

Does anybody believe that
This just stopped happening?

SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE IN TH EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

Bill U. ...

- 1953 -

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

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FIRST SESSION

ON

SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCE IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

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PART 3

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*Dr. Dodd was head of
Communist Party (U.S.A.)
Education Division
prior to leaving
the Party. (1949)*

the party that I actually saw the things which are abhorrent not only to decent people but to anyone who has any feelings for his fellowman.

Mr. MORRIS. However, your break with the Communist Party did not become formal until 1949, did it, Dr. Dodd?

Dr. DODD. It became formal when they told me you couldn't get out of the Communist Party; you had to be expelled. So I was expelled on June 19, 1949.

Mr. MORRIS. Subsequent to that time, however, your thinking and your outlook was such that you would not, for instance, have given testimony before a tribunal such as this committee for many years later; is that right?

Dr. DODD. It takes you a long time to become a Communist, and it takes you an equally long time to unbecome a Communist. Your thinking processes become sort of a reflex action. It takes a conscious struggle with yourself and an understanding of what Communism is in order to disentangle yourself.

Also, you have to find a doctrine, since Communism is an all-embracing philosophy which embraces everything you do, which determines the kind of marriage you have, your relations with your children, your relationship to your community, your relationship with your profession. It decides and makes decisions for you. Once you are out of it you are left in a vacuum. Until you find something which is a comparable all-embracing philosophy, you are going to be at loose ends.

Mr. MORRIS. You completely left the Communist Party in 1949, and since that time you have been practicing law in New York City; is that right, Dr. Dodd?

Dr. DODD. Right.

Mr. MORRIS. Dr. Dodd, since you last testified, we have had testimony from a man named John Lautner. Do you know John Lautner?

Dr. DODD. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. That a person named Tina Ludins, who was a teacher in the Evander Childs High School in New York City, had been a leader of a move by the Communist Party in late 1949 and early 1950 to organize 500 Communist teachers into an underground, the plan for which had been imported from Europe by the leaders of the Communist Party. Dr. Lautner testified that Miss Ludins was one of the teachers who had aided him in that work.

Last week this committee brought Miss Ludins down and presented her with that evidence and gave her an opportunity to deny it. Instead of denying it or affirming the evidence, she invoked her privilege against incrimination. She said she would not be a witness against herself on that and many other questions.

I wonder if you could tell us, Dr. Dodd, whether or not you knew Tina Ludins while you were in the Communist organization and the Communist periphery?

Dr. DODD. Yes, I knew Tina Ludins. She was a teacher. I didn't know her too well. I didn't know her as a teacher. I knew her as a Communist member of the coordinating committee of the Communist teachers of New York City. She represented one of the boroughs, I have forgotten now whether Manhattan or the Bronx. She was one of the 5 or 6 members of the coordinating committee of the Communist Party of teachers.

She came into rapid favor after the 1945 convention of the Communist Party. From time to time after I left the Teacher's Union, I would go back to the teachers' coordinating committee to help them with their interparty struggle. There was always some problem going on, some struggles going on, in the rivalries between various Communist leaders which we could not allow to explode publicly. From time to time, when they had problems, I was called back to help them iron out their problems. On one such occasion, I sat in with Tina Ludins and the other members of the Communist coordinating committee of the Teachers' Union.

Later on, I knew that Tina Ludins had been assigned actually the chairmanship of this coordinating committee of the Communist teachers of New York.

Mr. MORRIS. So there could be no doubt that she was one of the leading members of the Communist teaching apparatus in New York, to your knowledge?

Dr. DODD. No doubt.

Mr. MORRIS. Dr. Dodd, during the war, during World War II, could you tell us anything about the attitude of the Communist Party toward service in the armed services?

Dr. DODD. The Communist Party basically—of course, Marxism-Leninism states that you can't achieve peace as long as there is a capitalist country left. In other words, war and revolution are going to be the fate of man until the Communists have taken over the entire world. But for countries in which they are yet not in power, the general line always is opposition to military training, except at certain periods. During the World War II period when the Soviet Union was attacked, immediately we had to make a change from antimilitary training to a promilitary training. We had to do this with the youth, we had to do it with the teachers, we had to do it with some of our trade union young people. There was discussion on this question because many of the Communists had almost imbibed the pacifist ideology on the question of war. They had run so many picket lines against war during the 1939-41 period—

Mr. MORRIS. Why was the Communist Party pacifist during that period?

