

The FIFTH COLUMN



IN THE
SOUTH

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

A Check from the WHITE HOUSE



helps support FIFTH COLUMN activity in the SOUTH

Highlander Folk School "is a center, if not *the* center for the spreading of Communist doctrine in thirteen Southeastern states."

—The Nashville Tennessean
leading Southern newspaper

The FIFTH COLUMN in the SOUTH

By Joseph P. Kamp

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New Haven Connecticut

DEDICATED

to the memory of

WILLIAM B. BANKHEAD

Statesman — Patriot — Great American — Southerner

who, in his last message to the American people at the Democratic National Convention at Chicago on July 15, 1940, said:

THERE is abundant proof that lurking within the shadows of our government's edifice, laying their mischievous plans at the proper time to sap and mine it, or to put the red torch of revolution and disunion against our democratic form of government, are those forces of evil, now commonly called "The Fifth Column".

"No one knows how great are their numbers, but evidence already produced shows that they run into tens of thousands, all of them sworn enemies of our form of government. However great or small may be their number, there is no place in the United States for a single one of them to abide in freedom."

INDICTMENT

A dangerous alien-bred and alien-minded Fifth Column has invaded an unsuspecting Southland.

Its agents, agitators and saboteurs are in strategic positions in the schools and the churches; among farmers and industrial workers; on WPA projects and in Government agencies. Everywhere—in every Southern state—in most every community—this sinister network is spreading its vicious propaganda and organizing its forces.

Even immature children's minds are being poisoned in nursery schools set up for this purpose.

So subtle has been its approach, it has enlisted and is currently receiving the help of many respected and trusting Southerners.

Already its clever and disarming propaganda has won thousands of recruits. Wittingly or un-wittingly they are cooperating, despite the fact that the subversive conspiracies of this Fifth Column threaten to bring economic ruin, moral bankruptcy, and the destruction of time-honored Southern traditions.

Its program is anti-American and anti-God.

The ultimate goal is social chaos, the overthrow of the government and the establishment of "a new social order"—a new form of government planned by the Master Minds of Moscow. But the rallying cry of the invader is:

"The poor South! We must save it!"

Just as Hitler "saved" Denmark, Norway, and the Low Countries Joe Stalin's "South savers" and their dupes and stooges are determined to "save the South," in spite of itself.

Communists, Socialists and Reds of a hundred varied scarlet hues are united in compassion for the "victims" of "a wasted land and a wasted people, the nation's No. 1 economic problem," as Howard Kester, one of the saviours, describes the South and its people in the April, 1940, issue of *Fellowship*, a Red pacifist publication.

Whence do these "South savers" hail?

From a dingy office in New Haven, Connecticut; from Mr. Rockefeller's Rainbow Room in Radio City; from Left-leaning Northern Colleges; from Moscow's American annex, hard by Union Square in New York; from "union" headquarters in Pittsburgh, Chicago and way stations; from Government offices in Washington, and even from week-ends in the White House, come these self-styled humanitarians, starry-eyed uplifters, self-important Government payrollers, impractical soft-hearted preachers, professional social workers, thrill-seeking students, simple-minded professors, dues-snatching CIO organizers, fiery agitators for revolution, and just plain "crack-pots."

These are the self-selected saviours of the South!

Plentifully supplied with brains, and money—millions, in fact—these modern carpet-baggers, with their slick and oily ballyhoo, their sit-down strikes and sabotage, and their phoney nostrums, are taking advantage of traditional Southern hospitality while injecting themselves into peaceful communities to bring discord, dissention and unrest—and very often lawless demonstrations and riots with accompanying violence and death.

One of the first of these "South savers" was Agnes Sailer, who came from her home in New York to Marion, N. C., in 1929 to fan the flames of a "strike" which resulted in the death of six, with twenty others seriously injured.

After this "lesson in revolution," as the Communists called it, she continued her agitation in the vicinity and eventually founded an interracial camp at Old Fort where, to this day, with the assistance of instructors from two Communist training centers, Commonwealth College and Highlander Folk School, white and negro children are taught "simple economics" and "given a labor [?] slant in the delightful form of stories, plays and games."

The institution is named "Camp Larry" in honor of one of the Marion "strike" leaders, who, after serving a six months chain-gang sentence journeyed to Katonah, N. Y. on the urging of Miss Sailer to enroll at a Communist school, Brookwood Labor College, which, at the time, was headed by Russian-born Dr. David J. Saposs, now the Chief Economist and "brains" of the National Labor Relations Board.

It was also in 1929 that Fred Beal, former I.W.W., at that time a Communist leader in Massachusetts, and George Pershing, a cousin of General Pershing according to the Communist press, were ordered south by the little Stalins of Union Square. Shortly after they arrived in Gastonia, N. C., they succeeded in starting a strike in a local textile plant. While the mill workers believed they were striking for higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions, Pershing, on the first day of the strike, confided to a newspaper reporter that his principal interest was to take over the factory and the government.

"I am here," he said, "for the purpose of organizing the Young Communist Workers' League. The principal view of the Communists is control of the country by the workers. Under Communist control the Loray mill and every other mill would be operated by a general committee made up of one representative worker from each department, and they would elect a manager who would be responsible to this general committee."

It would be as simple as that. But, as in Russia, impossible!

Beal and Pershing got their orders from Albert Weisbord, the Communist leader who ran the bloody Passaic strike in New Jersey a few years before. They brought the same kind of mass violence to Gastonia; and when it appeared that they were getting nowhere fast, Weisbord arrived on the scene with special orders from the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and from the Moscow Comintern, too,

The Central Committee directed that a general strike be called in all mills, while the Comintern insisted that the Negro Question be made a principal issue in the strike. Weisbord explained:

"It is not just a skirmish. We must prepare the workers for the coming revolution. We must look ahead and smash all feeling of inequality."

The general strike was declared. The Negro issue was stressed. Violence increased. State troops were called to maintain order. New Communist organizers arrived. The strikes spread to Bessemer City, Pineville, Charlotte, Lexington, to mills in South Carolina and to Elizabethton, Tennessee, where James Dombrowski, a young theological student, was jailed because of his subversive agitation.

From New York Communist-defending *American Civil Liberties Union attorneys arrived to plague the authorities with legal proceedings

*AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, according to the New York State Lusk Report "is supporter of all subversive movements; its propaganda is detrimental to the state;" while the Fish Committee identified it as being "closely affiliated with the Communist movement in the United States, and fully 90% of its efforts are on behalf of Communists." An investigating Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature after an inquiry into subversive activities reported "the propaganda of this organization is dictated and dominated by Communists and Communist supporters."

through innocent appearing fronts such as the Communist controlled CIO and the Communist sponsored and dominated Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the movement has grown in a measure beyond belief.

Slowly and surely their strength has developed. An up-to-the-minute survey discloses: two recent battles decisively won, five reconnaissance forays successfully completed, two more about to be instituted, and a total war on two fronts in the stage of final preparation.

The Fifth Column in the South means business.

It intends to win, at all costs.

Even if it has to bring race riots (as this is written, October 5th, 1940, newspaper dispatches report race riots in Dallas, Texas) and mass violence; or finally revolutionary uprisings with wholesale destruction of lives and property—a catastrophe that, by comparison, would make Sherman's march to the sea seem tame and trivial.

found himself surrounded by a throng of letters and telegrams and completely hemmed in with delegations. The pressure was too much. He surrendered to the un-American forces without a fight.

At this same time the Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs were planning their convention at Old Point Comfort. For fifteen years a feature of the convention was an Americanism breakfast.

This year the speaker selected for the occasion was Major A. Cloyd Gill, a former editor of the Atlanta Constitution, lineal descendant of Thomas Jefferson and other ancestors who played leading parts in both the founding of Virginia and in the Revolution. His subject was to have been "Youth and Americanism." Major Gill, it was known, would discuss the subversive activities of the Communistic elements as they pertained to young people.

The American Civil Liberties crowd didn't intend to stand for that! Without wasting time they brought pressure to bear and, on instructions from the president of the Federation, the invitation to Major Gill to appear (at his own expense) was withdrawn, with profound apologies from the program chairman, who wrote: "I know of no one I would rather have than you—for the message you carry is vital. Not only do I grieve for the rudeness I am obliged to show you, but for the loss of your message to Virginia."

The Red Fifth Column scored a second victory!

The next foray into the South was the fifth annual "economic seminar" of the ultra-Red National Religion and Labor Foundation with headquarters in New Haven, Connecticut, which started on July 2nd under the leadership of the Rev. Charles C. Webber. Through this "seminar" which lasted a month, "many heroic men and women—ministers, teachers, organizers and rank-and-file workers—laboring to rebuild a disintegrating social order" were brought in "direct contact with workers themselves in the mills, mines and on the plantations" in West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas and Mississippi, boasts a "Foundation" document.

