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PROCEEDINGS OF THE WASHINGTON STATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE IN RE: WASHINGTON PENSION UNION

At this point William Pennock, President of the Washington State Pension Union, attempted to create a disturbance but was warned to desist by Chairman Canwell.

CHAIRMAN ALBERT F. CANWELL: Mister State Patrolman, if we do not have order, clear the room. Anyone making a demonstration will be removed. Now, those in this room—if you wish to stay here, appear here as American citizens.

At this point William Pennock, President of the Washington State Pension Union, again attempted to create a disturbance by reading a prepared statement and by direction of Chairman Canwell was removed from the hearing room by the State Patrol.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: —in the matter brought before this hearing, you may stay. Otherwise, you will be removed. There will be no compromise with that.

At this point Edward L. Pettus, former State Representative from Tacoma, created a disturbance, and by direction of Chairman Canwell was removed from the hearing room by the State Patrol.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: If there is any further display back there, I shall ask the State Patrolmen to remove the parties responsible.

This meeting will proceed in an orderly manner, if you all are taken out. This Committee has heretofore acted upon the assumption that it was legally constituted by the Legislature and had full power to act as an official Committee of the State Legislature. The question was raised in Superior Court today, as to whether the Committee had been legally constituted, and in view of this question, if there should be any doubt as to whether this Committee may legally speak for the State of Washington, any statements which we may make in the course of this proceedings, should be considered as the statements of us as individual members of the Legislature, rather than as official statements made on behalf of the State of Washington.

Mr. Houston, do you have any information to come before this Committee?

MR. HOUSTON: Call the first witness. Please stand and be sworn. Will you swear the witness, Mr. Canwell?

LOUIS F. BUDENZ, called as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Please state your name.

A. Louis Francis Budenz.

Q. And where do you live, Mr. Budenz?

A. New York City. I am a teacher of Economics at Fordham University.

Q. Fordham University is located in New York City?

A. That is correct. I live in Crestwood, New York, nearby.

Q. What has been your past occupation?

A. I taught one year at Notre Dame, and before that, for five years was managing editor of the Daily Worker, for a period before that, about three years I was editor of the Communist paper in Chicago, the Midwest Daily Record. Before that, I was labor editor of the Daily Worker. Prior to that time I could go into other matters, but that suffices for the present.

MR. HOUSTON: That is sufficient.

Q. Mr. Budenz, are you, or have you ever been a member of the Communist party?

A. I was a member of the Communist Party for ten years, a member officially of the National Committee for six years, and a member unofficially for political reasons, three other years. That is, for three years when the allegation was made that the Daily Worker, during the Hitler-Stalin Pact, was not an official organ of the Communist Party. I was to contend that I was not officially associated with the party, and therefore I was not a member openly of the National Committee. Nevertheless, I attended all National Committee meetings during that time. The paper at that time was supposedly owned by three gentlewomen, although it was always, of course, owned and controlled by the Communist Party. This was a deceit. I was president of the corporation, and managing editor of the Daily Worker during that time.

Q. When did you cease to be associated with the Communist Party?

A. In October, 1945, when I left the Communist Movement.

Q. Now, I believe you have stated that the Daily Worker is the official organ of the Communist Party, is that correct?

A. It is the official daily organ. There is a theoretical organ now known as Political Affairs, formerly known as The Communist. This is intended for the elite of the party—the leaders, so to speak, though anyone can obtain it if they choose to do so. There is also the New Times, the name a disguise for the Communist International magazine, which is given out to all members of the Daily Worker staff and to leading members of the party for their directions from Moscow, but the Daily Worker is the official daily organ of the Communist Party, though from time to time the Party has sought to deny this, it now acknowledges it,—and has acknowledged it before.

Q. Who formulates the policy of the Daily Worker?

A. Immediately an editorial board; above them the political committee of the Communist Party, and above them, the information and directives that come from Moscow, to the political committee.

Q. As the managing editor of the Daily Worker, did you ever have concrete evidence of instructions being issued from Moscow?

A. Mr. Eisler is the very living example—Gerhardt Eisler, representative of the Communist International, who had tremendous power within the organization secretly. Most people in the Communist movement didn't even know of his existence, and yet secretly he ordered about the editors of the Daily Worker, and also officials of the Communist Party. He is one example. Another is J. C. Peters, also an alien in here illegally, who is about to be up for deportation proceedings—the man who wrote the pamphlet in 1935 declaring that the objective of the Communist Party was the violent overthrow of the Government of the United States—officially issued by the Party at that time for the schools in Marxism and Leninism. He is another link, by the way, with information coming from abroad secretly.

There are a great number. A man very close with this secret international apparatus is Alexander Bittleman, another alien illegally in the United States just recently apprehended for deportation. It is through these personalities and channels, many of them in the shadow, many of them unknown even to rank and file members of the Communist Party. Information comes which the political committee heeds, and which the Daily Worker has to obey, and which as managing editor I always respected and obeyed as a loyal Communist during that time.

Q. Are there other publications in the United States that are unofficial organs or controlled by the Communist Party?

A. There was this Midwest Daily Record, of which I was editor in Chicago. That was supposed to be a people's front paper, but as a Communist, I had to state that it was the Communist contribution to the people's front. There is the People's World in San Francisco, and there are a number of other unofficial organs—I couldn't recall them all. Here in Seattle there is the New World, which is—

At this point, Terry Pettus, Editor of the New World, started shouting and tried to get the attention of Chairman Canwell.

A. The New World is absolutely controlled by the political committee of the Communist Party.

At this point, Terry Pettus, Editor of the New World, started shouting and tried to get the attention of Chairman Canwell.

MR. PETTUS: That is a lie, as the editor of that paper—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: If Mr. Pettus insists on speaking here out of order, remove him.

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Do you know Mr. Pettus, the man who just rose to his feet then?

A. I know him by reputation.

Q. What is Mr. Pettus' reputation?

A. Member of the Communist Party.

Q. How did you come to such information—come in possession of it?

A. It was told me by a number of leading members of the political committee, as official instructions to me. Jack Stachel and others,

Q. They were high officials of the Communist Party?

A. They were the men immediately my superiors, yes sir.

Q. And in official business you were told that the New World was a Communist paper and that Terry Pettus—and its predecessors—

A. —not only the New World, but its predecessors, the—

Q. Washington New Dealer?

A. That is correct.

Q. How about its predecessor, the Sunday News?

A. I don't recall the name of the Sunday News. The whole setup there was under Communist control.

Q. The predecessor of the Sunday News, The Voice of Action?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, this information came to you in your official capacity as editor of the Daily Worker?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And as editor of the Daily Worker, did you supply these other Communist publications with different information, different directives, and lines to follow, copy?

A. The New World was supposed to be supplied from the People's World in San Francisco. The Daily Worker, of course, can be observed by anyone and it is religiously followed by anyone who is adopting the party line, and therefore, agreement with the Daily Worker, more or less, would support my statement. That is to say, it is the intention of the Daily Worker to be a source of directives to Communists everywhere as to how to proceed. In addition,

however, I was requested by the political committee from time to time, to make observations in regard to papers which they wanted to influence, including the New World.

Q. Did you see the effect of that influence—did it carry out the policy you laid down?

A. It did.

Q. It has been discussed in high plenums of the Communist Party?

A. It has been discussed in the report of the district organizer, yes, sir.

Q. Do you recall the name of the district organizer who discussed it?

A. Well, Henry Huff did, and I believe his predecessor Morris Rapport or Rappaport.

Q. Is there any difference between the Communist Party of the United States of America, and the Communist Party of other countries?

A. None whatsoever so far as their allegiance to Moscow is concerned, and also so far as the general line which they pursue is concerned. The history of the Communist Party if it is investigated, you can take the Communist Press and examine it, for the thirty years of its existence never has it been in disagreement with the line laid down in Moscow.

Q. Is there a direct control?

A. There is a control through the representative of the Communist International, who recently was Gerhardt Eisler. These personalities change but the control continues. In addition to that, you have these sources of control, such as the New Times, which is the Communist International magazine in disguise; formerly there was a Communist International magazine openly, which are used for directive purposes. The policy which they explained further out of the program laid down in Moscow by the statements of the Soviet Government, by Pravda, Izvestia, and the rest of the Soviet Press find their echoes, first in the pages of the Daily Worker and then out through the country over and over again. That is an old story.

Q. Would you say that this paper, the New World, is an echo, as you described?

A. Yes, it is.

Q. And this is your official knowledge that came to you while you were the editor of the Daily Worker?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you explain for us here in the early phases of this hearing, Professor, what is the Communist Party?

