

HARRY BRIDGES

How The Communists Control Our Shipping

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■ **THOUGH PRESIDENT JOHNSON** is forever declaring that America must "build bridges of understanding" with the Communists, one does not have to look toward the Iron Curtain to find Communist Bridges. We have one of our very own whose activities in behalf of the International Communist Conspiracy have spanned the waters of three decades. The fact is that Harry Bridges, the President of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union—one of the most powerful men in America—has been identified as a Communist in sworn testimony by some thirty-five witnesses, including his first wife.

Today Harry Bridges exerts iron-fisted control over shipping from Anchorage to Acapulco to Honolulu. Besides holding a razor at the throat of our Far East defenses, there is strong evidence to suggest that through agreements with other Communist union leaders he can simultaneously tie up shipping throughout all of the Orient,

Europe, and possibly even our own Atlantic and Gulf ports. Yet the government has been unsuccessful in five attempts to deport the man, and many claim that he has now become the very model of the mellowing Communist. Besides, they say, he is the grand old man of the Westcoast union movement, sort of a Paladian elder statesman of labor.

I

ALFRED RENTON "Harry" Bridges—who has used the aliases Dorgan, Rossi, Dergan, and Durgan in the Communist Party—was born in 1901 at Melbourne, Australia, the son of a prosperous real estate agent.* At the age of eighteen, after devouring Jack London's tales of the sea (and socialism), young 'Arry shipped out as an ordinary seaman and soon found himself in bawdy San Francisco. Either Bridges couldn't find his sea legs or he found Baghdad by the Bay captivating. In either event, after a few more trips to sea, he forsook life on the bounding main for a livelihood bouncing cargo on the San Francisco docks. There he joined the I.W.W.-affiliated Marine Transport Workers Union, and later became an organizer for the A.F. of L.'s International Longshoremen's Association (I.L.A.).

One morning in October of 1933 a

* The Communist Press prefers the fiction that Bridges' father was a "worker." We assume he worked, but his business was real estate.

† On January 8, 1939, Bridges led a San Francisco parade to celebrate the release of Tom Mooney, the famous I.W.W. Communist and murderer.

Communist Party organizer named John Schomaker, Bridges, and a Communist named Bruce Jones sat in a restaurant sipping coffee. Schomaker, who later left the Party, told a jury at Bridges' trial for fraud and conspiracy in 1950 that after some preliminary niceties he asked the young Australian: "When are you going to join the Party, Harry?" Schomaker testified under oath that



Manning Johnson identified Bridges as a top Red.

"Bridges acted kind of coy for a few minutes, but finally he signed up under the name Harry Dorgan, using his mother's maiden name." John Schomaker then described in detail to the court how on two occasions he personally picked up Bridges' annually expiring Party card and issued a current one, of often seeing Bridges pay his Party dues, and of attending meetings with Bridges and other Communist Party officials.

In May of 1934, Communist Harry Bridges was ready to move in a big way. He went over the heads of his bosses in the A.F. of L. and called a strike on the San Francisco waterfront. The dis-

pute on the docks soon spread to ships in the harbor as the Communists succeeded in maneuvering seamen of 750 vessels to cooperate in a strike under the auspices of the Communist-dominated Marine Workers Industrial Union.

Every Communist agency operative in the area was soon brought in to help with Harry's strike. The International Labor Defense, to provide legal aid for the strikers; the International Workers' Aid, a Moscow agency, to organize relief and feed the strikers; and even the Communist *Worker's World*, to help with the propaganda—all jumped into the fray to aid Comrade Harry. With these groups came a trained army of Communist propagandists, toughs, and organizers. The strike was soon spreading to other ports as the Bolsheviks' dream of a General Strike began to become reality. Communist-led strikers now battled police with rocks, planks, and iron pipes. The class war was on in 'Frisco and it was all Harry's show.

By summer, top Communist organizers like Roy Hudson, William Dunne, Jack Stachel, and even Party Chairman Earl Browder were in the Bay area throwing gasoline on the fire. On July fifth the Communists attacked police in front of a union hall; the officers were at last forced to defend themselves, and in the ensuing battle fifteen strikers were wounded and two killed. By July fifteenth, on the motion of Harry Bridges, the General Strike became official and over 125,000 workers responded to the call, turning an economically thriving San Francisco into a dead city over night. From that time on, Harry Bridges was the hero of the Communist Press.

Benjamin Gitlow, the former General Secretary of the Communist Party, called the San Francisco General Strike of 1934 a "success beyond the wildest expectations of the Party..." Jack Stachel, the Communist Party's top union

specialist, wrote in the issue of the *Communist* for November of 1934: "The strike proved that it is not only possible for Communists to organize a main struggle in the A.F. of L. union, but that it is possible to win the struggle."

With the settling of the strike late in July of 1934, Communist Harry Bridges emerged as the recognized leader of the labor movement on the Pacific Coast. He served as President of the local I.L.A. from 1934 to 1936, was elected Pacific Coast President of the I.L.A. in 1936, and soon became a member of the A.F. of L. Executive Committee and then A.F. of L. Vice President for the State of California.