It may seem far-fetched to suggest that a "religious" Foundation and a "minister" of the Gospel could have anything to do with either the Communism of Lenin and Russia or its scheme to subvert the South and overthrow the American government, and yet the connection is indisputable.

More than that, with this seemingly innocuous "religious" movement as a starting point, a bewildering maze of connecting links will lead to almost every Fifth Column organization, enterprise and endeavor now engaged in the *atheistic, un-American, anti-Southern drive.

The National Religion and Labor Foundation was organized by and its original national committee and directing personnel were composed almost exclusively of Socialists and Communists.

The original President of the "Foundation" was Sidney Hillman, head of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, which, according to the Lusk Committee of the New York Legislature "is in reality an industrial arm of the Socialist Party of America, working for the objects of that party."

Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party says: "The program of the Socialist Party and the program of the Communist Party have a common origin in the document known as the Communist Manifesto. *There is no difference in final aim.*"

The Communist leanings of Mr. Hillman and his union were shown in a concrete way in 1922 when they organized the Russian-American Industrial Corporation, raised a million dollars from American workers and sent it to Moscow to "aid in the rehabilitation of Russia."

*Congressman Crawford on the floor of the House just recently charged that: "Mrs. I. P. Hodges, District Director of WPA served notice on a group of women at New Bern (N. C.) that the Lord's Prayer could not or would not be allowed at the beginning of the daily operation of their sewing project."

Mr. Hillman was recently appointed by President Roosevelt to the National Defense Council, and yet, just two weeks ago his Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America contributed union funds to the Communist Party.

But to return to the "Foundation." In its official organ one of the "Foundation's" Communist committeemen writes: "It is no longer a question of the need of revolution; the question is as to the method of bringing the revolution to pass . . . the work of revolution would have to be carried through—a Lenin leadership . . . Consequently, our concern is to build the understanding leadership from those who are ready to digest the strong meat of direct revolutionary preparation." This gives a clear picture of the purposes of this "religious front."

The Rev. Mr. Webber, a former organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, according to his biography, "has helped organize the unemployed and participated in strikes." He was a staff member at the Labor Temple, New York City, when it was headed by the Rev. Abraham J. Muste, an Executive Committeeman of the "Foundation" and former head of the Trotskyite Communists, who in 1937, was one of the principal organizers and speakers for the Communist-controlled CIO in its invasion of the South.

What the Rev. Mr. Webber stands for and what sort of message he brought as a missionary to the South can best be judged from his remarks to a conference of Middle Atlantic Seminary students. He told them: "The missionary of tomorrow will show the workers how they can bring about the abolition of capitalism . . . He will sustain the workers in their efforts by picketing with strikers . . . He will assist in establishing labor colleges where . . . the contribution of Soviet Russia in her attempt to establish a new social order will be discussed."

In this latter connection it is interesting to note that the Rev. Mr. Webber was one of the founders and a staff member of Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee. When the Dies Committee investigated Highlander they found that the list of financial supporters was in the possession of the Rev. Harry F. Ward of Union Theological Seminary, who headed the notorious Communist "front" organization, the American League for Peace and Democracy, of which the Rev. Mr. Webber was also an officer. Dr. Ward withheld the list from the Dies Committee on the ground that [because of the nature of the "educational" work being carried on by the school] it would be embarrassing to the contributors to have their names made public.

Dr. Ward and Dr. Webber were joint Secretaries of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, an organization, according to its official

organ "which seeks to abolish the profit system." Mr. Webber replaced Winifred Chappell, who left the Methodist Federation in New York to become head of the faculty at Communist Commonwealth College in Mena, Arkansas.

The Methodist Federation was one of ten Left-wing organizations which cooperated with the Religion and Labor Foundation in sponsoring the Rev. Mr. Webber's "seminar."

An illustration of how these Red groups work together can be seen in the fact that the "Foundation," in cooperation with Commonwealth College, assisted in financing and organizing the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. One of the pamphlets descriptive of this endeavor declares: "For these men Socialism is the answer."

The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union was also helped financially by the Share Croppers' Union, an outfit organized by the Communist Party. Literature and even membership cards of the Croppers' Union were printed on the presses at Communist headquarters in New York. Today the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union is part of the CIO.

Ward H. Rodgers, a member of the Religion and Labor Foundation who later became a teacher at Commonwealth, was one of the principal agitators for the Tenant Farmers' Union. He told one audience of sharecroppers "to lynch every planter in Poinsett County" and was arrested for anarchy.

Rodgers' friend, Lucien Koch, head of Commonwealth, immediately wired Mrs. Roosevelt to help Rodgers, and the charges were dropped.

It was then discovered that Rodgers was in charge of Government schools for workers' education in Arkansas and Texas. A letter found on his person by the police, addressed to the National Secretary of the Socialist Party, declared: "We have no patriotic loyalty to old organizations in the South. We want a revolution under any name . . . that was the attitude of the 36 students in the FERA (Government) workers' education school at Austin (Texas)."

What was an instructor at a Communist College doing on the Government payroll? "An accident" might be a simple explanation, but for the fact that other Commonwealth faculty members and officials were put on the taxpayers' payroll too.

For example, Dr. William E. Zeuch, one of the founders of this fountain-head of Communist learning, who in 1931 expressed the wish

that he could tell the Fish Committee "the many good things about Red, Red Russia, and the many evil things about the United States," was one of the first to pack his bags and go off to Washington to join the Federal payrollers.

Dr. Lucien Koch, the new President, of Commonwealth, was hauled before an investigating committee of the State Legislature. He admitted that he did not believe in God, had never voted—never had any regard for the American government—almost floored his questioner when he said: "I believe that the government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (Russia) is in many ways superior to the American government."

A few weeks later Dr. Koch was on the Government payroll too, as an "expert" for the Consumers' Division N.R.A. Later he became a CIO organizer.

Another Commonwealth instructor Harold Coy was placed in entire charge of the editorial department of the Federal Writers Project in Washington. In this connection some secret testimony before the Dies Committee is most illuminating.

Mrs. Louise Lazell, a friend of Mrs. Roosevelt's who came to the Writers' Project after writing speeches for the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee, gave some interesting testimony before a "closed" session of the Dies investigation. The transcript of the hearing reads:

"The CHAIRMAN. Have you found or do you know as a fact, that Mr. Coy and Mr. Alsberg, at the headquarters of the Federal Writers Project, have shaped their material for propaganda purposes?"

"Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir.

"The CHAIRMAN. Against business and against industry as a class?"

"Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir; and against the Government.

"The CHAIRMAN (incredulously). Against the Government itself?"

"Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir."

Mr. Henry Alsberg, who acknowledged a bowing acquaintance with Lenin but told the Dies Committee that he does not know how he got his job nor who recommended him, was national Director of the Writers Project.

Further light was thrown on the true situation when Chairman Dies asked:

"Then I understand you to say that the officials of the Department have written back to State headquarters for more material on the Negro question and on Labor troubles, so that, is it correct to say, that those in charge here in Washington have invited propaganda for the purpose of stirring up strife between capital and labor and between the races?"

"Yes, sir!" asserted Mrs. LAZELL.

So much for Commonwealth's Mr. Coy.

One of the most influential jobs of all went to Miss Hilda Smith, a member of Commonwealth's Board and close friend and almost constant week-end guest of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. Miss Smith was named National Director of the Workers' Education Project. And, she did a good job, too—a good job for Communism.

Her first task was to train teachers for workers' education. She did it with the help of instructors from the Communist Workers' Schools and the Socialist Rand School. She also prepared a manual which was published with government funds. The title reads: "BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND OTHER MATERIALS recommended for Libraries of Training Centers for Workers' Education, and Teachers of Workers' Education." This Government document recommends the "Daily Worker," official organ of the Communist Party; "Labor Action," organ of the Trotskyite Communists; "Workers' Age," organ of Communist Party (left); and also other Communist and Socialist books and pamphlets.

In recommending the booklet, "For Revolution," by V. F. Calverton, *this* United States Government document, says:

"The task which confronts us is not to avert revolution, but to hasten it."

Among the teachers, to mention just a few, were Walter and Victor Reuther, CIO sit-down strike leaders, who coined the slogan "Carry on the Fight for a Soviet America," and James H. Dolsen, an admitted Communist whose membership card was made out in the name of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Dolsen is a cousin of Earl Browder, head of the Communist party, but he was on the government payroll as a teacher in workers' education just the same—either in spite of this relationship, or because of it.