A. The Communist Party is the expression in the United States of the Soviet's Fifth Column. It has no other purpose than that. In order, however, to further this aim, it takes up certain worthy causes, infiltrates certain movements which have a correct reason for existence, in order to use those movements for the purpose of the Soviet dictatorship. The characteristics of the Communist Party, the three of them, which show beyond doubt that it is a Fifth Column in which I had very definite experience of as managing editor of the Daily Worker, are these. One: Never throughout the history of the Communist Party—and you can search all of its publications for the last thirty years—has that party ever disagreed in one iota with any Soviet leader endorsed by the Kremlin. Secondly: Never has it found any weakness moral or intellectual in any Soviet leader endorsed by the Stalin dictatorship. On the contrary, every statement from Moscow and I invite you gentlemen of

this group, these members of the Legislature, to examine the Communist Press and support my statement. Every declaration of Moscow is immediately taken up in order to be carried forward into every union in which Communists operate—into every organization into which they infiltrate, into every community in which they operate, in order to make the mind of America subservient to the mind of Moscow. I invite investigation of the Communist Press for thirty years, this is the best evidence. And also the resolutions of the Communist Party. There is one example. During the Hitler-Stalin Pact. Mr. Roosevelt was denounced in May, 1940, at the National convention of the Communist Party as another Hitler. We will come to that later, I hope. At any rate, the point of the matter is because at that time, incidentally, he did not see eye to eye with the Soviet dictators in their pact with Hitler. First of all, then, the Communist Party finds no possibility of disagreement with the current line of Moscow, whatever it may be. On the other hand, it feverishly proceeds to try to push it in the columns of the Daily Worker and everywhere else, as rapidly as possible. That is one point. American leadership, on the other hand, right along with this point, which dares to disagree with the Soviet dictatorship, is immediately subjected to the utmost vituperation in the Communist Press and this is carried forward and as far as possible into other organizations. The fate of Mr. Roosevelt is an example. When he came into office he was a Fascist. When he recognized Soviet Russia that was removed. When the Hitler-Stalin pact came up, back it went again, and I invite investigation particularly, of the May, 1940 convention of the Communist Party, in the resolutions in which Mr. Roosevelt is attacked with the utmost vituperation as an enemy of the American people, as one who will destroy their organization, social insurance and the like. The only foundation for this was that Mr. Roosevelt at that time did not see eye to eye with the Stalin dictatorship on Hitler. Now, that is the first thing. What is an organization which can only agree wholly with the foreign dictatorship? It's a Fifth Column. Secondly, the Communist Party was subsidized by the Soviet government openly for a number of years—well, the amount I can't give you, but it could be added up—and that is, through the Runag News Agency.

Q. Will you spell that word Runag?

A. R-u-n-a-g.

Q. R-u-n-a-g. And also, Professor, in answer to questions answer verbally, because we are recording, and the recording devices cannot record a nod. Don't strain your voice, either, Professor, the recording devices are very sensitive.

A. I want every one to hear this. The Runag News Agency was a creature the Soviet government set up to effect opinion in English speaking countries. It sent over here hundreds of thousands of words free to the Communist movement. These words being translated into English in Moscow and then sent here. These words were entirely too many ever to be used in the Communist Press. There wasn't enough room for it. They were directives to the Communist Party leadership. They were used in part in the Communist Press. This was a subsidy amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars a year to the Communist Party by the Soviet government. It was declared so by Attorney General Francis Biddle. The whole record of this matter is in the files of the Department of Justice. My connection with it is that I was present when it was decided that Earl Browder should register as a foreign agent in Washington in order to hold this subsidy. Mr. Biddle had ruled, you must understand, that any agency or organization receiving a subsidy

of this amount in this form was a foreign agent. It was decided by the national center of the Communist Party that Mr. Browder should register as a foreign agent. However, word came from the representative of the Communist International that this would be destructive, it would give the game away, so Mr. Browder did not register and the subsidy was lost—that is, I mean the open subsidy, not to mention possible secret subsidies.

Incidentally, Mr. Browder today is an open Soviet agent. He is registered as a foreign agent, as representative of the Soviet Book Trust, but in those days, of course, he did not have that position. What do we think of an organization which receives its subsidies from a foreign dictatorship in this fashion over a great number of years, and is only estopped from it by the Attorney General's office? That's a Fifth Column. The third thing is, and I learned this during the Hitler-Stalin Pact particularly, that a large per cent, I would say eighty to ninety per cent of the officers of the Communist Party in the official apparatus, have been trained in the Lenin school for foreign service in Moscow, and that in itself is an indication of the tone, temper and purpose of the Communist Party. Those three characteristics make it a Fifth Column.

Q. Is the Communist Party revolutionary in character?

A. It's revolutionary in the sense that it does whatever Moscow wants it to do, and Moscow's purposes have always been, and are today, the destruction of the United States Government.

Q. Has that been expressed in their writings?

A. Oh, decidedly.

Q. Do you recall any of them?

A. Well, we will start with Lenin's State and Revolution. That is the fundamental Marxist-Leninist explanation of what is to be done with the voice of a democratic state. That means the United States government. That was just at the birth of the Soviet Union. There Lenin says that the thing to do is to smash the apparatus violently. "Does this apply to the United States," he asked? "It does," he replied. Now, this State and Revolution is taught repeatedly in the secret schools of the Communists. I don't necessarily mean the open school, though it may be referred to there, but there are these secret schools, some of them are conducted in the State of Washington constantly, and elsewhere. These are the section training schools, district training schools, and then later on you have the national training schools. In these secret training schools held away from the public eye, Marxism-Leninism is taught and the very essence of Marxism-Leninism is the final shattering by violence of the governmental apparatus of the lores of a democratic state. This was acknowledged, of course, over and over again by men like Foster before the Fish committee and the like. But the thing is that we could go through other Soviet documents, Stalin's principles of Leninism as they are interpreted and right down to the case of Jacques Duclos's article demoting Earl Browder, implying this continuous progress of thought or continuance of thought, rather, on this matter—in regard to the Soviet leadership's aims toward the United States. Jacques Duclos's article demoted Earl Browder from leadership in the American Communist party because Browder was a revisionist, namely, a traitor from the Reich, a Kowskyite, because Browder held the illusion that there could be peace between the Socialist and Capitalist world. Stand for such a peace, if you read the Duclos article you will find it to be a traitor to the Communist movement and Soviet Russia. Therefore, the proper thing for a loyal Communist to do, and they have been doing it ever since, is to seek to undermine, the United States. Now this was merely a reiteration

of what is known as Leninism, was proclaimed as such in the Communist publications. We could get very much more documentary evidence, Senator, but I think that will suffice.

Q. Summing it up, is it your testimony that the Communist Party, even as of today, is dedicated to the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence?

A. Especially today, in view of the policy of Soviet Russia toward the United States. If you will read the issues of the New Times which come from Moscow, and as I say are placed on the desk of every member of the Daily Worker staff, you will find there the United States described as the chief enemy of mankind. The entire objective of these articles go hand in hand with Soviet policy of aggression today. This policy of aggression was consolidated in the so-called Cominform, when the Soviet quislings of Eastern Europe gathered together and joined with the parties of France and Italy, the Communist parties of France and Italy, to consolidate their subjugation of those peoples in Eastern Europe. In their declaration they declared that this was aimed against the United States. They call it American Imperialism, but they mean the United States.

Q. Your testimony, then, as a high official, or former high official of the Communist party, member of their national committee, is that the party is and always has been, dedicated to the forcible, violent, overthrow of this government?

A. That is correct. Amending its declarations publicly from time to time in accordance with the changing interests of Soviet Russia. The final arbiter of what the party shall do is Soviet Russia.

Q. You refer to the Communist Party as a Fifth Column. Would that in any sense be interpreted in a military sense—is it a menace to the United States?

A. It is a menace to the United States—a serious menace.

Q. In the event of hostilities between the United States and the Soviet Union, is there any decision to be made by the Communist Party, or is there any question as to which government it would follow?

A. There is no doubt. It would follow Soviet Russia. The proof of this was the Hitler-Stalin Pact period. The documents there show in the May, 1940 convention of the Communist Party, that Stalin emerges as the man whom they will follow.

Q. Do you have any knowledge, or have you ever heard any discussion as to what form that following Russia would take in the United States—would it consist of sabotage, or—

A. It would consist of whatever was at the moment serviceable to the cause they represent. One of the things that a Fifth Column can do above all is to confuse the public mind, particularly when it can use allegedly non-Communist agencies. That is one of the great tactics of the Communists, to use a non-Communist agency as I have said, frequently an agency devoted to a just purpose, but to use it for Communist purposes. That confuses the public mind. They will go in and form a union, devote themselves zealously to it as a matter of fact, and then get the union to pass resolutions favorable to Soviet aggression. That is, of course, it won't be under that name. During the Hitler-Stalin Pact, organizations passed resolutions against the Imperialist war. Now, what is an Imperialist war? Under Lenin's definition, an Imperialist's war must be turned into civil war. The Communists were told secretly by men like Eugene Dennis, meeting with us in Chicago and in other places, that we

should hold ourselves in readiness to turn the Imperialist war into civil war. That is a natural result of Lenin's teaching that when you have an Imperialist war you must turn it into a civil war. During the Hitler-Stalin Pact, America's help to Britain, and the British effort to defend themselves was held to be an Imperialist war.

Q. I didn't catch the name you used. Did you say Eugene Dennis or Eugene Dennett?

A. Eugene Dennis. D-e-n-n-i-s. The present secretary of The Communist Party, trained in Moscow in the Lenin school.

Q. When did he make this statement?

A. He did not make a public statement. This was in—this specific statement I had in mind was made in the fall of 1939, or the early winter of 1939 in Chicago, to a secret meeting of all the Communist functionaries, chief functionaries, at which I was in attendance. At the time the party was going underground.

