by the Borough President that succeeded Mr. Isaacs, who is now a Supreme Court Judge, Edgar Nathan.

MR. GOODWIN: The new Borough President is a Democrat.

MR. MARCANTONIO: Isaacs was a Republican-Fusionist; Edgar Nathan was a Republican.

As for this Article of October 31, 1946, they say, "Ex-pug named Marc's bodyguard." That sounds terrible.

MR. BARKER: Do you have a bodyguard?

MR. MARCANTONIO: I do not. I never had a bodyguard in my life. This sounds terrible. "Ex-pug named Marc's bodyguard." Emil Rossi. Emil Rossi was a professional prize fighter and a good one. He made a considerable amount of money and helped his mother buy real estate with it. He was never arrested in his life; mind you, not even convicted, but never arrested. He holds a position in the Department of Correction under Commissioner Amoroso. He is one of my best district captains. Joe Louis is a prize fighter; Gene Tunney was a prize fighter, but you don't refer to them as ex-pugs.

MR. BARKER: Jack Dempsey was, too.

MR. MARCANTONIO: Jack Dempsey. Some of the finest people in this country were prize fighters.

MR. SABATINO: But they are referred to as "ex-pugilists."

MR. MARCANTONIO: "Ex-pug now Marc's bodyguard." That appears very bad, doesn't it? Emil Rossi is honest, he is clean and has no police record. He was never my bodyguard, but one of my best captains, and I am proud to know him and proud to have him in my organization.

He has two beautiful children and a wife, a very fine family, and his mother, and I knew his father before he died.

Now we come to this, Edelmiro Medina, who claimed we tried to terrorize the district. "Marc Uses Courts to Hamper Opposition." Since when is it wrong to use the courts? I have the right to go to court. Even if I lose the court case, I have a right to go to court. These were the subpoenas that we issued in connection with Mr. Hannigen's fraudulent petitions, and this man Medina is one of the men against whom we have preferred charges in the District Attorney's office where the charges pending are for forgeries and fraud on petitions.

MR. GOODMAN: The Mrs. Perez that is referred to in that article, testified before Judge Benvenga that these Hannigan workers came to her and asked her to sign her maiden name on one line and her married name on another line, and to forge her husband's name, but the picture given in the article in the Mirror is entirely different. This guy Medina signed his name to fraudulent petitions. He stands there in this picture laughing at the subpoena. He was paid by Bryan after he had worked for Hannigan. He was one of the workers in this conspiracy for money and would work for both of them. He is listed in Bryan's financial report as receiving money.

MR. MARCANTONIO: All you have to do is read these reports carefully and see there is nothing to them.

Now, take this other one of November 1st, for instance. "Marcantonio got marshal job for stooge with police record." The answer is simple by just reading the articles.

Read the first sentence: "Startling facts behind Rep. Marcantonio's determined efforts to appoint and keep in office a City Marshal with a police record, a men who, while in city employ, was convicted of larceny, jailed and then had the conviction reversed, are in the possession of the Mirror." There is your answer. This man was a City Marshal. He did merit getting the position for City Marshal, and while he was a City Marshal, some woman accused him of having stolen some jewelry. He was innocent but he was convicted and the conviction was reversed.

MR. BARKER: Does it say there it was reversed?

MR. MARCANTONIO: Of course, right here "** and then had the conviction reversed." So, what are they trying to say? That I influenced the court to reverse the convictions? The conviction was reversed, and as far as the courts are concerned, this man was innocent and I stood by him and the courts agreed that he was innocent.

This story of August 7, 1946. This goes back all the way to 1942, they say. They say that these girls went to the Marcantonio Social Club. That was a club which merely bore my name. These girls might have met these men in a church, or they might have met these men in a club or anywhere else. At that time I issued a statement that that club bore my name and I had no connection with it whatsoever. That was fully established in 1942.

Then this other article on the same page: "Marcantonio Defeated in '36, Was Arrested Over Voting Violence." I was arrested and I was indicted. Go to the Court of General Sessions

and you will find that after election, despite the fact that I asked for a trial prior to the election and didn't get it, on the District Attorney's own motion, the District Attorney not only moved to dismiss the indictment, but stated in his application for dismissal that not only is there a reasonable doubt as to his guilt, but there is no doubt whatsoever as to his innocence and I recommend that the indictment be dismissed, and the indictment was dismissed, but no mention of that in the paper.

MR. BARKER: It makes no mention of that?

MR. MARCANTONIO: No.

MR. SABATINO: It is a political indictment by the Democratic Administration of a Democratic opponent.