An investigation of these schools conducted by the Federal Grand Jury Association produced a report which declares:

"Convincing evidence has been brought to our attention that public funds . . . were used to pay adults \$8 a week to be taught Commun-

ism and subversive doctrines. We understand that there are some 20,000 such students . . . scattered throughout the country and that the graduates were to become instructors and leaders in activities intended to bring about the overthrow of our government."

Accordingly, there are plenty of teachers now, and they'll do a good Fifth Column job because, according to this report, these government-trained instructors in "workers' education" were taught:

"How to foment a strike.

"How to take over the industries of the United States, especially the munitions plants.

"How to bring about the general strike, and then seize and operate the plants.

"How to overthrow the United States Government and establish a Soviet Union."

About a year ago, James Dombrowski and Myles Horton of the Highlander Folk School arranged a three-day conference to spread this "workers' education" throughout the South. The conference was held in the International Ladies Garment Workers Hall in Chattanooga, Tennessee. The principal attraction and guiding spirit of the conference was Miss Hilda Smith. Dr. H. Clarence Nixon, Executive Secretary of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, also took a leading part in the proceedings.

The Committee on Workers' Education, composed of representatives of CIO groups, and the Southern Summer School were joint sponsors of the conference along with Highlander Folk School. The "Southern Summer School", strange as it may seem, has its offices at 437 West 59th Street, New York City.

With all this help in extending her workers' education program Hilda Smith is doing a service for the Communist cause that Commonwealth can well boast of.

It should be noted here that these Red Fifth Columnists from Commonwealth College, who somehow were appointed to good Government jobs, were paid with "relief" funds. It may and it may not be a coincidence that a financial supporter of Commonwealth, Aubrey Williams, was Deputy WPA Administrator and later Acting Administrator during this period. He now heads the National Youth Administration.

But seeing to it that these flaming Reds received nice fat Government checks was not all that Aubrey did for the "cause." To cap the climax Mr. Williams arranged to provide this Communist College with a Government subsidy—at the taxpayers' expense.

Ten days ago the following item was printed in the Birmingham (Ala.) Age-Herald:

with the size the fact is the same.

ANARCHY IS LAID TO LABOR COLLEGE

MENA, Ark., Sept. 20—(P)—Deputy Prosecutor J. F. Quillin disclosed late Friday that he had filed a formal charge of anarchy against Commonwealth College, widely known labor school located near here, and had impounded the college's records, correspondence, and literature.

Quillin said the charge was filed against the college as a corporation, and the warrant of arrest served on Nathan Oser, college director. The deputy prosecutor said the charge was based on the allegation that the school disseminated propaganda "with the intent to encourage and advocate overthrowing the present government of the state of Arkansas and the United States of America by violence and other unlawful means."

Quillin said his investigation at the college disclosed that Ralph Field, Communist candidate for governor, who is seeking by mandamus action at Little Rock to obtain a place on the Arkansas general election ballot, was instructor in economics for Commonwealth, and maintained his home on the college property.

Three days went by and another dispatch appeared:

in the greatest

COLLEGE FACING NEW ACCUSATIONS

MENA, Ark., Sept. 23—(P)—Deputy Prosecutor J. F. Quillin said Monday that he had filed two additional charges of displaying an unlawful emblem and of failure of displaying the American flag against Commonwealth College, widely known labor school near here.

The prosecutor said the "unlawful emblem" mentioned in the charge was the hammer and sickle of Russia which he claimed to have found embedded in some of the school buildings.

The Nashville (Tenn.) Banner, on September 25, 1940 carried the final story:

College Is Fined For Anarchy, Using 'Illegal Emblem'

Mena, Ark., Sept. 25—(P)—Up-holding the state's contention that a hammer-and-sickle emblem was illegal, Justice of Peace Clem Brown fined Commonwealth College, widely known labor school near here, \$2,500 yesterday on charges of anarchy, displaying an "illegal emblem," and failure to display the United States Flag. The charges are misdemeanors.

The fine was assessed "in absentia" when school representatives walked out of the trial after the justice denied a change of venue motion on technicalities.

A little fine won't worry Commonwealth or the Fifth Column or interfere with its drive to take over the South. Commonwealth has many supporters and it also raises funds collectively with its co-Communist institution, Highlander Folk School. They have the *right kind* of sponsorship. One joint advertisement which appeared in Left publications was a real tear-jerker. It would have softened a heart of stone and brought forth genuine sympathy for the plight of the poor South.

"All through the South," says the ad in part, "mass tragedy involving millions of men, women and children is being enacted . . . feudalism and peonage . . . organization is the first step." Then came a plea for funds.

Illustrated with the usual "ailing baby" pictures, the ad features a statement by Vice Presidential Candidate Henry Wallace who once wrote praise of Lenin, Mussolini and Hitler. The quotation reads:

"I have never seen among any peasantry of Europe poverty so abject as that which exists from Arkansas on to the east coast."

The poor South!

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 23, 1940

My dear Mr. Dombrowski:

Mrs. Roosevelt asked me to acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 13th, and to send you this check which she is very glad to contribute to the scholarship fund of the Highlander Folk School.

Very sincerely yours,

Malvina C. Thompson
Secretary to
Mrs. Roosevelt

Mr. James Dombrowski
c/o Highlander Folk School
Monteagle
Tennessee

EXHIBIT "B"

Highlander Folk School got a "bad break." Unlike Commonwealth it did not get a direct Government subsidy. No! the possibility was not overlooked. An application was made for \$7,000 of Government funds, but somebody slipped up.

Instead of going to Aubrey Williams' office the application reached the White House, presumably because Mrs. Roosevelt was a patron. It was then referred to the Relief Administrator for the district who was probably expected to OK it as a formality.

This particular Government official, however, happened to be a conscientious executive and a good American, and, after making a first-hand investigation wrote the President a personal report. He declared that the request for Government funds was "the height of impudence" and that *the school actually trained young people for specific overt acts against American society and institutions.*

The report cited the names of supporters, together with extracts from teachings at the school. Instances were given of unions enrolling members for training in picketing and violence. Mention was also made that certain unions sent organizers to take a course in sit-down strike technique.

To make a long story, short, Highlander didn't get the money. At least, not out of this particular public till.

But Mrs. Roosevelt, a contributor since 1932, continued her support. Her latest contribution was a donation toward the establishment of a scholarship fund for which she sent a check for \$100.00, to James Dombrowsky on April 23rd, 1940. (A reproduction of her letter on White House stationery is printed on the opposite page, while a facsimile of her check appears on the inside front cover of this booklet.)

In an indirect way the National Youth Administration and WPA also gave Highlander a little help. NYA funds were used to pay more mature students to take care of children in Highlander's nursery school, while WPA funds met the expense of providing food.

Then, too, William Buttrick, who conducts classes in Communism, was placed on the Government payroll in an NYA job. Buttrick is a graduate of New York's Communist training school, Brookwood Labor College, and was a former instructor at Commonwealth. Ques-

tioned about his beliefs and Highlander's educational endeavors he said defensively: "A man has a right to be a Communist, if he wants to."

Highlander, according to its original prospectus, was organized "to use education specifically as one instrument to build a new social order." Its carefully stated purpose is "to educate farmers and industrial workers for the cooperative commonwealth." A Communist society can well be described as a cooperative commonwealth.

This technically proper phraseology isn't fooling anybody, except, perhaps, Mrs. Roosevelt. Everyone who comes in contact with the school recognizes it for what it is . . . a training center for Communist agitators . . . a fountain head of propaganda for revolution.

The American Legion has been fighting Highlander as a subversive enterprise since 1935. Gerald Foley, President of the Tennessee Federation of Labor, has publicly branded it as "Communistic," while The Nashville Tennessean, one of the South's leading newspapers on October 15th, 1939, after a thorough investigation, declared:

"It is a center, if not the center for the spreading of Communist doctrine in 13 Southeastern States."

"I am greatly interested in what you are doing for it is a much needed work," said Mrs. Roosevelt when she met with the students and staff members of Highlander at a supper they tendered her at Chattanooga's Ross Hotel, last April. She was accompanied by Dr. Frank Graham, once a board member of Soviet Russia's State University of Moscow summer school for training American students in Communism. Also in the party were Gardner Jackson, former government official lately involved in a plot to smear the Dies Committee and previously exposed as having been a regular contributor to a Communist organization; and Kathryn Lewis, daughter of John L. Lewis, who recently sided openly with the Communist faction in the New York CIO convention.

Myles Horton, a University of Chicago graduate and one of the founders, hails Highlander as affording "an opportunity to direct the American revolutionary tradition towards a cooperative [Communist] society operated by and for the workers." Horton is the present Director of the school, although he spends part of his time as a CIO organizer.