A 1936-1937 wildcat strike in defiance of his superiors in the A.F. of L. finally cooked his seagull with the old Gompers group, causing Bridges to form his own organization, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (I.L.W.U.) which soon affiliated with the fledgling C.I.O. Bridges became State Director of the C.I.O. in 1937, a post which he held for over a decade.*

A sample handful of Communist organizations with which Harry Bridges associated includes *The Waterfront Worker*, International Labor Defense, *The Western Worker*, American League Against War and Fascism, Friends of the Soviet Union, International Workers Order, and the Congress of Soviet-American Friendship. He turned his strikes on and off like a spigot, depending on Moscow's strategy of the moment. During the time of the infamous Hitler-Stalin Pact he was denouncing World War II as a "British Imperialist War," and it was he who coined the phrase, "The Yanks Are Not Coming," which became the byword of every Communist Front organization of the period. While Hitler's Panzer di-

visions were over-running France, Bridges was actively creating chaos and strikes in an attempt to disrupt America's defense preparation. Then it happened. Suddenly Hitler loosed his legions on his Communist partners. The next day Harry Bridges' "British Imperialist War" became a holy war; in fact it became "the people's war against fascism," and woe be unto the



Schomaker testified he issued Bridges' Party card.

Union member who talked of a strike now that it was Mother Russia whose existence was at stake. Quicker than a "Liberal" can say "The Communists are mellowing," Harry turned into a chauvinist, urging speed-ups on the production lines and demanding a declaration of war.

During the late 1930's and 1940's Harry Bridges was the scourge of Westcoast shipowners; one reason being that, regardless of merit, rulings of the National Labor Relations Board had a peculiar habit of being decided in his favor. It was no accident. Labor Secretary Frances Perkins, a vigorous Bridges admirer, assigned Edwin Smith to be the

* The C.I.O., which had staunchly defended Bridges' activities, finally ousted the I.L.W.U. in 1950 for being dominated by the Communists.

N.L.R.B. man dealing with the I.L.W.U. President. "Bridges was sort of regarded as a hero by these people," David Saposs, former Chief Economist of the N.L.R.B. testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee: "I remember Edwin Smith devoting a lot of time in trying to convince me that Harry Bridges was the greatest labor leader in the United States." Smith, who is now registered with the Attorney General as an agent of Communist China, took the Fifth Amendment when asked if he had ever attended Communist meetings with Bridges and again when queried about his own membership in the Party.

Harry Bridges' union, as you may have guessed, is not an ordinary labor organization. After thorough investigation, the House Committee on Un-American Activities has concluded that Bridges' I.L.W.U. does not devote itself primarily to the matters of the wages and hours and working conditions of its 75,000 members, although, because of the Union's coercive position, these have

improved disproportionately with those of other workers. The Committee says that the members' welfare serves instead as a means whereby a Communist bureaucracy has established a stranglehold over a union's membership — to be utilized for revolutionary political aims — and that Communist objectives and I.L.W.U. resolutions or statements parallel. The House Committee's investigation further showed that Bridges' I.L.W.U. has consistently "acted on questions which have military significance in support of the warlike aims of the Soviet Union."

II

HARRY Bridges' chief assistant is Louis Goldblatt, Secretary-Treasurer of the I.L.W.U., who has on three occasions been identified under oath as a member of the Communist Party. Goldblatt, who used the alias Lewis Miller in both the Young Communist League and the senior Party, is reputed to be Bridges' "braintrust" and may succeed him as I.L.W.U. President when "Arry



Harry Bridges applauds Khrushchev at I.L.W.U. Hall where Mr. K. came to consult the longshore leader.



Bridges toasts Roberts (L.) of American-Russian Institute and Communist Molotov (with cocktail).

the Commie," as he is called, decides to retire. Within recent years the British government expelled Goldblatt as an "international Communist agent" during a British dockworkers' strike.

Another Bridges underling is Communist Archie Brown, who gained national attention in 1959 for his role in the famous San Francisco riots against the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Brown again made headlines in 1965 when the Warren Court ruled un-Constitutional a federal law making it a crime for a Communist to serve as an official of a labor union. Brown had been convicted of serving as a member of the Executive Board of Local 10 of the I.L.W.U. (Bridges' home local) while a Party member and sentenced to six months in prison.

According to the sworn testimony of former top Communist leader Louis Budenz, Bridges in 1938—under orders from Moscow—sent one Jack Hall to Hawaii as a Communist Party organizer to work under the cover of being an I.L.W.U. operative. Hall, who served

as a Party leader and a member of the Executive Board of the Communist Party, recruited dockworkers, the sugar and pineapple workers, and even government employees into the I.L.W.U., making it Hawaii's largest labor union.

Although increased air service and expansion of agriculture since its statehood have somewhat eased the situation, Hawaii is still almost completely dependent upon ocean-borne commerce and must import most of its needs from the Mainland. Virtually its only products, aside from tourism, are sugar and pineapple. Since shipping, sugar, and pineapple are all controlled by the I.L.W.U., Hall's success in organizing the Union has put the economy of Hawaii largely in the hands of a small group of Communists.