Dr. DODD. Because of the Soviet-Nazi pact which was in existence.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, because of the alliance of the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, the Communist Party in the United States had changed its outlook?

Dr. DODD. Its policy was almost a pacifist outlook; that is, for the people, the masses, not for the inner circle.

When 1941 came along, we immediately had to make the turnover to be in favor of military training. At that time I remember a group of young people coming in. They argued about the question of whether we should or should not be for military training. And I remember "Pop" Mindel, who was one of the teachers of the communism school, saying:

Where else would a Communist get training how to use a gun? If we are going to make revolution, we are going to have to learn how to use a gun. You join the United States Army and learn how to use modern equipment.

Mr. MORRIS. By that, Dr. Dodd, in addition to having an overall political outlook toward war, the Communists therefore were going to use it for practical purposes?

Mr. MORRIS. How long did the Communists remain out of power in that particular party?

Dr. DODD. They never remained out of power. As a matter of fact, the first year it was run by the A. F. of L. leaders, but the Communists—

Mr. MORRIS. What was the first year, Dr. Dodd?

Dr. DODD. 1936.

Mr. MORRIS. When did the Communists begin to come into power?

Dr. DODD. They moved immediately to take over strategic positions. The Communist Party, whenever it is in a united front with anyone, any other organization, it will move to take power, to take strategic positions. This is no different. They moved to take positions, and a struggle developed between the so-called Social Democrats, the Dubinsky group, the Hillmanite group, and the Communists.

By 1942 they captured the last of the counties. They captured Brooklyn or Kings County, which was the last of the counties, and then had undisputed control of both the New York City and the State apparatus of the American Labor Party.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you an official of the American Labor Party at that time?

Dr. DODD. I was.

Mr. MORRIS. You know from your position in the American Labor Party and your position in the Communist Party that the control of the American Labor Party at that time was completely Communist control?

Dr. DODD. I do.

Mr. MORRIS. How did the Communist Party use the American Labor Party during the subsequent period?

Dr. DODD. The American Labor Party was very popular, and raised many popular issues. The American Labor Party immediately, because officials like Fiorello LaGuardia and other liberal officials began working with it, was able to poll 400,000, 500,000 votes from time to time. The American Labor Party became the balance of power within the State. The Communist Party simply was the nub, the hard core, in that party. It was able to get very special privileges for itself by using its standing within the American Labor Party. In other words, the use of this apparatus of the American Labor Party was useful to the Communist movement.

Mr. MORRIS. Were the Communist school teachers who were under your general direction and general control integral parts of this American Labor Party?

Dr. DODD. As a matter of fact, the teachers' union affiliated with the American Labor Party and paid dues to the American Labor Party and became one of the unions that received a great deal of attention in the American Labor Party.

Mr. MORRIS. Were the teachers themselves important elements in the American Labor Party?

Dr. DODD. The teachers themselves became important members, in that they had some free time after school and evenings. Also, they were articulate, they were literate, they were able to write leaflets, to hold meetings, to become delegates to conventions, and so forth and so on. The teachers became an important part of the American Labor Party.

Mr. MORRIS. And, as such, participated in the general use that the Communist Party made of the American Labor Party?

Dr. DODD. The American Labor Party thereafter introduced our legislation and went to bat for us with the various Republicans or Democrats in the State leadership to get certain favors for the teachers.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Dodd, you previously testified that the New York Teachers' Union, with a membership of about 11,000, I believe you said, was completely under the control of the Communist Party. Could you explain to what extent the Communists were able to influence the 11,000 teachers in the union?

Dr. DODD. We influenced them on political questions. The union, for instance, had a political program at all times. We influenced them on the question of war and peace, the question of the activity against fascism. We could use their power certainly against anyone we wanted to destroy in public life, by using their voting power and using their power to write letters and generally to be articulate.

Also, the teachers' union had very effective publications in which you had theoretical articles on the method of teaching, the principles of teaching, the philosophy of teaching. Thus, the people who joined the union for economic benefit of course also got the advantage of the Communist theory on education. The question of even the kind of meetings you had, the kind of speakers that you invited, influenced these teachers. Of course, many of them dropped away as the struggle became harder and the Rapp-Coudert committee came into being.

The CHAIRMAN. Of your own knowledge, what was the peak of the Communist strength among the schoolteachers and college professors of the country?

Dr. DODD. The peak was about 1,500 members.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that number include only the Communist Party members?