Other incorporators were Elizabeth Hawes, one of the busiest agitators for the CIO's Textile Workers' Organizing Committee; Malcolm Chisholm, a WPA illustrator of children's books who was one of 543 WPA teachers who volunteered to fight for Communism in the late Spanish War; and James Dombrowsky, one of the original "South-savers" arrested in Elizabethton, Tennessee, during the Communist led strike in 1929.

Dombrowsky is an ordained minister who graduated from Union Theological Seminary in New York in 1931. In the following year on returning from Russia he had a little trouble with the United States Customs over some Soviet posters he was bringing into the country. The Government said they were "seditious."

When Highlander was established in 1932 there were three other figures, behind the scenes, who played a most important part in its founding. They were the Rev. Charles Webber and the Rev. Reinhold Niebuhr, both of Union Theological Seminary, and Dr. George S. Counts of Columbia University, all connected with the National Religion and Labor Foundation. All three of them, likewise, are outstanding leaders in the Communist-Socialist Revolutionary movement.

In telling about its regular staff of instructors, who invariably do double duty as CIO organizers, Highlander boasts, in an advertisement, "they will be assisted by labor and government officials who will lecture and lead discussions." On its imposing list of visiting lecturers are Allan Haywood, Director, CIO; Joseph Gelders, Dr. H. C. Nixon and Howard Lee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; Robert Hall, Communist organizer for the South with headquarters at Birmingham; Frank Coffee, of the Social Security Board; Nick Zonarich, president, Aluminum Workers of America; Dr. J. H. Daves, of the Tennessee Valley Authority; Mike Smith, Organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Stewart Meacham of the National Labor Relations Board; Joe Dobbs, Director, Textile Workers Organizing Committee; Yelverton Cowherd, Southern CIO Director, J. H. Butler, President, Southern Tenant Farmers Union; Lucy Randolph Mason, Southern Publicity Director, CIO; Esther Gelders, of the National Youth Administration, and Agnes Sailer, of 1929 Communist strike fame in North Carolina.

Yelverton Cowherd, Joe Gelders and Joe Dobbs, in addition to conducting lecture classes, have written for textbooks used at the school.

At the Knoxville convention of the CIO, held May 25, 1940, a most significant resolution was passed. It reads in part:

"Whereas the aim of the Highlander Folk School is to aid in the fight for complete political and economic democracy in the South, and

"Whereas the school conducts a year round educational, recreational and organizational program made up of six weeks residence terms, institutes and conferences, and field work with unions, and

"Whereas teachers and a number of former students are organizers and officials of CIO unions . . .

"Therefore be it resolved that this organization endorse the aims and program of the Highland Folk School."

A majority of the students in the spring term this year had their expenses paid by CIO unions. Among the sponsors were the International Ladies Garment Workers, the Textile Workers Union, American Newspaper Guild, United Automobile Workers, American Communications Ass'n, United Mine Workers, Office and Professional Workers Union, Textile Workers Organizing Committee, Transport Workers Union, Laundry Workers, Maritime Union and the Workers Alliance.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers has not only financed the greatest number of students but just recently its entire staff of Southern organizers met at the school for a sort of post-graduate course.

Of the above unions the Amalgamated and the Garment Workers were branded as subversive by the Lusk Committee of the New York State Legislature, while the Dies Committee listed 5 of them as Communist "front" organizations or "transmission belts" for Communism.

Members of the Highlander staff are forever on the go. They can be found in every part of the South, usually wherever there is trouble. The whole staff and student body has even traveled hundreds of miles to participate in a strike, to march on the picket line, to give direction and encouragement; all for a two-fold purpose, to gain experience and to win new recruits for the Communist "cause."

This past summer Director Horton led the discussions at conferences of YWCA leaders at Camp Merrie Woods in North Carolina. This month, October, a "Workers Education Conference" for Industrial "Y" Secretaries was to be held at Highlander.

To supplement their regular courses of instruction, special weekend sessions are held every now and then for 50 students at a time. Classes are also conducted by visiting instructors in CIO halls and churches in many Southern cities.

Interest is aroused in Highlander and its work by the showing of a propaganda film produced at the school by Frontier Films, a Communist movie outfit. The film is supposed to be, according to a publicity blurb, "a dramatic and inspiring document of the Tennessee mountain and valley people. It shows their struggle with the worn-out bad lands, and the growth of unionization despite tremendous obstacles. It has special reference to the miners, textile workers, and unemployed." However, Myles Horton has admitted that much of it was faked and that it is just propaganda.

Highlander also uses the drama to get its Red message across to the people it is trying to reach. Plays, edited by Ziliphia Horton, and sent throughout the South, treat with the rights of labor from the Communist viewpoint, oppression by capitalism in the best Marxian tradition, and in the main advocate strikes and the overthrow of the capitalist (American) system.



Dr. Frank Graham, Myles Horton and Mrs. Roosevelt

The two plays which are being most widely used at the moment are "South of the Ballot," which "deals with the poll tax situation," and "Gumbo," which depicts "racial and anti-union discrimination."

Mrs. Horton, wife of the Director, is a graduate of the Communists' New Theatre School in New York. She travels constantly, coaching and producing, with a little agitatin' in between. She is on CIO's Textile Workers Organizing Committee payroll as an organizer.

From July 15th to 28th, last, a "Writers Workshop" for student writers was conducted at Highlander jointly with the Communists' League of American Writers. One of the instructors was James Dugan, an editor of the Communist "New Masses" and a writer on the staff of the magazine "Friday," a currently popular Red "rag" which follows the Communist party line, and which was financed with some \$2,000,000 by its editor, a wealthy New Yorker with Communist sympathies who also subsidized the Southern News Almanac to the tune of \$25,000 to save it last Winter. Simon & Schuster, New York publishers of many Leftist tomes, supplied one scholarship.

A "Highlander Work Camp" was established on the school property in August for young workers, farmers and students between the ages of 18 and 24 "to help young people understand the world of today." Co-sponsor is an outfit called "Work Camps for America," whose Secretary, Dr. Richard Gothe, is directing the camp. Highlander's instructor in Communism is educational director. Mrs. Roosevelt and Dr. Frank Graham are "advisors." Dr. Gothe is being paid by the American Youth Commission. "Work Camps for America" has offices at 2 West 64th St., New York City.

For boys and girls under 18 years of age Highlander has a "Junior Union Camp" where the youngsters are taught to "make (strike) posters, put on skits (ridiculing the American system), and living newspaper plays (originated by the Communists), and learn and sing union (see "page 16") songs."

The entire program at Highlander has been such a success so far and the agitative and organizing prospects in the immediate future look so promising that plans are being made to build a \$20,000 addition to the school.

Grundy County, Tennessee, in which Highlander is located, is being used as a "proving ground" in which to test the effectiveness of the radical techniques taught at the school. Highlander faculty members went so far as to organize units of the Communist-controlled Workers' Alliance among WPA workers in their own and two adjoining counties. They then called a sit-down strike against the Government, just to show their students how it is done. They also organized the farmers and workers and elected their own slate of candidates, including the Sheriff. Their political power enabled them to take over a public school for use as a Highlander annex in which a Red nursery school was housed.

An investigator for the Nashville Tennessean reported, last year, that "the results of Highlander School work is shown clearly today. Practically anyone of any age in the County can discuss the troubles of capitalism and the advantages of some new philosophy such as Communism."

"What chance have any of us," the investigator was told in substance by every WPA worker, miner or hod carrier he talked to. "We are going to have to reorganize. We are going to have the workers run things," they declared. "We are educating our children along the lines advocated by the Highlander group. We are going to see that they know about Communism, Socialism and other things," they told him, he said.

In announcing the nursery school for children in January, 1939, the school's newspaper "Highlander Fling" explained it was established "in the hope that the effort adults put into their unions and *other undertakings* may become a habit in the very beginning in the play of the children."

These children are taught not only to play games that inculcate un-American ideas but they learn to sing anti-American songs, as well. As an example, on page 23 of the song book, prepared by students of Highlander, is an old tune with new words. Written by Don West, one of the founders of the school, it follows:

"My country tis of thee,
Land of mass misery,
Of this I sing.
Land where the workers toil,
And bosses reap their spoil,
Where children starve and freeze,
From fall till spring."

Myles Horton believes in using songs as a means to an end. "Ideas of revolt," he says, "run through many of the songs . . . many strike songs are as class-conscious as the writings of Karl Marx, and much simpler."

Although page 16 is the most thumbed page in the song book it is not listed in the index. Every other page number is there. Just 16 is missing. But there's a song on page 16 just the same. It is the "Internationale", the Communist theme song.

What a way to hide their Communism! They're so clever, these "Russians."

