

investigation, and that story, without our version have been given, would be damaging?

MR. BARKER: I have suggested to the Congressman a procedure about this matter and I don't think he has made any response yet.

MR. MARCANTONIO: I still adhere to the original proposition, that before your report is made, before you go back to make a report, if there is anything adverse to my interests in that report, I should be afforded the opportunity to make answer to any allegations or any alleged information that you may have received which, in any manner, appears damaging to me in the conduct of the election.

That has been my position all the time, Mr. Barker, and I am sure that if you were in my place you would feel the same way about it.

If somebody comes to you and says, "This is black," certainly before you go back and say, "We have found that this is black," you should give me an opportunity to explain whether it is or not, so that when you go back you will be in a position to say either to the Committee, the subcommittee or the Chairman, "So and so says this. I have asked Mr. Marcantonio about it and here is what Mr. Marcantonio has to say about it."

MR. BARKER: In other words, you want to be confronted with every single allegation that has been made to the investigators so far?

MR. SABBATINO: If it has any meaning to you.

MR. BARKER: If it is material, relevant and substantial to the inquiry.

MR. MARCANTONIO: Yes.

MR. BARKER: Under the terms of the resolution?

MR. MARCANTONIO: That is right.

MR. BARKER: And you want to be confronted with that before I go to Washington?

MR. MARCANTONIO: I think that would be fair.

MR. SABBATINO: It would be fair to the Congressman, The Committee and yourself. And if the Committee thinks it is enough, alright, and if there is anything more, we can furnish it more material, if there is anything to furnish.

MR. BARKER: This investigation, as I have told you a while ago, has been delayed, and I made several trips to Washington while the investigation was in progress to try to work out something so that it could be concluded quickly. If there is nothing to these charges, then the Committee would want to ascertain that and then make its findings accordingly. But, as I have told you, we have been unable to get almost anywhere. In fact, we have almost come to a complete standstill. I don't say that Congressman Marcantonio is responsible for that.

MR. SABBATINO: We are more helpless than you are. You, at least, have the power of representing this Committee and can ask people to come down to see you. We have no power whatever, but to sit back.

MR. MARCANTONIO: May I say this: Here you have law enforcement authorities charged with protecting the people in their right to cast a secret ballot. Why doesn't Mr. Wallander present you with the report of everyone of his police officers? Or the Attorney General, even though the Attorney General and the men that he deputized were actively partisan against me? Even though we have that, I dare them

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to say that anybody was interfered with in this election in the exercise of their elective franchise to cast a secret ballot.

MR. BARKER: Would you know, on the list of Deputy Attorney Generals, those that were Republicans and active against you?

MR. MARCANTONIO: More or less; let me look at it.

MR. BARKER: This is a list from the Election Frauds Bureau of the Attorney General of the State of New York - Special Deputy Attorneys Generals and Special Investigators assigned to the 18th Congressional District on Election Day, 1946, by Assembly District and by Election District.

MR. GOODWIN: If we could have that for 24 hours, I could tell you the party affiliation of every one of these people.

MR. BARKER: We are checking that. (handing paper to Mr. Marcantonio).

MR. MARCANTONIO: The first four gentlemen are definitely partisans against me; not only partisans against me, but also contributors against me, or their families. They were very active. You will find when you question these gentlemen that they participated in the campaign in some manner, shape or form and were opposed to me.

MR. GOODWIN: On this list my name is listed for the whole 10th Assembly District, and I showed you a letter in which they restricted my activities to a single Election District outside of the Congressional District.

MR. MARCANTONIO: I understand also that the police officers assigned to this district were officers that came from other precincts who had no connection or roots in the 18th Congressional District. It has been the custom for years now to switch police officers on

Election Day; police officers who are ordinarily on duty in, let us say, in my section of the city would be assigned to other sections of the city and officers from other sections of the city would be assigned for Election Day to duty in my district, and as far as I know, from this list of Attorney Generals you will find most active partisans against me, directly and indirectly, - people who have been contributors or their families were contributors.

MR. GOODWIN: Don't you think it fair that we have a copy of that list?

MR. MARCANTONIO: So that we can check their voting record?

MR. BARKER: In view of the Congressman's allegations made in his previous statement, that is why we obtained that list, and it is our intention to check it, and when we check it the party affiliation of the people will be shown.

