majority of the people, and we will show that she regards Marxism-Leninism, which you have heard so much about, as a social science, which enables people to understand their own history and with this knowledge to warn the people, the vast majority of the people, to make their own history and her understanding of Marxism-Leninism, as we will show, has nothing in common with what the Government charges.

Now, to get to the period of the indictment, we will show that actually during the period charged in the indictment, the Communist Party was not seeking as its immediate goal, nor was Mrs. Frankfeld -- they were only

2

seeking to enlighten the poor workers to show the benefit that would be derived from socialism and in the last six years covered by the indictment was when they were particularly considering the urgent daily needs of the American people, and this program was based on the Party resolution, parts of which were read by the Government, at the 1945 convention and we will show later conventions in 1948 and 1950, when the Communist Party in 1945, we will show, was openly and publicly reconstituted as the Communist Party not because they wanted to change to a Party advocating force and violence, but we will show you from the very words of the resolution and what was done, that the Communist Party reconstituted itself because it felt it had to go back to the preceding days where it relied on the working people, the vast majority of the American people, to carry out the programs, domestic programs and the progressive foreign policy of the Roosevelt administration.

Now, in order not merely to carry it out but to strengthen and expand it, they felt at that time, as we will show, that the dollar program would have permitted big business to destroy the progressive policies of the Roosevelt administration.

We will show you how they teach and advocate, what means they used to teach and advocate. We will show you that their teaching and advocacy constituted the distribution of

3

hundreds of thousands of leaflets to the Party membership and to the public.

We will show you they sponsored numerous rallies, hundreds of street corner meetings, went in delegations to Congress, the Maryland Legislature, the Baltimore City Council; they use the radio and press and every possible means to distribute their views to the public and that their teachings during this period touched on the problems confronting the people, such as the high cost of living, rent control, high cost of living, high taxes, veterans' bonus, discrimination against Negroes, the Ober Law, protecting the interests of the people, working for peace, working for civil liberties.

These constituted or made up the program of the Communist Party which Mrs. Frankfeld adhered to.

We will show you that everything she did excluded the possibility of any teaching of force and violence and we will show you just what this educational work for socialism actually was, and we will show you there was no secrecy about these books. They attempted to sell these books as widely as possible and attempted to increase the circulation in the press and attempted to increase the circulation in magazines and to get the public to read them and we will show you these books, even these classics referred to, do not attempt to teach and advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

We will show you that there has been torn out of context sentences and fragments and applied to certain conditions at certain times in certain countries, and that these books in their entirety do not advocate or teach the overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

We will further show you why these books are studied. They are studied in a historical way and try to learn from the experience of the working people, the labor movements of the world, to see what benefit can be obtained from studying them, to be applied to present day conditions.

We will also show you that the only way in which Mrs. Frankfeld and the Communist Party thought in terms of obtaining political power or social change at that time was in terms of building the unity of the working people, Negro people, middle class people, the small business people, the vast majority of the people, into a coalition government, a peoples' government and in that manner preventing big business from defeating the purposes and aims of the Roosevelt administration and the only means they advocated and taught during the six-year period covered by the indictment and prior thereto was a democratic process and the use of the ballot box.

We will show you the real meaning of such terms as democratic centralism, dictatorship of the proletariat, professional revolutionist, and other terms to which the

5

Government has attributed a sinister meaning. There is no special meaning, no double talk, but the language means exactly what it says wherever it is used and we will show you the Government is trying to ride two horses, that when the language suits their case, they say "See how bad it sounds" but when the language sounds displeasing to their taste, they say "That is double talk and has double meaning."

There is one final thing in the life of Mrs. Frankfeld which I will tell you to show why sometimes Communist Party members do not openly and cannot openly exhibit their membership.

She was a kindergarten teacher in the Baer School for Handicapped Children and there pioneered in the teaching of cerebral palsey children, children of limited control of their hands, over speaking or of other functions and most of these children could not speak and could not stand and could not do anything that normal children could do and it required the greatest amount of patience and sympathy and understanding to teach these children and she did an outstanding job in her contribution in that field which was embodied in a report distributed throughout the country.

She never concealed her membership in the Party but she went in the school system and despite the protests of the parents of children, after a good deal of hubub and hearings, she was discharged from her job solely because

6

she was a member of the Communist Party and at this time I would like to introduce Mrs. Regina Frankfeld. Will you arise, Mrs. Frankfeld.

That is the woman charged with advocating and teaching the overthrow of the Government.

In conclusion, let me say finally to you that you are charged with a great responsibility and I, too, feel the responsibility of the liberty of Mrs. Frankfeld and I want to point out that this indictment charges only teaching and advocacy and that your decision will not only affect the liberty of Mrs. Frankfeld but will have a terrific effect on the future of liberty of this country.

I urge you to listen to all the evidence and I am confident at the end of this case you will bring in a verdict of not guilty.

THE COURT: Who is your first witness?

Thereupon,

GEORGE ALOYSIUS MEYERS,

one of the defendants, was called as a witness in his own behalf, having been duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

MR. BUCHMAN: Shall I proceed, Your Honor?

THE COURT: Proceed.

MR. FLYNN: If Your Honor please, I understood Mr. Meyers was representing himself. I was just wondering what

7
about examination of witnesses who are representing themselves, whether or not all counsel or some counsel or who is going to do the examination.

THE COURT: I should think it would be better all around to have some lawyer examine Mr. Meyers.

MR. BUCHMAN: If the Court please, I will be the one to undertake the examination of Mr. Meyers and there will be no other, Mr. Flynn.

THE COURT: Very well.

DIRECT EXAMINATION

By Mr. Buchman:

Q Will you please state your full name?

A George Aloysius Meyers.

Q You are one of the defendants in this case, aren't you?

A That is correct.

Q Where do you live, Mr. Meyers?

A I live in the Knellmar Apartments in Baltimore, Maryland.

Q Do you have any children?

A Yes, I have two children, a little girl of seven and a boy going on nine months.

Q Where were you born, by the way?

A I was born in Lonsaconing, Maryland, that is in the western part of the State.

8

Q About how far is that from here?

A About 155 or 170 miles, something like that.

Q That is a mining town?

A It is a mining town in the western part of the State in Allegany County.

Q When were you born, Mr. Meyers?

A November 3, 1912.

Q What were the names of your parents?

A My father's name was George Meyers and my mother's name was Catherine Douglas Meyers.

Q Will you tell us briefly what your father's occupation was?

A When I was a boy, my father worked in the coal mines and after a while he borrowed some money and ran a grocery store and confectionery store. He happened to buy it right before the depression hit on, so I have a knowledge of what small storekeepers were faced with during hard times.

Q Was your grandfather a miner also?

A My grandfather Douglas was a coal miner until he was black listed for fighting for the rights of the Irish coal miners. I don't know the exact date but it was in the Seventies, I would say. At that time he was associated with an organization that has been misnamed the Molly McGuires. I think the correct name was the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

Ows fls Cvy
10:30

1

In that period there was a lot of struggles that went on particularly on the part of Irish miners working in the mines, for better conditions, and so on. It was in that period that he was very active, and as a result of his activity he was black listed from the mines.

My grandfather Meyers came from Germany, a farm in Bavaria and went to work in the mines of Western Maryland, and he worked there all his life until he retired.

Q How large was your family?

A I am the oldest of seven children, five boys and two girls.

Q What schools did you attend while you were in Lonaconing?

A I attended public school, high school, grade school, high school, high school graduate.

Q While you were in Lonaconing did you work for a living at all?

A Well, as a boy while going to school I took part-time jobs. I worked with the Glass Works for a while during the summer months, and other times when I could get work. I picked coal from the slate banks, and when I got out of school in 1930 in the middle of the depression.

Q Was that out of high school?

A Out of high school, I was unemployed for three years except for odd jobs where I traveled around the country

2

whenever there was a rumor of work, and I went to Pittsburgh, New York, Baltimore, and Florida, I worked in Florida at odd jobs.

I remember a situation there when we heard there was a possibility of getting a job as a bell hop in some hotels, and when we got there there was no jobs.

I remember one day a notice appeared that they wanted strawberry pickers in Plant City, sixteen miles away, and my cousin and I, we had twenty cents between us, so we walked the sixteen miles, and when we got there there was plenty of strawberry pickers that they had and they were paying only fifteen cents an hour, so we bought a loaf of bread for ten cents and bought ten cents worth of peanut butter and ate that and borrowed a drink of water and drank the water and then walked back to Tampa, Florida.

Q Did you have any other jobs after that?

A Only part-time jobs, landscaping and so on until I got a job at the Celanese Corporation at the Maryland Plant in 1933, June 1933.

Q Where was the plant?

A It is about six miles outside of Cumberland, a place called Amsel, it is just a plant there.

Q What was your job in that plant?

A Well, when I got hired I was hired in the spinning department. At that time they were paying twenty-three and

a half cents an hour, seven days a week, no overtime, no days off, no vacations, anything like that.

It was specially -- that was a technical term for it in that department I worked in. The name applies in a rayon plant differently from what it does in other cotton and textile mills. That was the term.

Q Now, when you went to work for the Celanese Corporation, was there a union in the plant?

A No, there was no union at that time. That was before the beginnings of the big organized drives of the early Thirties.

Q When was the union formed?

A The union began to be organized in 1934. The A. F. of L. took part in it, trying to organize the skilled workers, but there was no union organization there, effectively, until it became effective around 1936.

Q What union was there?

A That was Local 1874 the Textile Workers Union, C.I.O. That was the committee for industrial organizations at that time, and it was still within the framework of the A. F. of L.

Q Did you become active in the union?

A I did.

Q Under what circumstances?

A Well, the circumstances I have already begun to

4
outline, very bad working conditions, very low wages. The company was making big money, extending its plant, and at that time we had very heavy work loads, and there was general discontent in the plant. Working conditions were very unstable, no vacations, no holiday time, anything like that.

Q Was the union recognized by your employer when it first started?

A No. The company was very hostile to the formation of the union, and they took a strike.

At that time the Wagner Act had not been passed, or hadn't been recognized by the Supreme Court, and the company was under no obligation to recognize us, and we were forced to a strike, the issue of which was recognition of the union.

Q What did the workers do in the face of that hostility by the company?

A At the beginning the workers, those who had some idea of unionism, began to meet together in small groups, discussing the question of the union, keeping the thing very quiet for a while until finally there was enough movement in the Textile Union officially who began to come in and organize the plant, and then we got these -- I don't remember the name -- consent cards.

Q Was there any secrecy at all about organizing the union in these early stages?

5

A Yes, in the early stages it was necessary because of the fact that the company would have moved against the workers because the conditions in the mills were unstable. There was considerable fluctuating movement, and we had quite a bit of what they refer to as furloughing, calling people back, and the work in the mills was very unstable, and what happened was since we had no seniority conditions or no seniority rights, the company would lay off whoever they wanted and they were not forced to call them back, and they could retaliate against the workers who had been shown to be supporting the union. That was in the early stages.

Q Was there a strike in 1936?

A Yes.

Q And what was the issue?

A It was the recognition of the union.

MR. FLYNN: I object to this, Your Honor. It seems to me that we are very far afield as to the issues in this case before the jury.

THE COURT: I would have sustained the objection if it had been made as it seems to me to be immaterial.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Did the union win that strike?

A Yes, it did.

MR. FLYNN: I object to that.

THE COURT: Sustained.

6

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Did you at that time become an officer with the union?

MR. FLYNN: Objection.

THE COURT: He may answer that.

THE WITNESS: Yes, I became more active in the union after it was organized, and I was elected to a number of positions, from shop committee man which in the Celanese, it is the lowest level of union officialdom up to department chairman or door tender in the union, warden, as it is referred to, up to the president of the union.

This was over a period of years.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) When were you elected president of the union?

A I was elected president of the union twice, in 1941 and 1942.

Q How many members were there in the union when you were elected president?

A Approximately 10,000 workers there, and most of them belonged to the union.

Q Did you continue to work in the Celanese Corporation at the time you were president of the union?

A No, I worked at that time for the union while I was recording secretary, warden, and so on, worked in the factory, but the presidency of the union required full time, and under agreement with the company I had a leave of absence

7

for the two years when I was president.

Q What were your duties as president of the union?

MR. FLYNN: I object to that, sir.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. BUCHMAN: Your Honor, I am just offering this as background to show the development of the individual.

THE COURT: It is always permissible to show background material, Mr. Buchman, but I think we are getting into details which are not of that character.

MR. BUCHMAN: All right, Your Honor.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Did you hold any other offices in the trade union movement?

A On two occasions I was elected president of the Maryland and District of Columbia Union Council, that is at that time, which was an organization of the Maryland and District of Columbia, and I think it is now just Maryland. They separated.

Q How many members were there in this C.I.O. at that time?

A I haven't any good idea. It was up in the hundreds of thousands. I don't know.

Q Were you president of the C. I. O. State Council during the war?

A Yes.

Q As president did you engage in any activities in

8

connection with the war effort?

A Yes, at that time, a considerable part of our energies were directed in support of the war, and I participated in meetings with State and Federal Officials, and City Officials, in securing, in facilitating the securing of manpower in the defense industries, particularly in Baltimore, and also in Western Maryland. Part of that was directed to furthering the enforcement of fair labor practices act -- it was not an act, but it was a proclamation from the president to force the companies like Bethlehem Steel Shipyard and Glenn L. Martin in Baltimore, some of the biggest ones, in Cumberland, like Kelly-Springfield to hire Negro workers. We were successful there, and also as part of that in furthering the war effort we forced Celanese Corporation to hire Negro workers. Celanese for the first time hired Negro workers.

I participated in the efforts to solve the transportation problem, and at that time, as you remember, there was a gasoline shortage, and I participated in Price Control enforcement and in various phases of the trade union movement participated in an effort to support the war.

Q I want to direct your attention to a convention of the C.I.O. held in December 1942. Where was that held?

A I believe it was held in Baltimore.

Q Do you know how many attended that convention?

9

MR. FLYNN: I object to that.

THE COURT: I sustain the objection.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) At the time you were president of the C.I.O., were you a member of the Communist Party?

A The latter period, yes.

Q Now, in connection with that convention of 1942, did you make a report to that convention as president of the C.I.O.?

A Yes, I did.

MR. FLYNN: I object.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. BUCHMAN: If Your Honor please, I would like to show that he made a report to the convention which contained statements that were consistent with his position in the Communist Party, and I would like to offer that report in evidence, sir.

THE COURT: What year was that?

MR. BUCHMAN: 1942, December 1942.

THE COURT: I do not see how reports made by him to some union, was it?

MR. BUCHMAN: The State C. I. O., sir.

THE COURT: I fail to see that it is relevant to me to the case, Mr. Buchman. It looks to be immaterial.

MR. BUCHMAN: This represents an expression of his views in 1942 first, and secondly his views with respect to

10

the charge made by the Government. The Government made a charge with respect to concentration in this case, made a charge in this case, and I want to offer his views as president of the C. I. O. in 1942, which views were consistent with his position as a member of the Communist Party.

THE COURT: Well, what is this report? Does it deal with his views as a member of the Communist Party?

MR. BUCHMAN: It deals with the subject of a union member.

THE COURT: That is not the issue in this case. If the report deals with what his ideas were at that time or the ideas of the Communist Party, I think it might be relevant.

MR. BUCHMAN: Except Your Honor, the Government has put in testimony that directly charges certain things with respect to the Communist Party with respect to industry, and as I recall, there was a statement made by Mrs. Markward covering the steel industry, and I would like to offer this evidence with respect to that.

THE COURT: If there is anything in the report with respect to the Communist Party, I shall admit it. If there is nothing in the report with respect to the Communist Party, I will exclude it.

MR. BUCHMAN: Your Honor, I would like to make an offer of proof.

THE COURT: All right. Make it.

MR. BUCHMAN: You may see this (handing document to Mr. Flynn).

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Mr. Meyers, is this the report, the President's report to the Sixth Annual Convention of the Maryland and District of Columbia Industrial Union Council?

A Yes.

Q Did you make that report?

A Yes.

Q Does that report contain your views as president of the C.I.O.?

A Yes.

Q And were you a member of the Communist Party?

A Yes.

Q And were the views that were expressed by you consistent with your views as a member of the Communist Party at that time?

A Yes.

MR. BUCHMAN: I offer this in evidence, Your Honor.

MR. FLYNN: I object to that.

THE COURT: Why do you think it is relevant to this case? Can you read me anything in there that is?

THE WITNESS: I don't want to read the whole report, Your Honor, but there is certain sections in there with regard to my views and my thinking at the time.

THE COURT: Well, read it.

THE WITNESS: Let us see if I can find a short one.

There is a section here:

"Maryland's War Production Program," Page 7:

"While it is of the utmost importance to effectively criticize the lack of a National Plan of total war mobilization -- such criticism should and must be made -- this convention has the equally important job of planning how labor can apply its own energy and idea to help solve the problem in this area ourselves. That is a more difficult task, and possibly less enjoyable than the first, for it is much easier to criticize than to plan and carry out the plan. The manpower problem is our problem. It is not a problem in the province of government or business alone. It is everyone's problem. Can we say that ^{we} in organized labor have fully rallied all our efforts to bring Negroes into industry? Can we say that we in organized labor have thrown aside all of our prejudices not only against Negroes but against the employment of women; that we have not merely accepted their employment but have actually gone out to encourage and welcome it? Can we say that we have done all that we can to gear our state institutions, such as schools, to effectively train young men and women to take their places as rapidly as possible in industry?

We can, if we wish, point to all sorts of obstacles placed in our way; to the fact that some institutions have not learned to welcome labor's advice and suggestions. But when we set out to organize the workers in an industry, do we wait until the employer is ready to accept organized labor -- " and then more along that same line, Your Honor.

THE COURT: I do not see that it is in issue in this case. I fail to see it.

MR. BUCHMAN: Your Honor, I would like to offer it in evidence.

MR. FLYNN: I object to it.

THE COURT: I sustain the objection to it. I do not see the materiality from what has been said or from what has been read.

MR. BUCHMAN: Can I have it marked for identification?

THE COURT: Yes, if you like.

("President's Report to the Sixth Annual Convention of the Maryland and District of Columbia Industrial Union Council" was marked Defendants' Exhibit 4 for identification.)

THE COURT: This case does not involve any issue as to trade unionism.

MR. BUCHMAN: I submit that this, Your Honor, is

14

in connection with the defendant's intent and with respect to certain backgrounds of the case.

THE COURT: Was it stated in the paper anything with respect to Communism?

THE WITNESS: No.

THE COURT: That is what I understood, go ahead, Mr. Bushman.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) How did you happen to leave your position as president of the union?

A I went in the army in January 1943.

Q Did the union take any action regarding your leaving?

A I offered my resignation. I resigned from all union offices and all the committees I was on and went into the army and at that time the union took an expression when I went into the army.

Q Is this the expression of the union as you refer to?

A It is.

MR. FLYNN: I object to it.