Naturally, there are some good Americans in Tennessee who resent this kind of un-Americanism to the point where they want to do something drastic about it. Many threats have been made, and the school has been warned to move elsewhere, but so far nothing has happened, and there's a reason.

One good patriot, G. C. Partin, a former school teacher at Monteagle, the nearest town, when questioned about the school became highly indignant as he told his story.

"It's Red all right," he said. Then he added: "Some of us here in Monteagle wrote the Federal Government protesting the school, and they wrote back—that is, the U. S. Department of Education—saying that the Highlander Folk School was Christian Socialist, and for us to leave it alone."

Up at the school there are sneers and jeers for those "unenlightened" loyal Americans who protest.

In a most unique way, both faculty and students show their contempt. They intend to stay! They will *not* move! The song books are passed about. A lusty refrain is heard. They are singing a song which appears on page 24:

"We shall not be, we shall not be moved.
"We shall not be, we shall not be moved.
"The government is behind us,
"We shall not be moved.
"The government is behind us,
"We shall not be moved."

EXHIBIT "C"

With grim determination the Communist campaign has been growing underground and in secret while, at the same time, each succeeding surface activity has been bolder and more defiant of tradition and custom and even contemptuous of established law.

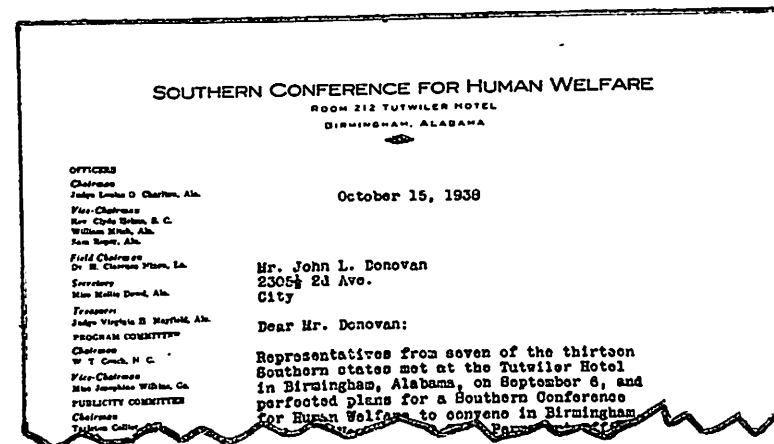
It is not usual that Communist power is openly demonstrated. Most of the time, Communist identity is submerged behind some movement or organization which finds ready public acceptance. That was the situation when the Communists promoted the "Southern Conference for Human Welfare" two years ago.

Three Communists were primarily responsible for the whole set-up. Another non-card-carrying Communist who claims to be a "Democrat" did a lot of work. Two Government officials with their eyes wide open gave invaluable assistance. A sixth person provided enthusiasm and action and served as the principal "front."

Paul Crouch, Walter M. Trumbull and John Donovan were the Communist conspirators and their hard working Communist-label-shy "Comrade" was Joe Gelders. All of these fellows operated behind the scenes.

Aubrey Williams, protege of Mrs. Roosevelt and head of the National Youth Administration, gave Communist Donovan a nice friendly letter of introduction when he came to Birmingham, where the "Conference" was promoted. Dated September 29th, 1938, it said in part: "I regard him very highly and have found that he usually knows what he is talking about." Williams also made the facilities of his Government agency available to help put the conference over.

Mrs. Louise O. Charlton, United States Commissioner at Birmingham, was used as "window dressing." She served as Chairman while the "Conference" was being organized, but knew so little about what was going on that she sent a formal invitation to "Comrade" Donovan "to do active work." She knew, however, that Donovan was the National Representative of the Communist-controlled Workers Alliance, and it was in this capacity that he spoke at the "Conference." She was of course in complete sympathy with everything that went on.



Miss Molly Dowd, national board member of the Women's Trade Union League, an organization very near and dear to Mrs. Roosevelt's heart, served as Secretary of the "Conference" and handled the details.

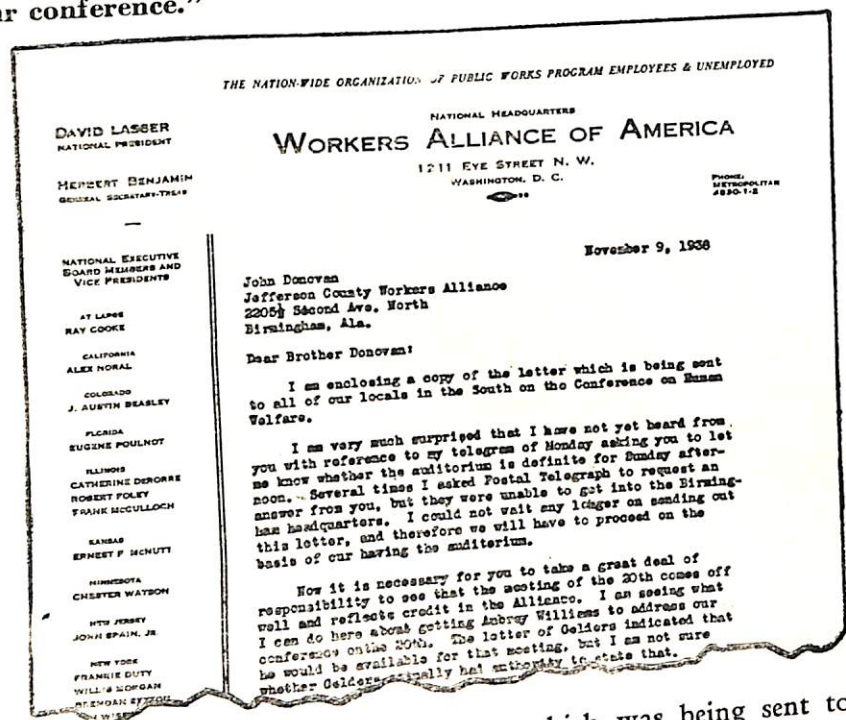
It should be recalled that the Women's Trade Union League, according to a document seized by Government agents in 1922, was considered as part of the open and legal machinery of the then illegal Communist Party of America.

Trumbull and Crouch also will be remembered as the two men who organized the first Communist unit in the United States Army when they were stationed at Hawaii. After serving prison terms for their treasonable activities, they were highly honored by the Communists. Today they are both men of importance in the Party. Their headquarters are at Birmingham where Crouch edits *The New South*, official Communist organ. George Pershing, the Gastonia agitator of 1929, is associate editor and feature writer.

Robert Minor, one of the three leading Communists in America, refers to Trumbull as the future "Commandant of the American Soviet Republic Army and Navy," while Crouch has been rewarded by Moscow with the title of "Professor of Military Sciences and Tactics for the Communist Party of the World, U. S. Branch."

These are only a few of the details of the records of the promoters of this "Southern Conference for Human Welfare." And, they were capable promoters. So cleverly was the conference organized that, but for a few alert citizens who resented some of the things that happened, the Communists might have put over a first class piece of propaganda.

Of course these local luminaries were not altogether on their own. They received their orders from New York and Washington, if not from Moscow. For example in the letter from David Lasser, head of the Workers Alliance, to Donovan, which is partially reproduced below, Lasser gave detailed instructions as to just what was to be done. He also explained what he was doing to assure the success of what he called "our conference."



A copy of a mimeographed letter which was being sent to all Alliance locals in the South was enclosed. In this document Lasser said "it is very important that the Workers Alliance be well represented." He instructed his locals "to send car-loads or truck-loads of people" to the "Conference," which probably accounted for the well attended meetings.

Lasser advised Donovan that he would personally see about having Aubrey Williams attend despite the fact that "Gelders indicated that he would be available." Lasser also suggested the number and type of speakers to be secured. He wanted speakers "representing responsible organizations." He also advised a caucus of his own people after the opening session "to decide about further plans for the policy at the conference."

"Remember," Lasser concluded, "it is extremely important that this should come off successfully,"

Lasser's letter definitely disclosed the fact that Aubrey Williams was working hand-in-glove with the Communist promoters, and that he did his part was proven by the attendance of a large number of Government officials and employees who came to the conference on federal pay and federal expense accounts.

At the conference were charts, displays and photo lay-outs, prepared at the expense of WPA, all of which pictured the South as an area which must be made over—completely reconstructed. This was one point of irritation to loyal Southerners.

A major controversy arose, however, over the attempt of Negro and white delegates to ignore the local segregation law. When the police insisted that the law be obeyed Mrs. Roosevelt, who was in attendance, politely demanded that enforcement of the law be held in abeyance while the "Conference" was in session. Her request was ignored and the "Conference" was moved to the First Methodist Church on assurance that the Jim Crow ordinance did not apply to churches.