U.S. Senate Hearings, conducted to investigate massive Communist activity in that Pacific paradise, revealed that Hall had placed Communists in all of the most strategic positions within the Union, thereby assuring that control of the large membership could be manipu-



Identified Communist Jack Hall of I.L.W.U.

lated by a relative handful of Reds. A Report of the United States Senate, *Scope of Soviet Activity in the U.S.*, disclosed that "By 1955, Communist political and economic control of Hawaii through Communist dominated unions was so great that the official Communist party went out of existence. Since 1955, Communist propaganda and other activities have been conducted through the unions."

In 1953 a federal court convicted Hall, under the Smith Act, for conspiring to overthrow the government by force and violence. But in 1957 a decision of the Warren Court overturned the convictions of Hall and other Communists on grounds that they had merely advocated overthrow of the government without yet committing any overt act to that end. Thus Communists Bridges and Hall continue to maintain their stranglehold over the Islands.

As one citizen of Hawaii testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee: "Jack Hall is probably the most powerful person in this commu-

nity in spite of the fact that he is under conviction of teaching and advocating the overthrow of our government." Following Hall's conviction, a number of testimonial dinners were held for him which were attended by local businessmen and representatives of shipping management. Communism is not only entrenched in power but it has even become respectable in Hawaii. Reverend William S. McBirnie quotes one informed citizen:

There is never a yacht party given by the "Big People" in business and political leadership without some of the prominent Communist labor leaders being invited. State administrators make no important announcements at press conferences without having one of these Communist labor leaders sitting beside them at the meeting. . . . Many of the present generation of important families of the islands have stopped fighting the Reds and have made their peace going so far as to extend social recognition to the Red labor leaders.

The I.L.W.U. has worked tenaciously to make its imprint on every segment of economic, social, and political life in Hawaii. The Union has an intricate system for disseminating propaganda which includes not only the Union newspapers but radio programs, motion pictures, education classes, and mobile libraries. As with these other projects the Union's daily radio programs, broadcast in both English and Filipino, are under the direction of Education Chairman David Thompson, an identified Communist.

After controlling the cork in Hawaii's economic bottleneck, Bridges' boys next moved into politics. Rather than form a third Party the I.L.W.U., working through an officially cited Communist Front called the Territorial Political Action Committee, supports "Liberal"

candidates, either Republican or Democrat, whom it considers useful. On April 5, 1948, Communists gained control of the precinct level of the Democrat Party on Oahu, the island on which Honolulu is located. One month later Communists took charge of the Democratic organization and placed members of the Communist Party in positions of importance at Democratic Headquarters in Honolulu.

Anti-Communist Democrats tried to regain control of their Party by excluding known Communists from membership, but failed in June of 1949 as the Central Committee of the Territorial Democratic Party rejected a resolution which would have required that prospective Democrats swear they are not and have not been Communists.

The Communists scored another major victory when John Burns was elected as a Territorial Delegate to the U.S. Congress in 1956. Although not an identified Communist, Burns has worked closely with Jack Hall for many years. Burns was elected Governor of Hawaii in 1962 and paid off years of political debts to the Communist-dominated I.L.W.U. by appointing Hall to the Hawaii State Maritime Advisory Board. He also appointed numerous other known Communists to positions in the state government and selected as his Administrative Assistant one Edward G. Rhorbough, who was the principal stockholder of the now defunct Communist newspaper, *Honolulu Record*, and who has written for such Communist publications as *New Masses* and *People's World*.

Bridges-backed candidates now hold the major elective offices in Hawaii. Republican Neal Blaisdell, supported by the I.L.W.U., has been elected Mayor of Honolulu three times. Democrat Spark Matsunaga elected U.S. Representative in 1962, Democrat Patsy Mink elected U.S. Representative in 1964, Democrat Daniel Inouye elected Sen-

ator in 1962, and Republican Hiram Fong re-elected U.S. Senator in 1964, were all supported by the Communist-dominated I.L.W.U. In the case of Republican Fong, his Democrat opponent was at first given the I.L.W.U.'s support. But, the Union has such enormous power as "the swing vote" in Hawaii that Fong soon made his peace with the Communists. On October 24, 1963, Communist Jeff Kibre, the I.L.W.U. representative in Washington, wrote a letter to Communist Jack Hall explaining why it was in the interest of the I.L.W.U. to back Fong. On June 2, 1964, Jack Hall, with Fong present, publicly endorsed the "Republican."

When will the Red boa constrictor again put the squeeze on Hawaii? Obviously, when the Communists are ready for it. The I.L.W.U. strike of 1949—begun on May Day in concert with strikes by other Communist-dominated dockworkers unions throughout the world—lasted for six months. That strike crippled the economy of the Islands and broke the back of major



Identified Communist Louis Goldblatt of I.L.W.U.

resistance to the Union-Communist combine. Other political strikes have included the walkout of sugar workers in 1950 after Bridges was convicted of fraud and conspiracy; the twenty-four-hour dockworkers' walkout in September of 1952 (which spread to Pearl Harbor) after an adverse court ruling against Bridges; a walkout in 1953 after Jack Hall's conviction under the Smith Act; and, one in 1956 when the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee arrived in the Islands to conduct Hearings on Communist activity in Hawaii.