MR. GOODWIN: Not only that. If we have a copy of this list, we can show that these people not only were of Republican affiliation by and large, but actively participated against the Congressman to the extent that they and their families contributed to the Bryan Committees financially. Not only that, but I think that we might be able to show, if we had this list for a few days, that some of these people were active political workers in the campaign on the part of the Congressman.

MR. MARCANTONIO: If any of them ever dare to say or distort the truth and say that anybody was interfered with on Election Day, then they were derelict in their duty, and they should have had the arrest made right then and there under the powers given them as Attorney Generals.

MR. GOODWIN: I think we should go further. Not only should we have from you, verbally, the charges -- damaging charges that have been made by any witness, if any, but we should have copies of any documents which, if unanswered, might hurt the Congressman. I think if you are going to present a complete investigation, my suggestion is that we be permitted to supply you with the facts. We can do it.

MR. BARKER: Just a minute; you said "complete investigation." I have already preliminarily indicated that this investigation is far from complete.

MR. GOODWIN: I think it should also be noted on the record that in no way have we hindered your investigation.

MR. BARKER: I didn't say that.

MR. GOODWIN: I think we are entitled to have it on the record that we have tried to cooperate and facilitate the investigation at every turn. Haven't we done that?

MR. BARKER: Insofar as I am personally concerned, you gentlemen have been most cooperative. Concerning this list of captains, I think you told me when you were here Sunday, Mr. Goodwin, that it was rather lengthy and that you had it in preparation and would get it down here as soon as possible.

MR. SABBATINO: When do you people intend to go back and report finally?

MR. BARKER: Tentatively, I have intended to make some kind of telephone communication with the Committee to find out when it was convenient for them, but I didn't know what day that would be, whether the first of the week, the last of the week or the first of next week.

MR. SABBATINO: My object in asking that is before you wind up everything, we would like to come back and then have anything that you think we ought to have, and we shall be pleased to answer -

MR. MARCANTONIO: What is different between this investigation and others is that other gentlemen against whom charges have been made have been avoiding answer. I am most anxious to answer. I am most anxious to be confronted with my accusers, accusations and everything else. I have nothing to hide.

MR. SABBATINO: Others have sometimes claimed illness. The Congressman, though sick, waived immunity and went there against his doctor's orders.

MR. BARKER: To what do you have reference?

MR. MARCANTONIO: The Grand Jury.

MR. SABBATINO: There have been other investigations in other parts of the country where the person that the Committee sought to question claimed illness and refused to testify.

MR. MARCANTONIO: Not only am I submitting this list, but if there is anybody else that you feel that you want to question, who is connected with me directly or indirectly, let me know. You don't have to subpoena them or anything else. If they are within my control or if they are friends of mine, I will see to it they come here.

MR. BARKER: Will you gentlemen wait just a minute while I speak with Mr. Borda?

(Side conference between Mr. Barker and Mr. Borda)

MR. BARKER: I think we will just let the matter stand as is. I will get in touch with the Congressman, either at his home or at

his law office and let you know what is to be done.

MR. SABBATINO: How about letting us have a copy of the list. There can't be anything secret about the members of the bar. These are all lawyers.

MR. BARKER: Will you wait until I get their affiliations on it and then we will furnish it to you so that you can see if you have it correct.

MR. GOODWIN: If we had it in the meantime - -

MR. SABBATINO: We would be cooperating with you.

MR. BARKER: This was submitted to you rather haphazardly.

MR. MARCANTONIO: That is right. We don't want to embarrass you on it. I would like to see any one of these deputy attorney generals say that anyone was interfered with at the polls. They took complete controls at the polls. They went far beyond their powers. It was just that the people were with me. As far as the mechanics of the election were concerned, they were absolutely within the control of the opposition.

MR. BARKER: Your law firm was attorney for Tizol. Do you know of any reason why?

MR. MARCANTONIO: Do you mean any reason why we should have represented him?

MR. BARKER: Do you know of any reason why this Committee should not be permitted to interview Tizol?

MR. MARCANTONIO: Not at all. I think the Committee should interview Tizol. I have no objection to interviewing Tizol, except that you will find that he is mentally unbalanced. We represented Tizol under the following circumstances:

MR. GOODWIN: You answered that the last time you were here.

MR. MARCANTONIO: I think you should interview anybody or everybody that has any connection with this matter.

MR. BARKER: Was Tizol out on bond since you were his attorney, or your firm represented him?