Q. Now, I don't want to become repetitious, but I would like you to spell out for us a little more fully, your answer to the question that I asked as to the Communist party. Are there a series of Communist parties in different countries? We hear of Chinese Communists, Yugo-Slav Communists, German Communists—

A. Each country has its Soviet Fifth Column called the Communist Party. As a rule called the Communist Party.

Q. And these are all tied together in Russia?

A. That is right. They are completely under the direction of whoever speaks for the Kremlin. The man who spoke for many years as the head of the Communist International was D. Z. Manuilsky, who is now representing the Ukraine, or allegedly representing the Ukraine in the United Nations. As a matter of fact, Mr. Manuilsky always remained head of the Communist International. It never was dissolved, although the statement was made that it was dissolved. The proof that it was not dissolved, of course, was before our very eyes in the fact that all of these parties in every country follow exactly the same line, parrot the same phrases, and do the same things at the same time.

Q. Does the Communist Party demand any form of discipline?

A. The Communist Party decidedly demands discipline. No one can disagree with the line as it is laid down. The line comes to the party from above. Four times a year the national committee meets as a rule. At this national committee meeting whoever is the leader of the party—it was Browder during most of my experience, spends from two to four hours telling the delegates there, the national committee members who are the alleged leaders of the party, what they shall do during the next period of time. He lays down what the policy shall be and every one in the national committee rises up, this goes on over and over, and says that he agrees one hundred per cent with this report. Now, when Browder was demoted it came out in the Communist Party that many of these reports had been written by national committee members before they even knew what Browder was going to say. Why did they show this degradation of intellect? Because they knew that Browder would not say anything against the wishes of Moscow; that what he was saying was in line with what Moscow wanted said. Now, after this is—now the—after this is said to the national committee members, then they hold state meetings in each state and the state leader gets up and echoes—of course sometimes in slightly dif-

ferent words—echoes the basic thoughts that Browder gave them at the national meeting. Then everyone gets up and says they say they agree one hundred per cent with that. Then this is carried down to the section. The section leaders now make the same kind of a report based on Browder's original report. And again everyone is supposed to agree unanimously with what has been handed out to him, and so it goes down to the branches. The alleged discussion that takes place is not a discussion at all, as a rule at least, is not a discussion at all of the policy or program, it is a discussion of how I am going to carry out the program, of how we in one state are going to infiltrate certain organizations; of how we are going to control certain unions; of how we are going to do this and that to forward the program as laid down to Browder, which is identical with the mind of Moscow. And so the entire policy making proceeds from the top and no one dare disagree. If you disagree you are cast out into the outer darkness as Browder was cast; although of course he made a speech from Moscow later and came back as a Soviet registered agent. That shut his mouth up from telling the truth about the Communist conspiracy. What is discussed there, then, this alleged discussion, has two purposes. First, that it may be told how each state in the national committee meetings shall carry out this policy and then secondly to discover by the discussion if anyone is showing Trotskyite or other tendencies that should cause him to be under observation. I have sat in committees that said in states, in Illinois, specifically, when I was a member of the state committee out there, and the members of this committee sat down and said that comrade in discussion showed liquidationist tendencies. We will have to isolate him slightly from the conference until we discover just exactly what he is up to. And so the discussion was used as a means to determine the loyalty and the discipline of the alleged leader, whether he was section or otherwise, to the line as laid down from above.

Q. So there is this discipline?

A. There is a secondary discipline, and that is the threat of character assassination. The Communists are specialists in character assassination. There is a rumor throughout the party which says you cannot leave the party of your own free will. You must be expelled. Every Communist knows that is said in one form or another over and over again. That is a form of blackmail letting anyone know that if he shows tendencies which are against the party line that he may not only find himself ostracized, but he may find himself subjected to a barrage of character assassination. This was such an old tactic of the Communists that I hesitate to go further with evidence, but it has been tried and used over and over and over again, the discipline imposed in several ways.

Q. Is it a rigid discipline or does it allow for initiative and free thinking?

A. It is a rigid discipline so far as following the line in accord with Moscow is concerned. You cannot deviate with the will of Moscow. Earl Browder tried it and he was subjected to quite a bit of discipline on his own part. Others have tried it, thinking that perhaps they have some ideas that would be valuable to America on the one hand, or even to the Communist movement to which they are loyal on the other. If it disagreed with Moscow's decree, then you are in the outer darkness, as I have said. Of course you can conform, and many people conform and conceal their disagreement. The initiative that is allowed, however, is the initiative now that you don't have to think for yourself about any policy. You may go forward with full zeal, almost with a

fanaticism to carry out the orders that proceed from this policy. Communists do that with a great fanaticism indeed. They are enabled to do it in part because they do not have to think about the policy. That is thought out for them. What they have to do only is to follow out the policy and they put all their zeal and their energy, of which some of them have a great deal, into the fulfillment of this pact. The word pact is very aptly chosen.

Q. Now, Professor, will you detail for us the organization of the Communist Party, from the cells and the units and the fractions on up.

A. Well, of course, the Communist party have had many changes indeed in its form of organization. I think perhaps the best way to do, because the changes of organization are so great, is to make the matter a very simple one. Namely, that in any organization that is to be infiltrated, people are placed in there under special authority and under special discipline. And they have to fulfill certain objectives. We may call that different names, because at different times it has had different names. Then of course, in addition, there is the party branch. Now this party branch contains some of those who are allowed to have Communist party cards and who are more or less called rank and file. They are in the party branches and they meet and discuss things and the like from time to time. This branch also goes under an evolution. At one time it was a tremendously large group, and then when the Hitler-Stalin Pact came and the word came to go underground it was dissolved practically into nothing; only five members could meet together in houses and a whole method was used to conceal from one party member who the other party members were in this fashion. That was supposed to be for protective purposes, and thus we see that a number of methods have been used from time to time. In addition to all this, however, there is the individual who is in a key or delicate position. During the Hitler-Stalin Pact, cards for these people were largely dispensed with so that there would be no longer any vestiges of Communist membership among people in key or delicate positions. Therefore, to ask for a Communist card today is ridiculous from anyone who is in a key or delicate position and alleges he is a non-Communist, because all vestiges of Communist membership have been removed from him. During the Hitler-Stalin Pact, you must understand, when the party went underground, all vestiges of records were destroyed. And after that those people, as I say, who were in the key or delicate positions were removed of anything which would show their membership. There were some people who were in key and delicate positions who had had cards before, some of these gentlemen before the Un-American Committees in Washington. Their cards were produced because they had had them in the days of their youth. But from now on, or rather after this Hitler-Stalin Pact, many party members who were infiltrating organizations and who were in key and delicate positions, in public appointment offices or the like no longer were required to have any vestige of Communist party membership. On the other hand, they were asked not to have it by the party itself.

Q. Would it be fair to say the more important the man is to the Communist party the less possibility of him carrying a card?

A. Not necessarily. It depends upon what his function is. If he is important within the party as an open member, then he has a card and uses it to try to impress other people with the fact that there are Communists out in the open, devoting themselves to this activity. But if he is planted in an organization or in an office, or in a position in a union where he would be in an embarrass-

ing position if the membership knew he was a Communist, definitely, then he has no vestige of such membership. We will take a man like Julius Emspak, general secretary of the United Electrical Radio Machine Workers Union. He sat right next to me three days during the national committee meeting that tried Browder in June, 1945. I doubt that today he has any card at all as a party member and I doubt that James Matlas, who is the political representative of the Communist Party in the United Electrical Radio & Machine Workers Union has any such membership either, although in that organization ninety-five per cent of the members are non-Communists, I venture to say, from the reports I received, when I was managing editor of the Daily Worker, that ninety per cent of the offices are in the hands of the Communists. Now Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union showed us how that is worked. We recall that Joseph Curran formerly was very close to the Communists. When they said that it was an Imperialist war, he said the Yanks are not coming. When they said now is the time to defend Russia, he said, let's have a second front even if America is not prepared; even if America's youth shall be destroyed on the beaches of Europe. He would have a second front to save Soviet Russia. He did in other words what the Communists wanted him to do. Now he has learned his lesson. He has broken with the Communists and is opposing them. In a report to his membership in the Pilot, official organ of the National Maritime Union a few months ago, President Joseph Curran declared that of the 70,000 members of the National Maritime Union, only 500 are Communists. Of those 500 Communists, one hundred seven are holding offices and there are only one one hundred and fifty offices in the whole organization. Curran explains how this is done, by deceit, by falsehood, by misrepresenting themselves, by taking advantage of people and meeting in secret caucuses when the rank and file doesn't know about it, going out to sea only long enough to retain their membership and then coming in and being on the beach for the union meeting while the rank and file seaman has to go out on his own business. These various tactics were detailed by Joseph Curran in the Pilot, the official organ of the National Maritime Union. That indicates the different methods used by the Party in infiltration and also shows how a small group of Communists can control an organization, even though the membership is largely non-Communist.

Q. Is there any question at all as to whether or not these non-carrying men are as much Communist as the member carrying a card?

A. Just as much, and sometimes even more so. The way to measure a Communist today is not by his card or vestige of membership, it is how he acts. If he follows the program of the Communist party and that will always be in accord with Soviet policies, then he is a Communist. That is to say, there may be some innocent people dragged along for the time, but if he consistently does that over a period of time, changing as they change, then he is a Communist.

Q. The Soviet Party Line has made rapid reverses, has it not?

A. Very rapid, indeed.

Q. And if a man follows through one or two or three of these reverses, where today he repudiates everything he said yesterday, you feel that he is a Communist?