Hawaii was the principal staging, replenishing, repair, and communications area for the United States during World War II, and is now the headquarters for our Pacific fleet and area command. It would require an army to keep the state open in the event Bridges' I.L.W.U. should decide to make its move.

III

SINCE the end of World War II, Harry Bridges has not faltered on his commitment to the Kremlin. He was a



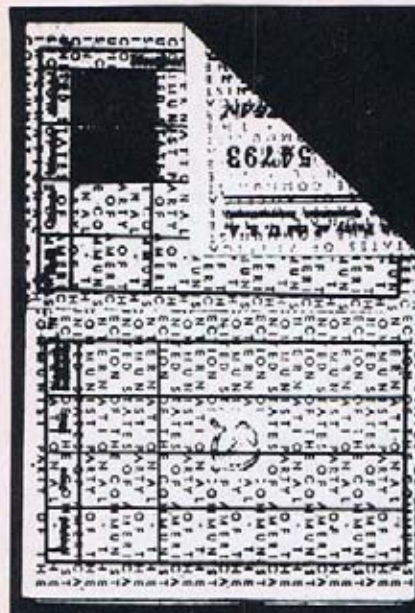
Bridges' first wife testified he was a Communist.

leader in the Communist Front Independent Progressive Party and campaigned vigorously for Henry Wallace in 1948. In November of 1948, a crucial time in the war between the Nationalists and Communists in China, Bridges maneuvered a strike to delay further effective aid to the embattled Chiang Kai-shek. It was in those months that the fall of China was assured. During the Korean "police action" Bridges even joined his comrades in accusing the United States of using "bacteriological warfare."

In 1959 Harry Bridges and his familiar white-capped toughs were active in precipitating the aforementioned San Francisco student riots. Also in 1959, Khrushchev visited Bridges at I.L.W.U. Headquarters in San Francisco in an action widely interpreted as a gesture by the Butcher of the Ukraine to demonstrate his solidarity with American Communists as personified by Harry Bridges. In 1964, Bridges' union hall was the site of the Founding Convention of the Communist W.E.B. DuBois Club, a group in which the offspring of many of Bridges' lieutenants participate. As late as November 25, 1966, the East German Communist publication, *Democratic German Report*, ran an article by Bridges indicating that the longshore boss is still active in promoting Communism wherever possible.

But let's not be dogmatic or closed minded. There is another side of Bridges, the side you can read about in the bevy of paeans that have appeared in such Establishment publications as *Nation* and *New Republic* and *Time*. You see, while Bridges may be the agent of an organization which has put to death over 100 million of your fellow human beings, "Liberals" will point out that he is not all bad. For instance, his Union does have a reputation for being relatively free of racketeers.

A recent issue of *Time* describes the "new" Harry Bridges:



Government-authenticated photostat of Harry Bridges' Communist Party card under alias of "Dorgan."

Although Bridges lives in a modest two bedroom bouse with his third* wife, Noriko, 40, a Nisei, on a salary of \$14,000 a year, he nonetheless basks in the welcomes he receives in such big businessmen's haunts as San Francisco's Commonwealth and Bohemian Clubs.†

* Harry Bridges' first wife divorced him for fathering an illegitimate son by a New York dancer. Bridges vehemently denied the charge—then married the dancer. The first Mrs. Bridges testified in 1950 that Harry threatened to kill her if she exposed him as a Communist.

† While Bridges affects the trappings of frugal living on a comparatively small salary and in a modest house, there is evidence that on at least two occasions he has found a way to pay his bar bill at the Bohemian Club by what old Joe Kennedy might have referred to (after the third round) as "rigging the market." Government investigators recorded the following conversation at a meeting of top Communists in 1951 as the Reds discussed buying the stock of Hawaiian Pine, which produces eighty percent of the world's pineapple: Bridges—"We've just had a seven months strike. That stock's about . . . you're liable to get it around eighteen. That stock must go to twenty or twenty-one. . . . If you're sitting on a pile of dough that you're investing and want to make some on it, this is good. . . . One of these days I'll come around and give you all the inside dope on sugar futures."

Typical of the eulogies heaped upon the "new" Bridges is this one from University of California President Clark Kerr, himself a labor-relations expert of high repute within Liberaldom: "The 1934 Longshoremen were sort of left-overs from society. Men who couldn't find other work. Now they are the aristocrats of labor." The "aristocrats" owe their kingly position to the favoritism shown Bridges by the government, which forced the shipowners to deal with him until management finally threw in the towel after it became apparent they were permanently saddled with a Communist.

Now management has not only learned to live with Bridges, but they say they like him. Stanley Powell, for example, President of the giant Matson Shipping Lines, offers this endorsement: "I don't know how the guy that sat at this desk thirty years ago felt about Bridges, but I know it was a hell of a lot different from the way I feel. I admire his ability to keep his word and get his union to back him up." Some-

day Mr. Powell may have the privilege of admiring the fruits of Bridges' handiwork from the wrong end of a firing squad; but until then, what the hell, let's enjoy a martini together at the Top of the Mark.