MR. MARCANTONIO: And they make no mention of what the District Attorney himself did.

MR. GOODWIN: He asked for a trial before the election and they refused to give it to him.

MR. MARCANTONIO: I was defeated in 1936 and this was one of the reasons why I was defeated. I am indicted, and I am charged with having done something - incidentally, I am charged with having hit this man or having had him hit on the same day when I was up at the Circuit Court of Appeals in Boston arguing that very case I mentioned before. I flew up there and I flew back.

MR. BARKER: Did the Circuit Court of Appeals sustain those convictions?

MR. MARCANTONIO: They did. No mentioned is made in this article at all showing what the District Attorney did with that indictment.

Now, "Marcantonio Underworld Empire: The Inside Story." I categorically deny any and every statement in this story. This is one of the stories on which I base my libel suit.

MR. BARKER: What date is that?

MR. MARCANTONIO: That is August 4, 1946. Then all these other people here. This is the dirtiest article that they published against me.

MR. BARKER: What date is that?

MR. MARCANTONIO: This one of "Marc in Photo With Harlem's Vice Queen." They say that this picture was taken in 1938 in an East Harlem night club. What happened here was very simple.

First of all, the people that are with me are all reputable people, former aldermen of the district, the boy who drove me around during that campaign. It was the campaign of 1934 when this picture was taken and not in 1938. It was published in the Spanish papers in that period. It was the opening of a night club. I was in the midst of my campaign of 1934. I went over and sat down at this table, and I didn't know who the dickens were at the table, I shook hands, got up to make a speech wishing the night club well and success, and in came my opponent, Mr. Lanzetta, and he did the same thing and pictures were taken.

MR. BARKER: They don't have Lanzetta's picture there.

MR. MARCANTONIO: No.

MR. BARKER: Who is Spanish Rose?

MR. MARCANTONIO: She is the prostitute queen. It so happens that that night club was half owned by her husband at that time. What became of her afterwards is none of my business. The point is that the picture was taken in 1934, and they have used this picture time and time again since then. They have deliberately cut out all the other people standing there in tuxedos, and they just have in other editions of the Mirror the photo with a captaon Spanish Rose and me, and they print that portion of/"Mark in cozy dinner party with Spanish Rose." Would you want to run for Congress under those circumstances? The exact truth about that, and they can get these people, is that this picture was published in 1934 in "La Prensa", the Spanish paper the day after this event took place. This was a big event in the Spanish-speaking colony, the opening of the first Spanish night club in Spanish Harlem.

On this, in the Mirror of August 11, 1946, this poor boy, Patsy Tateo, came to me and said he was innocent, and they tried him and the first trial resulted either in disagreement or in an acquittal. At the second trial he was found guilty, but the Judge, who is one of the toughest judges, realized what the circumstances were and gave him a very light sentence.

May I say this: People come to me for help. People who are not in trouble do not come to you for help. The people who come to you for help are the people in trouble, and if anybody is in need of help, and if he can in a legitimate manner be helped, such as offering free legal counsel or anything like that, I have done it and I am goingto continue to do it. I am going to help everybody and anybody who comes to me to help him in a legitimate

manner. I am proud to help this boy by furnishing an attorney to him, a boy who had no record previous to this thing here, and his wife and children.

"Floaters, Gorillas Get Votes for Marc." They don't mention the floaters by name; they don't mention the gorillas by name, so what can I do? Let me show you how much they lied. "Rep. Lee Geyer died shortly after he introduced a bill to abolish the vicious poll tax in the South. There is a heavy Negro vote in the 18th District. Marcantonio swung into action as an anti-poll tax champion" - because I have a large negro vote in my district? I don't believe we have more than 2,000 negro voters in the whole district.

MR. BARKER: On the matter of your constitutency there, would you state for the record so that the Committee may know, what is your Congressional District up there? Are there many nationalities in your district?

MR. MARCANTONIO: My district is a baby New York City. It is a typical New York, and it has all nationalities. In other words you take New York, put all of its nationalities in and my district is a miniature of New York with respect to all of the nationalities represented. You have everybody from my district. You have Italians, Jews, Irish, Czechs, Porto Ricans, Germans, Negros, also Spanish Cubans and all of the South American countries, and all of the United States, too, - people from all over the United States.

MR. BARKER: Is that the upper half of your district?

MR. MARCANTONIO: It is all the way, except that down south of 99th Street, I would put them as follows: Germans, Irish,

Czechs, Italians, Jews, Bohemians; north of 99th Street, I would say there were Italians, Porto Ricans, some Negroes and some Jews. I even have a small colony of about 40 or 50 Japanese.