THE COURT: I do not see the relevancy of it. Pass it up and let me look at it.

Well, it is headed "Statement of Appreciation for George A. Meyers," which was adopted by the general membership of Local 1874, T.W.U.A.

The last line reads "He takes with him the God-

Cavey fls
10:50

2

speed and heartfelt good wishes of our membership, already represented by 1750 Local 1874 workers in all branches of the armed forces."

The second paragraph reads: "We commend President Meyers for his close adherence to, and local support of, the National C. I. O. objective; such as, increased employment opportunities for the Negro, for women and for other groups against which discrimination as existed in industry."

I do not see that that is relevant except the nature of it as indicated by what I have read.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN: Was this expression made at any particular occasion on your leaving for the army?

A This was taken at a union meeting of the Local. There were several other affairs but this was a Local union meeting.

MR. BUCHMAN: If the Court please, I would like to offer it in evidence.

THE COURT: I think I have indicated the nature of it and its relevancy to the evidence in the case.

MR. BUCHMAN: May I have it marked for identification?

THE COURT: Very well.

(Statement of Appreciation for George A. Meyers adopted by Local 1874 T.W.U.A. dated January 20, 1943 was marked Defendants' Exhibit 5 for identification.)

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) You say you went into the army.

3

How long did you serve in the army?

A I was in there almost three years to the day.

Q What branch of the service of the army?

A Army Air Force.

Q What was your rank?

A I went in a private and came out a corporal.

Q Were you honorably discharged?

A Yes.

Q When was that?

A The latter part of January 1946.

Q Did you get married while you were in the army?

A Yes.

Q Are you still married?

A Still married.

Q What did you do after you left the army?

A After I left the army, I took a couple weeks off probably and then I went back to work in the Celanese Plant in the spinning department.

Q How long did you work at the Celanese Plant?

A I worked there until the early fall of 1947/

Q Under what circumstances did you leave the Celanese Plant?

A Well, I had been thinking of the possibilities of taking advantage of the G. I. Bill of Rights and so on, going to school. However, that never materialized and I left the

4
plant in the early fall of 1947 to go to the National Training School that had been organized by the Communist Party of the United States.

Q Had you joined the Communist Party before you went to this school?

A I joined the Communist Party in the fall of 1942.

Q What had been your political affiliations before you joined the Communist Party?

A I was a New Dealer and active in the Democratic Party.

Q At that time when you were active in the Democratic Party, what was your attitude toward Communism?

A At one period, I was not only active in the Democratic Party but when I first became active in the union, I was definitely anti-Communist. I had accepted the stories that were put around about Communists and particularly as had been labeled on the C.I.O. However, after a period of years based on my own experience and education, I believed in trade unionism particularly and the use that the company made of the Red scare. For instance, in 1938, the Chamber of Commerce in Cumberland or some such organization brought in a so-called minister by the name of Dan McNally who tried to wreck my own union there through Red baiting and I became aware that all this Red baiting nonsense was going on and I began to change my views over a period of time and

5

became closer to the Communist Party and eventually joined it.

Q Were there any books that had a bearing on your decision?

A Yes, in those years we were faced with many problems, the same as now. I am not saying we have any more than other workers have, but coming through the period of depression and beginning to organize the union and all kinds of discussion going on, particularly the business of Red baiting, and I began to inquire in my own mind as to just what things were all about and I began to read more than I ever had read, the history of the country, particularly such writers as Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, the early revolutionary writers of this country and I think it doesn't go in the testimony but I will say again, in 1938 I was chairman of the Educational Committee of the union and helped organize a library there and we had a lot of books sent in from all over the country from people who were interested in helping workers' education and at that time among other books, Lincoln Steffen's book, which was dealing pretty much with muck raking.

THE COURT: "The Shame of the City."

THE WITNESS: "Autobiography", and I went to the public library and began to study there the books by Moore and by other Utopian writers and while I had heard of

6

"Capital" by Karl Marx, I did not read it at that time, but I was reading quite a bit, studying and trying to get an idea of how workers could overcome the problems that face them in their everyday life.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Are there any other specific books that you recall?

A There were a lot of books at the time. I remember one that struck me very strongly was a book by Mike Gold "Genius Without Money", because there was a lot of anti-semitism in Western Maryland and a strong story around them because of the Jewish storekeepers and so forth.

Q Is that all? There were no other books you can think of at this point?

A There were other books but I don't want to get into that.

Q Was there anything in your family history which had a bearing upon your attitude towards the Communist Party?

A From the earlier days there had been talks in the family, particularly my grandfather Douglas, in the past, who had been a militant trade unionist and as I testified earlier, was a member of an organization misnamed the "Molly McGuires" and my mother's dad had been very active in the struggle for the freedom of Ireland and there was always the reminiscence of those days and it was -- those things stimulated my thinking as to how to bring about a social

7
change.

Q Was there anything that your work history caused you to change your opinion?

A Well, in my work history, and also as I grew older and looking back on the days of my boyhood in a small mining town, where there were a lot of strikes and hard times because the hard times in the cold region were long before the depression hit, and in my job I begin to see we would fight for wage increases and pretty soon we would try to catch up with the cost of living and on occasion we would be victorious. We would win strikes and once in a while we would get something without striking, but at Celanese it wasn't very often in the first part of the union's history there, and then pretty soon we needed another wage increase to catch up again and in working conditions on the job, we were constantly faced with the question of a fight against a speed-up. The company was always trying to figure how to get more work out of us, regardless of our physical ability to carry on our work, so there would be union grievances and so on and in many cases sit down strikes in the early days of the union and we would either win a total victory, a partial victory, but the minute we did, the company would demand that we turn out more production and it was a never-ending fight. We would win something one week and the next week the company would come back with another angle to speedup

8

in another direction and I saw it was a constant struggle. With a union, there was opportunity to struggle but without the union there was no opportunity. With the union it was possible to win some victories but it was always one fight after another.

Q When you joined the Communist Party, was it your belief that it advocated force and violence?

A No.

Q Did you join it with the intention to overthrow the government by force and violence?

A I did not.

Q Now, before you joined the Communist Party, had you formed any opinions about the source of violence in social change?

A Yes, both from back in the old days and my own experience.

Q What were those experiences?

A I learned both as a worker at the Celanese Plant and a trade union official that every time working people tried to improve their conditions, they were met with violence in one form or another. Now, my own experience was in the mills --

THE COURT: I hardly think that is relevant, Mr. Buehman, individual experience, which may have caused him to become a Communist.

9

THE WITNESS: Your Honor, I can generalize. I had plenty of individual experience.

THE COURT: Very well, generalize then.

THE WITNESS: In times of strike the companies would use such agencies as the Baldwin Phelps Detective Agency, which now has been outlawed, to try to break the strike, to club pickets and tear gas them and use whatever means they could. They used provocateurs in the union and sent them in to try to cause trouble in time of strike. At other times on the job in industries, the company in too many occasions was caloused about the working conditions, the health conditions in the mills and the workers were forced of necessity of making a living to work under terrifically dangerous conditions in the mines and mills which threatened their lives and in some cases, through ill health and in other cases through carelessness on the part of the company, many workers were killed in the factories, mines and mills, and my experience as a trade union leader was with the fight of the Negro people for jobs and to get away from Jim Crow and in connection with that there has been violence in the form of Polish brutality and further things, including the City of Baltimore, especially the City of Baltimore.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) After you returned from the army, were you a member of any Communist Club?

10

A Yes, when I came back I went into the Textile Club.

Q There has been previous testimony about a strike of that union in 1947. Do you recall who called that strike?

MR. FLYNN: I object.

THE COURT: I do not see the relevancy of it.

MR. BUCHMAN: The previous witness Bartlett, a Government witness, referred to that strike and made certain charges in connection with it and I am offering this line in direct refutation of his charges. That is the only purpose of going into this at this point.

THE COURT: I do not recall his evidence in any particularity along that line. I think he did make a reference to the fact that there had been a strike.

MR. BUCHMAN: That is correct. On page 1238 of the transcript, if I may be indulged for a moment, I will find it.

THE COURT: Yes, Indeed.

MR. BUCHMAN: It begins at the bottom of page 1236 and continues to the end.

THE COURT: What is it that the witness said that you want to contradict?

MR. BUCHMAN: The witness tried to convey the impression that this strike was inspired by the Communist Textile Club and the purpose of it was to carry or entrench the Communist Party in the Textile Plant and so on, and I

11

want to show the exact situation of what the strike really did and the role played in that strike, if any, by the Textile Club of the Communist Party.

THE COURT: My recollection of the witness' testimony was that his reference to the Communist Party was that it was a small numerical factor, but that they did try to bring about that strike. In other words, I think he used the word -- I don't know whether he used the word inspired or not but that may have been the purpose of it. You can ask this witness, of course, whether the Communist Party inspired that strike.

MR. BUCHMAN: I would like to ask him a few preliminary questions to show the exact factual situation.

THE COURT: It is perfectly all right to offer evidence which bears on a particular point brought out by the Government but do not go into a discussion of strikes in general or this particular strike except insofar as the witness whom you are seeking to contradict attributed it to the Communist influence.

MR. BUCHMAN: I will confine my questions narrowly to just that point, if Your Honor please.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Who called the strike, by the way, Mr. Meyers?

A The general membership of the union called the strike in 1947.

Q How many men went on strike?

A Everybody, about 9500 workers at that time,

Q What were the circumstances that led up to the strike, briefly?

A This was in the post-war period, in the beginning of inflation and the high cost of living and the workers were beginning to feel the pinch. They had spent all their war bonds pretty much and a lot of the workers were young men who came out of the army and spent their bonus and so on and felt the need of a wage increase. In addition to that --

MR. FLYNN: May it please the Court, does this man know this? What part did he have in it? I think we ought to know that.

THE WITNESS: I think I ought to establish and I can establish it quickly, I was on the Negotiating Committee.

THE COURT: Just a minute, Mr. Meyers. I have an objection from counsel.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) What role did you play in that strike?

A I was a member of the Negotiating Committee of the union. I was chairman of the spinning department and I participated in discussions from time to time to begin with. At that time the management had -- the contract had run out and it was time to resume negotiations.

13

Q Did members of the Textile Club of the Communist Party participate in that strike?

A They did.

Q Was this strike inspired by the Textile Club?

A No, it was inspired by the Celanese Corporation.

Q Just name the specific issues that the union raised.

A After discussion, the various departments called meetings, and we had quite a long list of them.

Q Can you enumerate the issues?

A Time and a half for Sunday, longer vacations, paid holidays, better coverage on sick benefits and one of the primary reasons in addition to wage increases was additional pay for Saturdays and Sundays because at that time and now when workers have to work on Saturdays and Sundays, their life, their home life is broken up by being forced to work seven days a week with two days off in the middle of the week and so on, and in some cases it can't be helped because of the continuous production, but workers felt that if they had to work on Saturdays and Sundays, they should get paid extra for it.

Hdg fls 11:15

H-1

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Now, Mr. Meyers, a Government witness by the name of Harry Bartlett testified, at transcript Page 1246, you said: "After the revolution I will take care of Estes."

Did you say that?

A I did not.

Q Did you say anything like that?

A I never said anything like that.

BY THE COURT: Who is Estes?

A He is a guy that worked at the plant with me, a fellow worker. I know him.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Did --

A At that time, I think he worked under me in the union. He was one of the "Spinning Department" members.

Q Now, you have already told us that you studied at the National Training School. Will you tell us what month that was?

A Yes. It was -- I don't know the exact dates. It was in October or November of 1947.

Q Now, under what circumstances did you come to go to the National Training School?

A When I came out of the Army and began further reading on the question of Marxism-Leninism, the policies of the Communist Party, I had expressed the desire to be able to study further, to devote more time to their study so that I could learn and develop my own understanding more deeply.

And when the National Committee of the Party organized its Training School, our district here in Maryland, the District of Columbia, was granted the right to send two people to the school. And I was elected by the District Committee along with Miss Elsie Smith to attend that training school.

THE COURT: What year was that?

A The year of 1947, the Fall of 1947.

THE COURT: Where was the training school?

A Held in New York City.

THE COURT: The official school of the Communist Party, is that right?

A That is correct, sir.

THE COURT: How many people attended it?

A I don't know the exact number.

THE COURT: Who taught it?

A Oh, it was George Siskind, was one of the teachers.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Did you know Ralph Long at that school?

A I knew him just slightly. And I recognized him as he sat down here as a Government informer.

Q He testified that he attended -- that George Siskind, rather, taught that school, and as you have already stated. What was the course that Siskind gave?

A Political economy.

Q You took that course also?

A Yes.

Q Did Mr. Siskind in this course teach that the capitalistic system had to be overthrown by force and violence?

A He did not.

Q Did he teach anything like that?

A Certainly not.

Q Ralph Long, Government witness, also testified that Mr. Siskind taught that the working class would be driven to shatter the capitalists by force and violence. Is that correct?

A Mr. Siskind never taught any such doctrine.

Q Did he teach anything at all about the possibility of force occurring in the change from capitalism to socialism?

A He did.

Q What did he teach on this subject?

A Well, his teachings and the teachings of the Communist Party on the question of force and violence and the possible occurrence in the transition or the change from a capitalistic economy to a socialist economy is as follows:

First, that there can be no beginnings of a change unless the majority of the people in this country want it. And it is our teaching that it has been the history of majority movements that the desired change is peacefully, and that force and violence could stem from a ruling class who wanted to continue ruling, who did not want to relinquish power. And in this case, it would mean big business. It would mean

a small minority of people who owned the factories, the mines and mills of this country. That the danger there was from this source that force and violence would come.

Now, we also taught that we did not want force and violence, and that it was possible for the people to restrain this small minority from committing force and violence, but there was no guarantee. But if it did come, it would come from this small group, and not from the majority of the people.

Q Were you taught any course in that school that the only way Socialism could replace Capitalism was by the use of force and violence ?

A No.

Q Now, after you left the National Training School, what did you do?

A Shortly after I came back to Baltimore, and I was elected to -- came to Baltimore, and was elected to various offices in the Communist Party.

Q Now, was that a matter of public record?

A Yes, it was.

Q Was there any leaflet issued at the time you became elected to the office, regarding your election?

A What happened, I was interviewed by the press, both in Cumberland, that is near my home town, at Baltimore. In Cumberland, a series of questions were presented to me, which I answered, and appeared in the press at that time. And

we, the party, took that interview and put it in the form¹⁶⁹⁵ of a leaflet.

Q Is this that leaflet, by the way? (Handing paper to witness.)

A This is it.

Q And how many copies of that were printed?

A Between twenty and twenty-five thousand copies were printed and distributed in Baltimore, Washington, and western Maryland.

Q To what sections of the population was that distributed?

A Mainly to the working people.

Q Was it also distributed and circulated to the Communist Party members?

A Yes, sir. All members of the Party got a copy of the leaflet.

MR. BUCHMAN: If the Court please, I would like to offer the leaflet into evidence.

MR. FLYNN: I object on the grounds it is a strongly self-serving document. It is practically what he has testified to just now, stating what he does not believe in, rather than what he does believe in. I do not see where it has any probative force at all, except being a self-serving document.

MR. BUCHMAN: Does Your Honor want it?

THE COURT: What is the relevancy? What would be

subject matter to this case?

MR. BUCHMAN: If the Court please, this represents his views on the subject, not only of force and violence, but the whole question of his intent at the time he joined the Communist Party.

THE COURT: Well, it may be received. Overrule the objection.

(Leaflet, "A Communist? -- Yes, Indeed," was Marked Defendant's Exhibit 6.)

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Will you take this, Mr. Meyers.

THE COURT: I hope you won't find it necessary to read at length from that paper.

MR. BUCHMAN: We will confine it to short portions. If the Court please, could I ask permission of the Court to have that passed to the jury?

THE COURT: Now, I think that will take unnecessary time to do that. But the jury, of course, will be entitled at the proper time in this case to see any and all exhibits they wish. But in the interest of reasonable expediency, I think that this is not the time to pass literature around to the jury.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Now, Mr. Meyers, will you please read the first page of that leaflet?

A (Reading) "George Meyers is a native Marylander. He was born in Lonaconing, Maryland, 34 years ago. His father was a coal miner, and so were his grandfathers. George Meyers worked for the Celanese Corporation for fifteen

years. A worker, himself, he represents an honorable heritage of hard-working, loyal union men.

"George Meyers helped to build Local 1874 in the Calanese mill. Being a fighter, George fought for higher wages and better working conditions. An honest labor leader, he could not be bought off. The textile workers recognized his courage and sterling qualities and elected him twice as president of Local 1874, the largest labor union in Maryland.

"He was also elected twice to the presidency of the Maryland-District of Columbia Industrial Union Council. In this position of trust and honor he not only fought for higher wages, shorter hours, better working conditions and for independent political action; he also fought for the rights of Negro American workers to jobs, and to end all forms of Jim Crow segregation. Meyers championed the cause of unity of all workers, regardless of race, creed, color, or political affiliation."

There is one. I can read it further.

Q Just read parts. Like "Why a Communist."

A This is in answer to a question put to me by the newspaper men in Cumberland.

"This action has been the logical conclusion to the experiences of my life. My father was a coal miner. My grandfathers were coal miners. I come from a working class family. My early home and religious training emphasized the

dignity and equality of man -- "Love thy neighbor." Upon graduation from LaSalle in 1930, I suffered three years of unemployment. I had plenty of company. Finally, I was employed by the Celanese Corp. of America at 23-1/2 cents per hour, eight hours a day, seven days a week, \$11.50. I participated in every fight to increase wages, and to improve conditions of employment at Celanese, including helping to build Local 1874. I was rewarded by the workers with election to several Union offices, including committeeman, shop-chairman, warden, secretary, and president."

Q Maybe we can shorten this.

A It continues on.

Q I think this next question.

A This particular section concludes: "I find that instead of more democracy, we have less democracy. Witness the murder and lynching of hundreds of Negroes in the South, since V-J Day -- the rise of anti-Semitism -- the harrassment of the foreign born -- the all-out attacks on the Labor Movement -- the curtailment of Civil Rights.

"I have become fully convinced that I can best fight for Socialism, peace, and democracy through the Communist Party. For these reasons I have become a Communist. The Party, in return, has honored me by selecting me for a position of leadership in my own State of Maryland as State Labor Secretary with headquarters in Baltimore."

Q Now, there is a section, "Why Deny Membership."

A "Why do some Communists deny membership in the Communist Party?" ¹⁶⁹⁹

"When the Communist Party is guaranteed full rights in America, both by law and by practice, all our members will be only too proud to identify themselves with our Party. Because of the present wave of witch-hunting, red-baiting, and discrimination, some of our members would suffer loss of employment and other forms of persecution, if they were openly to identify themselves as Communists."

Q Now, there is a part there marked "Force and Violence," is there not?

A Yes. The question: "Does the Communist Party advocate overthrow of the Government by force and violence?"