Bridges has a contract providing the members of his Union with lucrative pay, job security, retirement benefits, and virtually every conceivable fringe



Bridges' Marxist attorney, Vincent Hollinan.

benefit. In return, he has stopped flagrant featherbedding and allows the shipowners to install all the labor saving equipment they want. The automation permits the owners to unload more rapidly, thereby saving on dock charges which can run \$2,500 a day. While labor costs are still artificially high, the owners feel they are coming out ahead. It's good business for Bridges too, since it solidifies his control over shipping. Besides, he doesn't own the docks. The shipowners, not having done their homework on Communist strategy, don't realize that Communists have a reason for doing what they do.

Bridges' current wave of respectabili-

ty is such that he is fond of citing the fact that he is a registered Republican. While he rocks with the Communists he enrolls with the Republicans. Nevertheless people will tell you, "Why Harry Bridges can't be a Communist; he's a Republican." As Bridges once told a sympathetic reporter, "There are some labels—Communism, socialism, liberalism, and conservatism — that mean something, but Republican and Democrat—those labels don't mean anything."

One recent piece of news does, however, dull Bridges' new image as a mellowed Communist. On June 14, 1966, a fire destroyed the home of James Robertson, an identified Communist and long-time Vice President of Harry Bridges' I.L.W.U. The fire ignited twenty-thousand rounds of ammunition stored in the Robertson basement and destroyed a large supply of arms intended, no doubt, to be used nonviolently. Not atypically, a news blackout shrouded the occurrence from public notice in San Francisco, where neither daily newspaper carried even the wire-service account of the fire.

IV

THE OBVIOUS question is: Why has the government allowed Harry Bridges to jeopardize our national security in view of the mountains of evidence that he has been a top Communist since the early Thirties?

Following the Westcoast General Strike of 1934, there was a clamor to deport the alien Bridges because of his flagrant Communist activities. At that time the Immigration and Naturalization Service was under the Department of Labor, headed by Leftist Frances Perkins. Although deportation action was initiated in 1937, Madam Perkins dragged her feet for over two years until public opinion forced her to act. And act she did, with all the fury of an angry bunny rabbit!

It was announced that Bridges would

be called to appear at a Hearing* to be held by the Immigration Service. Madam Perkins, reportedly after consultation with Eleanor Roosevelt, selected Dean James M. Landis† of the Harvard Law School to preside over the Hearing. Congressman Martin Dies, Chairman of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, commented on the selection of Landis to hear the Bridges affair:

Those in the know in Washington realized the Bridges Hearings were a joke. Mrs. Perkins turned over Heaven and Earth to keep Bridges from being deported and she defended him all the way through from behind the scenes. It was an open secret that she had personally guaranteed him that he would not be deported. When Landis was picked to serve as the Hearing officer, it became obvious to everyone concerned that the whole show was a farce staged to assuage public opinion.

Reader's Digest editor Eugene Lyons wrote of Frances Perkins that she "seemed to live in dread of criticism from the Left. She could take lambastings from the manufacturers' association and enjoy it, but reprimands from the *New Republic* or the *New Masses* hurt her deeply." Although never a Party member, she was putty in their hands and Congressman Dies described her as the very embodiment of the terms, "Communist sympathizer" and "fellow traveler."

* While the Hearing was in a sense a trial, it was not conducted by a court, but by the Immigration Service itself.

† Landis, an important "Liberal," went on to hold high Government position. During the Kennedy Administration he was indicted, as he so quaintly expressed it, for "forgetting" to pay his income tax—for four years. Landis was given a suspended sentence; perhaps because the court felt the former Dean of the Harvard Law School did not fully comprehend the compelling intricacies of our Internal Revenue Code.

A letter to the Department of Labor written at this time by R. P. Bonham, of the Department's Westcoast office, indicates just how powerful Communist Bridges' friends were. Mr. Bonham wrote:

I believe it is proper that I acquaint the central office with the fact that when I interviewed Mr. Bridges some time ago on another matter, he boasted that he had seen the central office files relating to himself and also that he had an excellent "intelligence" organization of his own that kept him well informed of what was going on.

The central office documents in question "disappeared" from the files of the Department of Labor the following month.

Despite all that Frances Perkins could do, and despite the destruction of evidence, the Hearing finally got under way in San Francisco in 1939. Dean Landis was authorized to issue passes



J. R. Robertson's arsenal was burned.



At Immigration Hearing in 1939: Communist Bridges at defense table, Judge Landis at right of the flag.

"as he saw fit" and he saw fit to issue them to Donald Stewart, Ella Winter, and other well known Stalinists—thus assisting in turning the stage show into an uproarious shouting match.

Each of the government's witnesses against Bridges was assailed in the Communist and "Liberal" Press as a despicable, immoral, and psychopathic liar. The terms renegade, labor spy for the Hearst Press, Red baiter, stool pigeon, and others of a more vicious nature were hurled at Benjamin Gitlow, former Secretary of the Communist Party; Joseph Zack, a former top Communist official; Howard Rushmore, a former employee of the *Daily Worker*; Nat Honig, once a close friend and confidant of Communist Party Chairman William Z. Foster; and Harry Lundeberg, Secretary of the Sailors Union of the Pacific. These were all former Communists who testified under oath that they had worked with Bridges inside the Party. The Communist smears against these men were accepted at face value by Landis. A Leftist

booklet of the period by E. E. Ward, published by Modern Age Books which specialized in Stalinoid literature, gloated:

Time and again Bridges had Dean Landis chuckling. . . . By this time Landis and Bridges were chatting as two men would before a fireside. . . . That drew Landis and Bridges off the subject of the Soviet Union. Comrade Bridges then explained to the Harvard professor how much better off Soviet sailors are than their fellow workers in other lands and also described the beauties of civil liberties under Stalin.