"Biggest Dope Market East of the Rockies in Marcantonio's District." It is not true.

MR. BARKER: What date is that?

MR. MARCANTONIO: This is dated November 19, 1946.

That is not true and the district is aroused. The veterans have called a protest meeting for next Tuesday against this particular story, and assuming again, for the sake of argument, only that this crime condition which they describe is true, am I responsible for crime? Is any Congressman responsible for crime in his district? If somebody is arrested, I am not responsible for these conditions. I have been doing everything possible to do away with crime in the slum areas. I take pride in the fact that I worked for the housing project in my district. I stayed every Saturday afternoon in my Congressional district interviewing people from 1:00 o'clock until 9:00 or 10:00 o'clock at night, trying to help them with their problems, and in doing that I am helping cut down crime. On every Sunday afternoon, I do the same thing in my uptown Congressional office at 247 East 116th Street. I have done more as a member of Congress to try to eliminate crime in my community than any other Congressman because other Congressmen feel that that particular problem is a problem for the District Attorney and for the PoliceCommissioner. I feel that crime is due to conditions, economic and social, and I have done everything in

my power to try to alleviate those conditions. But there is no man in these United States, or even the Mirror, that is able to charge that I had ever, at any time, protected any racket; that I have received a penny from any racket; and that I have at any time asked the police to look the other way from any crime or racket that went on either in my district or anywhere else in the City of New York or in the United States of America.

Even Mr. Hearst, with all of the inuendoes, insinuations, eetc., would never dare charge that.

MR. SABBATINO: His wife has been connected with the Harlem House for many years, which is interested in improving the civic conditions among the people there; to keep boys and girls off the streets and make decent ditizens of them, and she has been engaged in that kind of work for years. She is a splendid woman.

MR. BARKER: Would you furnish the Committee with a list of all the people that were actively engaged in your campaign or connected with the Marcantonio Committee?

MR. MARCANTONIO: I can, of the steady workers. I can say that by ElectionDay we had a couple of thousand people working for me.

MR. BARKER: I mean, your list of --

MR. MARCANTONIO: My captains? Certainly.

MR. BARKER: And also of the other people who were working for you?

MR. MARCANTONIO: Certainly; certainly.

MR. BARKER: Could we have that around the first of the week?

MR. MARCANTONIO: Surely. There are one or two items that I have skipped. They are meaningless, but the stories themselves dispel the headlines.

MR. BORDA: I was wondering if there were comments by any other newspaper?

MR. MARCANTONIO: There were, in the Journal-American and the Telegram. They are of the same pattern and a part of the same conspiracy.

MR. BARKER: I think you mentioned a fourth newspaper?

MR. MARCANTONIO: The Daily News.

MR. BARKER: But is this the only paper that printed this kind of article?

MR. MARCANTONIO: Yes. The Journal repeated some.

MR. SABBATINO: Those are the most vicious ones.

MR. BORDA: Is there any special reason that the Mirror sought your defeat?

MR. MARCANTONIO: Sure. Read the Mirror's editorial policy. Number one, I think my colleagues on the Committee know that I am responsible for the defeat of the Case Bill. The Mirror's and the Hearst policy was enactment of the Case Bill and the Scripps-Howard papers the same thing. Number two, I was the most active in Committee to protect consumers when they fought for a continuation of OPA. Hearst policy was to destroy the OPA. Number three, on the Communist question and Red-

baiting. The Hearst papers have been the leading Red baiters and I have fought Red baiting. As you know, I fought the Dies Committee, and I continuously fought the Dies Committee when there were only five other men that voted with me against the continuation of the Dies Committee in 1939 or 1940. I fought the Rankin Committee, the so-called Committee on Un-American Activities. I fought it from its very inception, and there is no other member of Congress who has clashed more often with Mr. Rankin than I have, and Mr. Rankin is the darling of this press. Rankin sneezes and he gets his picture in the Hearst papers. I am exaggerating, but that is what it amounts to. People may disagree or agree with me, but I have the right to my views, just as I respect others' rights to have views. My view is that we are facing one of the most extreme reactionary periods in the history of this country.

Labor is under fire. The working men and the working women who have organized to improve their conditions are being subjected to the most ruthless kind of treatment by government, by the press and by the gentlemen who control monopoly capital in America. If we hit a depression which we will because of the tremendous profits that are being made, made at the expense of the pocketbook of the average American - the purchasing power of the American people is being cut down, and when that depression takes place, these gentlemen who are in control will try to solve the next unemployment crisis either by making armament workers out of them, following the pattern of Mussolini or Hitler,

or by establishing some form of domestic Fascism, not only in brown shirts or black shirts, but employing a different technique, perhaps, but nevertheless doing it.