A. That is an indelible mark of his being a Communist. There is one other mark, by the way, that can generally be applied. The Communist if pushed to the wall will even attack his own party. I give you as a witness of that

Ben Gold, president—now just a moment, I am referring to official documents. Ben Gold, president of the Fur & Leather Goods Workers Union is an open Communist. And yet he helps draw up a resolution for the C.I.O. convention because Murray insisted on it and condemning Communist infiltration of the union. Now they will go that far to condemn themselves. There is one thing they will never condemn—Soviet Russia. They will never find a defect in any of the aggression of Soviet Russia. They will never find anything wrong in the slave concentration camps of Soviet Russia. They will, on the other hand, always find everything perfect in Soviet Russia and in every organization seek to prevent any resolution which at all reflects upon Soviet Russia or its subsidiaries.

Q. Professor,—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Houston, for the record which is being recorded, will you use his name, Professor Budenz, use it more often so we will have it in the records.

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Professor Budenz, is the Communist Party a democratic party?

THE WITNESS:

A. It is certainly not. You can't have a democratic vote in the Communist Party. I have just indicated the process which is employed. That is to say, the leader of the party lays down the line. The National Committee accepts it without question. They then go out and hand it out into the districts, and to the sections, and to the branches. Everyone has to accept it. If you don't accept that, then there is something wrong with you. You are ostracized, you are expelled, you are subjected, if you continue to oppose, to character assassination.

Q. In other words, there is no possibility for a democratic movement to work up? For a little fraction here to say this would be a good thing for Communists, and then that could go on and on—

A. Anyone that would dare raise his head would be immediately expelled. That has happened over and over again.

Q. That has happened repeatedly?

A. A number of expelled Communists are leaving.

Q. Did you, in your capacity as an official of the party, have any knowledge of how they are forwarding their revolutionary aims, how they are expanding themselves, is it by penetration, or by open declaration, or—

A. Well of course not by open declaration. That is to say except in a very meager way that the Communist Party shows its real plot or its activities. The only way you can get these activities is in hearing the reports of the National Committee secretly as I have heard them, then you know about their infiltration in many places. But the Communist Party does not proceed openly to tell about its activities. For example, we have for the moment here this Third Party movement developing. That is a pure Communist creation. If you read in June, 1947, in Political Affairs, article by Alexander Bittleman, this alien in the country illegally, sent in here by Soviet Russia, you will find that he outlines everything that has followed since. He outlines it in advance. And that is what you find over and over again when you study the Communist movement. That is the base. The Party lays down its line for its members. They go out then in disguise, mind you, into various organizations which they control, as Joe Curran has shown in the National Maritime Union, they go out there and they pick up the arguments which can convince that membership

of this conclusion which they wish to reach, and therefore it is in that method in disguise, and by deceit largely, that the Communists carry on their activities. I tell you a very good example of this. There is this man J. Peters. J. Peters, who is now about to be up for trial for deportation. He is one of the most important underground men of the Communist movement. He was the liaison officer between the Communist International apparatus and the Soviet secret police, to my knowledge. He is the man that wrote this pamphlet, I repeat which stated openly in 1935 that the Communist Party advocates the violent overthrow of the government of the United States and the setting up of a Soviet America. J. Peters, known also as Steve Miller; known also as Alexander Stevens; known also as Jack Roberts; known by so many aliases that it used to keep me busy following him around. This man said to me when I first joined the Party, and I joined it after many united front experiences, after the People's Front Congress on the word of the Communist Movement that it was going to cooperate genuinely with democratic organizations and democratic nations. He said to me, "Do you know the Communist movement in reality?" And I said, "I think I do." He said, "No, you don't. The Communist Party that you think of is just a periscope looking around. A periscope of a submerged submarine. The real organization is the conspiratorial apparatus below the water." And that is correct. It is the Eislers, the Peters, the Bittlemans and others who either partly in the open and partly in the shadow, are directing the Party on behalf of Moscow, they really are the figures in the Communist world.

Q. I am going to come back to this later, Professor, but before we leave this phase, you have referred to being a member of the National Committee and hearing reports from men throughout the United States. Did you ever hear any reports pertaining to the State of Washington?

A. Yes.

Q. At national committee meetings?

A. Yes, I think Washington reported.

Q. Washington reported.

A. There were one or two national committee meetings which were confined to the eastern states, sometimes, but as a rule each large state reported.

Q. There is, then, a Communist Party in the State of Washington?

A. Yes sir.

Q. And this is the party you have described, this conspiratorial party?

A. That is correct.

Q. And it had representatives at these national meetings?

A. These National Committee meetings are one thing, and the National convention is another. The National Committee meetings sometimes were only composed of the members of the National Committee. Generally sixty in number. That could be increased or decreased as the occasion required. However, from time to time there were extraordinary sessions of the National Committee in which a hundred to two hundred, sometimes even three hundred active party members from throughout the country were brought in to hear the discussion.

Q. Now, Professor, will you detail for us the program of the Communist Party, if there be such a program, as to its penetration in the different stratas of society and in the different classes, and how they intend to further their program that way?

A. The Communist Party seeks to penetrate every division of society. The idea that it is working only from the bottom or mainly from the bottom is not correct. It works from the top very largely. It uses lawyers, for example. Lawyers who give information to the National Committee of the Communist Party. If there is a Communist lawyer of a union, you can count on it he is reporting on the leaders of that union to the National Committee of the Communist Party; and so these lawyers are one group and this is facilitated now by the formation of a front organization, not all of whose members are Communists, but which is Communist controlled—the National Lawyers' Guild. Then that is one example. Then there is penetration of school teachers sometimes, depending upon the ability to do so. In New York it has been somewhat extensive, although school teachers in general have not been affected. There was a penetration of the Newspaper Guild, although that has been repelled and driven back. At one time the New York branch of the American Newspaper Guild was in the control of the Communists, although at least eighty per cent of the membership there, of newspaper men, I know from my experience, were non-Communists. By lethargy, by misrepresentation on the part of the Communists and the like, they permitted control to go into the hands of the Communists for a number of years. This was changed this last year. That has happened in a number of other unions. The United Automobile Workers' Union—while the Communists there never had control, they always had the ability to maneuver between different groups. That seems now to be at an end with the victory of Walter Reuther and the United Automobile Workers' Union.

Q. Now, Professor Budenz, was it the program of the Communist Party to penetrate into the field of education?

A. Yes, it was. They penetrated in New York, for example, into the teachers' union to such an extent that Teachers' branch was expelled from the A. F. of L. Teachers' Union because it was Communist controlled. It then went into the C.I.O. unfortunately, I think, but it, I believe now, is part of the United Public Workers' Organization. At any rate, it has maintained its character as a branch under Communist control. Also, there have been, of course, many efforts to penetrate the universities and other places. That is carried on both in an organized, but also largely in an unorganized—in an individual fashion. We must not forget this thing I have been trying to emphasize—the individual work of the Communist Party. Well, perhaps fifty per cent of the business of the Communist Party is carried on in apartment house meetings. I mean to say, there are so many members now who can't show their face, that they have to meet with leaders of the party secretly, very frequently. That was of course a very large scale measure during the Hitler-Stalin Pact. I know that on my part, I was a legal member of the party, one of the few in the Middle West, and I used to have to spend a great deal of the time trying to find the illegal members to carry on legal business. Now we have here at the same time this meeting with different individuals by party leaders or the representatives of party leaders, which have to be carried on on an individualistic basis. So both from an individualistic and an organized basis there has been the effort to penetrate the educational world, and also other fields of activity—intellectual activity.

Q. Would you detail some of the others?

A. Well, of course there is the case of the Social Service Division of the Methodist Church, for example, which has been penetrated by the Com-

munists, through Dr. Harry F. Ward, a long and loyal follower of the party. I knew Dr. Ward very well, many years—know of his solid Communistic devotion, which by the way needs no defense on my part. He has shown it by his debates on the radio. Then we have a man like Reverend William Howard Mellish of Brooklyn, the secretary of the Yugo-Slav—or the dynamo, at least, of the Yugo-Slav whitewashing commission. I knew his father, Reverend John Howard Mellish, and the political committee sent me, in 1944 to meet with him and to discuss his Communist affiliation. I regret I was quite successful. That gives an indication. I could go on quoting and citing case after case, but that gives an indication of the general activities outside of those fields where the party is supposed to be particularly concentrated.

Q. Is this the Dr. Harry F. Ward, that Methodist minister who recently held some meetings in the City of Seattle?

A. I judge it is. I don't know about these meetings—I just judge that is the Dr. Harry F. Ward who is quite well known. He had to leave the American Civil Liberties Union—that is, he left by resignation because of differences with him on the Communist question—with them on the Communist question.

Q. In other words, he took the Communist side of the question, there. Now, has there been any effort on the part of the Communist Party to penetrate the textbooks used in educational institutions, such as the Rugg books?

A. Well, there have, but I prefer not to discuss that.

Q. Now you have mentioned an illustration or two where they have attempted to control and dominate unions where they had a small percentage of members within the union. Was that a part of the program of the Communist Party?

A. That is definitely a basic program of tactics for the Communist Party. They always have a small membership but they control by getting positions of influence by misrepresentation, and of course by their zeal and energy, but largely by misrepresentation. If they told the rank and file that they were Communists honestly, why they wouldn't be in those positions.