MR. MARCANTONIO: No; never.

MR. BARKER: Was he ever out on bond?

MR. MARCANTONIO: No.

MR. BARKER: He was in custody?

MR. GOODWIN: Constantly.

MR. BARKER: What was the story that appeared in the paper that he was at the wrong court?

MR. GOODWIN: He was in the custody of the City Prison, the Department of Correction.

MR. BARKER: And the officer that had him in custody took him to the wrong court?

MR. MARCANTONIO: Yes. According to the papers they took him to the wrong court, and they finally landed in the correct court.

MR. BARKER: And he was not out of custody during that period?

MR. MARCANTONIO: That is right. With respect to Tizol, at no time in the election campaign was Tizol a campaign worker for me. That may strike you as astounding. I sent Tizol a telegram and I told my Porto Rican secretary that I didn't want Tizol in the organization under any circumstances. I had received a complaint from the National Maritime Union to the effect that Mr. Tizol was asking people for money to obtain a seaman's card. When I got that notification, I said that "that ends Tizol as far as we are concerned."

We don't want any part of him." This was several months before election. He had come to the clubhouse on 116th Street on Sunday and asked to be readmitted to the organization, and was told no, and was told to get out, but you couldn't get rid of him. I saw him one night when I was making a speech on Madison Avenue, and when I got through making the speech he came to me and said, "Whether you want me or not, I am with you," and I said, "Stay away from me." We tried to keep him away, but when he was arrested with these four other people - decent people - that was on election night, when I was informed of it after the victory. I sent an attorney from my office down to represent those people who were arrested, which he did, and one of them turned out to be Tizol.

Even as to that incident, if you read the minutes, you will find that nobody was hit. There was a name-calling contest between Tizol and this Laura Santiago, who had been personal enemies for years.

MR. BARKER: This can go on the record and if you want it later stricken out of the record as immaterial, that is entirely satisfactory to me. Do you know Walter Winchell?

MR. MARCANTONIO: I don't know Walter Winchell. I have never met Mr. Winchell, and Mr. Winchell is unfriendly to me because at one time I referred to Mr. Winchell as the "key-hole journalist" or the "gent's room journalist" on the floor of the House of Representatives and whenever he has had a chance to take a crack at me, he has done so. For instance, last night on the radio, to my amusement, he announced that I was resigning from Congress and then run again to vindicate myself. That is fantastic. I have no intention of resigning, nor is there anything about which I have to vindicate myself.

I this morning's Mirror he has something about the Communist Party Executive Plenum urging everything possible be done to prevent the unseating of Marcantonio in Congress. There is as much foundation for this statement as there was for the one he made on the air last night. I know nothing about it and I know that as to my resigning, the answer is that I am not resigning.

MR. BARKER: Do you want that to stay on the record?

MR. MARCANTONIO: That can stay on the record.

MR. GOODWIN: I might suggest that you get the District Attorney to let you look at the minutes of the Tizol hearings.

MR. MARCANTONIO: If he does not, we will let you look at our minutes.

MR. BARKER: Before the Magistrate's Court?

MR. MARCANTONIO: Yes.

MR. BARKER: Are those available?

MR. SABBATINO: They are a matter of public record.

MR. BARKER: Was he convicted?

MR. SABBATINO: Yes.

MR. MARCANTONIO: I am talking about the minutes of the testimony taken in the prosecution of Tizol before the Magistrate's Court.

MR. BARKER: And that included the testimony of Mrs. Santiago to whom you referred?

MR. GOODWIN: That is right.

MR. BARKER: All right. Thank you, gentlemen.

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STATEMENT OF MISS BEATRICE BROWN BEFORE
ROBERT B. BARKER, ASSISTANT GENERAL COUNSEL
AND CHIEF INVESTIGATOR FOR THE SPECIAL
COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE CAMPAIGN EXPENDI-
TURES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
PURSUANT TO HOUSE RESOLUTION NO. 645.

Room 1404, United States Courthouse
12 Foley Square, New York City
December 17, 1946

By Mr. Barker:

Q Would you give us your full name and address?

A Beatrice Brown, 183 East 80th Street.

Q What is your telephone number?

A Rhinelander 4-8205; my business phone is Wickersham 2-7380.

I am at B. Brown Associates, 480 Lexington Avenue.

Q Can you tell us something about dissection in the 18th Congressional District, where I presume you live?