The answer: "This despicable charge, aimed at us by Big Business and its agents, has been refuted again and again. The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled in our favor. Attorney General Tom Clark (no friend of ours) only recently had to admit under oath to the un-American Committee (no friend of ours) that no Communist had ever been found guilty of advocating the overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

"The Communist Party realizes that Socialism will come to America only when the majority of the people want it. That is as it should be. In reverse, we oppose American Capitalism, when it goes in to other countries and forces the removal of Communists from duly elected offices, as in

d 10

France and Italy, and foments civil war, as in Greece and China."

I think, to make this completely clear, it was issued March 7, 1948.

Q What Supreme Court ruling were you referring to you just read?

A I was referring to the Schneiderman decision of the Supreme Court. I think, to the best of my knowledge, the Supreme Court decided by majority opinion that the Communist Party --

THE COURT: I think, perhaps, it is inadvisable to ask the witness to interpret an opinion of the Supreme Court.

MR. BUCHMAN: I merely wanted to provide his intention or knowledge, his understanding.

THE COURT: I know. I see what you are getting into, on reading that statement about the Supreme Court. The jury may not understand at the beginning that the Supreme Court of the United States has definitely ruled to the contrary. You are familiar with the case.

A Your Honor, this had to do with the Supreme Court, not with any individuals.

MR. BUCHMAN: If the Court please, the Supreme Court case, the last case you are referring to, did not pass on the sufficiency of the evidence.

THE COURT: You are very well aware of that. Many discussions have been held about that. The Law is applicable

H 11

to the case. The Supreme Court of the United States has upheld as constitutional the Smith Act. This statement, in 1948, he is reading to the jury is liable to be misunderstood by them, unless I intervene and correct it.

A Your Honor, if I could speak as self-counsel?

THE COURT: It is not the time for argument.

A All right.

THE COURT: It isn't necessary.

MR. BUCHMAN: All right. We will cease on that point, sir.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Is there any other portion of that that expressed your opinions at that time?

A Yes. There is a question: "Does not the Communist Party seek to destroy the U. S. Constitution?"

The answer: "The Communist Party loyally supports the United States Constitution and fights for its progressive and democratic interpretation.

"I quote from the Preamble of the Communist Party Constitution:

"The Communist Party upholds the achievements of the American democracy and defends the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights against its reactionary enemies who would destroy democracy and populat liberties."

"We believe the Constitution should be further strengthened by amendments to include fuller democratic guarantees."

That is the conclusion of my answer.

Q Is that all you wish to read from that?

A There is a further question: "What is the Communist position on trade unions?"

Your Honor, there has been a whole number of questions. I haven't read them all.

THE COURT: I think that is not material to the case.

MR. BUCHMAN: Except the Government has made an allegation of what it refers to as a "concentration," their position with respect to trade unions.

THE COURT: If he is referring to that, he may read it.

A "What is the Communist position on trade unions?"

The answer: "We support trade unions whole heartedly because they work to better the standard of living for the people. We feel that it is a proved historical fact that the trade union movement is a bulwark for democracy, and the Communist Party is proud of its record of supporting, building and strengthening American trade unions."

Q (By Mr. Buchman: Now, do the opinions expressed in that leaflet represent your opinions and beliefs and understanding today?

A They do.

Q Now, do you now hold any office in the Communist Party?

A Yes. I am chairman of the Party in Maryland and District of Columbia at this time.

Q When were you elected to that office?

A February, 1951.

MR. BUCHMAN: If the Court please, I am ready to move into another subject, if Your Honor wishes to take the customary recess.

THE COURT: You want what?

MR. BUCHMAN: If Your Honor desires to take the customary ten minute recess, this would be an appropriate time.

THE COURT: Very well. If you would like it now, you may take it now.

I want to get the date you became chairman in Maryland and District of Columbia, in February, 1951, is that right?

A Yes, sir.

THE COURT: Very well. Members of the jury, we will take a ten minute recess.

(Thereupon, at 11:35 a.m., there was a ten minute recess taken, after which, the following occurred:)

Ows fls
Hdg
11:45
1

THE COURT: You may proceed.

By Mr. Buchman:

Q Mr. Meyers, where are the headquarters of the Communist Party of Maryland and the District of Columbia?

A 220 North Liberty Street, sir, Zone 2, Baltimore, Maryland.

Q Is that an office building?

A Yes.

Q Does the name of that organization appear publicly in this building?

A It appears on the first floor.

Q Now, is the Communist Party of Maryland and the District of Columbia listed in the phone book in Maryland?

A Yes, the phones are listed all the time.

Q And Washington also?

A In Washington the headquarters of the Communist Party are in a public building, and the phone there is in the phone book.

Q While you were an officer of the Communist Party of Maryland and the District of Columbia, has that organization held any public meetings?

A Yes, we have held a number of public meetings.

Q Do you recall a public meeting held of the Communist Party in February 1948?

A Yes.

2

Q Where was it held?

A Workmen's Circle Hall, I think.

Q What is the address of the Workmen's Circle Hall?

A It is on East Baltimore Street.

Q What was the occasion?

A Well, ^{on} that occasion Mr. Foster, chairman of our Party nationally, came in to speak, and Miss Elsie Smith who had been Negro trade union organizer and myself spoke for the first time as elected officers of the Party.

Q How many people --

A It was February 1948, I think.

Q How many people were there?

A About three or four hundred.

Q Was that meeting open to the public?

A It was.

Q Do you know what the topic of the meeting was?

A A number of topics were discussed. At that time the elections were discussed, and the need of fighting for peace, and I spoke about the need for unity in the labor movement.

Mr. Foster had just returned from a trip abroad, and he dealt with his trip.

Q Was this meeting announced in advance in the public press?

A It was.

3

Q What other efforts, if any, were made to obtain an audience?

A We distributed leaflets throughout the City wherever we could.

Q Now, was this leaflet distributed in connection with that meeting?

A That was one of the leaflets distributed.

Q Do you know what quantity or what number were issued?

A At that time we usually issued leaflets in quantities of 10,000, and I don't know whether there was an additional number.

MR. BUCHMAN: I would like to offer this in evidence, Your Honor.

(Leaflet "Mass Rally, Sunday February 29, 1948 was marked Defendants' Exhibit 7.)

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Would you read this leaflet, with Your Honor's permission?

A It is headed "Mass Rally," and the speakers, William Z. Foster, George Meyers, and Elsie E. Smith. It was held at the Workmen's Circle Hall, 29 East Baltimore Street, Sunday, February 29, 1948. It was held at "Workmen's Circle Hall, 1029 E. Baltimore Street, Sunday, February 29th, 1948, doors open at 2 p. m., Admission 40¢ (Tax included). Excellent Program."

4
It has underneath that the following printed message:

"People of Baltimore:

"Rally to defeat the parties of reaction, depression, high prices, segregation and war.

"Rally in support of the Progressive Party of Henry A. Wallace -- the Party of Peace, Prosperity, Equality and Security.

"Hear the inspiring story of the glorious victory of Labor and the People in the Congressional election in New York City.

"Negro and White workers! Unite for peace, progress, higher wages, the smashing of Jim Crow in Baltimore."

And it ends: "The People's March is on for Victory in 1948!" Signed: "Communist Party of Baltimore, 220 N. Liberty Street -- Plaza 3842" phone number.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Now, do you recall a public meeting held by the Communist Party in February 1949?

A Yes, there was a meeting held/ following year.
the

Q Where was that held?

A At the same place.

Q What was the occasion for that meeting?

A It was the celebration of Negro History Week, and also it was a meeting to honor a member, Elsie Smith, who had died while chairman of the Party in Washington, D. C.

5
Q How many were there at that meeting?

A I would say about the same number.

Q Was that an open meeting?

A Yes.

Q Who spoke at that meeting?

A Mr. Pettis Perry. He was chairman of the Negro Commission of our Party nationally. He is an outstanding leader of the Negro people. He had been active in the Communist Party for a number of years. He is a leader of the Party.

Q Were there any other speakers at that meeting?

A Yes, I spoke at that meeting, and other of the defendants spoke.

Q Do you recall --

A Mr. Frankfeld spoke.

Q Do you recall the subjects on which they spoke at that meeting?

A Well, the subject of the meeting in addition to being a tribute to Miss Smith were again the role of the Negro people and the fight they themselves had made to free themselves from slavery, and the role of the white abolitionist, in that period dealing with the whole question of the history of the Negro people.

I spoke specifically on the need of Negro and white unity and dealt with past experience in Maryland where

6

there had been Negro and white unity achieved particularly during the period of Reconstruction and the benefits that resulted to the Negro workers and particularly to the white workers because of that unity.

Q Do you recall what Mr. Frankfeld spoke about at that meeting?

A Mr. Frankfeld dealt mainly with the tribute to Miss Smith, if I remember correctly.

Q Now, was this meeting announced in advance in the public press?

A It was.

Q Were leaflets distributed in advance of that meeting also?

A Yes.

Q Do you know how many?

A I don't remember exactly. We got out as many as we could and distributed them.

Q Is this a copy of the leaflet, one of the leaflets used in connection with that meeting?

A This is one of the leaflets.

MR. BUCHMAN: If Your Honor please, I would like to offer this in evidence.

THE CLERK: Exhibit 8.

(Leaflet "Negro-White Unity" dated Sunday, February 12th was marked Defendants' Exhibit 8.)

7

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Mr. Meyers, would you read this leaflet to the Court and jury?

A The leaflet is headed "Negro-White Unity" and the following proposals were made: "For Jobs and Higher Wages, For Relief and Public Works, For Fair Employment Practices and Equal Rights, For Decent Housing, For Peace and Democracy".

Those were all questions that we were for.

Then against:

"Against BTC -- Against The Baltimore Transit Company Fare Steal, Against Jim Crow, Against the Taft-Hartley Law, Against Slums, Against War and Fascism."

Then it goes on further in large print "Mass Rally, Elsie Smith Memorial, First Anniversary of Death of an Outstanding Negro Communist, Woman Labor Leader in Baltimore in conjunction with Negro History Week, Learn of the Great Contributions of Negro Americans to our State and Country.

"Sunday, Feb. 12th, at 8 P.M. (Lincoln's Birthday), at Workmen's Circle Hall, 1029 E. Baltimore Street.

"Prominent Local and National speakers, excellent musical program.

"General Admission 50¢ (Tax included.) Students and Youth 25¢ (Tax included) Unemployed Workers -- Free Admission."

And then a quotation from Abraham Lincoln: 'True

democracy makes no enquiry about the color of the skin, or place of nativity, or any other similar circumstances of condition."

Then signed -- "Issed by: Communist Party of Baltimore, 220 N. Liberty" and the phone number "Plaza 3842."

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Now, was there any other literature besides this leaflet distributed advertising this meeting?

A Yes, there was other literature.

MR. FLYNN: If Your Honor please, I do not see the point of all this accumulation, just announcing a meeting. I do not want to cut him off, but I do not see any point to putting all this in.

THE COURT: Aren't the two you already have in evidence explanatory?

MR. BUCHMAN: Your Honor, my only purpose is to show the public nature of the meeting and the efforts made to advertise the meeting to the public and the non-secrecy of the method of procedure.

THE COURT: Well, I don't know that there has been any evidence to the contrary.

MR. BUCHMAN: Well, I think there were certain conclusions made.

THE COURT: Go ahead. I do not see the necessity

9
of putting so much in, but if you want to do it, go ahead.

MR. BUCHMAN: It will only take a half minute.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Is this a copy of the card that you had advertising that meeting?

A Yes.

Q How many of those were circulated?

A About five thousand.

MR. BUCHMAN: I offer this in evidence, Your Honor.

THE CLERK: Exhibit 9.

(Card entitled "Hell, Bomb or Peace" to be held at Workmen's Circle Hall, Sunday Feb. 12th, marked Defendants' Exhibit 9.)

Cav fs
Owens 12a

Q Please read that to His Honor and the jury.

A Your Honor, I read these things because it not only exposes -

THE COURT: No, this is not the time for that. You are asked to read it. If you wish to read it, you may do so.

A It is headed, "Hell-Bomb or Peace?" with the "H" being thick. "Peoples' Welfare or Wall Street's Profits? Get the Answers at the Rally, Sunday, February 12, at 8 P. M. Elsie Smith Memorial and Negro History Week, Workmen's Circle Hall, 1029 E. Baltimore Street, General Admission 50c - Unemployed Free. Auspices - Communist Party of Baltimore, 220 N. Liberty St."

Q (By Mr. Buchman): Was this meeting reported in the public press?

A Yes, it was reported. There was a reporter there, as at other public meetings.

Q Mr. Meyers, I do not want to take up any more time asking about individual meetings. Have there been any other public meetings to your knowledge held by the Communist Party of Maryland and the District of Columbia?

A There have been other public meetings where we notified the press and issued leaflets inviting people to attend.

Q In what cities were those meetings held?

C 2

A In Baltimore and Washington, D.C.

Q Has the Communist Party made efforts to attract as many people as possible to those meetings?

A They have.

Q Has the Communist Party here from time to time, while you were an officer, taken any radio time?

A Yes, we have had radio time on occasion and presented our views in that manner to the public.

Q Do you recall what stations, radio stations, you appeared on?

A I can remember the stations - I forget the number. One is on North Avenue in the Center Building. I think I spoke there a couple times and I spoke several times in Cumberland, Maryland, over the radio.

Q Do you recall what the subjects were?

A A couple times I spoke on questions of civil rights, civil liberties and in Cumberland on one occasions it was in the form of a speech when I became the leader of the Party. It dealt with the general program of the Communist Party affecting specific issues at the time we secured radio time.

Q Has the Communist Party, while you were an officer, distributed leaflets other than I have shown you?

A Yes, we have distributed whole numbers of leaflets on all sorts of subjects.

C 8

Q Have you any idea of the over-all quantity, the total?

A No, I have no idea. Tens and tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands actually were distributed in all parts of the city.

Q Have you, as an officer of the Communist Party, appeared before any legislative committees?

A Yes, I have appeared before State committees, the City committees, on a number of subjects. I appeared in company with Mr. Frankfeld in the legislative hearing in Annapolis in favor of the soldiers' bonus. I appeared in opposition to the increase in the price of milk and other committees. I appeared in favor of rent control, price control. I spoke on a whole number of issues when the opportunity presented itself before these bodies.

Q I pass to another subject now, Mr. Meyers. Is there any document which governs the structure of the Communist Party and the rights of the members?

A Yes, it is the Constitution of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

Q I show you this document and ask you to identify that?

A It is the Constitution of the Communist Party, of the Communist Party of the United States of America, and it is published by the Communist Party U. S. A., and the

C 4

date is October, 1948.

Q Is that the latest constitution in existence at this time?

A Yes, this Constitution followed along the same lines as the 1945 Constitution which is in evidence, with some minor adjustments, and was re-adopted at the 1950 Convention of the Communist Party that was held in New York City.

Q Can you read us those sections of the Constitution which govern or relate to the structure of the Communist Party?

A Yes, it is Article VI "Structure".

"Section 1. The basic organization of the Party is the Club which shall be organized on a shop, community or industrial basis.

"The officers and executive committees of the Clubs shall be elected by the membership by a secret ballot once a year.

"The Clubs shall meet regularly and shall establish appropriate committees under the direction of the Club Executive Committee.

"Section 2. The State organization shall comprise all clubs in one State and shall have the power to establish all necessary subdivisions such as county, city, or section organizations and committees.

C 5

"The highest body of the State organization is the State Convention, which shall convene at least once every two years and be composed of delegates elected by the conventions of the subdivisions of the Party or by the Clubs in the state. The delegates shall be elected on the basis of numerical strength. Delegates to the state conventions shall have been members of the Party in continuous good standing for at least one year.

"The State Convention shall elect by secret ballot and majority vote, a State Committee. A member to be eligible for election to the State Committee shall have been in continuous good standing for at least two years. The State Committee has the responsibility to carry out the Convention decisions and direct the activities of the State organization between State Conventions.

"The State Committee shall elect from among its members a Chairman, and such other officers and committees as it decides upon. These shall all be responsible to the State Committee.

"Special State Conventions may be called by either a majority vote of the State Committee, or upon written request of Clubs representing one-third of the membership of the State.

C 6

"Section 3. District organizations may be established by the National Committee. Where these cover two or more states, the State Committees shall be under the jurisdiction of the District Committee, elected by and representing the Party membership of the States composing these districts. The rules for convening the District Conventions and the election of leading committees shall be the same as those provided for the State organization

"Section 4. In matters of a local, state or district nature, the clubs, section, county, State and District Committees have the right to make decisions within the limits of the general policies and Constitution of the Party and its Convention."

Q Have you finished?

A There are two more short sections.

"Section 5. All officers and leading committees of the Party, from the Club Executive Committees to the highest committees, shall be elected either directly by the membership or through their elected delegates. Committees and officers must report regularly on their activities to the body which elected them."

Finally, on the question of local organization:

"Section 6. Any Party officers may be removed

C 7

at any time from their position by a majority vote of the body which elected them, or by the Committee to which they are responsible."

That deals with the structure of the Party on a district level.

Q MR. BUCHMAN: I do not believe I have offered this in evidence. I would like to offer this Constitution in evidence.

(Constitution of the Communist Party of the United States of America marked Defendant's Exhibit 10.)

Ex 10

MR. BUCHMAN: I feel ill, Your Honor, and I wonder if I could be excused for about five minutes and let Mr. Wright take over the examination.

THE COURT: Very well.

Q (By Mr. Wright): Mr. Meyers, what is the highest authority of the Communist Party prescribed in the Constitution?

A The highest authority of the Communist Party is the National Convention. It is the body by which the policies under which the Communist Party operates are established or guides the activities of the Party.

Q How often does the convention meet?

A Every two years.

Q Will you tell us how the delegates are selected to the convention?

C 8

A The delegates are selected in the following manner: First, the clubs select delegates to the State or District conventions. These are clubs that have been described in that section of the Constitution which I read, and from this State Convention delegates to the National Convention are elected by secret ballot and majority vote.

Q Who carries on the business of the Party between conventions?

A The National Committee of the Party is responsible between conventions.

Q Will you describe the structure and functions of the National Committee?

A The National Committee is elected by the National Convention, again by secret ballot and by majority vote, as are the National Officers of the Party. They are selected from the delegates present and they meet regularly over a period of two years. Between meetings, it is their duty to carry out and implement the policies adopted at the National Convention held and in no way can they change such policies. The only way such policies can be changed is by calling a Special National Convention. They are strictly an organization to carry out and implement the policies adopted at the convention.

Q Does the National Committee meet regularly?

C 9

A Yes, through the years.

Q How many members does it have?

A It has at this time, I think, 12 regular members and 9 alternate members.

Q Is there a National Board?

A Yes.

Q What is its function?

A The National Board is elected by the National Committee. It is a smaller body and its duties are to carry out the policies of the Communist Party as established at the convention on a day-to-day basis. Now, the reason for this is that the National Committee members come from all parts of the country and they can not possibly meet every day, so that in order to carry out the day-to-day work of the Party, the National Committee elects this National Board from its own members.