Q. Then the movement in its application is a secret, conspiratorial movement?

A. Yes, very secretive.

Q. Have the Communists made any—

THE WITNESS: (Interposing) May I explain that a little bit more? The Communist movement is so secret that the left hand doesn't know what the right hand does. That is to say there is this whole activity of the Soviet secret police in the United States, to which party members are assigned from time to time. That is not known to the rest of the party membership. I had my own experience in meeting the Soviet secret police for three years. That was not known to the membership. I had to conceal it from my own comrades in the Daily Worker. The only thing I was told always to do was to say that Comrade Browder approved of what I was doing. But that is only one phase of it, and a small phase, because not many members of the party ever are called into that sort of activity. There is the question of who the members are, and there very many times the members of the National Committee don't know members. You have to go and look around to find out who is a member. I had to go to a certain magazine to get a very important bit of information, and I had to go to a certain individual in order to find out whether he was affiliated with the party, which I thought he was, of course, or I wouldn't have raised the question. I had to go to the National office, on the ninth floor and

learn that he was a party member, and therefore I could speak to him in that fashion. So that the whole atmosphere is one of conspiracy, in that respect.

Q. Are you familiar with any of the programs laid down by the Moscow government as for example their labor camps?

A. You mean their concentration camps in Soviet Russia?

Q. Yes.

A. Well, I learned about those, and that was one reason that I began to examine critically the Communist movement. I learned about those as managing editor of the *Daily Worker*. When you receive instructions as a Communist that you mustn't mention something, you know that there is something wrong there, from the Communist viewpoint. Silence is the remedy that the Communist International proposes for anything which would be criminal or injurious to the movement. That is why so many Communists when they are caught with false passports confess right away and get light sentences and have the whole matter hushed up. But as a matter of fact, I learned this. First, our instructions were on the *Daily Worker* in regard to these concentration camps, that we should say they were great reform institutions. They were reforming criminals; putting them to work on the Volga Canal in honor of Stalin, and we used to be very eloquent on that question. The Soviet Union never punishes; it reforms. That was a great slogan. But subsequently we received very sharp instructions and those continued until I left the party, never to mention in any way in the *Daily Worker* the Soviet concentration camps; never to defend them. If there was any defense made it was an accident, because we were supposed not to, and they repeatedly told me as a Communist many other experiences of a similar character, that these camps were expanding, that they were becoming an integral part of Soviet economy and of course this is confirmed by David Dalin's book on forced labor in the Soviet Union, one hundred twenty-five large concentration camps from one end of Soviet Russia to another, and an integral part of Soviet economy. Once starting this slave labor they can't let up. They have to continue it.

Q. That is slave labor?

A. That is slave labor. Gold is mined by slave labor in Northeastern Siberia. When we had these stories—by the way, these are not stories that just occur occasionally, these stories came time and again from people who escaped from the camp. You see the Poles gave us the first opportunity to see these camps. When Soviet Russia rushed into Poland and despoiled that country in agreement with Hitler, then thousands of Poles were sent to the concentration camps of Russia. But when Russia was attacked by Hitler, then many of these were let out to fight, because it was felt that they would help in the war fighting for Poland, they would help Russia too. Now that was one means by which some information got out. Then many Zionist Jews who were in these camps escaped and told their story. Ukrainian Catholics were there because of their religion, and others who are dangerous, apparently, to a totalitarian state, who would not be dangerous in a democracy. These stories kept coming over and over again—when I say stories I mean in the newspaper sense, accounts, records. We were told never to mention it. When that is told in Communist circles you understand that you can't defend the situation.

Q. You mentioned the secret police recently. Are there Russian secret police in this country?

A. Well, I don't know of my own knowledge today, but there must be, because there always have been. I had personal contact with the Soviet secret

police for three years under directions of the political committee of the Communist party or a section, under directions of Jack Stachel and Jacob Golas, who at that time was chairman of the control commission. I wonder how many rank and file Communists know that Jacob Golas was chairman of the control commission. Practically none of them. When he died we had to write a story saying he wasn't even a member of the Communist Party, but he was head of the control commission for many years, passing upon the discipline of Communist secrecy, and also to the world tourists, being an agency for contact with the Soviet secret police and other conspiratorial outlets. He got me in touch, Jack Stachel also telling me I must do this—with the Soviet secret police, and I met with them for three years. The purpose of the meetings was the assassination of Leon Trotsky in Mexico City. The young lady whom I introduced to them, Ruby Wilde, I never mentioned her name before, but here under oath I feel I must do so—Ruby Wilde, who was an innocent victim, by the way, of the whole business—was sent to Paris by the Soviet secret police with Sylvia Agaloff, a Trotskyite courier. She pretended to be Miss Agaloff's friend. In Paris, at a Trotskyite congress where they went, she introduced Miss Agaloff to this man Jackson, who is in jail in Mexico City for killing Trotsky. She introduced Jackson to Miss Agaloff as a Belgian Count, and Miss Agaloff fell in love with him, as was expected to be the case, smuggled him into Mexico, put him in the Trotsky household where he killed Trotsky with an alpenstock. He did not kill Trotsky within, however, because he would be caught, until an outside attempt failed. That is frequently forgotten. The agents of the Soviet secret police led by the Mexican artist Siquivros. I think his name is spelled S-i-q-u-i-v-r-o-s—shot out the whole Trotsky headquarters from the outside in the hopes of killing Trotsky that way. Some information was given by Jackson from within. They did not succeed and then the Jackson episode took place. In the course of that situation I met these Soviet secret police three times a week in restaurants in New York, in the Hotel Stevens in Chicago, and in many other places, so I know they are here. Now, this was the interesting thing, gentlemen, that—Senators—, this is the interesting thing, that every move I made with them was known by this man J. Peters. He used to check with me. Now this member of the secret police isn't so good, is he? Now that one is better, isn't he? And things like that, just one little sentence, although he would give me to know by his observations, that he didn't want to discuss the matter further with me.

Q. Now, you mentioned several times Jack Stachel. Just who is he?

A. Jack Stachel, he is a member of the political committee of the Communist Party and has been for a great number of years. He is one of those men who always knows the line from Moscow, even before he can explain it to you.

Q. This—

A. I wish to emphasize that. There are two or three Comrades who get the line from Moscow. They know what the line is. They used to come into the *Daily Worker* and say, "You have to do this." Frequently they couldn't tell you why they had to do it. Of course it was very obvious that they had been given a hot pressure order they must get it in the paper immediately. Stachel was more astute in those things, and he used to ask every member of the editorial board first what they thought about this proposition. Everybody thought wrong, because they had been thinking in the other terms, but he had the word from abroad, so he then would have time to organize his thought and

show wherein we were wrong. That comedy went on time after time. Jack Stachel is a very important member of the Communist Party. He has a very astute mind.

Q. Is this the man you referred to as telling you that Terry Pettus, editor of the Washington New Dealer, was a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes sir. He among one or two other leaders,—comrades. I remember his statement distinctly.

Q. Were there any other instructions with that statement?

A. Not that I can recall at this moment.

Q. Did you then treat Terry Pettus in a business way and his paper as a Communist publication?

A. It was known throughout the whole Daily Worker staff that it was our paper, as they used to call it. That was a common observation.

Q. Your testimony is that you sent copy to it, and it was used, and you sent orders, and they were used?

A. I don't know how many orders were ever sent direct. That was not the way it was used.

Q. But the general flow was through—

A. (Interposing) The political committee—it used to—the general flow was through San Francisco.

Q. But on special occasions it would come direct? Is that right?

A. There may have been an inquiry or two. That I am not sure of, however. The general method was through San Francisco.

Q. Did you ever check back and find out whether or not this paper followed the Communist Party line?

A. It follows it very faithfully.

Q. That is true even to today?

A. That is correct, so far as I know. I haven't seen it lately, to my last knowledge.

Q. Did you know the previous editor of that paper previous to Mr. Pettus, James Cour?

A. Yes, I knew him. I think he is the same man I have in mind. He was a small fellow, light. As a matter of fact, he came and consulted with me about the whole business of the paper. That was at the time that Costigan was in charge, was it not? He came to see me about the whole business in New York before he came out here, if it is the same man I have in mind, and I remember him quite favorably.

Q. Did he tell you that he was coming out here to take charge of the paper?

A. Well, he was going to work with Costigan.

Q. Work with Costigan?

A. Howard Costigan.

Q. Is Howard Costigan a member of the Communist Party?

A. He was. Although he concealed it.

Q. Oh, he was one of those secret?

A. As far as I know. That is, out here in Washington he may have disclosed it more widely than we had national information of. My understanding was that he concealed his membership though he was of the Communist Party.

Q. Would he be one of these that you have described that would not carry a Communist Party card?

A. Well, that would be doubtful. He might and he might not. You see, here is the way the method was used prior to the Hitler-Stalin Pact. In some cases, a comrade would carry around the cards, or have filed the cards of a great number of non-Communist Communists. At every national convention for years Browder used to refer to the non-Communist Bolsheviks. Well, once in a while a rank and file delegate coming from another state, used to ask me who they were. They were the non-Communist Communists, those who were members of the Communist party but didn't acknowledge it. Now, formerly the practice was, at least in large measure, for some leading comrade in an organization to have charge of the cards of four or five of these people. I had charge of the cards of about five people for a long time, people in public positions, and their names—even on these cards would not be correct, they would have false names. They generally used their mother's name. That was a common practice in the party, to use their mother's name or some relative's name and that is the way you had these names—these cards. But after a while as I say, that was changed, and the vestiges of membership were removed. Even before that time, in connection with certain aliens who might be in danger of deportation, vestiges of party membership were not permitted, and then as I say, some people in very key positions. But that became the rule as a whole after the Hitler-Stalin Pact.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Houston, whenever Professor Budenz is tired, and feels he should be at ease for a few moments—

MR. HOUSTON: May I ask just two or three more questions along this line, Mr. Chairman?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Proceed.