Dr. DODD. Those were Communist Party members.

The CHAIRMAN. There were other "front" members, and so forth, I presume.

Dr. DODD. In America, for instance, we never had more than maybe 75,000 members of the Communist Party, but there were times when we said there were at least a million people in the United States who had been either in or out of the party, who supported some campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Communist strength radiate more extensively than the number of party members you have mentioned?

Dr. DODD. The strength of an individual in the Communist Party is infinitely greater than the strength of any other single individual. You must not only count noses among Communists, but you must weigh the intensity with which they believe and also the intensity with which they are trained and educated to carry on a campaign. You yourself might believe in something intensively, but if you were a Communist, every 2 weeks you would be reporting to someone and getting instructions from someone. So, therefore, your line didn't waver. Your intensity would multiply manyfold.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were most of these teachers concentrated?

Dr. DODD. The East had the large proportion. There were some in Chicago and a small block out in the California area, but the East was the place where you had the large number.

State legislative chairman who had attempted to expose the activities of the Communists and the teachers?

Dr. Dobb. The Communist Party knew how to fight very effectively against anyone who touched the Communist movement. If anyone tried to attack the Communist movement, the Communist Party immediately went among the liberals, among its allies, and on various bases got the support and help of these people to smear and to isolate the person who was hurting Communists.

Senator SMITH. Can you tell us any more about the efforts that you participated in, particularly in New York State, with respect to one of the legislative chairmen?

Dr. Dobb. Of course, I was responsible for the attack upon Senator Coudert, who had investigated the schools. I made it my business to get as much information about his business affairs—I mean, I was the recipient of much of the information. People came to me with the information. We used that information. Senator Coudert had a firm which had a branch in France, and at that time France was under Petain. We smeared Senator Coudert as a Vichy agent, an agent of the Fascists, and conducted a campaign to defeat him in the election.

Senator SMITH. Was it not true that many times the Communists in their smear efforts did not hesitate to use false information about a man in public life in order to smear him, to convince even the unsuspecting that he was not all right when he was?

Dr. Dobb. What we did was—you always took someone who had a germ, just enough factual material, and built the thing up until it became a mountain, and then used it against him.

Senator SMITH. Everybody now knows that Mr. Coudert is one of the most prominent anti-Communists in America, and has hunted them relentlessly: is that not true?

Dr. Dobb. That is true.

Senator SMITH. Yet he did become the subject of a great smear campaign put on by the Communists because of his exposure of some of their activities.

Dr. Dobb. That is true.

Senator SMITH. Was that common in New York State where, as you say, you could get the germ of an idea as to how you could smear a man?

Dr. Dobb. It was a very common technique. You then used all the facilities which the party had. It had representatives, for instance, in the press, representatives in the magazine world, in the radio world. If everyone is concentrating upon one particular person, you get the cumulative effect of a party working on many different levels.

Senator SMITH. From your observation and knowledge of the activities of the Communist Party, is there any doubt in your mind but that that same course of action has been followed with respect to congressional leaders who have stood out against the Communist movement?

Dr. Dobb. There is absolutely no doubt in my mind that anyone in America who dares to buck the Communist conspiracy is going to receive very rough treatment from the Communists, who learn how, unfortunately, to utilize many unsuspecting people, who think that they are supporting freedom of thought but who in reality are the best protections for the Communist conspiracy.

Senator SMITH. Will you tell us, if you can, by using some concrete examples, how the Communist Party instructions are actually transmitted down the line to various teachers that you are using?

Dr. DODD. It was never just instructions. It was always put on the high plane of theory. A new line comes out. Take, for instance, the question of military training, which we were discussing before. The Communist Party had been almost pacifist from 1939 to 1941. Came 1941, and we became militantly prowar. That line then was carried into the teachers' fraction. The teachers' fraction then made a decision as to how to implement that, how to carry that out in various branches. The branches then would decide, maybe they would give blood, maybe they would raise money for an ambulance, maybe they would get students of theirs to volunteer for the Army and Navy.

Then came 1945, and the party line changed again. This time it was against war. In January of 1945, they were for military training. By May of 1945, they were against military training. Then the party teachers would have to change the line and begin to carry out their line within their own branches, not only within their branches but within their mass organizations. A teacher would belong not only to the Communist Party, but she would belong to the Teacher's Union, she would belong to the American Labor Party, she would belong to her own professional organization, she might belong to a high-school teachers' association or a college-teachers' association. Wherever she went, then, she had to carry the Communist line of the day.