Q (By Mr. Buchman): By the way, Mr. Meyers, did you read this section of the Constitution which defines the rights and duties of a member?

A No, I haven't. Article IV is headed "Rights and Duties of Members.

"Section 1. Every member of the Party who is in good standing has not only the right but the responsibility to participate in the making of its policies and in the election of its leading committees,

C 10

officers and delegates in the manner provided for in this Constitution.

"Section 2. After thorough discussion in any Club, Committee or Convention, decisions are made by a majority vote of those in attendance, and all members are duty-bound to carry out such decisions.

"Section 3. Party members disagreeing with any decision of a Club, Section, County, State or District Committee have the right to appeal such decision to the next higher body until they reach the National Committee and the National Convention. Decisions of the National Convention are final. While the appeal is pending, members shall adhere to the decision already rendered. All appeals should be heard by the respective committee within 30 days.

"Section 4. In pre-convention discussions, members have the right and duty, within the Party organization, to discuss any and all Party policies and tactics, the right to criticize the work and composition of all leading committees, the right to participate fully in the discussion in the Party press or any other designated publications.

"Section 5. In accord with the principles of democratic centralism, and in accord with Article VII, Section 7, Communist Party members shall be involved

C 11

in the formulation of major policies and shall have the right and duty to examine the execution of policies.

"Section 6. Communist Party members, in accord with the provisions set forth in this Constitution, have the right to be nominated and elected to all offices or committees.

"Section 7. The members of a Club, by majority vote, have the right to recall any of the Club officers or committees.

"Section 8. A Party member shall have the right to prefer charges against any other member of the organization in accord with Article VIII, Section 6. Any member who has been subject to disciplinary action has the right to appeal to the next higher body up to the National Convention. Appeals to the National Convention shall be heard by a Committee established for such purposes by the Convention.

"Section 9. Members are obligated to fight with all their strength against any and every effort, whether it comes from abroad or from within our country, to destroy the rights of labor and the people, or to impose upon the United States the arbitrary will of any group or party or clique or conspiracy, thereby violating the unqualified right

C 12

of the majority of the people to direct the destinies of our country.

"Section 10. All members shall strive to acquire an understanding of the fundamentals of Marxism, to explain the policies of the Party and the principles of Socialism, and to apply Communist consciousness, understanding, responsibility and initiative in their work and activity.

"Section 11. It shall be the obligation of all Party members to struggle against all forms of national oppression, national chauvinism, discrimination and segregation, against all ideological influences and practices of barbarous "racial" theories, such as white chauvinism and anti-Semitism. It shall be the duty of all Party members to fight for the full social, political and economic equality of the Negro people and promote the unity of the Negro and white people as essential for the advancement of their common interests.

"Section 12. All members shall be required to belong to the respective trade unions to which they are eligible, and to promote the best interests of the members of any organization to which they belong.

"Section 13. All members eligible shall register and vote in the elections for public offices.

C 13

"Section 14. The Party shall give full aid in the acquisition of U. S. citizenship to those of its members who, because of unjust and undemocratic laws and practices, are deprived of this right.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Is the Communist Party divided into districts?

A Yes.

Q What is the highest authority of the Communist Party within each district?

A The District Convention.

Q How are delegates to the District Conventions chosen?

A As I have described in the party constitution, in this district, as in other districts, the clubs meet and on the basis of the size of the membership, they elect delegates to the convention by secret vote and majority vote.

Q Who carries on the business of the Communist Party between the District Conventions?

A The District Committee.

Q What is the District Committee of Maryland, for instance, in your own words?

A The District Committee in Maryland is the committee elected at the District Convention to carry out the policies established at that Convention, to carry out

C14

the policies and program of the Communist Party in this district.

Q Is membership on the District Committee a full time, paid job?

A No, it is people elected who meet regularly but not daily or weekly.

Q Does it make policy decisions, the District Committee?

A No, all policy in the Party is established at conventions and the same as National, if there is any club, if there is any need for change in policy, it would have to be done by the calling of a Special Convention.

Q What is the District board?

A The District Board is a small body of people elected by the District Committee to carry out the day-to-day activities of the Party in the district.

Q How are its members chosen?

A Elected by majority vote of the District Committee, secret ballot.

Q What are the functions of a District Board?

A The District Board meets regularly, frequently, to carry out and implement the policies set at the district convention, and to guarantee that the Party functions, that the program of the Party is carried out on a day-to-day basis.

C 15

Q How are the National Officers of the Communist Party chosen?

A They are chosen by secret ballot at the National Convention.

Q How are the officers of the District chosen?

A They are nominated and elected by secret ballot at the District Convention.

Q What is the relationship between the District Organizer or District Chairman and the National Officers?

A The District Organizer or Chairman consults with the national leaders, attends meetings, which are referred to in the Communist Party as plenums, which are in large meetings or discussions for carrying out policy and on such occasions it is the job of the District Organizer to transmit his thinking to the National leaders, to get their thinking on the general work of the Party and specific policies and program under discussion. In other words, we discuss with them what we are thinking and they tell us what they think and together we work out an application of the policy.

Q When you say "They tell us what they think", does that mean you get it directed and consequently follow it?

A No, it would be impossible for an organization to work in that fashion. First, any policies are adopted by the Convention and in carrying out those policies, it

C 16

is necessary for the freest discussion of policies between the leaders of national and local levels, and this Party does not function by directives.

Q Can you tell us what your understanding of the term "democratic centralism" means?

A Yes, I can explain it briefly what my thinking is. It is a combination of words to begin with that Government informers tried to place upon their definitions to make it sound very ominous. Democratic centralism is simply this; It is a form of organization within the Communist Party by which the thinking and desires of the membership of the Party are most quickly gathered and most quickly put into action. That is the meaning of democratic centralism. It goes much further. It goes much beyond that. It is a method of organization by which the Party members in the clubs, in the sections, in the district, can react as most quickly to the day-to-day problems with which they are faced, the day-to-day programs that the Party undertakes and, on the other hand, it is a form of organization by which this thinking can be most quickly put into action.

Q Is there room for democratic discussion and criticism within this principle of democratic centralism?

A That is the basis on which the Party is organized and it is called "democratic centralism". What

C 17

it means is that in each section of the Party, whether it be their Club, to the National Committee, there is the fullest discussion on any and all problems. Any member of any section of the Party has the right to express his or her opinions, to make proposals, how they should be carried out, and then by majority vote a decision is arrived at and once that majority vote is decided, then it is the duty of every member of the Party to carry out the decision of the majority, which goes for a club or for a National Convention and for a National Committee, District Committee and any section of the Party.

Q I show you Government Exhibit 21. I think it is entitled, "On the Struggle Against Revisionism". The article I am showing you is a report, is it not, by John Williamson entitled, "The Reconstitution of the Communist Party" and that is a report to the Special Convention of the Communist Political Association held in New York, July 26-28, 1945, which reconstituted the Communist Party of the United States of America.

MR. GREEN: What page?

MR. BUCHMAN: Page 78. Would you read that section which begins, "Democratic Centralism", just that one paragraph.

THE WITNESS: There are one or two paragraphs. This section of the report deals with democratic centralism.

C 18

It is so headed and Mr. Williamson's report continues:

"Because we erred so heavily in neglecting the time-tested Communist principle of democratic centralism, we must emphasize that these principles are embodied in Articles VI and VII. Let me restate briefly our concept of democratic centralism.

"Democratic centralism is the method of functioning of the Communist organization which combines maximum democracy in the shaping of policy and the election of all leadership with sufficient centralization of committee authority to guarantee immediate reaction to problems and speedy mobilization of the entire membership and organization around the fulfillment of key tasks. Democratic centralism thus guarantees that all leading committees are elected by the membership and all basic problems are discussed and shaped by the membership. The elected leadership has the responsibility to report systematically to the membership on the actions and decisions taken by the higher committee. But once decisions are made in the higher committees, these decisions become the line of activity for the membership as a whole."

Q Read the next short paragraph.

A "Centralization with formal democracy can never

C 19

be successful. The fusion of democracy and centralism can only be achieved on the basis of constant common activity and struggle of the entire membership of the Party, operating through clubs where general policies are discussed and elaborated to meet the specific conditions and problems of that area."

This is, I think, a report given in 1945. It deals with one of the fundamental methods of organization of the Party.

Q Can you name some other types of organizations in which your experience indicates that the principles of democratic centralism are advocated?

MR. FLYNN: I object. I don't know what that has to do with this case.

THE COURT: It seems to be irrelevant.

MR. BUCHMAN: If the Court please, if I may be heard just briefly, the Government has singled out this theory of democratic centralism as being somewhat unique in the Communist Party and has sought to attach a certain connotation. If we can establish that this is not a principle unique in the Communist Party, but is the method of operation in trade unions and other similar groups, it tends to affect the probative value of the Government's proof.

C 20

THE COURT: I think that misstates the point of the case, as I saw the evidence. The two words, "democratic centralism" of themselves have no clear meaning and the evidence of the Government was to the effect that in the Communist Party it had a very definite meaning, which was that all Party members were subject to strict discipline with regard to the final decisions of the Board and must carry them out whether they like them or not as long as they remain in the Communist Party.

Now, it is perfectly relevant and proper for you to ask Mr. Meyers if that meaning, if there is a particular meaning given that phrase by the Communist Party. It is, however, not relevant to show that in some other organizations, such as possibly to use a name the Progressive Party or some labor union -

MR. BUCHMAN: Well, it is not the Progressive Party -

THE COURT: I am just using an illustration. I don't know whether you can call it the Y. X. or Z party or some other party. What it means is, what it means to some other party is not relevant but what it means to the Communist Party. The Government's testimony is that it has a particular meaning in the Communist Party and you can not refute that by saying in some other organizations it has a different meaning.

C 21

MR. BUCHMAN: I was referring to his own experience.

THE COURT: It does not matter whether his experience in other concerns is different or not. It may very well be that the term "democratic centralism" has a different meaning in some other organization which Mr. Meyers may have been connected with.

The question here is what is the meaning within the Communist Party.

MR. BUCHMAN: Very well, Your Honor.

Q (By Mr. Buchman): Mr. Meyers, can you give an example of how democratic centralism on a certain issue would be or is applied in the Communist Party?

BRIGHT WATER
DELIABLE ONION SKIN
RAG CONTENT

Ows fls Cvy
12:30

1

THE WITNESS: Yes, I can give examples, if a particular issue that comes up is discussed in whatever particular body it applies, it may be a club, it may be a District Board, it may be a District Committee, District Convention, National Committee, National Board, National Convention, the principle is this that in the particular structure of the Party in which this problem is discussed, first there is full discussion and then a majority vote, and once the majority has voted it is the policy of the particular section of the Party.

That is the essence of it. If it is the National Convention, that means that the policy is the policy of the entire Communist Party that, Your Honor, without getting into the previous question to which you object^{-ed} to, but that is the way of operating in any organization in this country, and that is the way with all conventions.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Now, does the individual member have a right to participate in decisions of the Party, in making decisions of the Party?

A Every member has a right, an opportunity to participate in decisions of the Communist Party both in how they are formulated and in how they are carried out.

Q Now, prior to the holding of the National Conventions at which the policy is formulated, does there exist any opportunity in the various District Organizations to prepare

for the formulation of policy by the convention?

2

A Well, I can give an example how this particular phase of the work was operated in this District. Prior to the calling of the National Convention or at the time the convention was called, the National Committee of the policy formulates a draft resolution which contains or carries things which it thinks should be discussed at the convention and the approaches which should be taken and the business of the convention that it should engage itself in.

This is pointed out in the policies which are distributed to every member of the Communist Party as well as to people outside the Party, and we send it to people who may think or be interested or some people that we want to let them know what our thinking is.

This is discussed, this draft, as it is called, is discussed in every club in the Communist Party, section by section, over a period of sixty days, and it is discussed by District Board and by the District Committee, and then prior to the calling of the National Convention, the District Convention is called.

At that time the thinking of the various clubs is brought to the District Convention by delegates elected from these clubs and there again a full and complete discussion is held on the subjects raised in this draft resolution, and any subjects that any member desires is discussed,

3
and if there are new proposals they are voted upon, and if the majority votes, if that is adopted, then that, then they make recommendations to the District Committee, and the District Committee elects delegates to the National Convention.

Q You mean the District Convention?

A In the District Convention, and it elects delegates to the National Convention who in turn take the thinking and the ideas and the proposals from the District Convention which in turn through its delegates from all clubs, they take the ideas and thinking of every member of the Party in the District.

These things are then taken to the National Conventions, and the delegates have a full right and opportunity to discuss all sections of the draft resolution and make any proposed changes that the State Convention so ordered and any new proposals that the State Convention may have acted upon, and this in turn is taken under consideration by the National Convention and voted upon.

Q Now, before the National Committee formulates its draft resolution, is there an opportunity given for the sentiments of the various Districts to be expressed in the draft resolution?

A The draft resolution is formulated by the National Committee, and once it is sent out, there is --

4

Q I am trying to get at it this way, is there an opportunity to get the views in the District before the National Committee issues the draft resolution?

A Well, the National Committee itself meets, and the leaders from the various districts also meet with the National Committee and present their views, as I have pointed out, to the National Committee, the leaders of the Party.

Q Is that what you call a plenum meeting?

A It takes at times a plenum form, and at other times it takes a form of a discussion, what is called a discussion of what should be contained in this draft resolution.

Q Now, when was the last National Convention of the Communist Party?

A In December 1950.

Q Now, you referred to pre-convention discussions held by the Party sixty days before the meeting? Was there such a discussion held prior to the convention in 1950?

A Yes.

Q Was there any newspaper or advertising provided giving an opportunity for the rank and file members to express their views on this draft resolution?

A Yes, the Party went to considerable expense to issue what was called "Our Party" which was a pre-convention discussion bulletin, and in such bulletins every member of

the Party who so desired had the right --

5

THE COURT: I think you have answered the question.

THE WITNESS: And they would give their thinking in it to the Committee as to what they thought should be in the draft resolution.

(Mr. Buchman handed paper to Mr. Flynn.)

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Mr. Meyers, I show you this and ask you if that is one of the pre-convention discussion bulletins?

A Yes, this is the draft resolution that went out --

MR. BUCHMAN: I thought it was the other.

THE WITNESS: To all the members and contain a number of issues which the National Committee felt should be discussed.

MR. BUCHMAN: All right. I won't offer this.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) What I wanted to hand you was this, this pre-convention discussion bulletin. Would you read the title of that?

A That is called "Our Party".

MR. FLYNN: Is that the same one we looked at?

MR. BUCHMAN: No, it is not. I am sorry.

MR. FLYNN: Do you want to offer this other one?

MR. BUCHMAN: No.

MR. FLYNN: May it please the Court, I think if this goes in they should all go in. Here this is down to

HAS CONTENT

6
1950 and I am not objecting, but the witness is handed one paper and then we examine it and then there is something else offered.

THE COURT: That was just an inadvertence on the part of Mr. Buchman, I believe.

MR. BUCHMAN: Yes, I offer this.

THE COURT: If you object to the paper I will sustain the objection on that ground. What Mr. Buchman is asking about is the meaning of the term democratic centralism, and I think the witness has fully answered it from his point of view, and I think the accumulation of printed matter about it is superfluous, and I sustain the objection to it for that reason.

MR. BUCHMAN: If Your Honor please, I want to offer the documentary evidence to prove the opportunity given for pre-convention discussion.

THE COURT: He has explained that, and I know of no contradiction to it.

MR. BUCHMAN: May I make an offer of proof and have Your Honor's ruling?

THE COURT: Very well. I sustain the objection to any of these papers because I think it is surplussage and I think it is unnecessary and immaterial.

MR. BUCHMAN: All right, sir.

THE COURT: The question was what is the meaning

7
of democratic centralism. The witness has explained that from his point of view.

MR. BUCHMAN: But Your Honor, it seems to me that the documentary evidence --

THE COURT: Mr. Buchman, I have given you my ruling, and you may note an exception.

MR. BUCHMAN: I would like to have this marked for identification and have Your Honor's ruling.

THE COURT: All right.

THE CLERK: Defendants' Exhibit 11.

(Two copies of "Our Party" were marked Defendants' Exhibit 11a and 11b for identification.)

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Now, Mr. Meyers, does the principle of democratic centralism prohibit different applications in different areas as to the policy adopted by the majority of the convention?

MR. FLYNN: I object to that.

THE COURT: The question is inconsistent with the explanation the witness has given.

MR. BUCHMAN: On that I want to show the flexibility of application of that policy.

THE COURT: I understand the witness' explanation very clearly, I think, and I hope the jury does too. I am not telling them what they should think about it, but I am ruling only on the point of evidence.

8

He has explained that, how the matter comes up, and it is discussed and then it is acted upon and then it is put into the form of a resolution, and the members of the bodies have a perfect right, according to the witness, to discuss that, and they send delegates to the National Convention, and the National Convention acts on the matter and when acted it is binding nationally.

That is what the witness said.

THE WITNESS: This deals with the application of the --

THE COURT: Mr. Meyers, please. I have not interrupted you in many of your very long answers. It was all right for you to answer the questions which were asked you and to answer them as fully as you thought necessary; but now Mr. Buchman is asking questions, and it is not right for you to interrupt.

THE WITNESS: I will refrain from doing it.

THE COURT: Proceed.

MR. BUCHMAN: Has Your Honor ruled on the question? in-

THE COURT: Yes. The question is/consistent with what the witness has answered, but if you want to rephrase it --

MR. BUCHMAN: Yes.

THE COURT: Go ahead.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) How does the principle of

9

democratic centralism relate to the application of the policy established by the National Convention?

MR. FLYNN: I object to that. I think he has answered it.

THE COURT: I think he has answered it. I think he has answered that for the last fifteen or twenty minutes.

MR. BUCHMAN: He testified on the subject of how the policy is made, and I want to ask him how the policy is carried out from District to District.

THE COURT: If there is any specific matter which he has not testified about you could ask him that, but I think you have already had the witness' full answer about his understanding of democratic centralism.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Now, Mr. Meyers, can you tell us in what way you carry out the policies or resolutions established by the National Convention?

MR. FLYNN: I object to that.

THE COURT: Does that question mean they don't carry them out?

MR. BUCHMAN: Well, I am trying to phrase my question as to elicit from him his understanding or knowledge or experience in carrying out the policy.

THE COURT: You are confusing the matter, as I see it. The question is whether democratic centralism has a particular meaning in the Communist Party, and the Govern-

10

ment has given a certain bit of testimony on that, and now Mr. Meyers as a witness has given evidence bearing upon it, and in doing that he has explained the precise meaning legislatively with respect to the organization and he has said that the decision of the National Convention was binding upon it.

MR. BUCHMAN: Well, I want to show how the application of the policy varies from geographical area to geographical area.

THE COURT: Mr. Buchman, I think you are not complying with the ruling of the Court. That is all.