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. In this connection, do you know a gentleman by the name of Jess Fletcher?

A. Oh yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Jess Fletcher, is he present. Will you stand up, Jess?

Q. Is this the gentleman you refer to?

A. That is the gentleman.

Q. Was Mr. Fletcher ever a member of the Communist Party?

A. He was. He was under Communist discipline. We had a phrase "under Communist discipline," which was just the same thing as being a member of the Party. That was to cover these cases where we didn't want to have them have vestiges of membership around with them. Mr. Fletcher was to all intents and purposes a member of the Communist Party. At the Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor, that was around 1943, Rose Wordis, Miss Rose Wordis, who is in charge of trade union work in the A. F. of L. for the Communist Party and I, met with Mr. Fletcher and persuaded him, I think it was with very strong persuasion, made him, under Communist discipline, make a speech from the floor of that convention. That was because orders had come that there must be a Communist speech made on that floor at that convention by somebody who was a Communist, and although Mr. Fletcher tried to explain to us that this was not exactly the practice of his International Union, that didn't make any difference to the Communists. To be a Communist is more than to be any officer of an International Union. So he had to make that speech which I reported. I was reporting for the Daily Worker at the Boston convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Q. Now, Mr. Fletcher has stated publicly that he never had a card in the Communist Party. Would that be an illustration of the type—

A. Yes, that would be an illustration. He didn't have a card, but he certainly did what the Communists made him do at Boston.

Q. Again before we recess, Professor, I want to—I want you to reiterate, if I understand you correctly. The actual carrying of a card isn't sole indication of membership in the Communist Party?

A. That is the smallest indication. It is only the rank and file, those largely that the Party doesn't worry about too much, that are carrying cards. That is, I mean to state, that is the tendency. Now there may be differences there, but as a whole the holding of a card or any vestige of membership is no longer a sign of Communist Party affiliation. The Communists have chosen the method themselves of further concealment. The method of judging a Communist is to find out whether he agrees with the Communist Party line, and whether he has agreed during several twists and turns. That is an inevitable proof that he is a Communist.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I suggest that we recess shortly this time, because when we come back I wish to take up activities directly here in the Northwest, in the City of Seattle.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Before we recess, let me state that we wish to proceed in this hearing in an orderly manner as we have been recently, and we will not tolerate any demonstrations, any disturbances at any time during the recess or during the session of the hearing. We will now be in recess for a few moments.

(Recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will now be in session.

For the interest of those who have been named in this hearing to date, and those who may be named as the proceedings go on, in fairness to them, I wish to state at this time that they will be given an opportunity upon their request to the Committee, to appear and affirm or deny any statements made regarding them, which they feel may be incorrect or untrue. There will be no attempt made to deny those who are mentioned here, to appear before this group and answer under oath anything that may be said about them. Such application should be made at the Committee Headquarters, to enable us to schedule their proper appearance and put it on our calendar. Let me emphasize that any such reply must be under oath and must be on the subject under consideration. You may continue.

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Now, Professor, in your early testimony you mentioned legal and illegal activities of the Communist Party. What do you mean by illegal activities and do you have any specific examples?

A. There are so many examples that I cannot bring them all up today. The party lives on illegal activities. That is to say, particularly during the Hitler-Stalin Pact I learned that a great percentage of the comrades had to go underground because they violated United States laws in some respect or other. They put on false mustachios, as did Maurice Childs, whose real name is Cholefski; he was the district organizer in Chicago. He went down to Florida. Others did the same thing. There was a complete disappearance of these people because they had what was known as "technical difficulties," namely, they had violated some law of the United States. Now, however, from the public records, I would like to call your attention, in order that you will not

think that I am indulging in just excessive verbiage, I would like to call your attention to some illegal activities of the Communist leaders. First of all, Earl Browder, sent to federal prison for false passport to Moscow and the Orient on the Kremlin's business. Harry Gannon, former labor foreign editor of the Daily Worker about to be tried on even wider offenses than those of Browder, of illegal passports to many places when he died. Then there is William Weiner, the international financial agent of the Communist apparatus, whose correct name is Welwel Warzover.

Q. Will you spell that please?

A. W-e-i-n-e-r, and his name is Welwel Warzover.

He was convicted of defrauding the United States Government by misrepresenting his citizenship and birth record. He had sworn in World War I, in order to get out of service, what was true, that he was born in Russia. Later on, probably for the purpose of moving about as Eisler did, as Gerhard Eisler did on his false passports, he swore that he was born in Atlantic City. Now, you can't be born in Russia and Atlantic City at one and the same time. So an investigation took place and sure enough, on the Atlantic City records, there was William Weiner, his birth, and everything else, but it was in the wrong handwriting, it was in the wrong ink—in other words, it was a forgery, and Weiner, the financial agent of the Communist Party, at that time National Treasurer, President of the International Workers' Order, mind you, which is a Communist front,—

MR. HOUSTON: What was that?

THE WITNESS: International Workers' Order. He was President of it then, and that's a sort of a refuge for broken-down Communist organizers, or those that they want to give a breathing spell in between being defeated in unions or other organizations. I'll support that in just a moment, for this International Workers' Order.

Weiner was convicted and sentenced to Federal prison because of this forgery of his birth certificate in Atlantic City, but he didn't have to serve because he developed heart trouble, although he continued as secret International financial agent, he continued—he became the head of the big publishing house, publishing some of the most confidential Communist documents, including political affairs.

Then there is Charles Krumbein, national treasurer of the Communist Party, who recently died, 18 months in Federal prison for false passports to Moscow and the Orient on the Kremlin's business. And I joined the party in 1935 because of its People's Front promises, which I found it never intended to carry out, later. I couldn't see Krumbein, whom I had heard of, because he was then in Federal prison.

Then we'll take the case of Eugene Dennis, the present secretary of the Party. Under oath, I was asked by the Committee on un-American Activities, by Dennis, and I stated that he had said to me at one time that he had used an Irish name, and presumably in technical difficulties similar to Krumbein, namely, false passports. He rushed to the New York Times and said I was an odd job provocateur and a liar. Well, Mr. Hoover of the F.B.I. went on the stand later and showed he hadn't used one Irish name, he'd used six Irish names in various subversive activities and passport irregularities. Well, that is an indication of the widespread misuse of the United States laws, and particularly passport laws, by the Communists. Over and over again men came to me that were going on secret missions below the Rio Grande, for example, with orders to the Latin American countries, and all of them were going

secretively, they didn't have to tell me that, the fact that I couldn't communicate with them below the Rio Grande was evidence of it. And so their illegal activities are very widespread indeed.

These that I have mentioned are all on public court records. They are documents well known, the files, I suppose, of the Department of Justice, certainly of the courts, in those cases where convictions were obtained all on the Kremlin's business, mind you, Fifth Column activities.

Now, of course, I pass over the assassination of those who disagree with the Communists when they're a part of the secret apparatus. I will accuse the Communist movement, however, of the assassination of Julia Stuart Poyntz, because Clarence Hathaway told me that when he was editor of the "Daily Worker" and I was labor editor. That is to say, he didn't tell me directly, but he told it in such a way that every intelligent man could understand, namely, that that was a hot cargo, it couldn't be touched, that it involved—might involve indirectly—or, directly, some of our Communists. Now the case of Julia Stuart Poyntz is that of an American school teacher who was part of the secret apparatus of the Communist movement who walked out on the streets of New York when she was about to grow sour on that activity, and disappeared.

However, I cannot go into cases like that, I wish to keep myself to these records, these court records which I have mentioned here in regard to these various convictions for false passports.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Professor, you mentioned two or three times that Browder was demoted. Why was Browder demoted?

THE WITNESS: Earl Browder had done everything that Stalin had wanted him ever to do. He'd been in the secret conspiratorial work in China, he had remained subservient to every change of the line. Just before I joined the Party in 1935, there was a classical case of where they were having an unemployment conference in Washington. That was supposed to be a general unemployment conference, and the Communists were very strong in there, as usual largely under disguise. They were all opposing a Labor Party, the Communists were, when lo and behold Browder arrives on a boat from Moscow and rushes to Washington, makes a public speech in which he declares everybody that are progressive now have to be for a Labor Party. And, of course, the next day the Communists just turned turtle and were all for a Labor Party when the day before they had been denouncing everyone who was for a Labor Party as traitors to the working class.

Now Browder had done this thing over and over again. Why was he demoted, therefore? He was demoted because that was the only way Soviet Russia could let the Communists throughout the world know—I mean the leading Communists—that the United States was now to be the objective of a war of nerves. Molotov could not arise in the United Nations and say, "We are about to declare a war of nerves against the United States from whom we want billions of dollars." Henry Wallace said they should have at least seventeen billion, to start off with. They couldn't say, "We are about to declare a war of nerves" along that line, but what they could do, as they've done repeatedly in instances of this character—I don't—repeatedly may not be the word, as has been done occasionally in instances of this character, the fact that Browder was demoted because he stood for peace between the United States and Soviet Russia and was declared a traitor for standing for that peace, let every trained Communist know that to be loyal you had to stand for war, the war of nerves, and that war of nerves has been going on

ever since that time, since that 1945 in which Browder was deposed from leadership here by Duclos' article.