Mrs. Charlton denounced race segregation and told the delegates "in obeying the law we do so with regret."

Aside from the celebrities, numbered among the speakers were John B. Davis, head of the Communists' National Negro Congress, Howard Kester, of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, who demanded that the land be restored to the people, Miss Elizabeth Christman, Secretary-Treasurer of the Women's Trade Union League, Mary McLeod Bethune, Negro assistant to Aubrey Williams, and Claude Williams, former executive of the Religion and Labor Foundation and President of Commonwealth College, who said: "This conference will be of historic significance. It will make this country realize that economic and political barriers between whites and Negroes must be broken."

When George N. Reynolds, of Chicago, a Rosenwald Fund executive, advocated a reduction in the number of farmers as a solution to the farm tenancy problem and to this end advocated teaching birth control in rural areas, and after Aubrey Williams averred that he wasn't so sure that the class war wasn't all right, the fat was in the fire for fair.

By the time the "Conference" got around to passing resolutions denouncing the Birmingham segregation (Jim Crow) law and resolving to hold no further meetings in cities where such laws are in effect, demanding abolition of poll tax laws, denouncing the Dies Committee, and demanding the release of the five Scottsboro boys, Birmingham was up in arms.

In high indignation the Alabama Council of Women's Democratic Clubs called a mass meeting and passed a resolution which said in part:

"We express our contempt for the left-wing agitators who are responsible for the actions taken and record the fact that this was not a conference of Southern people representing the South, but of interlopers with ideas, purposes and designs inimical to Southern traditions and entirely foreign to the South's peace, happiness, well-being and progress . . ."

Further, the resolution set out that:

". . . the anonymous sponsors of the conference, hiding behind certain citizens of the South, including a number of Federal officeholders of this region, deceived our people as to the real origin of the conference and as to its real purpose, it now being clearly apparent from the conference proceedings that it was conceived and directed by scheming left-wing politicians connected with the National Administration, and professional radical agitators, some of whom have hitherto demonstrated their Communistic tendencies, and that its main objective was to provide a springboard for subtle left-wing propoganda, and for a sinister attack upon Southern ideals and traditions."

A few days later the Birmingham City Commission met to pass a resolution which contained the phrase:

"It is sufficiently apparent from developments that the real object of the conference was a left-wing movement, financed in whole or in part by Communists and extensively aided by WPA and other federal employees . . ."

Formally the Commission asked the question: "What part did Aubrey Williams, head of the NYA, have in organizing this conference, formulating the program, and developing the personnel attending?"

The Commissioners also wanted to know if the International Labor Defense was a Communist organization. It is! They wanted to know, too, if this same I. L. D. had solicited the Negroes of Birmingham for contributions to pay expenses of the delegates. It had!

Not only that, the Negroes who contributed were told that the "Conference," with the backing of the Federal Administration, would take a stand for "full rights for Negroes in the South, including voting privileges." Another promise was that something would be done for the Scottsboro boys.

A good bit of money was also raised by Joe Gelders in the north and the east, and it is interesting to speculate how successful he was in Washington, where he was an overnight guest at the White House.

Mrs. Roosevelt's friend, Dr. Frank Graham, Moscow University board member, was elected Chairman of the Conference at the final

session, while Gelders became Secretary of a Civil Rights Committee and Director of the anti-poll tax drive.

Joe's activities in this latter connection, back in June, caused the Tuscaloosa (Ala.) News to editorialize as follows:

"The public has been asked by certain officials to assist in ferreting out 'Fifth Column' activities in America. The Tuscaloosa News is glad to contribute its part.

"As our first contribution, we suggest to the authorities that they go to the very seat of the American government—to Washington.

"This week we received a letter from a woman who signed her name as secretary to Joe Gelders. Joe Gelders is the foremost Communist in Alabama today.

"Joe Gelders and his activities are doing as much to undermine this country as any average Nazi agent in America. And yet where do you suppose his secretary's letter came from? It came from the House Office Building in Washington!

"We pass on this tip, free of charge. We think that the government authorities should thank us for informing them that an avowed radical, holding no government office that we know of, has been able to set himself up in the House Office Building in Washington.

"What most of all we now desire to know is whether the government pays his secretary's salary."

Just last month Gelders, Malcolm Cotton Dobbs, and Gerald Harris, a member of the Board of Directors of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, were arrested at Birmingham on "suspicion of vagrancy" charges. (Harris and Dobbs are executives of the Communist dominated American Youth Congress.) Telegrams of protest were immediately dispatched to Secretary Henry Wallace and Attorney General Jackson by friends of the jailed trio.

On August 21st the New York Post published the following dispatch: "The Department of Justice today revealed that it was investigating reports that three prominent Southern liberals, two of them friends of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt had been arrested . . . Dobbs and Gelders have worked closely with Mrs. Roosevelt in Southern welfare activities . . . At least one federal official close to the White House protested to Birmingham authorities."

Gelders has a "good thing" in Mrs. Roosevelt's friendship. His wife Esther Gelders is a high-salaried official of the National Youth Administration. Despite the fact that Government employees are supposedly barred from participation, they have a nice home in the Cahaba Resettlement project, where Joe makes practical use of his influence by getting as much as three months behind in his rent. His

daughter is going to college on an NYA scholarship—at the taxpayers' expense—and at exclusive Radcliffe if you please.

In the intervening period the Southern Conference for Human Welfare has been most active in sponsoring regional conferences and in setting up a committee or state council in every Southern state. In the Tennessee committee the moving spirit is Myles Horton, Director of Highlander Folk School, who, by the way, was one of the signers of the original call for the "Conference."

A permanent Youth Council was set up, too, under the leadership of Howard Lee of Atlanta, a Deputy Administrator, National Youth Administration, delegate from the Communist controlled American Students Union, American Youth Congress executive and now a lecturer at Highlander. Appointed to assist him were Edward Strong of the Communists' Negro Youth Congress, and Mary Jeane McKay of the American Youth Congress.

This year the Southern Conference elected a new Chairman. He is the Rev. John B. Thompson, former instructor at Highlander.

Early in September Mr. Thompson was again honored by being elected Chairman of the American Peace Mobilization, the Communist "front" which is taking the place of the notorious League for Peace and Democracy. The Vice Chairmen elected to serve with him were Paul Robeson, "American" Negro baritone who became a Soviet citizen, Reid Roibnson, Vice Chairman of the CIO, Jack McMichael, Chairman of the American Youth Congress, and Vito Marcantonio, President of the Communists' International Labor Defense.

In his new capacity Rev. Thompson is committed to follow the Communist Party "line" by obstructing the national defense program in every possible way. That's what a Fifth Column is supposed to do—sabotage defense—undermine and weaken the government from within.

For two years the Southern Conference for Human Welfare has been building its forces and extending its influence—now, the Communists, through their stooge the Rev. Mr. Thompson, will use the organization and the prestige given it by dupes on the government payroll and others of prominence, to their own ends.

Here is the Fifth Column in the South, *in action*.

EXHIBIT "D"

Early in June, 1940, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt attended a little luncheon in the Rainbow Room, atop New York's famous Rockefeller Center. It was held under the auspices of the Open Door, a propaganda travel bureau affiliated with Intourist, the official Soviet agency, which was raided not so long ago by Mr. Hoover's G-Men.

Here, in the most expensive dining room in New York, as they nibbled dainty two dollar luncheons, an assorted group of Leftist teachers and social workers made their plans to discover just how "poor" the South really is.

As a result of this confab, a representative county in the South provided five intensive weeks of study for a group from Teachers' College, Columbia University, which is, without question, the reddist academic plague spot in the whole United States.

Next the School of Education, New York University, which is second on any list of red-tinged educational institutions, joined the program. They would "save the South," too. They would conduct a seminar—that's a fancy word which means that the experts are going to take a look and decide what's wrong, and what's to be done about it. Their investigation was made in the Tennessee Valley. Then, it was arranged that another group of students from Antioch College, which also has a fine, red reputation, would go down South also. For three weeks they did their prying into the private life of a typical Alabama textile town.

After having helped to develop such a comprehensive program, Mrs. Roosevelt must have had a deep feeling of satisfaction over the service rendered her friends in the South.

Of course, while these groups conducted their "investigations," they felt in duty bound to explain to all and sundry what is wrong with the American system and why a "new social order" is necessary and inevitable. For these are the kind of people who are determined that America must be made over, and it appears that they want to begin with the South.