If you want to ask him whether it means that it is not the decision or that the decision of the National Convention is not final, you can ask him that, but I understood him to say it was. If I misunderstood him, you could ask him whether his former answer is not that as to whether he made a mistake.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Well, Mr. Meyers, would you answer the Judge's last question?

A Whether it is final or not?

Q Yes.

A All decisions of the National Convention are final and they are applied by the District within the framework of the conditions within the District. In other words, you would not apply a decision of the National Committee dealing

11

with farm work in Baltimore the same as it would be applied in Arkansas.

There is a flexibility in the application of the decisions to fit the situation prevalent in that particular District.

Hdg fls
12:45

12:45 PM

H-1

Q Is there any prevalent policy of the Communist Party with respect to the participation of membership in pre-convention discussion at a discussion level?

MR. FLYNN: I object.

THE COURT: I didn't understand the drift of that question.

MR. BUCHMAN: May I rephrase that, Your Honor? I withdraw that question.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Is there any general policy in the Communist Party relating to participation by the membership in the forming of policies and the making of decisions?

A It is the policy of the Communist Party to encourage and to make possible the fullest participation of every member of the Communist Party in the discussions out of which come the formulation of policy.

Q Now, does the principle of democratic centralism have anything to do with the advocacy of force and violence?

A Nothing whatsoever.

Q Now, Mr. Meyers, I think you have already told us you studied at the National Training School. Have you also otherwise studied Marxism and Leninism?

A Yes. I have attended local classes and discussion groups, and also I have engaged in self-study.

Q Have you taught the principles of Marxism-Leninism?

A I have.

Q Now, let me ask you this. Does the Communist Party have a long range objective?

A Yes, sir.

Q What is that long range objective?

MR. FLYNN: I think that is a very general question. I don't know what "long range objective." I object to it.

THE COURT: I am inclined to allow that to be asked.

A Your Honor, it is a very short answer. Socialism is our long range objective.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Does the constitution of the Communist Party make reference to that?

A It does.

MR. BUCHMAN: That exhibit I just introduced.

THE COURT: Number 10.

MR. BUCHMAN: I have another copy.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Does that constitution refer to the long range objective, Socialism?

A Yes. There is a short paragraph that deals with the whole thing.

Q Will you read that section?

A It is Article 2, "Purposes."

Q Read it slowly.

A (Reading) "The purposes of this organization are to promote the best interests and welfare of the working class

of the people of the United States and to defend and extend the democracy of our country, and to prevent the rise of fascism, and to advance the cause of progress and peace with the ultimate aim of ridding our country of the scourge of economic crisis, unemployment, insecurity, poverty, and war, through the realization of the historic aim of the working class -- the establishment of Socialism by the free choice of the majority of the American People."

Q Now, what you have read refers to Socialism. What is the meaning of "Socialism," as used in that constitution?

A The meaning of "Socialism" as used in this constitution, the meaning of "Socialism" as referred to by the Communist Party is a simple one.

It means --

THE COURT: Mr. Meyers, pardon me. Does it mean any different with the Communist Party than what is meant by the Communists in other countries?

A I don't think so. It is the general Marxism-Leninism interpretation.

THE COURT: Then is it your view that Socialism, as you know it in your party, is the Socialism advocated by the Marxism-Leninist doctrine?

A Yes, it is the common ownership of the big factories, big mines, mills, and the railroads, owned by all of the people, and the common ownership of the land.

THE COURT: Is that your idea that that is what is

A That is generally the meaning of "Socialism." The common ownership of the big factories, the big mills, the big mines, railroads, banks, the means of production are also common ownership, and the land.

It doesn't mean the common ownership of the corner tailor shop, or common ownership of things of that nature.

It means the common ownership of the big industries.

THE COURT: Very well. You have answered the question that I had. Go ahead.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Are you familiar with this book, Mr. Meyers?

A Yes.

Q Will you read the title of that?

A "The Twilight of World Capitalism," by William Z. Foster.

MR. BUCHMAN: Pardon me. I want to show it to Mr. Flynn. (Handing book to counsel.)

Q (By Mr. Buchman) And who is Mr. Foster?

A He is chairman of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

Q When was this book published?

A I think it was in 1948. 1949.

Q Was this book used and distributed in Maryland?

A It was, to all of our members, and also it was distributed to the general public.

H 5

Q Does this represent your thinking and understanding, the understanding of the Communist Party, on the questions discussed in this book?

A Yes. On the whole, yes.

MR. FLYNN: What do you mean, "on the whole?"

A There has been some modification of one particular phase of it.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Does Mr. Foster discuss Socialism, on Page 18? Has there been any modification of that discussion of Socialism?

A No.

Q Does that represent your understanding, Page 18?

A Yes.

MR. BUCHMAN: Let me offer the book in evidence. I would like to offer the book in evidence.

THE COURT: Is there any objection?

MR. BUCHMAN: No, I don't think so.

THE COURT: Very well.

(Book, "The Twilight of World Capitalism," by William Z. Foster, was marked Defendant's Exhibit 12)

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Will you read that passage, I think it is on Page 18.

A Page 18?

Q On Socialism.

A Yes. (Reading) "Under Socialism, the decisive industries, the land, the banks, the transportation systems, and all other major means of production and distribution are

in the hands of the people, and not of private capitalists. Production is carried on for social use instead of for private profit. The whole national economy is operated according to plan, not by chance, as under the competitive system of capitalism. The workers and their democratic allies, the farmers and professionals, control the government completely. This system of society, based upon science, abolishes the great contradictions with which capitalism is afflicted. There is no further exploitation of man by man. Without capitalists, democracy is assured and there can be no fascism. In this planned society, free of exploitation and capitalist chaos, there can be no cyclical crises and no unemployment. War, too, is unthinkable in a socialist world. Socialism is the preliminary stage to communism, the highest form of society."

Q Now, does the Communist Party advocate or teach the use of force or violence as a method by which Socialism is to be achieved?

A It does not now, and has not so taught.

Q Have you at any time been taught that the Communist Party advocates the use of force or violence to overthrow the Government of the United States?

A I have never been taught such falsehoods.

Q Now, have you been taught the position of the Communist Party in the use of force and violence in social change?

A The position of the Communist and the Communist Party on force and violence regarding social change is pretty much as follows: that social change is brought about by the majority will of the people, and the majority of the people, under no circumstances, desire or wish to desire to resort to the use of force or violence to bring about such change. But, rather, that force and violence comes from the small minority who wish to prevent change, and are no longer to prevent change by any such means, and that on occasion it is possible that the majority of the people are forced to protect themselves from such use of force or violence.

THE COURT: I imagine this is a good time to take up the recess. Two o'clock. Recess until two o'clock.

(Thereupon, at 1:00 p.m., a recess was taken until 2:00 p.m.)

- - - - -

AFTERNOON SESSION

Cvy 2pm.

(Met pursuant to the taking of the recess at 2 o'clock p. m.)

THE COURT: Have you something else, Mr. Buchman?

MR. BUCHMAN: Yes, Your Honor.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) I believe your last testimony, is it not true, that the Communist Party teaches that history and experience show that force and violence came from minority groups. Is that what you said, or opposed peaceful change?

A It comes from the ruling class, the minority group opposes the ruling classes on peaceful change.

Q Did you teach this yourself?

A I did.

Q Did you use any history or experience to illustrate that teaching?

A My own experience was in a comparatively minor sense so to speak. The desire of workers in the factories to improve their conditions, the desire of the Negro people to do away with Jim Crow discrimination, to secure better jobs, the right to vote, these have been met with repression in various forms and here it was a majority of people in various instances, certainly in the factories, the places where I worked, the Celanese Plant, a big majority of the workers desired a change. Yet the small group that owned

the Celanese Corporation did everything they could to prevent such a change.

Q Is there any provision in the Constitution of the Communist Party which deals with the subject of force and violence?

A There is.

Q Will you read the section of the Constitution which deals with the subject of force and violence?

A Yes, Section 3 of Article VIII:

"Section 3. Any member shall be expelled from the Party who is found to be a strike breaker, provocateur, engaged in espionage, or who advocates force and violence or terrorism, or who adheres to or participates in the activities of any group or Party which conspires or act to subvert, undermine, weaken, or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy through which the majority of the American people can maintain their right to determine their destinies."

Q Does the Communist Party enforce this provision of the Constitution?

A It does.

Q To your own personal knowledge, has the Communist Party of the District of Maryland-District of Columbia ever applied this Section calling for expulsion of those who

3

advocated force and violence?

A Yes, I participated in the expulsion of the paid informer, this came up in testimony, Bartlett, who as part of his job advocated as an agent provocateur, attempted to advocate violent overthrow of the government and it was on this basis that he was exposed.

MR. FLYNN: Exposed or expelled?

THE WITNESS: Exposed. After he was exposed, we found out he was a stoolpigeon and expelled him.

MR. FLYNN: You did not expell him for that, you only expelled him because he was a stoolpigeon.

THE WITNESS: Both.

MR. FLYNN: I see.

THE WITNESS: Along with the fact that he constantly preached the doctrine that the American workers are dumb and I do not agree with that.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Mr. Meyers, I show you this paper, The Worker, Maryland-Washington edition, February 27, 1949. Was this circulated and distributed throughout the State of Maryland and District of Columbia?

A It was so.

Q Is this story entitled "Stoolpigeon expelled by Communist" on page 2? Is that the story with reference to the expulsion of Harry Bartlett?

A That is the one.

MR. BUCHMAN: I offer this paper in evidence.

(The Worker, dated February 27, 1949 was marked Defendants' Exhibit 13.)

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Will you read that to the jury.

It is only short, Your Honor.

A "Stoolpigeon expelled by Communists. Harry Bartlett of Cumberland has been expelled from the Communist Party of Maryland for being a stoolpigeon, provocateur and advocate of force and violence.

"The action taken two months ago was recently announced by Phil Frankfeld, chairman of the Party in Maryland.

"A special committee, after a lengthy examination of charges against Bartlett, found that he engaged 'in a constant, unceasing attack and vilification of workers in Cumberland'. He accused the workers of 'being stupid, dumb and ignorant' that they were 'afraid to fight to defend their interests' and that they could 'never learn to be militant and progressive'.

"Bartlett was found guilty of violating the Communist Party Constitution by 'advocating force and violence or terrorism and conspiring to undermine and weaken any and all institutions of American democracy.'

"Bartlett constantly maintained that war between the U. S and Soviet Union is inevitable, the Communist

5

Party announcement said, and in that manner was carrying out the policy of Wall Street.

"The Party announcement said Bartlett stands expelled from the ranks of the Communist Party as a liar, provocateur and advocate of force and violence, as an enemy of the American working class, nation and the Communist Party. We brand him as a Benedict Arnold of labor, to be spurned for what he is -- a traitor and stoolpigeon."

Q Is that the Harry Bartlett who appeared as a witness for the Government in this case?

A The same.

Q Mr. Meyers, have you taught or has anybody in the Communist Party taught you that the provision of the Communist Party Constitution which called for defending the United States Constitution was inconsistent with demand for socialism?

A I have not been taught and I have not taught there is an inconsistency. Rather I have taught that that is the consistent way in which the Communist Party seeks to convince the majority of the American people of the need for socialism, through the use of democratic institutions available to us, the rights of free speech, the radio, distribution of leaflets, open discussions; that is the way in which, one of the ways in which we seek to convince the majority

of them that our program is the correct one and therefore to say that we are opposed to these things would be a contradiction and not the other way around.

Q Under Marx' theory, is the advocacy of socialism consistent or inconsistent with the support of democratic liberties?

A The advocacy of socialism as maintained or contended for, I did not quite follow your question, but what they fight for is civil liberties, if you put it --

Q I asked you whether under Marx' theory advocacy of socialism is consistent or inconsistent with democratic liberties?

A It is consistent with democratic liberties.

THE COURT: By that, do you mean with the constitution of the United States?

THE WITNESS: That is right, sir, and with the Bill of Rights.

THE COURT: Very well, go ahead.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Under Marx' theory, is the advocacy of socialism consistent with the advocacy of peaceful change?

A That is correct, because the Communist Party, I repeat, teaches and believes that socialism can only come to America in the way in which the people of America desire, through the majority will of the people and the majority, as

7
history has shown in the past, and as common sense tells us now, it is not desired to have violence but desired to have and bring about change in a peaceful way with peaceful means.

Q Will you relate what the Communist Party has done in making copies of its constitution available to its membership?

A Every member that joins the Party is given a copy of the constitution and we distribute it widely as one of the means of showing people what the Communist Party stands for.

Q To your knowledge, is there any special meaning to that which does not appear on the pages of the constitution?

A The policy, the program of the organization of the Party is complete as contained in that document. There are no hidden meanings and there are no additional meanings as far as our Party is concerned.

Q Now, on what you have been taught and what you have been teaching about the Communist Party position on force and violence, do you use any written material?

A Yes.

Q Is this one of the pieces of written material you have reference to?

A That's right.

8

Q I show you "In defense of the Communist Party and Indicted Leaders" by William Z. Foster. Has that been distributed and circulated in Maryland?

A To our members and to the public.

Q What was the purpose of the distribution?

A To show the program of the Party, the thinking of the Party on various issues.

MR. BUCHMAN: I want to offer this in evidence.

(Book on "In Defense of the Communist Party and Indicted Leaders" marked Defendants' Exhibit 14.)

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Would you please read from page 21 on the question of force and violence?

A This is chapter 4.

MR. GREEN: Have you set the date of this?

MR. BUCHMAN: What is the date of that?

THE WITNESS: Published July 1949:

"Now let me deal with the prosecution's main charge against us, namely that our Communist Party is teaching the overthrow of the American Government by force and violence. This charge, even with the help of reckless perjurers and phoney anti-Communist experts in Marxism-Leninism, cannot be made to stand up. For it goes contrary to the whole body of Communist theory and practice ever since the days when the Communist

Manifesto was issued by Marks and Engels a century ago.

9

"The working class and other toiling elements are always and instinctively the champions of peace and democracy. This is true even when they have to wage wars and revolutions against barbarous oppressors and exploiters.

"This fact is so because the toilers are the ones who always have to suffer the most from tyranny and from war's destruction. They pick up the sword against those who oppress, exploit and would butcher them only when they have no other alternative, only when the road of peace is closed to them. They are the forces of democracy and peace.

"The Communists are the authentic spokesmen and leaders of these inherently peace-loving and democratic masses.

"The ruling capitalist class, on the other hand, never fails to grasp at weapons of autocracy and violence whenever their class interests are threatened. Habitually, and as a settled policy, they use their Courts, police, jails, armies and other means of repression against a resolute, socialist minded working class. They are the instigators and organizers of fascism, civil war, and international war. Social violence always originates, under modern conditions,

in the ranks of capitalist reaction. This is an indisputable truth of current history."

MR. FLYNN: Did you start that in the middle of a paragraph?

THE WITNESS: No, I started at the heading.

MR. FLYNN: It didn't say anything about when.

MR. BUCHMAN: I would prefer if Mr. Flynn asked questions on cross-examination.

THE COURT: Very well, proceed.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Mr. Meyers, is this pamphlet one that was also distributed and circulated in Maryland to members and non-members?

A Yes.

MR. BUCHMAN: You have seen it, Mr. Flynn. This is entitled "The Fascist Danger and How to Combat It" by Eugene Dennis, published in August 1948. I would like to offer this in evidence.

(Pamphlet entitled "The Fascist Danger and How to Combat It" was marked Defendants' Exhibit 15.)

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) What was the purpose of circulating this pamphlet, Mr. Meyers?

A As a means to acquainting people with our policy of the party.

Q I wonder if you would read to the Court and jury

from pages -- that short section on pages 58 and 59?

11

A This is the beginning of a new Section:

"We Communists are now falsely accused by monopoly and its government of 'advocating' force and violence, and of 'conspiring' forcibly to overthrow the government.

"But we are Marxists, not adventurers, conspirators of putschists. As Marxists we condemn and reject the policy and practice of terror, assassination and coup d'etat.

"Precisely because we are the vanguard Party of the working class we are the Party of mass struggle, mass action, which today seeks to unite American labor and the common people as a whole to halt the drive of imperialist reaction toward war and fascism. Precisely because we are the Party of socialism, we believe that social change can take place not alone when the historical, objective conditions exist for such change, but also and only when a decisive majority of the most exploited class in society is convinced that this change is necessary and is prepared to act unitedly to enforce its democratic will and aims in the interests of the immense majority of the people against the small minority of exploiters.

"In this connection, we proclaim and shall repeat

again and again a cardinal principle of Marxism as enunciated by Lenin:

"The rule of capitalism could not be brought to an end if the whole economic development of capitalist countries were not leading to this. No power on earth could destroy capitalism if it were not being washed away and undermined by history -- we do not want to usurp power, for the whole experience of revolution teaches that only a power that is backed by the majority of the people can be durable. Consequently, usurpation of power would be merely an adventure; and our Party would not agree to anything of the kind."

MR. FLYNN: When was that written, please?

THE WITNESS: In 1948, in August, it was published.

MR. BUCHMAN: I would like to have Government's Exhibit 1, 2 and 3 and 12 and 13. I won't read from them but ask a few questions about each.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Mr. Meyers, I show you Government's Exhibit 13, a Manual on Organization by J. Peters. Are you familiar with that book?

A This is the first time I have ever seen it. This is a photostat copy, anything that looks like a manual of organization, I have never seen the book in my life and I have never read it.

Q Do you know whether or not this has been used or

taught in Maryland?

13

A Not to my knowledge.

Q Has it ever been distributed to your knowledge?

A No.

Q Has it ever been recommended for reading and studying in Maryland?

A It has not.

Q I ask you the same thing about Government's Exhibit 12, "Why Communism". Have you ever seen that?

A I have never seen it and never read it.

Q Has it been used by your Party in Maryland?

A It has not been used or taught here.

Q Has it been distributed or recommended?

A It has not.

Q I ask you the same thing about Government's Exhibit 1, "Program of the Communist International" adopted 1928. Are you familiar with that?

A I have never read it.

Q Has that ever been distributed or circulated in Maryland?

A It has not.

Q Or used as a source of teaching?

A No.

Q Or recommend it?

A It has never been used to my knowledge.

14

Q Also with reference to this Program of the Young Communist International, Government Exhibit 2, have you seen this?

A I have never seen it and I have never read it.

MR. BUCHMAN: It is printed in England.

MR. FLYNN: In 19 -- do you know what year this is?

THE CLERK: 1929.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Do you know whether or not this has ever been distributed or used in Maryland?

A It has not.

Q Or studied?

A No.

Q And this "Struggle on Imperialism", Government's Exhibit 3, the resolution of the Sixth World Congress, July -- August 1928, have you ever read this before?

A I have never seen it and I have never read it.

Q Has this been circulated or distributed?

A It has not.

Q It has never been used as a source of study or recommended for that purpose?

A It has not.

Q Does the Communist Party have any policy as to what literature it is responsible for?

A Yes, we have a policy on that.