As Ward describes it, the trial provided a "gigantic sounding board . . . [and] Bridges literally embraced the opportunity with a wrestlers clutch."*

The verdict surprised nobody, least of

* Appearing as a character witness in behalf of Communist Bridges was Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon. This was before he was kicked in the head by a horse.

all Bridges. Landis, as if on cue, described the testimony of the former Communists as "a morass of prevarication." To Bridges, on the other hand, Dean Landis paid the warmest of compliments for his "fighting *apologia*" from the witness stand. The Dean also voiced the "Liberal's" most cherished platitude, hoary with age even in 1940, that the Communists were mellowing and had forsaken their goal of violent conquest of the world. The Bolshevik Press ooded its praises of Bridges and Landis while Madam Perkins cooed that the Landis decision was "flawless," and that the kindly Harry was the victim of "stool pigeons" and was "innocent of any Red taint."

Congress became so incensed at the handling of the Bridges case that it threatened to impeach Secretary of Labor Perkins, but settled instead for removing the Immigration Service from the Labor Department and putting it under the Justice Department, where in 1941 another attempt was made to deport Bridges. This time the F.B.I. did the investigating (producing thirty-two new witnesses) and the Hearing officer, Judge Charles Sears, ruled that Bridges was a Communist and that the Party advocated the violent overthrow of the government. In 1942 the Board of Immigration Appeals, stuffed with "Liberals" appointed by F.D.R., reversed Judge Sears' decision. Attorney General Francis Biddle then overruled the Appeals Board and ordered Bridges deported.

An American Legion official active in seeking the deportation of Bridges described to me how at this time a close friend of his in the Immigration Service telephoned him to victoriously announce that Bridges was on his way to Australia that afternoon. Several hours later the official called back to say the whole thing was off. A letter had come from the White House ordering that the deportation be held up. The letter

was signed simply "Eleanor."

Bridges appealed to the Supreme Court, which ruled that he had not received a fair Hearing on the question of his membership in the Communist Party. Incredibly, Chief Justice Murphy declared that there "was not the slightest evidence introduced to show that either Bridges or the Communist party seriously threatens to uproot the government by force of violence. . . . The Bridges case," the Chief Justice stated, "would stand forever as a monument to man's intolerance of man." Mr. Justice William O. Douglas, for his part, maintained that Bridges' Communist activities were mainly with the Party's "legitimate objectives." He did not say what those are.

After this "vindication" by the Supreme Court, Harry Bridges moved quickly to take out citizenship papers. His friends inside the federal government had apparently assured him that the Justice Department would not contest his naturalization. Stanley Johnston, the Chief Naturalization Exam-



Judge Sears held Bridges to be a Communist.

iner in the San Francisco District, was approached by a Washington emissary who inquired what his attitude would be if Bridges tried for citizenship. Johnston told the emissary that the files of the San Francisco Office of Immigration showed Bridges to be a Communist and that therefore he felt honor bound to "present all pertinent facts to the court, call all available witnesses, and strongly oppose Bridges' admission to citizenship." After the interview with the man from Washington, Johnston was informed privately by the District Director that by taking this stand he "certainly had not done [himself] any good." Within days Johnston was removed from his key position under orders from Washington and demoted.

The government did not contest Harry Bridges' naturalization. Pat Farrelly, an inspector in the Department of Immigration, wrote to Attorney General Tom Clark shortly after the granting of citizenship to Bridges and stated that he had definite proof of Bridges' Communist Party membership which had been withheld from the Naturalization Court and that he [Farrelly] would turn over the evidence to any authorized representative of the Department. Farrelly received a reply—not from the office of the Attorney General, but from the Deputy Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization (the accused) stating that "all the pertinent evidence in the Bridges case was made known to the judge before Bridges was naturalized." If so, it was done in the Judge's chambers and not in court. And, if the evidence *was* presented, why was Bridges given citizenship? Farrelly, of course, was never contacted for his evidence.

It was not until after the 1948 Presidential elections that a change of attitude occurred within important segments of official Washington. In 1948 a man named John Boyd was appointed Assistant to the Attorney General and

Boyd, it seems, was an anti-Communist. It was during the next few years that most of the cases against Communists were tried, largely because of the unheralded efforts of Mr. Boyd.*

In 1949 the government indicted Harry Bridges and the two witnesses who had testified at his naturalization that Bridges was not a Communist. One of those indicted was James Robertson, the man whose basement arsenal recently burned. Bridges and his cohorts were charged with criminal conspiracy and perjury. Again the government put all new witnesses on the stand and under oath ten of them identified Harry Bridges as a member of the Communist Party. One of the first of these witnesses was John Schomaker, who had issued to Bridges his original card in the Communist Party. Bridges' first wife then produced his Party card and membership book, explaining that he had kept it underneath a loose tile in their bathroom and that it was issued in the name of Dorgan, Bridges' mother's maiden name. Manning Johnson, a former top Communist labor official and member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, testified at this trial that he had heard Bridges address a Communist National Committee in 1936, and that in 1938 he had voted to re-elect Bridges (under the alias of Rossi) to the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A. This election was confirmed by Paul Crouch who had also been a top operative and officer in the Communist Party.