How do you carry a line? If it is in a mass meeting, you offer a resolution. If it is a question of raising money, make a contribution.

Senator SMITH. Of the 11,000 teachers in the Teachers' Union, I believe you told us there were 1,000 Communists, about 1,000. The other 10,000 were in reality being used by the Communists who had gotten in key positions of control, and without their really realizing or appreciating that they were being used by the Communists?

Dr. DODD. I think most of them did not know how deep the Communist conspiracy was.

Senator SMITH. Is that not one of the difficulties we are having in this country today: To convince the better element among the teachers that they sometimes have been victimized by these Communist conspirators and have been used, under the guise of liberalism or something of that sort?

Dr. DODD. I think the American teachers have a great opportunity in the very difficult time America faces; American teachers who are not Communists have a great opportunity of showing themselves as people who love their country, rather than people who unwittingly cover up a conspiracy against our country.

Communism is the challenge of our times, and until that challenge is actually met and resolved, nothing else is important. The teachers who talk about freedom, either academic or otherwise, must understand that there will be precious little freedom if this conspiracy is not overcome, or if this world philosophy which seeks to destroy us is not overcome. I think the American teachers are overwhelmingly patriotic. I think they are overwhelmingly real Americans. I think that they are afraid of two things when it comes to the question of congressional investigations: They are afraid (1) that in-

vestigations may create such hysteria that it will stay the hands of local budget committees, who will deprive the schools of money they need to run themselves. That is a fear I think some of the administrators have. (2) There is a genuine and a healthy respect in America for people who are genuinely independent. There is even a respect for the radical tradition in America. We have had independent radical leaders of America who have made a contribution. No one wants to stop a person from thinking what he wants to.

The only thing that is important here is how to unearth, how to uncover this conspiracy, how to isolate the Communists. What the Communists have done now is they have gotten control of a large number of well-meaning people and they have isolated the American Government.

Senator SMITH. Dr. Dodd, I have recently made some efforts to enlist the support of some of the top educators in America in efforts to help this committee, to help it upon a thoroughly sane plane, in order that we might weed out the small group that are influencing and have influenced these activities.

Do you think it would be possible for us to get the support of men and women high up in the academic world to realize that their institutions have been in danger and to get them to cooperate with us?

Dr. DODD. I know that this committee has a will to do the job in a way that will make America proud. I think that you can get the cooperation of the leading educators in America if they understand that you are not interested in budget-cutting, if they understand that you are not interested in penalizing or victimizing any particular person, but that you are interested in uncovering conspiracy.

An argument which is always given to you about investigations is, "Why don't we let the people back home do it?" That is all right if you are just going in to see whether a teacher teaches well or doesn't teach well in a classroom. That is all right if you are just going to investigate curriculum. But the home folks do not have the equipment or the information to uncover this conspiracy. This is material which is away down under. Only a committee which has the subpoena power, only a committee which has had experience with the Communist conspiracy, can do it.

It seems to me if the educators of America realize that this is your sole purpose, you will get the cooperation of the teachers of America, who are basically patriotic, self-sacrificing, and indeed have made a great contribution to this country of ours.

Senator SMITH. Would not one of the best ways for this committee and any other similar committee to weed out the communistic activities among teachers be to get these outstanding educators to cooperate with us?

Dr. DODD. I think that is the job the committee has before it. I think it is the job which not only the committee has before it, but the American educators have that job before them. They have to cooperate in this Government of ours.

Senator SMITH. It would be your feeling, then, that they should be willing, and it would be helpful for them, to give us assistance rather than resistance, as some seem inclined to do?

Dr. DODD. I think so.

Senator SMITH. There is one other question I believe I have. When the Communist Party solicits teachers to join, does it reveal its rea-

So after the debate was over, one boy got up and in broken English said, "I came from Czecho. We used to talk just the way you do, but then when we found out the truth it was too late for us."

That was the answer.

Senator SMITH. Is there any doubt in your mind that violent revolution is the final objective of the Communists, as indicated by their raining in the use of firearms and military skill, if that should be indicated as necessary to put across their ideas?

Dr. DODD. The Marxist-Leninist literature is clear on that point, except to those who don't read it. It says you cannot make the turn from capitalism to communism except by war and revolution.

Senator JOHNSTON. You have attended some of the meetings where they made plans for what they were going to do in the future. Have you ever heard at these meetings, their making plans where they would say that, "We must really go into this field of teaching in order that we can train up the young people in how they should live, and teach them the communistic doctrine"?