Q When was this policy adopted?

15

A It was adopted at the convention first and is carried in our constitution, I think.

Q Do you recall what convention it was adopted at?

A The 1945 convention, I believe.

Q Is that policy contained in the constitution?

A It is in the 1945 convention.

Q It is Government's Exhibit 24. What is that Article and Section anyhow?

A It is Article XIV, Section 1:

"The Communist Party is not responsible for any political document, policy, book, article or any other expression of political opinion except such as are issued by this and subsequent National Conventions and its regularly constituted leadership, adopted by the convention in July 1945."

Q Is that also contained in the latest constitution of 1948?

A Yes.

Q Does the Communist Party use the writings of Marx, Lenin, Engels and Stalin in its teachings?

A It does.

Q Does it use the teachings of history of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, Government's Exhibit 11?

A Yes.

Q Do you know when this was written?

16

A I think in 1838.

Q Do you know what the book is?

A It is a history of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union from its establishment plus prior material about the beginnings of the socialist movement in Russia.

Q Does the Communist Party use in its teaching the Communist Manifesto, Government's Exhibit 5?

A It does.

Q Who wrote that?

A It was written in 1838 by Karl Marx and Engels.

Q Do you know where they were at the time it was written?

A They were living in England when they wrote this.

OWS fls CVY
2:25

Ows fls Cvy
2:25

1

Q Do you know whether any other political parties used the Communist Manifesto as a basis for its teachings?

MR. GREEN: A political party?

MR. BUCHMAN: Political parties.

THE WITNESS: Yes. The Socialist Parties throughout the world use the Communist Manifesto as the basis for their teachings. It is an historical document and presents the early beginnings of the period of Marxism. In fact, in 1948 on the 100th anniversary of his writings, the Socialist Party of England --

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Labor Party.

A The Labor Party of England distributed thousands of this particular book to many people, and they were used by the Socialist Party as their material.

Q Does the Communist Party in the United States use "State and Revolution"?

A Yes, it does.

Q Who wrote that?

A It was written by Lenin in about 1917.

Q How about "Problems of Leninism". Does the Communist Party use that?

A Yes, that is a compilation of the writings of Stalin.

Q When was that published, if you know?

A I think about 1924.

2

Q Is the same true of "Foundations of Leninism"?

A Yes.

Q Who wrote that?

A Stalin.

Q What year, do you recall?

A About 1925, I believe.

Q How about "Imperialism". Has the Communist Party used that in its teachings?

A Yes.

Q What year was that written?

A 1916.

Q Who wrote that?

A Lenin.

Q I think the Government introduced, I think Exhibit 16 "Strategy and Tactics." Do you know who wrote that?

A That is a compilation of the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, I believe, and one of these informants said that I believe it was written by V. J. Jerome, which is not true.

That is an idea of the kind of information those birds gather.

Q Are the Communists the only ones who urge the study and readings of these books?

A No, those books are published, many of them are used by the Socialist Party, and the Viking Press, and as

3

far as "Capital" is concerned, it is published in the Modern Library. It is used in all kinds of courses. Johns Hopkins University uses it, and ^{at} St. John's, "Capital" is used in its required reading.

Those books are available in public libraries, and so on.

Q How does the Communist Party use those books in its teachings?

A We use those books in the teaching to show the development of Marxist theory from early time, from the time of the "Communist Manifesto" up through the years up to the present time, the historical development. There is an historical document. They are historical documents which we study, and we view them as books that were published in a period of political, in a political period.

Q Do you regard those books as a blueprint for application in America?

A There are no blueprints.

MR. BUCHMAN: May I have Government's Exhibit 11? That is the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Is there anything in this book -- I want to call your attention to page 355 -- which deals with how that book should be used for the purpose of study.

I show you the History of the Communist Party of

4
the Soviet Union, Government's Exhibit 11. Would you turn to that page and read that, Mr. Meyers?

A Yes, when I look at it.

In the fifth paragraph:

"It may seem that all that is required for mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory is diligently to learn by heart isolated conclusions and propositions from the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, learn to quote them at an opportune time and rest at that, in the hopes that the conclusions and propositions thus memorized will suit each and every situation and occasion. But such an approach to the Marxist-Leninist theory is altogether wrong. The Marxist-Leninist theory must not be regarded as a collection of dogmas, as a catechism, as a symbol of faith, and the Marxists themselves as pedants and dogmatists. The Marxist-Leninist theory is the science of the development of society, the science of the working-class movement, the science of the proletarian revolution, the science of the building of the Communist society. And as a science it does not and cannot stand still, but develops and perfects itself. Clearly, in its development it is bound to become enriched by new experience and new knowledge, and some of its propositions and conclusions are bound to change in the course of time, are bound to be replaced by new

conclusions and propositions corresponding to the new historical conditions."

That is all there is to it.

Then there is one short final paragraph.

"Mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory does not at all mean learning all its formulas and conclusions by heart and clinging to their every letter. To master the Marxist-Leninist theory we must first of all learn to distinguish between its letter and substance."

Q (BY MR. BUCHANAN) Now, the prosecution has read to the jury various passages from some of the Marxist classics on the theory that they advocated the use of force and violence as a means of attaining socialism.

How do you reconcile those passages with your testimony that the Communist Party of the United States does not advocate and teach the use of force and violence to overthrow the government of the United States?

A Those portions, paragraphs, sentences have been torn out of context of books in which they are contained. Put them back into context, study the book and the period in which it was written and we will find that what is described there is the reaction of the people to the force and violence of a particular small minority of ruling class at the time.

You will find that nowhere is there any advocacy

5

of force and violence contained in the sense and meaning of these books, in no way, but rather it is a description of the resistance of the people to force and violence of a small ruling class, which was trying to prevent change, the autocracy of the Tsar, and so on, as to the advocacy of socialism.

Q The explanation that you have given, is that what the Communist Party advocates and teaches as to how the Marxist classics are to be regarded and used?

A That is correct. We regard the classics as containing historical references to the development of Marxism. I think that a comparison would be the study of a book on medicine all during this period. Some of the writings would apply and some of it would be outdated.

That is the way we observe and read the classics and study the classics, study the writings with an eye to the new development of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Q Now, you were in the army during the entire period that the Communist Political Association was in existence; is that correct?

A I went in in January 1943 and came out January 1946. I was not here in that period.

Q So, you entered before the Communist Political Association was formed and came out after it was dissolved; is that correct?

7

A Yes, that is correct.

Q Now, in the testimony that you have given about the Communist Party not advocating force and violence, was that true of the Communist Party of the United States when you entered the army?

A It was.

Q Is it also true of the Communist Party which existed when you left the army and which exists now?

A That is correct.

Q Now, Mr. Meyers, were you ever taught or did you teach that the Communist Political Association was dissolved and the Communist Party reconstituted so that Communists could return to the line of force and violence?

A I was neither taught and I have not so taught, no.

Q Now, after you left the army did you read and discuss the resolution and the discussion material?

A I did.

Q With respect to the dissolution and the reconstitution?

A Yes. I read the material with regard to the dissolution of the Communist Political Association, and so on.

Q Now, were you told what the reason was for the dissolution of the Communist Political Association?

8

A Yes.

Q And the reconstitution?

A Yes.

Q Would you give us in a few words briefly what the reasons were that you were told that?

A As I was told and as I conceived it, the Communist Political Association was dissolved because it was an incorrect political theory that big business or sections of it, dominant sections of it were going to lead the American post-war period to peace and prosperity.

It was an incorrect conclusion, and it was completely unrealistic, and unrealistic appraisal of the role of big business in present society.

Q What was the major emphasis of the reconstitution of the Communist Party in 1945?

A That in order to preserve peace after the war that it would have to be composed of a coalition of the working people, farmers, small businessmen, and intellectuals.

Q I show you Government's Exhibit number 22 which contains the resolution adopted at the 1945 Convention on July 28, 1945. Would you read that section on page 94.

MR. GREEN: What? Page 94?

MR. BUCHMAN: Yes.

THE CLERK: Did you say 22?

MR. BUCHMAN: I think it is 22, "The Struggle

Against Revisionism."

THE CLERK: 21.

MR. BUCHMAN: I mean 21. I am sorry.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) Is that the resolution adopted at the 1945 Convention?

A That is correct.

Q Will you read that?

A "As class-conscious American workers, as Marxists, we Communists will do all in our power to help the American working class and its allies to fight for and realize this program. At the same time we will systematically explain to the people that substantial gains for the masses secured under capitalism are inevitably precarious, unstable and only partial and that Socialism alone can finally and completely abolish the social evils of capitalist society, including economic insecurity, unemployment and the danger of fascism and war.

"However, this program of action will help the working class and the people as a whole to meet their urgent immediate practical needs, enhancing generally their strength and influence in the nation. In the struggle for the program for peace and democracy, jobs and security, favorable conditions are created for the masses of our people to recognize, on the basis of their

own experiences, the need for the eventual reorganization of society along socialist lines.

"We shall assist this process by every available educational means, taking full cognizance of the growing interest of the American people and its working class in the historic experiences of the Soviet people in the building of a new socialist society, which has played the decisive role in the defeat of Hitler Germany and the Axis. We shall aim to convince the broad masses that the eventual elimination of the profit system and the establishment of Socialism in the United States will usher in a new and higher type of democracy and a free road to unlimited and stable social progress because it will end exploitation of man by man and nation by nation, through the establishment of a society without oppression and exploitation.

"While not yet accepting Socialism as an ultimate goal, the American people today agree that fascism must be destroyed, wherever it exists or wherever it raise its head. The American people are ready to protect and extend the Bill of Rights and all democratic liberties. They are determined to fight for greater peace and democracy, for the right to work, greater job and social security.

"Therefore, Communists and non-Communists, all progressives and anti-fascists can be rallied in support of the above program of immediate action. For this program meets the immediate desires of the American people upon which the majority can unite today to prevent the rise of fascism and to assure victory in the 1945 municipal elections and in the fateful 1946 congressional elections which must be organized and prepared for now. This is a program which must be championed in every factory and industry, in every community and state, through the medium of labor's political action; through the medium of labor's political action; through labor's joint and parallel action locally, and through broad shop steward conferences and united community movements, as well as through other broad united peoples and democratic front activities."

Q Now, Mr. Meyers, some of the Government witnesses have referred to the term "Dictatorship of the Proletariat." What is the meaning of the term "proletariat" in Marxist literature?

A "Proletariat" in Marxist literature means the workers in the factories, the mines, mills, railroad workers, and so on.

Q What is meant by the term "bourgeoisie" in Marxist literature?

A The term "bourgeoisie" in Marxist literature means that a small minority of big finance capitalists who own big industry, such as steel, coal, railroads, and so on, they are the big monopolists, the capitalists.

Q Does that term "bourgeoisie" refer to small businessmen?

A It does not.

Q Which is more numerous, according to your definition, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie?

A Well, I think the answer to that is obvious. The workers are more numerous than a small handful of owners, those who own industry, and so on.

Q What is meant by the term "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" as used in Marxist literature?

A The dictatorship of the proletariat is a class, it has a class meaning. It does not mean the dictatorship of some individual. In Marxist literature they refer to the present setup in society in the United States as the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. That does not mean there is any single man that controls the country, but it does mean that the interests, finance, the big owners are protected, that is big business.

Under the term "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" what is meant is that the majority of the people are ruling and that the majority of people would control the destinies

of the country, and they are the workers, the farmers, small businessmen, the intellectuals, the big majority.

Q What were you taught or have you taught as to whether or not violence is either necessary or advisable in obtaining this dictatorship of the proletariat?

A I have taught and I have been taught that violence is not ^{either} necessary to bring ^{about} the dictatorship of the proletariat but rather taught that it is possible and desirable to bring it about through peaceful means, through further extension of democratic processes in which the majority of the American people through their own desires bring about socialism in the way they decide.

Q Now, some of the Government witnesses have referred to the term "Revolution" and "Revolutionists". What is meant by the term "Revolution" in Marxist literature?

A Marxist literature uses the expression revolution, which means a social change. It is not in any sense used in the narrow sense that it is used in the press with regard to what happens in South America, but it does mean a complete change of one society to another.

Q Does the term "Revolution" in Marxist literature necessarily refer to a revolutionary change by means of force and violence?

A It does not.

Q Now, Mr. Meyers, several of the Government witnesses

14

have testified about a policy of the Communist Party known as "concentration." Does the Communist Party have a policy known as "concentration"?

A It does.

Q What is meant in the Communist Party by "concentration"?

A The concentration policy of the Communist Party is as follows: It means that we concentrate on those factories, those mills, those organizations where the largest number of workers are gathered, and we devote the major efforts to convince this particular section of the workers who, we believe, can most quickly accept the policies which we take them, the program we take to them, which means going to the largest areas where the most workers are gathered, the big factories, the big mills, the big mines, the railroad centers.

Q Now, did the National Convention of the Communist Party in 1950 adopt, to your knowledge, any resolution on the policy of concentration?

A Yes, it did.

Q Now, I show you "Political Affairs" of February 1951. What is "Political Affairs", Mr. Meyers?

A It is a publication and contains the thinking of the Communist Party. It is an official publication.

Q How is it circulated?

15
A It is circulated to all members and to the public who want to buy it.

Q Is it an authorized official publication in the Communist Party?

A Yes, sir, it is.

Q I show you the February 1951 issue entitled "15th National Convention Communist Party, U.S.A. Organize the Peace Front of the People!"

That is the title page, is it not?

A Yes.

MR. BUCHMAN: I would like to offer this in evidence, if Your Honor please.

THE CLERK: Exhibit 16.

(Political Affairs, February 1951 was marked Defendants' Exhibit 16.

Q (BY MR. BUCHMAN) This contains, does it not, the proceedings of the 15th National Convention of the Communist Party?

A There were several reports submitted.

Q Can anybody obtain this publication?

A Yes.

Q Or is it simply for the Communist Party members?

A No, it is made available to the general public.

Q Is this the resolution of the 15th ^{National} Convention?

A This is the report which was accepted by the

16

Convention.

Q Would you read that Section on page 24 "A Sound Concentration Policy"?

A "What is the real basis for our concentration policy?"

Q Would you read slowly, Mr. Meyers. I can't quite follow it.

A "The Resolution before us states:

"The Party National Convention calls upon the whole Party to establish guarantees that a real policy of industrial concentration will be carried forward, and that major attention is given to the workers, in the stronghold of trustified capital, which happens also to be the stronghold of the reactionary labor officialdom. For by winning the workers in the industries, we will be influencing the thinking and actions of the entire labor movement."

Q Now, would you turn to page 27 and 28 and would you read that?

A It says here "Essence of Our Concentration Policy."

"At the 1948 Convention of our Party we formulated a program for concentration on the basic industries. We operated on the basis that the fight for peace could be won if the working class played a leading role in the developing peace coalition. More, we recognized

that the fight for Socialism, which proceeds through the struggle for democracy, could advance only if we had a strong Communist Party anchored in the shops, and playing a leading role in the struggles of the working class. This was the essence of our policy. To realize the objectives of that policy we indicated the need for four things:

"1. Developing and testing in life a correct policy for each industry.

"2. Developing the united front from below to insure the carrying through of such a policy.

"3. Drawing constant lessons from the experiences of the workers in the course of their struggles, thus helping to develop their class understanding.

"4. Systematically building the Party, by bringing into its ranks the most militant and advanced workers.

"These four points of 1948 are still valid for us in 1950. The difference is that the new situation demands renewed emphasis.

"In a general way we can say that immediately following the Convention the districts of the Party undertook to unfold such a policy. For example, district conferences were organized and problems of concentration discussed. Policies were worked out in relation to designated concentration industries;

18

the tactic of the united front on a department and shop level was mapped, and plans for Party building were concretely worked out."

Hdg fls 2:50

H 1 Q Is that what you taught about the purpose of concentration in Maryland ?

A That is correct.

Q Have you had experience with the policy of concentration in any organizations other than the Communist Party?

A It is a common policy our party adopts, to go where the key and decisive section of the workers are, and we can, to convince them. And it will help to expand far beyond any particular concentration plan. It is a common practice in the trade union movement.

For instance, where I work, in the textile union, it was the biggest textile mill in the country. And when the textile union began to organize the industry, with the upsurge of the C.I.O. in 1935 and 1936, my plant was picked as a concentration point, and practically all of the forces of the textile union were involved in helping the workers there to organize the union. Once we organized Local 1874, then we were able to use that in the industry to organize almost the entire rayon industry, and great sections of the textile industry outside of the rayon industry.

But, first, the largest mill was picked as the concentration area or point. And once the union broke through there, then it was possible to go into much broader fields and to organize the other sections of the textile industry.

And this was the concentration policy. And the

same thing is applied in our party.

Q Now, does the policy of concentration have anything to do with force and violence or the advocacy of force and violence?

A Nothing whatsoever. It is a means of reaching the people with our program.

Q Has the Communist Party of Maryland and the District of Columbia attempted to carry out this policy of concentration?

A We have a concentration policy.

Q What is that policy?

A We usually concentrate, for instance, in the steel industry. It is one of the primary industries in the city, or in this area.

Q Now, what is the purpose of concentration in the steel industry?

A Well, for instance, there are 25,000 workers at Sparrows Point. And if we can convince them to accept our policies, then it will influence the entire labor movement in this area. And we try to influence them by leaflet distribution, by mailing of material to the steel workers, by distributing material in the communities where the steel workers live, and so on.

And in that way we try to advance our policies and to get this decisive section of the workers in Baltimore to accept our policies. We feel if they would accept them,

it would have a great influence on the labor movement in the community generally.

Q When you say "would have great influence," what do you mean?

A Well, we feel that the policies that we support, for instance, one of the key factors in our concentration policy in steel is the building of Negro-white unity. Now, experience has shown that it is impossible to build a union, to make any advances in such an organization as steel, without the firmest unity of Negro and white workers. It is also shown that the company utilizes prejudices to try to divide the workers.

And as an important point in our concentration policy, we try to convince the workers, as I have outlined, of the need of the Negro and white workers working together to advance their gains at the mill, and to take that policy outside of the mill and fight for an end of the "Jim Crow" in this area.

The whole situation in Baltimore and in the surrounding area is one of brutal discrimination against the Negro people. And we feel if such a number of the workers would be convinced of Negro-white unity and the end of discrimination in the mills, it would most certainly influence the community and would help in bringing about the rotten discrimination that exists in Baltimore.

And, in this way, we feel that the concentration

H 4

policy will work itself out, to apply itself to what we feel will come out of it, the fight for the further extension of democracy.

Q Have you distributed any leaflets on that particular subject?

MR. FLYNN: I object, may it please the Court. I think we have gone very far afield. If we are going to get into leaflets in addition to the explanation that we have heard, I think we will be here interminably.

MR. BUCHMAN: Your Honor, I want to abbreviate as much as possible. We have no desire to extend matters by reading this in. But I desire at least to identify it, as there is a small a portion as possible, which we do feel is basic.