I have been fighting that, and this attack and conspiracy against me is a part of the Fascist scheme against the Democratic rights of the American people. However, people may disagree with me. They have a right to disagree with me, but they have no right to say that my election was not a free election. Nobody was kept away from the polls.

MR. BARKER: Was there any general reign of terror in your district?

MR. MARCANTONIO: There was none.

MR. BARKER: That has been alleged.

MR. MARCANTONIO: There was none at all. There was no reign of terror. There was nothing at all. Two longshoremen who knew each other, who may have had a little too much to drink; one was for Marcantonio and the other was for Bryan, started punching each other. Because of this hysteria, the longshoreman who was for Marcantonio was picked up at the request of the Mirror. The police records will show that, and he is held for second degree assault. Ordinarily, it would be just a Magistrate Court case for a punch in the nose or vice versa, and maybe a fine or a very light sentence.

MR. BARKER: I want to ask you a question. This has nothing to do with campaign expenditures, but I am sure that somewhere along the line some member of Congress will ask you this question so we might as well get it in now.

It has been alleged that you have consistently followed the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and you have been referred to in the press as a Communist. I would like to ask you, are you a member of the Communist Party?

MR. MARCANTONIO: I am not a member of the Communist Party.

MR. BARKER: Have you ever been?

MR. MARCANTONIO: I have never been, and if I were and had been, I would so admit. I have never traveled under false colors. My attitude toward the Soviet Union is no different than Thomas Jefferson's attitude toward Republican France in his period. Just as he believed in full collaboration with Republican France, I believe in full collaboration with the Soviet Union. I believe that the peace of the world is dependent on collaboration with the Soviet Union. A "get tough" policy with the Soviet Union is going to lead to a terrible war of aggression and imperialism, and a "get together" policy of collaboration with the Soviet Union is the best guarantee for a permanent and democratic peace. Jefferson and his men were called Jacobins because of their attitude toward France. Marcantonio, Pepper and others are called Communists because of our attitude toward the Soviet Union.

MR. BARKER: What about the allegation, Congressman, that you have constantly followed the Communist Party line?

MR. MARCANTONIO: That is not true, and my vote record will show that is not true. My record will show that is not true. You will find that there are some important pieces of legislation

I voted, for instance, for a loan to Great Britain, and the policy of the Communist Party is opposed to the loan to Great Britain, as reflected in its publication, the "Daily Worker." I voted for repeal of the embargo. I followed Mr. Roosevelt on that issue. On the other hand, there are many issues on which the Communist Party has taken a similar position that I have, but I am not the only one who has taken this position. If Mr. Roosevelt, Wallace and others and the Communist Party believe in wearing clothes, I am not going out and establish a nudist colony. I believe, furthermore, in a unity of all anti-fascist forces from Communists all the way over to anybody who believes in opposition to domestic fascism in the United States and in the world. I believe in the united front.

MR. BARKER: Against Fascism?

MR. MARCANTONIO: Against Fascism and the united front. I believe the Communists have a place in it and I believe, furthermore, that what weakened the democratic forces in Italy and in Germany was when instead of having a united front they started fighting among themselves on the Communist issue, and when they started fighting among themselves on the Communist issue, they devoted their time and their energy to fighting among themselves and permitted Mussolini to take over in Italy and Hitler to take over in Germany, and Red-baiting in the United States is a pro-Fascist weapon and leads to the establishment of domestic fascism in America. That is my position and I so stated before the Dies Committee when I appeared before them

and I stated it on the floor of the House and time and time again, even my worst enemy in the House, Mr. Rankin, will admit, that Marcantonio has never traveled behind a mask or under false colors. Even John Elliott Rankin will say in the cloak room about Marcantonio, "You know where he stands."

MR. BARKER: I think that is reflected by the Congressional Record.

MR. MARCANTONIO: The record is there and I make my speeches, and I have been fighting so effectively that they want to keep me out of Congress.

MR. SABBATINO: Isn't there some important Republican that said they would rather have you out than elect 25 new Congressmen?

MR. MARCANTONIO: That was a statement of Carroll Reece, whom I had fought constently in the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce when they tried to do a job on the Pure Food and Drug Act.

MR. BARKER: Will you state Mr. Reece's position?

MR. MARCANTONIO: Chairman of the Republican National Committee.