Now, I'd like to call attention to the fact that we in the National Committees, since we're on this subject, had cheered Browder at least an hour every time he appeared at a National Committee plenum.

MR. HOUSTON: You refer to a National Committee plenum of the Communist Party, of course.

THE WITNESS: That's right. These National Committee meetings, I'd call them, but they were frequently called plenums—oh, they had different names but that was a sort of a name brought over from Europe and used—but at any rate, at these meetings we used to even in the secret meetings get up and cheer Browder for at least an hour. Whenever his birthday came around you had to give two to three pages of the Communist press to declaring him the greatest Marxist-Leninist on the Western Hemisphere. I thought that he was almost Stalin, Jr.

As a matter of fact, however, gentlemen, in April 1945 all of this adulation ceased. It ceased because a man hundreds of miles away in Paris, writing in the French theoretical organ of the Communist Party there, Jacques Duclos, D-u-c-l-o-s, declared Browder a revisionist. Now a revisionist, as I have said, is a traitor from the right as a Trotskyite is a traitor from the left. He is a Kowskyite, and you can't make anything more vicious than that. Karl Kowsky disagreed with Lenin and betrayed the Revolution, and here Browder whom we had cheered for fifteen years was declared to be a Kowskyite whereas we had said that he was the greatest genius of Marxism and Leninism on the Western Hemisphere.

The point I wish to make is this, showing how subservient the National Committee is to Moscow, that that day in June 1945 when we met in the third floor of the Communist Party national headquarters in the Hank Forbes auditorium, Browder hadn't yet had an opportunity to make his defense, but nobody would speak to him any more. Of the sixty members of the National Committee and twenty leading trade unionists who were there, no one would speak to him any more—well, there were the three of us who spoke to him, and I was one of the three, and I said to him, "Good morning, Earl." He was so startled he didn't answer me a moment.

Now, the interesting thing is, why was Browder treated in this fashion? We had cheered him and cheered him, and as I say, given pages on his birthday, May 20th, and now we wouldn't even speak to him any more, we wouldn't even admit that we wanted to be in his company. He became a political leper. Why was that? Because Browder in introducing this Duclos article to the readers of the "Daily Worker" and it is there in print forever, in bold print, had said, "This represents the opinion of all leading European Marxists," that I, Earl Browder, am a traitor, in other words, that I am a revisionist, that's the opinion of all leading European Marxists. He had to write that under discipline. Who is the leading European Marxist? Everyone can guess that immediately who has been a Communist. He is our teacher, our leader, our guide, Josef Stalin, proclaimed such in the 1935 World Congress when they made a pledge of personal loyalty to Stalin that sounded as though it were Goebels praising Hitler. The American delegation agreed with that resolution and it is still in printed English in the International press correspondence, the official reportorial system of the Communist International. That can be found at least on the shelves of the public library, the pledge to Stalin made by all the delegates to the Seventh World Congress, including the American delegation.

Now, Browder, despite all this, despite all his services, was demoted as a symbol and an example.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Professor Budenz, you have mentioned to us about plenums. We frequently hear the word used referring to local plenums. Will you explain what they are and how they are conducted?

THE WITNESS: That I had referred to, although of course, hastily, in explaining how the Communist Party conducts itself, the autocratic bureaucratic way in which it conducts itself. After there is a national plenum, that is, a National Committee session, then the leaders who attended that session, as I say, go down to the states and they call a district plenum or a state plenum, and there they report, as I have said, as the leader of the Party had reported to them. They may not use exactly the same words, but they must use the same thought.

Now those plenums are simply, again, a means of registering agreement with the line of the Party. They do not get up and register disagreement with the line. If anyone should do that, then of course, as I say, he begins to be ostracized and marked as a liquidationist, showing signs of Trotskyism or something else.

The main purpose of those plenums, and they are conducted in such a fashion, reports are made, reports are made in which everyone agrees with the general line laid down but in which they show how they are going to carry out this line, how they are going to infiltrate this organization, or go into that neighborhood, or do this, or fulfill that task. The word task appears many times in those plenums.

MR. HOUSTON: Now Professor, you referred to secret Communist schools, which you stated were held even in Seattle here, for the purpose of instructing their members in Marxist doctrines and their program. We didn't explain open schools. What did you mean by open schools?

THE WITNESS: Well, these that I called secret schools are actually secret and are for the training of the leaders in the Party. That is, the branch leaders will be in the section training schools. Those that they want to train for leadership in the state will be in the state training schools. And then there is a national training school.

This national training school is held very frequently, or was in the past, at one of the camps of the Party up there along the Hudson after the camp season was over. It could be held in other places, and they shift the locale, but at any rate, these were secret schools and not advertised, and are for the potential leaders of the Party.

There are the open schools though, such as the Sam Adams School in Boston, the Jefferson School in New York, the Lincoln School in Chicago, the Carver School, I believe in Harlem, a number of these schools were suddenly blossomed out from a patriotic angle under Browder's original influence when he was declaring Communism to be Twentieth Century Americanism.

It's interesting to know that that was condemned as a revisionist tendency also, by Moscow, but privately, so that Browder had to withdraw it. If you look up the old records, you'll find that Browder had to withdraw his phrase that "Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism" because it served too much to divert people from their initial task of defending, as they call it, in other words supporting Soviet Russia. Therefore, that slogan was out, although we used to have it in tremendous banners all over the National Headquarters of the Party and elsewhere.

These schools, in other words then, receiving these names were the former worker schools. They were the worker schools in which members of the Party, rank and file members, or even people not members of the Party, could come to receive instructions in various subjects, they could receive instructions in Marxism-Leninism, labor history, parliamentary law—they never used the parliamentary law inside the Communist Party though, they used that out in the other organizations. There was no parliamentary law permitted inside the Communist Party. It was a prohibited law within the Communist Party. If anyone rose to talk about parliamentary law, he would be guilty of Trotskyism immediately I am sure.

But often the parliamentary law was taught in order that they could use that in the unions or in other organizations and control them. These were the open schools, first known as the workers schools, in almost every locality, sometimes called progressive schools, different names, but in general they were called worker schools. They were supposed to attract people even beyond the Party. They were called then later, Sam Adams School, Lincoln School, Jefferson School in New York, and the like. They endeavored to give the appearance of having a wider faculty and to attract more thousands of students, though it was the same old Communist Party, only operating under a new name.

MR. HOUSTON: Now Professor, just one short question, and then I will return to that. Did anyone other than a Communist ever attend the secret Communist training school?

THE WITNESS: Oh, no, no one.

MR. HOUSTON: Then the fact that you can prove that a person attended the secret Communist Party training school would be evidence of Party membership?

THE WITNESS: Oh, decidedly.

MR. HOUSTON: That's right.

THE WITNESS: That would not apply, though, to attendance at, say the Jefferson or Sam Adams Schools.

MR. HOUSTON: No, those were described as open schools.

THE WITNESS: That's right. But it was the case of these secret schools. Likewise, by the way, in these plenums of the Party. No one but a Communist could attend them. People might be called non-Communists there in order that observers—they used to say, "We have a number of non-Communist observers." Well, we were just deceiving them. That was in order that these people that might be identified later could not be said to be Communists.

MR. HOUSTON: But they were the type that you previously described who were so—

THE WITNESS: For instance, one of these non-Communist observers that I just recall right now, was John Santo. This man sent in through the Transport Workers Union to control Mike Quill and to be the political representative of the Communist Party there, because the Party did not trust Quill and the rest of the Irish comrades there. Santo was on the ground floor, of course, and Santo attended one of these National Committee plenums, I remember, as a non-Communist counsel, although he had been a Communist years before.

MR. HOUSTON: Now Professor, does the name Pacific Northwest Labor School mean anything to you?

THE WITNESS: Well, that's one of these developments of the worker school system.

MR. HOUSTON: That is one of the schools that you're referring to?

THE WITNESS: I am not very familiar with it, I just know that it is.

MR. HOUSTON: You have in your official capacity, heard it referred to as a Party organization and Party school.

THE WITNESS: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you conversant with the fact that some two weeks ago the Attorney General listed it as a subversive front organization?

THE WITNESS: I saw it.

MR. HOUSTON: Now Professor, I hand you herewith an article with a picture of a gentleman. Can you identify that gentleman? Have you ever seen him?

THE WITNESS: I have seen him, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Who is the gentleman?

THE WITNESS: Well, MacLeech is the name he has now, but I think originally—that's my memory anyway, that he had another name. I think it was Leech or something like that.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce in evidence here an article from the "Washington State C. I. O. News" under date of August the 8th, 1946, with a picture of Burt MacLeech, and an article that he had been appointed as Director of the Pacific Northwest Labor School.

I would like to introduce into the record, Mr. Chairman, the report of the Legislative Committee Joint Fact Finding Committee on un-American Activities in California, a portion of which on page 71 of the report reads as follows:

"Your Committee called Burt S. Leech to testify at the committee's San Diego hearing. Leech being a well known Communist in the State of California, testified quite frankly as to his Communist Party activities, although he stated that he was registered politically as a Democrat. The committee learned that he had worked for the State Relief Administration for approximately a month in San Diego and had secured the position through a Mrs. Worcester. Leech's testimony made the secret nature of the Communist Party very clear. He had no hesitancy in admitting his own Communist Party affiliation, even though he was registered as a Democrat. He told the Committee that there are ethical ties with the working classes in the United States and the working classes in other countries, and that no antagonism exists between the workers of different countries. He stated that he was very familiar with the official history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet textbook, and that he had taught it. He stated that it sets forth the ideology of the Communist Party as well as the history of the Soviet Union. He could not remember the exact time when he became a member of the Communist Party, and like most of his comrades, could not recall from whom he ever received a Party book. He admitted having been a member of the Communist Labor Front infiltrating state, county and municipal governments. The state, county and municipal workers of America, C. I. O. He has missed few Communist Party state conventions. He admitted that he was acquainted with the chief Communist Party functionaries, such as William Schneiderman, Benny Gannett, Pettus Perry, Paul Klein, Jack Moore, and others.