THE COURT: I think the witness has had ample opportunity to explain to the jury the answers to all of the questions you have asked him in regard to the case.

MR. BUCHMAN: Could I just have the witness read the titles?

THE COURT: No. I will sustain the objection on the ground of the statement.

MR. BUCHMAN: Could I make a proffer of proof,

THE COURT: If you wish to.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) I show you this "Appeal to Reason," Volume 1, Number 5, February, 1951. Is that one

H 5

of the pieces of literature you issued that dealt with the subject of concentration, as you have explained it?

A In part.

Q I show you a leaflet entitled, "Victory at Sparrows Point, Negro-White Unity Can Win." Is that one of the leaflets you issued?

A That's right.

Q "Facts for Steelworkers," is that another issue?

A That's right. Various issues for steel workers, showing facts, that the party got out and distributed.

MR. BUCHMAN: I will just make a proffer. I want to proffer these in evidence as Defendants' exhibits.

MR. FLYNN: I object.

MR. BUCHMAN: I was just making a formal proffer.

THE COURT: I have overruled.

MR. BUCHMAN: Will they be marked for identification to indicate rejection?

THE COURT: You can ask for it.

(Leaflet, "Victory at Sparrows Point Negro-White Workers Unity Can Win," was marked Defendants' Exhibit 17 (a) for identification.)

(Leaflet, "Facts for Steelworkers," was marked Defendants' Exhibit 17 (b) for identification.)

(Leaflet, "Appeal to Reason, February, 1951," was marked Defendants' Exhibit 17 (c) for identification.)

H 6

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Now, Mr. Meyers, what does the Communist Party teach and what have you taught concerning the question of the Negro people?

MR. FLYNN: I object.

THE COURT: I sustain the objection. I sustain it on the ground that that is not an issue in this case, and on the further ground that insofar as it would have any relation to the case involved, the witness has had a very full opportunity to explain his position about it.

MR. BUCHMAN: Your Honor, there is just one specific point, a Government witness has testified concerning the right of self-determination.

THE COURT: Yes. On that point, I think you can ask. You have not asked that yet.

MR. BUCHMAN: I will isolate it.

THE COURT: There has been no statement in the very extended remarks of the witness on the subject of Negroes. You have not asked the question up to the present time what is meant by self-determination of the Negro race. We have had some evidence on that, and you are entitled to give your version of it, if you wish.

MR. BUCHMAN: I will simply isolate that aspect of the question, and withdraw that question.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Mr. Meyers, what is the position of the Communist Party on what has been termed the right of

H 7

self-determination of the Negro people?

A Well, this policy flows out of the entire policy of the Party toward the Negro people. It is impossible to make a statement in an isolated way of the policy of self-determination. Actually, it flows out of three basic --

THE COURT: Excuse me. Naturally, you can make a very long answer to a simple question. I can understand that.

A Yes.

THE COURT: Now, Mr. Buchman, I think you can rephrase the question so as to bring out the reason for intention in regard to it, without the necessity of asking for a long discourse. You will probably remember exactly what the Government's evidence was on that one question. I suggest you formulate your question in such a way that the witness will be able to answer whether that is true or not.

A Your Honor, I think on the basis of what you said, I can answer it.

THE COURT: Please.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) You have heard the Government's witness explanation of the term of the right of self-determination of the Negro people. Will you please tell us what the Communist Party's position is on that aspect of the Negro question?

A I think I can touch on it briefly, as the Court

H 8

desires.

The policy of self-determination for the Negro people in the area where they are in the majority, the so-called "black belt" in the South, stems from the policy of the Communist Party toward the Negro people that, first, they have full economic equality, they have complete rights to jobs without discrimination, and so on, the right to acquire jobs, skilled jobs, in all industries. That is putting it in a nut shell.

Second is a complete political equality, which means the complete right to vote in every section of the country, without any poll tax or other discriminatory laws, without the threat of terror, using terror in the South when they attempt to vote.

The third stems from the Communist Party's complete and thorough opposition to any form of segregation, "Jim Crow" discrimination. After all, our party is made up of Negro and white workers, people.

The policy of self-determination simply flows out of these three things. So in that area of the South where the Negro people are in the majority, the policy of self-determination means that people have a right to elect people of their own people, representatives of their own people, either sheriffs, congressmen, mayors, and governors. That is the policy of self-government.

H 9

And it flows further that if at any future time this particular area so desires, they can set up their own organization, the way in which they desire. It does not mean setting up a "Jim Crow" state and that Negroes from one part of the country will have to go down to that particular area, or any of the nonsense some of the witnesses testified to.

THE COURT: It isn't proper for you to comment in that way about witnesses on the other side, by referring to that as "nonsense." I hope you will not undertake to do that again.

A No.

THE COURT: I think you have answered the question. We will accept it.

A Just to summarize it, it is a summarization of the Communist Party's approach toward the Negro people of a complete policy of economic equality and the end of all forms of discrimination. And as a normal result of such application of such policy, it means that in the area in which they are a majority and have been a majority for many, many years, that they have the right to elect to office people whom they choose. That right does not exist today.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Mr. Meyers, are you familiar with this pamphlet? (Showing booklet to witness)

A I am.

H 10

Q Is this issued by the Communist Party?

A It was.

Q Was this circulated and distributed throughout Maryland to the Communists?

A It was.

Q Was it distributed to the public generally, as well?

A Yes.

MR. BUCHMAN: Now, if the Court please --

MR. FLYNN: I object to it.

MR. BUCHMAN: I would like to offer in evidence three short paragraphs, in a booklet entitled, "The Path of Negro Liberation," by Benjamin J. Davis. It represents the position of the Communist Party on the whole question, and there are just three paragraphs.

THE COURT: Does it have any reference to the Government's evidence --

MR. BUCHMAN: Yes, sir.

THE COURT: -- in regard to what is meant by "self-determination?" If it has, you can read that portion.

MR. BUCHMAN: Shall I offer it in evidence first?

THE COURT: No. Just read the one thing. I do not think you are entitled to put the whole thing in.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Will you read the introduction, page 3?

THE COURT: You can read it.

H 11

MR. BUCHMAN: All right. I will read it.

(Reading) "The position of the Communist Party of the United States on the question of Negro rights is that the Negro people are entitled to immediate and unconditional political, social and economic equality in all aspects of American life, civil and military."

THE COURT: Now, one moment. This is --

MR. BUCHMAN: What?

THE COURT: Is there anything in there which defines "self-determination of the Negro people?"

MR. BUSHMAN: That is exactly what this paragraph does. This very paragraph.

THE COURT: That is what I asked you to read. Will you read that, please?

MR. BUCHMAN: This is just the sentence before.

(Reading) "At the plenary session of the National Committee of the Communist Party held in New York December 3 to 5, 1946, this position was infused with a profound Marxist-Leninist content. The Party at this meeting adopted a resolution which recognized the Negro question as the national question within our country and placed the Party squarely in support of the right of self-determination - or self-government - for the Negro people in the Black Belt area in the South where they are in the majority. This is now the policy of the Communist Party, although not a slogan

of immediate action. And it fundamentally strengthens the effectiveness of our Party - and of the Negro people and their labor-progressive allies - in the fight for the full citizenship of Negro Americans in all of the current struggles of the day."

There are two more short paragraphs which deal specifically with self-determination. This is from Page 21.

"We should avoid presenting the slogan in any manner whatsoever that creates the impression that self-determination would necessarily lead to the creation of a separate Negro Republic. Separation is only one form it could take, and life itself shows that the Negroes have a contrary orientation. Nor would self-determination entail the forced migration of Negroes elsewhere to the area of self-government."

And one concluding paragraph.

"We must not make this a slogan of immediate action but must point out its long-range character flowing out of existing conditions and class relationships involving many factors. We must be sensitive to the fact that the bourgeoisie and all its henchmen will seek to distort and discredit it even as they do Socialism and every other major step toward progress proposed in the country."

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Now, Mr. Meyers, is it the position of the Communist Party that force and violence

H 12

should be used in the establishment of the Negro people's right for self-determination?

A It is not. This policy which we support is, of itself, a peaceful nature. It means --

THE COURT: I think you have answered.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Is it the position of the Communist Party that the Negro people could achieve the right of self-determination only after or as a result of the replacement of capitalism --

MR. FLYNN: I object.

Q (By Mr. Buchman, continuing) -- by Socialism?

A It is not. We believe that the Negro people in the South --

MR. BUCHMAN: Just a minute.

THE COURT: Go ahead. Answer it.

A We believe that the Negro people in the South can acquire self-government, self-determination, under a capitalistic society. That is why we fight for the right to vote for the Negro people in the South, the end of "Jim Crow" terror, lynch justice, fight for the end of the poll tax.

THE COURT: I think you have touched that a number of times. What is the next question?

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Mr. Meyers, you have testified the Communist Party does not advocate the use of force as

H 13

a means to achieve Socialism. Will you tell us now what the Communist Party does advocate should be the means to achieve Socialism, and how that should be applied?

A The Communist Party has no blueprint as to how Socialism could come to America, because we know it will come to America when a majority of the people want it, and not before.

However, on the basis of our own experience and the development of the Marxist-Leninist theory, I would like to just briefly, very briefly state how it is possible that Socialism could come to America, and under peaceful means, which is the orientation of the Communist Party and the way Socialism should come to America --

THE COURT: Just a minute.

A Yes.

THE COURT: Does your question have to do with the doctrine of the Communist Party, or are you asking for the personal views of the witness as to what should happen?

MR. BUCHMAN: I am asking what his understanding is of what the Communist Party advocates.

THE COURT: It seems to me it indicates he was giving his personal views, rather than that of the Communist Party. We should hear, not his personal views, but the Communist Party's. If the Communist Party has a doctrine, that would be the question. I sustain any further answer

d 14

by the witness to that particular question. Have you another question?

Q (By Mr. Buchman) I ask you what the Communist Party advocates, and tell us what you, yourself advocated and taught should be the means to attain Socialism, and how it should take place?

THE COURT: You mean how he advocates, and tell us as a Communist?

MR. BUCKMAN: Yes.

THE COURT: I didn't say that. The distinction between the two came out in what I said just a moment ago, that the witness seemed to be undertaking to give his personal thoughts as to how Socialism should be brought about in the United States, which is not at issue in this case.

Therefore, when you ask him what the Communist Party has taught, and "what you yourself have taught," it would mean that there was an infringement on the condition under which I permitted the question to be asked. You, no doubt, did not intend that. I will explain to the witness that his answer must relate to the doctrine of the Communist Party, and not his individual views.

MR. BUCHMAN: I would like to point out, Your Honor, if I might, briefly, I don't know if the Court is in accord or not, but the question of specific intent, we feel

H 15

is of issue in the case.

THE COURT: I understand that. Go ahead.

A It was taught by we -- by "we," I mean the Communist Party and myself. I repeat, that we have no blueprint as to how Socialism will come to America, except that it will come when the majority of the people want it, and in the way in which they desire to bring it to America.

However, as we have been brought forth in the trial, and demonstrated in day to day activities, we believe that the first prerequisite for a peaceful transition to Socialism is the development and the extension of democracy in this country, that the more freedom people have to talk, to discuss, to learn, the more opportunity, the more the chance of a peaceful transition.

We also teach it can come through several forms. At the present time, and for a long time past, our Party has advocated a people's front government. What that means is a coalition under the capitalist system, where various sections of the people opposed to monopoly are in control of the government, and curb the monopolies. We had that partially under the Roosevelt administration. It was for that reason the Communist Party set aside its own program and supported the candidacy of Henry Wallace in 1948. It was in no sense a Communist Party program in either 1944 nor 1948, but it was a coalition which we felt could curb the

monopolies in this country and extend democracy.

And it is our teaching and belief that with the further extension of democracy through the people's front government, through the curbing of monopolies that the whole desire of the American people can extend and expand until the people are in such a position to bring about a change to Socialism, without permitting big business to resort to force and violence in order to try to remain in power. That is the way in which we see the possibility of a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism, that we have an extension of democracy to such an extent that the majority of the people, when they are ready to bring Socialism about in this country, can do it, and at the same time curb the monopolies, who, certainly as history has shown, will not let go of power peacefully unless they are prevented from doing so.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Now, what does the Communist Party teach its members by peaceful means, in order to help this peaceful transition from Capitalism to Socialism?

A The Communist Party teaches its members to carry on the kind of struggle that will bring about democracy in America. By that, I mean --

THE COURT: I think you have answered that particular question. If it is something new you haven't covered, otherwise we won't go into that.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Does the Communist Party have a program of immediate aim, as distinguished from long range objective, of the transition to Socialism?

A We have such a program, which we feel will implement the peaceful transition to Socialism, but based on present needs.

Q What does the Communist Party teach the relationship is between the day to day struggle for immediate demands and the peaceful transition to Socialism?

A We teach that by the successful struggle for immediate demands, we will lay the ground work for a peaceful transition to Socialism in the future.

Q Well, does the Communist Party teach that these immediate demands mean what they say?

MR. FLYNN: I object.

MR. BUCHMAN: There has been some testimony in that connection, referring to the Communists.

THE COURT: Yes, I think there was some testimony on that. I think you are entitled to ask the question. But I will restrict the witness to answer the question briefly.

A All right, Your Honor. I think the testimony already here presented --

THE COURT: Mr. Meyers, I am afraid you will have to stop. You are acting as your own counsel in this case, and when you have excellent counsel. Now, I have permitted

H 18

that, but I really think it is time for you to go along with your counsel, and not continue to act as your own counsel. And do not undertake to make comments from the witness stand. Just answer the question. What is the question?

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Does the Communist Party program for the immediate demands mean what it says?

A It does.

Q Will you explain that?

A I can.

THE COURT: It needs no explanation. It is a categorical answer and speaks for itself.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) A Government witness, Lautner, testified the Communist Party teaches Socialism can be attained only in an emergency, a national emergency, a crisis, or war. Is this a true statement?

A It is not.

Q Is this a true statement of the Communist Party's position on that?

A No. The Communist Party's position is that there is a change of classes, and in this particular situation, a change from the capitalistic class to the working class coming into power, --

Q Let me ask you --

A (Continuing) At a time when the present ruling

class can no longer give the answer to the needs of the people, and when the majority of the working class desire a change.

Q Now, what does the Communist Party teach members is their obligation with respect to crisis or war?

A The Communist Party teaches that crisis or war can only hurt the people, and that instead of working for war, we work for peace. Work for a crisis when the crisis comes, because they are inevitable under capitalism. We work to relieve and alleviate the majority of the people who suffer in times of economic crisis.

4:15

K.

Cav fs
Hartingh
320p

Q (By Mr. Buchman): Does the Communist Party have a program that seeks to alleviate crises and prevent war?

A It does.

Q What is that program?

A First -

MR. FLYNN: Is it a written document or is it something we can look at?

MR. BUCHMAN: Yes, first I want his answer and then I will document it with the resolution.

THE COURT: I overrule the objection.

THE WITNESS: Yes, the Communist Party has as its primary objective the establishment of peace and the defeat of fascism. Second, for the development of the economic needs of the people. Another phase of our program is the end of all forms of discrimination against the Negro people and other minorities. These are some of the portions of the program of the Communist Party and they have been the constant program since the reconstitution of the Party.

MR. BUCHMAN: May I have "The Struggle Against Revisionism", Government Exhibit 21. This is an exact copy.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Will you just read the slogans without - I think there's only about five major slogans. Just read the five sentences. This is part of the 1945

C 2

Convention of the Communist Party.

MR. GREEN: What page?

MR. BUCHMAN: Page 90.

THE WITNESS: The slogan at the head of the various paragraphs beginning - keeping in mind that this convention was held while the war with Japan was still on:

1. Speed the defeat of fascist-militarist Japan.
2. Complete the destruction of fascism and build a durable peace.
3. Push the Fight for Sixty Million Jobs - Meet the Human Needs of Reconversion.
4. Keep Faith with the Men Who Fight for Victory.
5. Safeguard and Extend Democracy.
6. Safeguard the Future of America's Youth.

These are some of the headings under which our program at that time was established in convention.

Q Has that five-point program you outlined been the general program of the Communist Party since 1945?

A It has. It has been extended and deepened. At that time the main fight of the Party was for victory over Japan. Now the main fight is the establishment of peace.

Q I want to show you "Political Affairs" of September, 1948, headed 14th National Convention of the Communist Party U. S. A. This mentions, does it not, the

C 3

1948 election platform of the Communist Party?

A That's right.

Q Do you have a brief portion here that would sum up the platform - it is rather long -

THE COURT: I think you are just repeating. If you have anything new, I suggest you go to it.

MR. BUCHMAN: My purpose is to establish the point and show the continuance of it.

THE COURT: I think/^{you} have had full opportunity to show it and the witness has answered.

MR. BUCHMAN: May I just offer this in evidence without reading it?

THE COURT: No. It is already in evidence. You can not just put in books without some good reason for it.

MR. BUCHMAN: I will reserve this at the time.

Q (By Mr. Buchman): Now, you have mentioned the first item in the program of immediate aims of the Communist Party as being the struggle for peace against fascism.

A Yes.

Q What is the Communist Party policy on the question of peace?

A The Communist Party on the question of peace has fought for the peaceful co-existence of the United States and the Soviet Union as being the best guarantee of the prevention of the outbreak of another World War.

C 4

It is our position that since the end of World War II, certain sections of American big business have determined to start another world war. We feel that intervention in Korea is part of that. We have opposed the war in Korea from its beginning. We have opposed sending of American troops to Korea and, as I said in my opening statement -

Q Let me ask you, what is the position of the Communist Party with respect to fascism?

A The Communist Party is opposed to any -

THE COURT: Is that an issue in this case? Do we have fascism in the United States. I am asking you, Mr. Buchman. Are you contending that we have any fascism in the United States?

MR. BUCHMAN: No, we don't, Your Honor.

THE COURT: What is the purpose then of asking the witness about it?

MR. BUCHMAN: He stated that was the first part of the program, representing the need for transition to socialism.

THE COURT: I thought it was irrelevant then and I think it is irrelevant now.

Q (By Mr. Buchman): I show you the January 1951 issue of "Political Affairs". This was mentioned in the statement - does this contain any statement of the Communist Party position on peace first, and then outline

C 5

it.

A It does.

MR. BUCHMAN: If the Court please, I would like to read two small sections.

THE COURT: Very well, read it.

MR. BUCHMAN: Read beginning on page 6, point 9.

THE WITNESS: This is from the resolution of the 15th Convention of the Communist Party:

"9. From all of the above it can be seen that the struggle for peace is the central, all-embracing task for the whole present historic period. The future of our nation, the welfare of our people, depends on the outcome of this struggle. The war course of Wall Street and Washington has placed the United States in dire peril. It is the sacred duty of our Party, of every worker, of every person who loves his home and country, to prevent a third world war with all its ghastly consequences. Such a war would only spell death, destruction, untold misery and starvation, not only for other peoples throughout the world, but for our own people. There is no greater patriotic duty than to prevent a third world war; for to save the peace is to save America itself from destruction."