Actually New York is just full of "South savers." It would be an impossible task to list them all. Some idea can be had, however,

as to just what the situation is by looking over the organizations located in just one office building, which are engaged in Southern propaganda or organization activity. At 112 East 19th Street are the offices of the Scottsboro Defense Committee, Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief, Writers' Anti-War Bureau, Workers' Defense League, Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, Joint Committee to aid the Herndon Defense, Kentucky Miners Defense Committee, Campaign for Youths Needs, League for Industrial Democracy, and "National Sharecroppers Week."

Each year New York's leading radicals put on a money raising drive during "National Sharecroppers Week." "**Your contribution is an investment in building a free, awakened South!**" is the slogan used. Its sponsors are men like Howard Kester, instructor at Highlander Folk School, and on the National Committee of the Religion and Labor Foundation; Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union, who says "Communism is the goal;" and Robert Morss Lovett, President Roosevelt's Secretary of the Virgin Islands, who has done more for the cause of Communism in America than any average dozen of Joe Stalin's best agitators.

"Have you seen their faces?" starts off a begging letter. "Have you heard their story of poverty, peonage and terror from their own lips?" In conclusion gullible New Yorkers are assured that "you are helping to alleviate the plight of America's Disinherited and are striking a blow at the rule of lynch rope and violence which prevails in so many parts of the South."

Other saviours proceed in another way. During July and August a group of youngsters calling themselves "The Caravan Puppeteers" have been touring the state of Alabama giving shows in the rural areas. This enterprise was financed by the notorious American Youth Congress, and is conducted in cooperation with the Communists' Southern Negro Congress.

The announced purpose was to point out the reasons Negro youth should oppose the present mobilization toward war. Their repertoire includes skits on the problems of Negro farmers and the supposed direct effect of the war on their living conditions. Another skit relates "the manner in which the poll tax disfranchises some four million Negroes and six million whites and tells of the **Right to Vote** campaign" being conducted by the Southern Negro Congress.

In reporting to Communist headquarters the Puppeteers declared: "The rural areas visited provided no amusement facilities at all for Negroes . . . These people have no schools above the sixth grade . . . Another of the gravest ills is that people have never had the right to vote and the children are growing up not knowing of such right . . .

These communities have no libraries at all." This later statement was followed up with a plea that books and other reading matter be made available through the Southern Negro Youth Congress.

Apparently this initial effort was successful to the point where the use of the drama as a propaganda medium in the South warranted attention in a big way. The net result was that the Communists' New Theatre League, which is the American section of the International Revolutionary Theatres, got its collective head together and decided to do something about it.

Accordingly on October 21, 1940 a Southern New Theatre School will open at Mena, Arkansas, on the grounds of Commonwealth College. Ruth Deacon, for the past five years organizer of the Philadelphia New Theatre is the Executive Secretary in charge. Maurice Clark of New York will be the Director. Clark was an executive of the Federal Theatre Project, which was abolished by Congress because of its Communist propaganda activities.

Plans are also being considered for opening a winter headquarters of the school in New Orleans.

Among the sponsors are leading Communist poets and playwrights William Kozlenko, Alfred Kreymborg, Clifford Odets, the Negro Langston Hughes, Albert Bein, Samuel Ornitz, Mordecai Gorelik, Marc Blitzstein; CIO organizers Donald Henderson and William Senter; Negro preacher Owen Whitfield and the Rev. John Thompson of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Miss Deacon explained it was decided to organize this propaganda drama training institute "when one of the farmers, after seeing an American Youth Congress puppet show, set about making a puppet for himself with which he could entertain his neighbors, and express their ideas about the poll tax, the war-mongering, the terrorism of fifth columnists."

"We have become aware of the need and desire of the people of the south," said this Red Philadelphian. "Here, in the south, theatre means far more than entertainment. It is a method of expression, **of organization**. It is a teacher and **an organizer**."

Present plans call for plays to be presented at the school theatre, then toured through the southern states. The students are to plan and manage these tours, and organize the audiences for them under the supervision of seasoned and experienced Communist propagandists.

"If the school is to help the people of the south," Comrade Deacon declared, "the majority of its students must come from the south. The people of the south want and need a school such as ours."

But, whether they want it or not—they are going to *get* it!
The poor South!

EXHIBIT "E"

John L. Lewis, current hero of the Communists, and Sidney Hillman, Moscow's little white-haired boy for these many years, have declared a new total war on Southern industry to supplement the Communist Party's Fifth Column assault of long standing.

From the United Mine Workers headquarters in Pittsburgh and from the Steel Workers Organizing Committee offices in Chicago, the orders have gone forth that picked CIO organizers are to descend upon Southern communities where there are unorganized workers. These organizers will bring the "blessings" of collective bargaining and the "check-off"—that painless method of milking dues from pay envelopes—to Southern workers.

The Textile Workers Organizing Committee, headed by Hillman, has also started a drive the like of which this country has never before experienced. Although two previous campaigns bogged down and fizzled out this time the Red Labor Czars intend to carry through, cost what it may. The money they are spending isn't their money anyway, and there's more where that came from—and besides, this time the Communist Fifth Column in the South is better organized and is giving much more effective cooperation.

In the latter part of May, 1940, Sidney Hillman's very own Amalgamated Clothing Workers—he's the president—gave positive proof of their serious intentions when they voted \$1,000,000 to organize 100,000 workers in the Southern shirt and cotton garment trades. Just imagine a million dollars of workers' dues being spent at \$10 a head for new members. It was also announced that the union was ready to spend several million dollars, if necessary, to achieve their organization's objectives.

And, they've got it. Over \$5,000,000 in the bank.

Aside from the financial picture, Sidney Hillman is in a perfect position to bring official pressure to bear, if that should prove necessary. It is only a few months ago that Sidney was appointed by President Roosevelt as a member of the National Defense Council. His principal job is to work with Secretary Perkins of the Department of Labor.

Madam Perkins may be expected to accept any of Sidney's suggestions with respect to "helping" the South. She is an old pioneer at feeling sorry for the South. Remember, just a few years ago, how she lamented over her own idiotic idea that Southerners couldn't afford to buy shoes? "A social revolution can take place if you put shoes on the people of the South," she said. The mere fact that she has since discovered her error has not dampened her ardor for "a social revolution", of some kind. Her open sympathy for the CIO at the height of the sit-down strikes and her brazen coddling of Communist Harry Bridges are positive indications that she'll give all possible help to Lewis and Hillman and Browder in anything they may decide to do to impose themselves on the Southern people.

That the Communists and the CIO will work together in the coming months is a foregone conclusion. They have worked together. They are working together. They will continue to work together—principally because their programs are parallel and their goal is identical. They both crave power. The Communists want political power; the CIO, industrial power.

More than that, Lewis has been going farther to the Left with each passing day.

Here are the Communists' immediate objectives:

1. **More members—A Southern Organizing Campaign.**
2. **Unity of Negro and White Workers.**
3. **Abolish Southern Poll Tax.**

That is the program of Highlander Folk School

That is the program of the Conference for Human Welfare

That is the program of Commonwealth College

That is the program of the National Negro Congress

That is the program of the CIO.

Text Of CIO Resolutions

Among the many resolutions passed by the Congress of Industrial Organization at its convention in Pittsburgh last week were three of special importance to Negroes. Added significance was given to them because they were introduced and supported by white delegates from the South. The three resolutions are reproduced below.

1.—Unity of Negro and White Workers

WHEREAS, Employers constantly seek to split one group of workers from another, and thus to deprive them of their full economic strength by arousing prejudices based on race, creed, color or nationality, and one of the most frequent weapons used by employers to accomplish this end is to create false conflicts between Negro and white workers; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the CIO hereby pledges itself to uncompromising opposition to any form of discrimination, whether political or economic, based upon race, color, creed or nationality.

Orleans N.A.A.C.P. To Install Officers

NEW ORLEANS, La., Nov. 23.—Recently-elected officers of the 105th branch N.A.A.C.P. will hold their installation of officers program at the Autoeart Club on Monday, November 23. Father James J. Furlong will be principal speaker, and Dr. William Stuart

2.—Southern Organizing Campaign

WHEREAS, Substantial beginnings in the organization of labor on an industrial basis in Southern States have already been made by the CIO in textile, coal, the maritime industries and many other fields. Nevertheless, the main task of opening many communities in such States to unionism and the firm establishment of civil liberties and the rights of labor in such communities has yet to be accomplished, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the executive officers of the CIO are hereby requested to call a conference in the near future, and at such time as they deem advantageous, of representatives of all organizations affiliated with the CIO interested in organization in the South for the purpose of laying plans for and launching a joint campaign of organization in these areas.

Nelson, president of Dillard University, will officiate at the installation.

Following the program, an informal banquet will be held. Officials of the N.A.A.C.P. extend a cordial invitation to the public.