To sum up, I want to say this: If the preliminery investigation warrants a fuller investigation, then I say that we should have our inning in the open, public hearings. I maintain that there is nothing to warrant any kind of further investigation here. The issue is: Was there or was there not a free election. You can take the Scottoriggio incident and you can add to it the Tizol incident and the incident of these two longshoremen, and

as against that you have this steady march to the polls of free American citizens voting in secret, with not a single incident complained of in connection with the conduct of the election; with the secrecy of the ballot protected by an abnormal number of law enforcement officers, many of whom were even biased against me because of their political activity in having been clothed with the power of Deputy Attorney Generals. As against that, what have you?

MR. SABBATINO: I may add, Mr. Barker, to show you how free this election was that there were about 20,000 people, all of whom went willingly in an open street to listen to the Congressman the night before election; 20,000 people walking willingly to a street corner for a political meeting.

(Discussion off the record concerning the "Lucky Corner.")

MR. BARKER: Mr. Congressman, I wanted to ask you if you are of the opinion that we have given you a fair and full opportunity to state your side of this case?

MR. MARCANTONIO: Except this: I haven't been confronted with charges.

MR. BARKER: We don't have the facts to confront you with them, but I have asked you certain questions indicating what was probably pending before the Committee.

MR. MARCANTONIO: We have no objection to the conduct of this hearing at all except, I say, if you, Mr. Barker, tomorrow were to come before the Committee or anywhere else, you will agree with me that the fair procedure is to say, "No, Mr. Barker,

we have information or whatever it may be that you have done this and that and that and that. What have you to say to it?" We have not been confronted with it.

MR. BARKER: You understand, though, that this is a preliminary inquiry to determine if your request for a public hearing should be granted.

MR. MARCANTONIO: No. My request for a hearing should not be misunderstood. My request for a public hearing is based on a proposition that if the Committee decides to conduct an investigation on the basis of its preliminary investigation, then that should be held in the form of a public hearing.

MR. SABBATINO: This is our attitude: That there is no basis for the Committee to do anything and dismiss everything because this was a free election, but if the Committee should think that there is proof in its own mind which would warrant a fuller hearing, then we demand an open, public hearing and the right to be heard.

MR. MARCANTONIO: A preliminary investigation is ordered to determine whether or not a fuller investigation should be held; am I correct?

MR. BARKER: Yes, sir.

MR. MARCANTONIO: I say first, in connection with the preliminary investigation, as I stated in my telegram of November 27th, before you reach any conclusions, I respectfully request a full opportunity to refute any charges made by my

political enemies in the Hearst press to your investigator conducting a preliminary investigation. It is not my purpose to suggest a procedure to your Committee. However, it would be most unfair to have conclusions of preliminary investigations based solely on irresponsible and wild charges made by my opponent, those affiliated with him and by my enemies, including the Hearst press, without affording me an opportunity to present the truth in complete refutation of the charges before the Committee takes any action resulting from the preliminary investigation.

I am confident that the Board of Elections and the Police officials and others charged with the conduct of the election and the protection of the citizens at the polls will attest to the orderliness of the election, theprotection of the secrecy of the ballot, and the strict guarentee of citizens participating in the election.

My point is this: This Committee has sent you gentlemen here to determine, by a preliminary investigation, whether or not it should order afull investigation; correct?

MR. BARKER: Yes, sir.

MR. MARCANTONIO: To determine that, I wanted to have my inquiry. I wanted to do what? I wanted to refute whatever charges or whatever evidence, if any, thatyou might use to base a report or that the Committee might use to base a recommendation for a full hearing. In the event that the

Committee decides that it should hold a full hearing, or a full investigation, then I say it should be held.

MR. BARKER: Do you mean that the investigation should be conducted by means of public hearings?

MR. MARCANTONIO: Yes; the hearing should be in public.

MR. BARKER: You mean it should not be executive session? The Committee itself should hold no executive session?

MR. MARCANTONIO: I should be given an opportunity to come before a public hearing and refute the charges, but before we go into that, we are still in the stage of the preliminary investigation to determine whether or not a full investigation should take place.

MR. BARKER: That is right.

MR. MARCANTONIO: To determine whether or not a full investigation should take place, I think that charges, if any, or evidence, if any, - I should be confronted with it, and I should be given an opportunity to tell the truth about them to establish whether they are true, and to give my version so that the Committee may establish whether they are true or whether they are false.

This is only a preliminary investigation. Perhaps the preliminary investigation is to find out whether there is enough there to warrant a full and complete investigation. Therefore, during this preliminary investigation, I should be told, "Well, here is what the charge is to establish that this is not a free election." That being the case, I want to