Another section -

C 6

THE COURT: I think that is enough.

MR. BUCHMAN: Who issued that statement, may I ask?

THE WITNESS: It is part of the main resolution of the Communist Party of the United States, passed at the National Convention in New York City.

Q What year?

A 1950, and this deals with an entirely different subject.

Q Is that an official statement of the Communist Party?

A It is.

Q Does it express the policies which, to your knowledge, have been taught and advocated by the Communist Party of Maryland and the District of Columbia?

A It does.

Q There is another short three sentences I would like to have the witness read. Just read those first three sentences there.

A "We declare our readiness to work together with anyone, regardless of his political views, so long as he truly desires peace. In time, all who desire peace must make up one great peace front."

Q Has the Communist Party in Maryland and the District of Columbia done anything to educate its members

C 7

as to the position of the Party on peace and what the members of the Party should do about it?

A It has. We have issued material and we have discussed it at classes. We taught that war is not inevitable, that it is not impossible to prevent the outbreak of a third World War, that the people of this country ought to cooperate with the rest of the people in the world that desire peace and can prevent the outbreak of a third World War. We have issued material to the public to present our position. We have made proposals to the public as to how we think they can help prevent the bringing about of the Third World War. It has been the central theme of our work in the Party in this District and throughout the country for the past number of years now.

Q Mr. Meyers, I show you some leaflets and pamphlets. Were these distributed in Maryland and the District of Columbia?

A They were.

MR. FLYNN: I object.

THE COURT: I think the witness has fully covered the subject about which you are asking him and I sustain Mr. Flynn's objection to the introduction of more pamphlets. The witness seems to have expressed them very fully himself.

C 8

MR. BUCHMAN: Does Your Honor believe that since the prosecution has made it such a major part of its case that in case of war, a change would take place -

THE COURT: I think the witness has stated very clearly -

MR. BUCHMAN: I want to document them and -

THE COURT: It may be later on, if there is any controversy in it, I might change my ruling on it, but you have introduced so many documents, it seems to me in respect to the witness' testimony, that you are piling up a very large record on the subject.

MR. BUCHMAN: Except that the Government has a quantitative edge on us.

THE COURT: I don't know what you mean by that. Do you mean more documents?

MR. BUCHMAN: Yes.

THE COURT: I don't think so. They referred to as many books as you have but the extracts they read were much shorter. I do not think it important one way or another. The question is the quality rather than the quantity of evidence.

(By Mr. Buchman): Do you have any idea of the total number of leaflets dealing with the Communist Party policy on peace that were issued in Maryland and the District of Columbia during the past year?

C 9

MR. FLYNN: I object.

THE COURT: If he can answer by giving a number, I will overrule the objection.

THE WITNESS: Hundreds of thousands. That is the best I can give.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) There has been some testimony that in time of depression, that the change would take place and I think the statement was made that the Communist Party advocated the oncoming of depression. Has the Communist Party in Maryland and the District of Columbia advanced any program in connection with economic depression or economic crisis?

MR. FLYNN: I object.

THE WITNESS: It has.

MR. FLYNN: I do not think there is any such testimony.

THE COURT: I did not quite catch perhaps what you said in your question. Prefacing your question, you said something about the Communist Party having advocated a depression.

MR. BUCHMAN: I said the substance of several of the witnesses of the Government was that this violent revolution would take place during a period of depression and, therefore, the Communist Party advocated or tried to promote depression, and I wanted to show that the Communist

C 10

Party program was the reverse.

THE COURT: I do not recall any evidence that the Communist Party advocated depression. One witness for the Government did make the statement as to when the objectives of the Party would try to be accomplished, but that is not advocating depression, as far as I recall it.

MR. BUCHEMAN: Your Honor, I would like to be heard on this point because I think it is important.

THE COURT: Do you want to ask him whether the Communist Party advocates a depression?

MR. BUCHEMAN: No, I want to establish through him that the Communist Party program was to avert depression and what their activities pursuant to that were. I think it is relevant on a number of grounds; first in directing him to the Government's allegations; secondly, we want to show the whole activity was inconsistent with that charge, and further that it is relevant to the question of specific intention, and thirdly, it deals with the relationship to quick and present danger, so that for those reasons we feel the testimony along this line is relevant.

THE COURT: The only evidence that I recall that the Government has in referring to depression is this: A witness was asked, who was a teacher or instructor for the Communist Party, with respect to when the revolution which

C 11

the Communist Party, as he said, was seeking to accomplish, would be put into effect. His answer was that it would be in time of great depression, when there was great economic disturbance or when the Communist Party had attained such influence as would probably make the revolution successful. That is the only reference I remember on the subject of depression.

MR. BUCHMAN: To rebut that, I want to offer material, as well as testimony, showing that the Communist Party was doing everything in its power to avert economic depression. That is the line I want to pursue, if the Court please.

THE COURT: You can ask a question which will lead to a short answer and not a long dissertation on it because it will be repetitious.

(By Mr. Buchman): Has the Communist Party of Maryland and the District of Columbia or nationally through your knowledge had any economic program designed to avert depression?

A Depressions come as the inevitable result of the capitalistic system -

THE COURT: Now, Mr. Buchman, don't you see exactly what I have in mind by asking you to limit your questions to the point. You ask a question in such a form that the witness has an opportunity to repeat and

C 12

repeat again his views about it. It is perfectly all right that he should give his views to the jury, but when he has given them once, it seems to me when you ask question after question and ask for mere repetition of it, it is time for me to intervene and say so.

Q (By Mr. Buchman): I will shorten this by this question. Mr. Meyers, was this pamphlet "New Depression" by Bernard Burton distributed and circulated in Maryland?

MR. FLYNN: I object.

THE COURT: I sustain the objection.

MR. BUCHMAN: I thought that might -

THE COURT: Please do not argue with me. I made a statement about it. I must make rulings, Mr. Buchman.

MR. BUCHMAN: Will Your Honor indulge me for a moment, please. May we have Government Exhibit 21.

Q (By Mr. Buchman): Does the 1945 Resolution of the Communist Party when reconstituted contain a program designed to avert depression?

MR. FLYNN: I object.

THE COURT: I do not think this witness was at the 1945 Convention and all he would be doing would be reading out of pamphlets again. I sustain the objection.

Q (By Mr. Buchman): I ask you, Mr. Meyers, at this time to read from Point 3 of the 1945 resolution.

THE COURT: That is contrary to the rulings I have made. If Mr. Flynn does not object, I will allow it.

C 13

MR. FLYNN: I object.

MR. BUCHMAN: I was not aware of Your Honor's ruling. This already is in evidence and I want to read a few sections.

THE COURT: If it is in evidence, it may be read, at the proper time and by the proper person. I sustain the objection to your asking the witness to read it again.

MR. BUCHMAN: He has not read this part again.

THE COURT: Is that paragraph in evidence?

MR. BUCHMAN: No.

THE COURT: You read it then. Is the whole book in evidence?

MR. BUCHMAN: Yes.

THE COURT: Very well, you may read the paragraph.

MR. BUCHMAN: Page 91 from Government Exhibit 21 on "The Struggle Against Revisionism", and this is the resolution adopted by the Communist Party as reconstituted in 1945, Point 3;

"III. Push the Fight for Sixty Million Jobs -
Meet the Human Needs of Reconversion!

"Make the right to work and the democratic aims
of the Second Bill of Rights the law of the land.
Support the Murray Full Employment Bill.

"Increase purchasing power to promote maximum
employment. No reduction in weekly take-home pay

C 14

when overtime is eliminated.

"Revise the Little Steel Formula to increase wages so as to meet the rise in the cost of living. Pass the Pepper 65-cent Minimum Hourly Wage Bill. Support the Seamen's Bill of Rights, H. R. 2346. Defend the wartime gains of the Negro workers in industry.

"Establish a shorter work week except where this would hamper war production.

"Establish the guaranteed annual wage in industry.

"Enforce the right to work and to equality in job status for women. Guarantee the exercise of this right by adequate training, upgrading, seniority rights, as well as by providing day nurseries and child-care centers to aid all working mothers. Safeguard and extend existing social legislation for women, as workers and mothers, and abolish all discriminatory legislation against women.

"Support President Truman's proposals for emergency federal legislation to extend and supplement present unemployment insurance benefits as a necessary first step to cope with the current large-scale outbacks and lay-offs. Start unemployment insurance payments promptly upon loss of job and continue until new employment is found. Provide adequate severance pay

C 15

for laid-off workers.

"Prevent growing unemployment during the reconversion and postwar period by starting large-scale federal, state, municipal and local public works programs - (rural and urban) slum clearance, low rental electrification, waterway projects (such as the St. Lawrence and the Missouri River Valley), the building of new schools, hospitals, roads, etc.

"No scrapping of government-owned industrial plants. Guarantee the operation of these plants, at full capacity for peacetime purposes.

"Establish public ownership of the munitions, power and utility industries to place them under democratic control.

QSupport all measures for full farm production. Defeat the advocates of scarcity. Extend and strengthen the farm price support program. Establish low-cost credit and adequate crop insurance. Safeguard the family-sized farms. Help tenant farmers to become owners. End the semi-feudal sharecropping system in the South.

QMaintain and rigidly enforce rent and price control and rationing. Strengthen the law enforcement powers of the OPA. Smash the black market.

QProsecute the war profiteers. No reduction or

C 18

refunds in corporate, excess profit and income taxes for the millionaires and big corporations. Lower taxes for those least able to pay.

"Pass the Wagner-Murray-Dingell social security bill."

Q (By Mr. Buchman) I think you mentioned another item in the program of immediate aims of the Communist Party, the protection of democratic liberties. Just what has the Communist Party from the Maryland and District of Columbia done to carry out this program while you have been connected with it?

MR. FLYNN: I object.

THE COURT: What has that to do with this case, Mr. Buchman, the protection of democratic liberties. Are we not doing about that all the time. That is a function of government, isn't it?

MR. BUCHMAN: The defendants may demur to that proposition, Your Honor.

THE COURT: It is possible they might. My point is this:

MR. BUCHMAN: My point is this: There have been these allegations that the Communist Party has advocated force and violence in the overthrow of this government, and we will show it has done everything to extend democratic rights and liberties.

3:45 PM

H 1

THE COURT: Isn't that just utterly repetitious of what the witness has been testifying for nearly five hours today?

MR. BUCHMAN: But, Your Honor, do you want evidence to substantiate that this is what they had actually done, not simply the conclusions of a witness?

THE COURT: What was the question?

MR. BUCHMAN: Would the reporter read it back?

THE COURT: Maybe you would like to ask another question.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Now, Mr. Meyers, you mentioned as another part of the Communist Party's program of immediate demands its struggle for civil liberties, extending and protecting the democratic rights. Just what has the Communist Party in Maryland and the District of Columbia actually done, to your knowledge, during the past several years in that connection?

MR. FLYNN: It is objected to, if it please Your Honor.

THE COURT: Of course, the issue of the case, one issue holds the Communist Party teaches and advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. Now, let's see how that question relates to that issue. What has the Communist Party done to protect civil liberties? Now, how does that relate to the intention

H 2

to overthrow the Government of the United States?

The question here is not whether the people who are on trial in this case have good or bad motives with respect to the various types of legislation. The question is whether they joined in a conspiracy to teach, or their members, to teach the necessity and duty of overthrowing the Government of the United States. Does the Communist Party today advocate forms which may not themselves be desirable to do so. This is a question which the jury must answer in this case.

As long as I can see your question deals with the issues of the case, I will let you develop it, and you have a right to develop it. But I do not see how the question of advocating civil liberties, to the extent they are guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, and every Court in the United States is obliged to follow, how that bears on the question of whether these defendants joined the conspiracy which I have referred to.

MR. BUCHMAN: If the Court please, I have stated a few moments ago our position, if we do so --

THE COURT: I will let you ask him a question which can develop a very short answer. "Have you assisted, wherever you thought it proper, in the defense of civil liberties, as a Party?" You can ask him that question.

MR. BUCHMAN: If it please --

H 3

MR. FLYNN: If it please the Court, they referred to them as "democratic liberties." I don't know if they mean any different than "civil liberties." I think we ought to find out.

THE COURT: If you wish to ask him whether the Communist Party participated in advocating the defense of civil liberties, you may do so.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Did you hear the Court's last question? Will you answer the last question?

A We have, in a number of cases.

THE COURT: That is right. What is the next question.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) In what ways have you done so?

MR. FLYNN: I object to the question.

THE COURT: I sustain the objection to that. I think it is immaterial to the issue in the case.

Q (By Mr. Buchman) Now, Mr. Meyers, is it true many members of the Communist Party do not reveal their membership publicly?

A That is correct.

Q Why is it some of them do not reveal their membership publicly?

A I think for obvious reasons. Under the present wave of repression and red baiting, for some members of the Communist Party to reveal their identity as communists would

H 4

mean they would lose their jobs and suffer reprisals, suffer discrimination. I could go on much further on this subject. But it is for these reasons that some Communist Party members do not identify themselves as communists, and the Communist Party does not so identify them. As I said, I could go on further. I have some of my own experiences.

Q Now, Mr. Meyers, have you ever in or out of the Communist Party advocated the overthrow of the United States Government by force or violence?

A Neither I, my co-defendants or my party have ever advocated the overthrow of the Government of the United States.

Q Has anything you have done or advocated in or out of the Communist Party been done with the intent to overthrow the United States Government by force or violence?

A No. Rather, I think what we do, or what we propose, strengthens the democracy in the United States. It has nothing to do with force and violence.

Q Do you understand, Mr. Meyers, the Communist doctrine, or the doctrine of the Communist Party is to advocate the overthrow the Government by force and violence?

A It does not.

Q Have you been taught in the Communist Party, or have you ever taught that the Government should be overthrown by force and violence?

A Neither I, my co-defendants nor my party has ever taught the need or desirability of the overthrow of the Government by violence.

MR. BUCHMAN: If the Court please, I think this concludes my direct examination of Mr. Meyers.

THE COURT: Do you wish to cross examine, Mr. Flynn?

MR. FLYNN: Yes, sir.

CROSS-EXAMINATION

BY MR. FLYNN:

Q Mr. Meyers, you say that you joined the Communist Party in 1942?

A In the Fall.

Q The Fall of 1942. Where did you join?

A In Cumberland, Maryland.

Q Who was the head of the Communist Party at that time in Maryland?

MR. BUCHMAN: I object to the question, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Why?

MR. BUCHMAN: It is irrelevant and immaterial.

THE COURT: I am not disposed to think it is highly material, but I think it is legally material. Overruled.

A Doctor Blumberg.

Q (By Mr. Flynn) Doctor Blumberg. Did he live in Cumberland?

A No.

H 6

Q He did not?

A No.

MR. BASSETT: I object, Your Honor, to the question.

THE COURT: What is your objection? Are you counsel for Mr. Meyers?

MR. BASSETT: No, Your Honor. I think I have a right, have I not, to object to the interest of the other defendants?

THE COURT: Of course. Then you are objecting for your particular client?

MR. BASSETT: Yes.

THE COURT: On what basis?

MR. BASSETT: It seems to me it is clearly not germane for cross-examination.

THE COURT: I will overrule it. I think it is relevant and proper cross-examination. Go ahead.

Q (By Mr. Flynn) You say Doctor Blumberg was head of the party. Was he the one that brought you into the Communist Party?

A No. The Celanese Corporation brought me into the Communist Party.

Q Was Doctor Blumberg associated with the Celanese plant? Was he, in any way?

A No.

Q Your Honor, Mr. Flynn, Ladies and Gentlemen of the

R 7

Jury, it is not my purpose here to name people who have not been openly identified as members of the Communist Party, and for the same reasons that I gave when I said it is necessary for some people to conceal their membership, and for very good reasons.

Q Why is it, Mr. Meyers, you don't want to reveal who the officers of your party were at that time?

A By not only revealing who is members of the party but even answering questions as to who is or who is not members of the Communist Party, under these conditions and circumstances would leave them open to attack. And it is not my purpose to permit innocent people to be subjected to attack.

Q Is there any reason why anybody should be attacked because they belong to the Communist Party?

A I don't know. I don't think I should be here.

Q Why are you so hesitant about mentioning anyone who is a member of officer of your party?

A For the reasons I stated earlier, because it would subject them to villification, that we don't have to have many examples of how that can happen. We have people on the very vague premise that somebody might have thought they were communists hauled over to Washington and questioned for weeks at a time, and questioned whether or not they were members of the Communist Party. There is a concerted drive

B 8

against people who may be members, or whom some informer thinks is a member.

THE COURT: Just a minute. Do you want to press your inquiry? If you do, I will give serious consideration to whether it is material, or not, if it comes to materiality. If it is material for the Government to know, the witness will answer. But I do not wish to press the witness on something he does not want to answer for the reason he has said, it is not material, unless it is material to the case.

MR. FLYNN: At this point of being material to the case, Your Honor, I don't think it is too material, but I do think it will become material in the later part of my examination.

THE COURT: We will wait until we get to that bridge before we cross it.

Q (By Mr. Flynn) Do you know where Doctor Blumbers is now?

A No.

Q You do not. Is there any member of your party you know of who knows where he is?

MR. BUCHMAN: I object to this line of questioning.

THE COURT: I sustain your objection to the last question. I think it is not a proper question.

Q (By Mr. Flynn) When you joined the party in the Fall

of 1942, did you reveal your membership to the people in Cumberland? Did they know you were a member of the party?

A To a few. It wasn't put in the papers.

Q I understood you to say it wasn't until 1948 that you revealed the fact that you were in the Communist Party?

A It was at that time that it was publicly announced that I became an official of the Communist Party.

Q Isn't it a fact that between 1942 and all during the period you were in the Communist Party and also the period you were in the United States Army, isn't it a fact you hid the fact that you were a Communist and belonged to the Communist Party?

A No, I didn't hide it while I was in the Army. We were not members of the party. I didn't mean in public knowledge.

Q You said when you were in the Army you were not a member of the party?

A No. It was at that time anyone who went into the Army left the membership of the party until they came out of the Army.

Q How did they accomplish that? Did they resign, write a resignation of any kind?

A It was an action taken by the party.

Q What kind of an action was taken by the party?

A By the National Committee, national leadership.

Q In other words, isn't it true they said anybody going into the United States Army, we won't reveal the fact you are Communists?

A No. They said they are not in the party. They had no meetings, paid no dues.

THE COURT: The witness has been on the stand for several hours. I think we better take our adjournment.

You may be excused until tomorrow morning at ten o'clock. Of course, do not discuss the case or let anybody talk to you about it, and nobody is to talk to the jurors about it.

(Thereupon, at 4:00 p.m., the trial of the above entitled case was adjourned until 10:00 a.m., March 25, 1952.)

- - - - -

I certify that the foregoing is a true and
correct transcript of the proceedings in the above case.

Francis J. Owens

Allen R. Hartung

Charles G. Casey

Official Reporter