3.—Southern Poll Tax

WHEREAS: (1) In certain States the Republican form of government which is guaranteed to American citizens by the Constitution of the United States has been denied to great sections of the working population by means of the cumulative poll tax and by registration and voting requirements discriminatory in themselves or discriminatorily applied against racial and economic groups; and

(2) The disfranchised people of such States, being deprived of their vote, are without means to alleviate their condition; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the CIO favors the enactment of appropriate legislation founded upon relevant provisions of the Constitution of the United States, and upon financial assistance now being accorded by the Federal Government to the governments of the States by grants in aid and otherwise, preventing the imposition of such restrictions on the right of any American citizen to participate in federal, State, county and municipal elections without hindrance by virtue of race or economic condition.

Photostat of publicity in the Pittsburgh Courier, Negro newspaper, during CIO Convention.

Let no one be deceived into believing that any organizing drive under Hillman's direction will be purely and simply an attempt to unionize workers. Just look at past history. Since he came to this country from Russia in 1907, he has been doing his best to bring a "workers' government," through the promotion of the class war. Back in 1914, he became so outspoken in his revolutionary agitation that he was expelled from the American Federation of Labor.

In 1921, Hillman sent William Z. Foster, now Chairman of the Communist Party, to Moscow to represent his union at the Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions.

Foster returned from Russia well supplied with "Moscow gold," and proceeded, with Hillman's assistance, to set up the Trade Union Educational League which later became the Trade Union Unity League embracing some 50 Red national unions. In 1935, on instructions from the Profintern in Moscow, this organization was dumped into the A. F. of L. to form the nucleus for the creation of the CIO.

Hillman's assistance to Foster was rewarded with a cablegram from Rykoff in which he, on behalf of Lenin, expressed the satisfaction of the Soviet government for Hillman's cooperation.

Hillman was a Director of the Garland Fund which contributed some two million dollars to Communist, Socialist, Anarchist and I.W.W. organizations and enterprises. He was a member of the I.W.W. Defense Committee. His Amalgamated Clothing Workers contributed funds to Communist Russia, to Red Spain, and to the Communist Party of America.

The preamble to the constitution of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is a revolutionary document which says "Class consciousness will put the organized working class in actual control of the system of production and the working class will then be ready to take possession of it."

Just now Hillman has four jobs. He is a member of the President's National Defense Council. He is a Vice Chairman of the CIO. He is President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. And he is in charge of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee's invasion of the South.

It is certain, with a million dollars being spent in the Southern drive, that Sidney will give considerable of his attention to this campaign. The Communists think it is quite important. In their official organ they say:

"The present drive of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee of the CIO promises to be the greatest progressive movement in the South since Reconstruction . . .

"Taking into consideration the relationship between the Southern proletariat and the predominantly agrarian economy of the South, it is important that the message of the T.W.O.C. be conveyed through the radio and other means to the Southern people as a whole and to the rural poor in particular.

"Also the unions should begin to advance demands, legislative and otherwise, in the interest of the farmers. Only thus can we begin to move the Southern countryside along with the proletariat."

Who do you think is WE?

EXHIBIT "F"

"It must be pointed out to the white masses of the South that Reconstruction, when the Negro freedmen and poor white masses of the South stepped forward to take their place in the government, was the most democratic period the South has ever seen. That period witnessed a popular mass storm that swept through the foul atmosphere of the South and for a few brief years cleared the air.

"This, the true interpretation of Reconstruction, and 'Carpet-Bag rule,' as the essential carrier of democratic development in the South, must be salvaged from the garbage heap of filth and slime to which it has been relegated by reactionary historians. It must be brought home to the Southern masses."

The quotations above, taken from directives in an official Communist document outlining the Red campaign to establish a People's Front in the South, are typical of the general tenor of the whole Communist strategy. In bringing the argument up-to-date the instructions continue:

"In the exposure of the Southern reactionaries, Communists, especially our white Southern comrades, must point out how these people 'protect' Southern white womanhood by enslaving them in the textile mills and sweatshops of the South; how they 'defend' the interests of the Southern masses by foisting upon the workers wage differentials. . .

"The Southern white Communists must show how these agents of the Southern Bourbons, in order to perpetuate the division between Negro and white, preach 'Anglo-Saxon racial purity,' while clandestinely violating Negro womanhood, procreating a whole population of illegitimate and disinherited mulatto children. . .

"They must constantly point out to the Southern white masses that their poverty, backwardness, and degradation are but by-products of the national oppression of the Negro people, that without the solution of this fundamental problem the real liberation of the white masses of the South cannot be achieved."

The Communists, of course, have already decided what to do about the Negro question. They would establish a Soviet Negro Re-

public in the 'Black belt.' An official Communist declaration on the subject reads:

"There are 12,000,000 Negroes in the United States. About 9½ million live in the SOUTH. There is a stretch of land running from the eastern shore of Maryland down into Texas through 12 states and embracing about 397 counties in which the Negroes form the majority of the population. This is the homeland of the Negroes.

"The governments and armed forces of the white ruling class **MUST BE REMOVED** from this Black Belt, *which by right belongs* to the Negroes, and must be organized as a distinct political unit. *The Negro majority must have full governmental control. It is where today they have begun to battle.* The land should be divided among Negro farmers, croppers and tenants.

"Full economic, political and social equality should be guaranteed for NEGROES in every section of the country. We, therefore, say to the Negro people: **VIOLATE** the Jim Crow rules. The Communist Party is the only party in America that has actually introduced **NEGRO EQUALITY**. Freedom must be fought for—and this fight cannot wait. It is literally a life and death struggle—**THIS MEANS CIVIL WAR.**"

In the last week of April, 1940, the Communist-controlled National Negro Congress, after hearing John L. Lewis pledge his aid, elected Dr. Max Yergan, a teacher at the New York Communist school, as president, and launched an immediate campaign to increase its strength in the South.

The Congress also decided to affiliate with Labor's Non-Partisan League, the political wing of the CIO, and passed a resolution declaring the Negro people would not fight against Russia in a war between the United States and the Soviet Union.

As soon as the convention was over the only Negro member of Congress, Representative Arthur W. Mitchell of Illinois, made a speech on the floor of the house in which he said:

"Subversive influences are at work among the Negroes. Communists are trying to disrupt the good feelings between the two races in this country. Designing white men are trying to use the Negro as a tool against the government."

Mr. Mitchell denounced such efforts, along with the resolution of the National Negro Congress which said Negroes would not fight against Russia. He concluded:

"I wish to go on record as thoroughly disapproving the appeal made to the Negro at this National Negro Congress by the labor leader, John L. Lewis. It is my opinion that John L. Lewis is the most dangerous, outstanding leader in America today, and it is his desire to change our form of government and to establish a dictatorship in America."

An official Red organ, "The Communist," a few years ago said: "Our Party has been close to the Negro people of the South, and has advanced demands dear to the hearts of the Negro people. We must now begin to advance a program which will bring us as close to the masses of Southern whites. . .

"Are we to scoff at Southern pride? Under no conditions. We must rally that pride for the building up of the South. The present poverty, ignorance and exploitation of the South violently contradict this pride. We must stand for a prosperous and progressive South which will take its place in social well-being, educational opportunity, etc., on a plane of equality with the rest of the nation. . .

"These are demands near to the hearts of the Southern people."

In line with this stated policy Communist leaders and organizers have been making all kinds of impressive and fantastic promises to win recruits. And they have been making headway, not because their arguments were sound, but partially on account of their close association with the CIO unions, and mainly because they received practically no opposition.

One Communist pamphlet which has been having a rather remarkable circulation makes grandiose promises through forty-five pages, and finally on page forty-six says:

"We have only indicated some of the possibilities. Still greater ones would unfold in a Soviet America. This much is important and certain: with the overthrow of the landlord-capitalist power and the establishment of the Soviet Negro Republic, the *most backward section* of the United States would develop into an advanced, wealthy area."

Yes, they mean the South. And, they're still promising:

"New, modern school buildings will arise by the thousands . . . Technical schools and universities will become a southern product. We think it entirely safe to predict that the public school system in all its branches will develop at a rate in the South exceeding any previous records in the history of American capitalism . . .

"President Roosevelt's present estate in Georgia and the other resorts of the millionaires can be turned into sanitoria, hospitals, clubs, etc. Palm Beach can become the haven of tired workers and toiling farmers. All the best spots and resorts of the present ruling class can become rest homes for the masses.

"This is only a mere peep into the vista of a glorious future for the masses . . . We must begin now—begin by organizing, by preparing our forces in our daily struggles to improve our conditions, by learning 'to take over'."

That is the objective of the Fifth Column.

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To "take over" the South!!

To "take over" America!!!

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