Dr. DODD. Let me read to you from The Communist, which is again the theoretical magazine, for September 1938, an article written by William Z. Foster, the present chairman of the Communist Party, the real chairman of the Communist Party, the real hard-core Communists. He is giving a lot of credit for having recruited a large number of teachers, doctors, dentists, lawyers, engineers, scientists, writers, musicians, artists, actors, et cetera, a large number had joined in 1938. It was the peak of party enrollment, as a matter of fact. Now he says:

These middle-class professionals, when equipped with the Leninist-Stalinist raining and a genuine Communist outlook, are of great service to the cause of democracy and socialism.

They always use the word "democracy."

Then he goes on to say what must be done with these people. He lays down a plan as to how to recruit teachers and professionals. He said:

In drawing professionals into the party, care should be exercised to select only those individuals who show by practical work that they definitely understand the party line, are prepared to put it into effect, and especially display a thorough readiness to accept party discipline.

Then he says:

There must be special attention paid to the Marxist education of the professionals entering the party. This would have the definite goal of thoroughly communizing their outlook and reorienting their previous intellectual training so that its full value may be utilized in a revolutionary sense by our party and the masses.

Senator JOHNSTON. Then it is true that you have meetings at intervals where the teachers come and where they are indoctrinated into the communistic doctrine?

Dr. DODD. There is no doubt about it. They are given the Marxist-Leninist training. As a matter of fact, most teachers who join have to go to a school. They are sent to a school to learn how to become Communists.

Senator JOHNSTON. Is it not true that they also report the success they are making?

Dr. DODD. They report both successes and failures, and they are praised and scolded, and they are given new directions as to how to make the change. Where they have failed, they are shown how to get success. Where they have succeeded, they are told to go on and make some more.

Senator SMITH. Dr. Dodd, I have jotted down a question that I do not know whether you have touched on heretofore in any testimony or not. I am interested in knowing whether or not you have any reaction to this question: Have you made any observations to the effect that those witnesses with whom you may be familiar, who refused to testify, resorting to their privilege under the fifth amendment, are really Communists, that is, insofar as you are familiar with them? Of course, you would not know all the people whom we have investigated and who have testified. What has your general observation been?

Dr. DODD. When the McCarran committee was in New York and we had the investigation, all those who were Communists invoked the fifth amendment. All those who were not either said, "I was a Communist and am no longer," or "I am not a Communist."

Senator SMITH. I was interested in that.

Dr. DODD. That is in New York.

Senator SMITH. I conducted some of those hearings in New York, and I thought that would be your observation, from knowing the people in the party. There is no doubt in your mind that generally as to those who refused to testify, that that is an indication, in most cases at least, of the people you have known who were or had been Communists?

Dr. DODD. The people who refused to testify have to be disciplined. They have to have a plan of action. A person who is not part of the Communist Party or conspiracy would hardly say, "I am not going to testify," because he would be afraid of what was going to happen to him next. The Communists already have plans for what is going to happen next, if there are any charges; they are ready with lawyers and finances to support them. An individual would hardly take that action on his own.

Senator SMITH. Then, as I understand, a person who is asked that question and did not respond, but rather, resorted to his privilege under the fifth amendment, might do it because of the danger of party discipline as well as because of the publicity he might get as a Communist?

Dr. DODD. I am referring just to these hearings, and not to the criminal courts. Criminals frequently invoke the fifth amendment. Let's remember that the fifth amendment was put into our Constitution to protect individuals. It is being used now by a conspiracy to protect the conspiracy, and not individuals.

Senator McCARRAN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator Smith, in connection with the question you just asked, on the basis of executive session testimony that we have taken here during this and the preceding series of hearings, we have called in 39 teachers, the majority of whom were college teachers, and we have given them an opportunity to comment and testify on the evidence that we have received in executive session. Thirty-nine of those teachers have invoked their privilege against self-incrimina-

of Milton, you also teach the background. What happened economically? What happened in the time of Milton? What were the struggles then? Which was the class that was going down; which was the class that was rising? The whole question of teaching the class struggle, teaching the need for a classless society, teaching the fact that there was always an oppressed and an oppressor, becomes the theme of every teacher.

Senator SMITH. You could do that same thing with literature, such as Milton's *Areopagitica*. It was very easy to slant that.