On December 12, 1949, the case threatened to involve Eleanor Roosevelt. In cross examining witness Kermit Krolek, the defense (mind you, *the defense*) brought up a letter to his brother-

* The Immigration Service Officer who provided this information also reports that a few months after Eisenhower's election the point was made to the various government agencies that it was no longer politically expedient to go after the Communists and such prosecutions came to an untimely halt.



Identified Communist Harry Bridges beams over news that he is free on a technicality.

in-law from Eleanor Roosevelt condemning Krolek for his "treachery" in disclosing to the F.B.I. that Bridges was a Communist. The prosecutor, an ambitious and politically active Democrat, dropped the issue like a hot potato. The full story is that Krolek had defected from the Party and been questioned by the F.B.I. His brother-in-law, Mervyn Rathborne, who was still in the Party (but later defected and testified against Bridges), called on him within a few days of the time he had given the information to the F.B.I. and read Krolek the riot act for being a "stool pigeon." Krolek denied that he had talked to the F.B.I., whereupon Rathborne produced a photostat of the F.B.I. report of their conversation with Krolek. Rathborne told Krolek he had gotten the report from Eleanor Roosevelt.

So tight was the government's case against Bridges that one day the Communist leader lost control on the witness stand and shouted: "Where are they getting all these questions?" Bridges' attorney—Vincent Hallinan,

the self-professed Marxist whose sons helped to found the Communist W.E.B. DuBois Club—had to hastily call for a recess. Hallinan, in 1952 a candidate for President of the United States on the ticket of the Communist Front Independent Progressive Party, was ordered to jail on charges of contempt of court resulting from his antics in trying to shake the government's case.

The court convicted Bridges on two counts—that he committed perjury when at his naturalization Hearing he swore that he had never been a member of the Communist Party, and that he conspired with his co-defendants to deny his Party membership. After the verdict was rendered, co-defendant Henry Schmidt shouted, "If Franklin D. Roosevelt was still alive, we wouldn't be here!"

Naturally Bridges appealed the decision to the Supreme Court—and again, as it has a peculiar habit of doing, the Court saved the kindly Communists from our un-American internal security laws; anyway that's the way *Nation*

magazine tells the story. The Supreme Court ruled that the statute of limitations had expired before the government indicted Bridges. Some involved in the case at the time believe the government deliberately let the statute of limitations expire; others say the prosecution thought the government was on firm ground since Congress had extended the statute of limitations on criminal acts which had occurred during war-time. The Supreme Court ruled that Congress did not mean *this* type of case—which was odd, since Congress had not written any such limitations into the law. "Liberals" prattle that Bridges was cleared by the Supreme Court. This is absurd since Bridges escaped jail and/or deportation on an obviously manufactured technicality.

In 1955, the government made yet another attempt to deport Harry Bridges; this time in a civil action involving fraud, in which there is no statute of limitations. Five former Communists swore that they knew Bridges in the Party, but Judge Louis Goodman ruled in favor of Bridges. Goodman, like Landis, held that former Communists were unreliable witnesses. Significantly, the government made no appeal, giving up all attempts to deport 'Arry the Commie.

V

ANY STUDY of Communist strategy for controlling the sea lanes of the world discloses why the Communist Conspiracy devoted such enormous effort, pulling every possible string, marshaling every conceivable propaganda resource, to protect and preserve Harry Bridges for both his strategic and symbolic values. Communists have always been especially eager to control the waterfronts and world shipping. General Dwight Eisenhower explained the reason: "You will not find it difficult to prove that battles, campaigns and even wars have been won or lost merely

because of logistics."

The Communists' theory is that you don't have to kill the whole body in order to execute the victim; you can throttle him at the throat. And that throat is transportation. As Lenin commanded his revolutionaries:

... find that particular link in the chain which one must grasp with all one's might to hold the whole chain. For the Communist that particular link today is the transport industry whereby a comparative insignificant number of Communists operating within a mass trade union movement in a strategic industry like the transport industry hope to be able, at the appropriate time, to immobilize the workers in the entire industry, paralyze it, and thereby paralyze the economy. Grievances can always be claimed as justification for violation of contracts.

In testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, former Communist John Lautner disclosed that after 1945 the Communist Party had decided to concentrate its infiltration policies on transportation. Could anything be more expedient than for Harry Bridges to keep his bargains with the shipowners so long as he has his hands around their throats while awaiting "the appropriate time"?