A I live in the 18th Congressional District and I opened a headquarters in what Marcantonio called "his" district. He is the little king and we opened a headquarters at 104th Street. That is where Scottoriggio was killed. We had the headquarters there a couple of weeks before election. He want to go in earlier, but you couldn't rent anything. We got this from the Chase Bank. They fear in that district that Marcantonio is something beyond apprehension.

Q We would like to hear you explain that.

A As I understand it, it goes back beyond Marcantonio, to the LaGuardia administration. They controlled everything tight, so they did everything these people pleased. At the primary, when the

people would not say they would vote for Marcantonio, they just served them with subpoenas at 10, 11, or 12 o'clock at night and scare the living daylights out of the family, and everybody said I was taking a terrible chance on going up there, but I think that somebody had to break it. So, we went up and opened in this bank and of course and they came and protested to us, but we had police protection. I had to demand police protection and I knew how to get some police. I was not particularly afraid of Marcantonio. Never did it occur to me that they would assault Scottoriggio. Of course, poor Scottoriggio did make the statement the Sunday before he was assaulted that if he and I had gotten together five years ago, we would have had the whole district cleaned up.

Q Did he make that statement to you or somebody else?

A In his house, where there were some other people present. He knew what was going on and he broke with Marcantonio six years ago, and he knew all the things that were going on. That is, now he had complete control of those hoodlums.

Q Will you explain the headquarters that you opened?

A We opened this headquarters for Bryan and put a great, big sign up in electric lights and nothing untoward happened. I know that the afternoon after Scottoriggio was assaulted, a lot of people were afraid to go to the polls.

Q Were you working at the polls on Election Day?

A No, I had the headquarters open.

Q Was the the principal headquarters for Bryan?

A No. There was another one. The principal headquarters for Bryan was at 72d Street and Second Avenue and this was at

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104th Street and First Avenue. What you ought to do is investigate the East River Housing Project. The manager is a Communist. ✓

Q Is her name Mrs. Seymour Atlas?

A No; she is the play director, and Atlas makes no bones about being a Communist. He is an organizer for the furriers' union, Ben Gold's union, which is a completely Communist union. I understand that he has a salary of \$110 a week, and they put her on a salary of \$45 a week as play director. ✓

Q And the manager of this housing project is a Communist?

A Yes. ✓

Q Is it common knowledge that she is?

A Yes. You just have to look at her and talk to her.

Q Who else was with you in the headquarters that you opened?

A Mrs. Nancy Ford. She was there in the day time when I was at business, but I was up there in the evening, and Mrs. Scottoriggio and some of the Republican workers in the district that were not afraid of Marcontonio. This was an empty bank building and had been empty for a long time. It belonged to the Chase Bank. After a lot of trouble we got the Chase Bank to let us open a headquarters there because they were afraid that the thing would be bombed or torn apart. That is the fear that the people have of Marcontonio.

Q Or they might heave a rock through the window?

A Yes. This is the way it turned out. They turned us down completely and thoroughly, and we had a meeting in the school, in the De Witt Clinton school on 65th Street. There was to be a debate

between Arthur Sulzberger and Bryan and Marcantonio, and at least 400 people gave a clenched fist salute when Marcantonio came in. He had them planted all over the place in groups of 10, and it was such a bad meeting that he could not control it after a while.

Q Was there heckling?

A Heckling, booing and screaming, and it almost ended up in a riot, but the police came in and closed the meeting. We were so furious, Mrs. Ford and I, that we both got up and both of us were shaking. I have never seen nor did I know what hoodlums could do. I don't suppose there was an American in the crowd. The place was packed, but that five percent could make that kind of a turmoil. So, we came out and Mrs. Ford had to go and pick up her husband, who is vice-president of Charles F. Noyes Company and was having a meeting with some of his associates, and she went in there with such a fury. She told them what she thought of them and what was going to happen if this kept on. He went in to the Chase National Bank and had to fight with the Board of Directors to give us that building.

Q What about the police closing the meeting? Did they close it before it was over?

A They closed it quickly, and they suspended.

Q How did they do that?

A The meeting was under the sponsorship of our left wing veterans - the American Veterans Committee, so they just called for the reserve police. We have never had that in New York in all the years I have lived here, and we had to have the reserve police come out and close the political meeting. There was never any danger of violence, and this was the first time I had seen it, so they gave