Dr. DODD. Yes, to say nothing of Shakespeare, lots of Shakespeare.

Mr. MORRIS. You, as a matter of fact, did this yourself, didn't you, Dr. Dodd, and you knew that other teachers did this?

Dr. DODD. Yes. Communism is a total philosophy. If you believe in it, you live it, you breathe it, you teach it. You can't separate yourself and say, "Now I am a teacher of mathematics; now I am a Communist." You are a total personality with your total philosophy, and you take it with you 7 days a week, 24 hours a day, as long as you believe in that philosophy.

Senator JOHNSON. It would be impossible, then, to keep from rubbing a little off on the students you came in contact with.

Dr. DODD. They wouldn't recognize it as communism; nobody else might recognize it as communism. But there is no doubt in my mind that the Communist teacher teaches the Communist way.

Senator McCARRAN. When did you say—I was not here if you did say—that you had severed with the Communist Party and Communist activity?

Dr. DODD. Senator McCarran, there were different stages of my severing my connection with the Communist Party. In 1946, I went in and I turned in the key to my desk and said, "I don't want to stay here any more. I don't want any salary from you." I was being paid \$50 a week to be the legislative representative of the New York Communist Party. I couldn't take it any more. I said, "I am going to leave."

They said to me, "You can't resign. You can only be thrown out, and you can't resign."

Nothing happened for 3 months, and I said to them at 10 committee meetings, "I will not work for you."

In 1947, in June of 1947, when Foster came back from Europe, he came to a national-committee meeting, and he actually went through the process of putting on the blackboard how the Communist Party of America was going to go underground, how we were going to divide all our membership into groups of threes.

I looked at myself and looked at the people around me and said to myself, "Can this be actually so?" I didn't see the need to become an underground apparatus. I felt when I had joined, that I had joined an open radical party in America, but I did not believe I had joined something which was just going to be an underground apparatus. So in 1947 was the last time I went to a national committee meeting.

By June of 1949, the Communist Party had sufficiently besmirched my name and had given me "the works," as it were, and they proceeded to adopt a resolution to expel me. They told an insignificant incident which happened in east Harlem, where I was living at the time, and they used it as a method of expelling me.

When did I really get myself completely separated? When I found myself a new philosophy of life, when I found something that I could believe." You can't just live in a vacuum. I had to come to a belief in God in order really to achieve a reintegration of myself as a person, because those who believe in God aren't going to give power over their finer things to a state or dictator. If you don't believe in God, there is a vacuum there, and where the vacuum is, the others will step in to take over."

Senator McCARRAN. My question was preliminary to another question which perchance you cannot answer, Dr. Dodd.

Either before you separated from the Communist Party or since that time, have you had occasion to observe what is known as the "one world" movement?

Dr. DODD. Yes: I have.

Senator McCARRAN. Have you seen the effects of communism in putting forth that doctrine?

Dr. DODD. I don't feel that I am sufficiently equipped to answer that question, Senator McCarran.

Senator WELKER. Dr. Dodd—

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have a further question, Senator McCarran?

Senator McCARRAN. Not right now, thank you.

Senator WELKER. Dr. Dodd, realizing that only a small percentage of the American teachers are members of the Communist Party, can you tell us whether or not that small percentage of teachers who are members of the Communist Party are encouraged to work in the parent-teacher organizations or associations?

Dr. DODD. The function of the Communist teacher is to get under his control as many organizations as possible, and one of them was the parent-teacher organization, to move into the parent-teacher organization, for two reasons: (1) to recruit more people for the Communist movement or other organizations which the Communists control, and (2) to help them in the control of some of the school apparatus.

For instance, if they were discussing the question of methods of teaching, the Communists want to be able to control the parents sufficiently in order to have their point of view adopted. The Communist teachers in New York City did a very effective job among the parent-teacher organizations. I don't mean to say now that the parent-teacher organization of New York is run by Communists. It is not. But within the individual parent-teacher groups, various schools, the Communist teachers always worked with parent-teacher organizations so the teachers could work with the parents, and they concentrated on those areas like Harlem and the East Harlem area. They concentrated upon the Negro sections and the poorer sections where the parents were grateful to the teachers for leading them and teaching them how to become parent-teacher leaders.

As a matter of fact, in some cases we developed some of these women to such a high degree that they became members of the American Labor Party and some of them even ran for public office after having been trained by the teachers. The teachers were very assiduous in developing the parent-teacher movement.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions? It is getting close to recess time.