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee recently investigated a proposed alliance of transportation unions which would put Harry Bridges in the driver's seat over all American transportation. Bridges wants a joint termination date for all new contracts on the West, East, and Gulf Coasts. If this proposal should be effectuated, it would make possible a General Strike of all American ports. Meanwhile, Bridges has sent two of his Communist organizers, Irving Velson and Steve Nelson, to try to establish a foothold in the East

and Gulf ports. These efforts have thus far been relatively unsuccessful. Apparently the dockworkers in those areas have a better nose for Communists than do their counterparts on the Pacific Coast.

Another segment of the proposed transportation alliance involves James Hoffa of the Teamsters Union, who has made it clear that he has no qualms about working with Harry Bridges. In discussing the alliance, Bridges has noted that "If the teamsters and the two dock unions got together, they'd represent more economic power than the combined AFL-CIO. They are so concentrated, an economic squeeze can be exerted that puts any employer in a pretty tough spot; and, furthermore, puts the U.S. Government in a tough spot."

You'd better believe it!

Is the transportation alliance an already accomplished fact? Doubters will point to the facts that Hoffa is on his way to jail for a prolonged vacation, and that Joseph Curran of the Eastcoast National Maritime Union has a reputation for being anti-Communist. Recanted Communist Party leader Benjamin Gitlow sheds some light on Curran:

The National Maritime Union was organized by the money and efforts of the Communist Party in Moscow, and was recognized as a Communist union. It's President, Joseph Curran . . . for years bolstered up the Communist Party machine in the organization. He fought those who fought the Communists. . . . But when the Communist general staff tried to maneuver Harry Bridges into a position where he would become the kingpin on the waterfront of the Atlantic as well as the Pacific Coast, Curran resented the move, fought back and broke with the Communists.

It might be argued that Hoffa will run the Teamsters from his cell and that, since Curran's break with Communism was one of expediency, he might reunite out of expediency. We probably will not know until the arrival of what Lenin called "the appropriate time." That the alliance has been formalized is, however, indicated by the following conclusion from a recent Report of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee:

The terms of the alliance between the Teamsters' Union, the ILWU, the ILA and the NMU have not been made public and are shrouded in secrecy. . . . It is a definite menace to our national security, both economically and militarily.

Still, Harry Bridges is not content with having only the American transport unions under Communist coordination and domination. In 1958, the I.L.W.U. chief traveled to England, France, Italy, Holland, Israel, Commu-



In this hat no one can tell we're related.

nist Europe, and the Soviet Union to reach agreements for concerted action to tie up shipping throughout the world when "the appropriate time" comes. Bridges met with Communist and pro-Communist union leaders including Agostine Novella, the Communist Party labor chief who has worked diligently to try to dislodge N.A.T.O. from Italy. Novella was soon promoted to head the Communist World Federation of Trade Unions and is now in charge of coordinating Communist-dominated unions in Western Europe.

A year later, Bridges and Jack Hall attended the first All Pacific and Asian Dock Workers' Trade Union Conference in Japan. The Japanese Government denounced the Conference as Communist-sponsored and it was boycotted by the free trade unions of Japan. The 1961 Annual Report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities describes the Conference in these terms:

Its apparent purpose was to unite under Communist control and in the service of the Kremlin all the dockworkers' unions of the Pacific-Asian area so that when the time came these unions could coordinate strikes, sabotage and similar activities to assist the Kremlin in undermining the defense of the free world.

It might be added that the supposedly mellowed Bridges has already boasted to the House Committee on Un-American Activities that in the event of war in the Far East he will do all in his power to impede shipments and supplies going to our troops and allies. The fact

that Bridges has not yet stopped the shipments to Vietnam suggests that in reality the Communists are quite happy to have us waste our blood and billions in that futile, no-win war while Bridges plays the role of "elder statesman" waiting for "the appropriate time."

Please remember that Harry Bridges is exclusively the creature of the federal government: The Wagner and Norris-LaGuardia Acts assure him a coercive monopoly and force the shipowners to negotiate with him; the Supreme Court has issued numerous decisions to protect him; and the Executive, after dubious efforts at deportation, has decided to ignore him. Longshoreman Harry Bridges, the forgotten Communist, will doubtless be with us until he retires.

Rest assured that the Reds will go to any extent to preserve their hold over the I.L.W.U., and that upon retiring Bridges will appoint his successor. Meanwhile, it is obvious to everyone, particularly to those business people who must deal with him, that the government will do nothing about the situation. If the government tolerates Bridges, why wouldn't the shipping lines work with him? They feel they have no other choice. Their ho-hum casualness about the man who sits with a poised scalpel at America's jugular is but a product of "peaceful coexistence" at the local level—working as it was designed to work by the strategists in the Kremlin. To the boys in Moscow there is no "new" Harry Bridges: He is the same Communist they have had under ideological and effective discipline since he joined the Communist Party back in 1933. ■ ■

CRACKER BARREL

■ EAGLE ROCK—Only yesterday Pat Brown was warning people against voting for actors. And now he's telling the Democrats they ought to nominate Gregory Peck for something right away.

■ EAGLE ROCK—Things wouldn't be so bad if my wife didn't keep buying the large economy size of everything at the supermarket. I can't get her to go for the small expensive packages we can afford.

—JACK MOFFITT