"He likewise admitted being acquainted with Elaine Black of the International Labor Defense, and James Buford.

"He testified that he had used names other than Burt S. Leech, being known in Communist Party work as Burt Jackson. He told the committee that there was no conflict between Communist Party ideals and Orthodox religion. At one point in his testimony, probably because your committee indicated its knowledge of his activities by its questions, he interrupted himself to remark, quote, I was just trying to place the stool pigeon in this case, unquote. Once he slipped in his testimony and mentioned the official capacity of the Communist Party Control Commission. He stated that the Control Commission kept track of the enemies of the Communist Party, particularly in their movement from one county to another. He concluded his testimony by explaining that Communist Party members do not register as Communists because of their fear of economic reprisals. He explained that actual membership in the Communist Party entails a willingness to accept assignments and to undertake responsibilities, but did not elaborate on the nature of the assignments or the responsibilities."

Now, Mr. Chairman, I wish to read that into the record as an official report of the committee of California.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I will admit it into the record if you are submitting evidence to link the name Leech and MacLeech.

MR. HOUSTON: That will be done, Mr. Chairman. Now, Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce in evidence the following document which bears the seal of Richland County of South Carolina. The document is a certified copy of their court record.

"State of South Carolina, County of Richland, in the County Court, ex parte. Burt Clarence Leech, et al, petitioner, in re Change of Names. Upon reading and filing the within petition, and after having taken the testimony thereupon, and it appearing to the Court that the petitioners are entitled to the relief prayed for, it is therefore ordered that the name of Burt Clarence Leech be and the same is changed to that of Burt MacLeech, and that the name of Ruth Alice Leech be and the same hereby is changed to the name of Ruth Alice MacLeech. March 22, 1944, A. W. Holman, County Judge. Attested, a true copy by the County Clerk."

I would like that this be noted as Exhibit 1 and introduced into the record.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It is introduced into the record. And the other exhibit, are you—

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, I would be very pleased to introduce that right now. I just haven't detached it.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be identified on the record as Exhibit 1 and Exhibit 2.

MR. HOUSTON: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

(WHEREUPON the two articles read were admitted into the record as Exhibits 1 and 2.)

Q. Professor Budenz, you have testified that you were a member of the National Committee, that meetings were held four times a year, that every state in the union was represented, that these meetings were for the purpose of receiving reports and transmitting them, is that correct?

A. That's correct. Every organized state was represented. Sometimes the Communists were not organized in certain states, but every organized state was generally represented. As I say, there were these exceptions when a

certain plenum would be called just for the eastern districts, but as a rule they were held for the whole country.

Q. I'll ask you, Professor, did you attend the National Committee meetings held in the year 1938?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was there any—do you recall who made the report for the State of Washington at that time?

A. Morris Rappaport, I think. Or Rappaport is his name, too. I believe. I called him Rappaport all the time.

Q. His name is Rappaport, but you called him Rappaport?

A. That's right. I think that was the name that he was generally known by.

Q. Do you recall the names of any organizations that was mentioned the Communist Party was—should infiltrate?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What were they?

A. Well, not only in 1938, but in several subsequent reports was mentioned the Old Age Pension Union.

Q. Washington Old Age Pension Union?

A. That's correct.

Q. Do you recall anything he stated about this organization?

A. I remember at least this much, that originally he reported this organization had been formed by non-Communist elements, that some of them even were hostile to the Party. However, this movement had the possibilities of infiltration and the Communists were beginning to enter it. That was approximately 1937 or 1938. There was a constant report from the State of Washington on the Old Age Pension Union in the reports of the district organizer at these various National Committee plenums until around 1940 he reported that the Old Age Pension Union now was largely in accord with the Communist Party position. That is to say, that the Communists had succeeded in infiltrating and in dominating the Old Age Pension Union.

He mentioned in the course of these reports, though of course the exact years sometimes do not come to me—he mentioned the fact that they had succeeded in eliminating the leadership which would oppose Communist Party positions.

Q. Professor, I will ask you if in these National Committees the names of any people whom the Communists used to perform infiltration tasks are mentioned.

A. Well, I—yes, there were some mentioned.

Q. Uh-huh. I will ask you, Professor, if you are familiar with the name of William J. Pennock.

A. Yes sir, I am.

Q. Have you ever seen that gentleman?

A. I have seen him, or I have seen his picture, as editor of the "Daily Worker."

Q. Do you know who that is?

A. Yes sir, I know it's Pennock.

Q. That is William J. Pennock?

A. That's correct.

Q. Of your knowledge and as an official of the Communist Party, is or was that man a member of the Communist Party?

A. So I was advised officially.

Q. Was his name ever mentioned in any of these reports as the man who was carrying out the objectives of the Communist Party and infiltrating this organization?

A. They were mentioned, yes sir. He was mentioned.

Q. He was mentioned as the man who was carrying out the program of the Communist Party and taking over the Old Age Pension Union?

A. That's correct.

Q. And as the editor of the "Daily Worker" and a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, information came into your possession, knowledge that he was a member of the Communist Party.

A. That's correct.

Q. I will ask you, Professor Budenz, have you ever heard the name N. P. Atkinson?

A. Yes, I've heard that, not so prominently as Mr. Pennock's name.

Q. Was he also mentioned in the same manner as Mr. Pennock?

A. He was mentioned at least as cooperating with the Communist Party in infiltration.

Q. Of the Washington Old Age Pension Union.

A. That's right, he may even have been mentioned as a definite Communist Party member, but I wouldn't say that as clearly as the case of Mr. Pennock.

Q. Did you ever receive any instructions to deal very favorably in the "Daily Worker" with the Washington Old Age Pension Union and William Pennock and N. P. Atkinson?

A. Yes, we did when occasion would arise.

Q. I'll ask you, Professor, if you know Hugh DeLacy?

A. I do, yes sir.

Q. How long have you known Hugh DeLacy?

A. Oh, many years, by the reports I received officially in the National office of the Communist Party.

Q. Do you know this gentleman?

A. Yes, that's Mr. DeLacy.

Q. That is Hugh DeLacy?

A. That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to enter as an exhibit, this picture of Mr. Hugh DeLacy.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted as Exhibit No. 3.

(WHEREUPON the picture of Mr. Hugh DeLacy was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 3.)

Q. Is Mr. DeLacy a member—was Mr. DeLacy a member of the Communist Party at the time you were?

A. He was.

Q. You can testify to that of your own knowledge?

A. Yes, well I can testify to it from these official reports which came to us. As a matter of fact, this was repeated over and over again to me in different forms. But I mentioned—I remember specifically one example of Jack Stachel's report to me as Managing Editor of the "Daily Worker" that

when President Truman first took office that the hope was that Truman would pursue a pro-Soviet policy because he was influenced by Governor Wallgren to a degree, or at least was friendly with him, and Hugh DeLacy, one of our men, was very friendly with the Governor. That was told me by Jack Stachel at the time Mr. Truman took office. It happens that those hopes were disappointed very quickly for two reasons; first, because of the Jacques Duclos article declaring for the war of nerves, and secondly, by Mr. Truman's own tendencies not to live up to the prediction. But, in that connection Mr. DeLacy was specifically mentioned, as have been the case a number of times before to me, as a member of the Communist Party.

Q. Was Mr. Hugh DeLacy ever referred to as being under Communist Party discipline?

A. He was, yes.

Q. Now I'll ask you, Professor, if you know Richard Seller, more commonly known as Dick Seller?

A. I know him very well, yes.

Q. How long have you known Mr. Seller?

A. I have known Mr. Seller, well, approximately eight or nine years, maybe longer.

Q. During this period of time—

A. I've known him very well, though, during that period. He was leader of a labor group.

Q. During this period of time, was Mr. Seller a member of the Communist Party?

A. During my whole membership in the Party, from the time I met him, Mr. Seller was a member of the Communist Party. Not only that, but as organizer of the American Newspaper Guild, first, and then on the Federated Press before coming west, Mr. Seller constantly consulted me in regard to his activities. If he has committed any offenses, I am in part to blame.

Q. He was following your advice then.

A. Largely following my advice.

Q. I will ask you, Professor, if you know Thomas Rabbitt?

A. I know of him. I don't know him personally.

Q. Would you detail what you have learned of Mr. Rabbitt as an official of the Communist Party?

A. I have learned that Mr. Rabbitt is a member and a functionary from time to time of the Communist Party.

Q. Was Mr. Rabbitt's activities located in Seattle, or were they in places other than Seattle?

A. Well, he was in the east at one time, I believe, if my memory serves me right. I did not know Mr. Rabbitt, as I know Mr. Seller, but I've known of Mr. Rabbitt in an official way, being brought to my attention that he was a Communist and a Communist functionary.

Q. And under Party discipline?

A. That's correct.

Q. Do you know this gentleman, Professor?

A. Well, that looks like pictures of Mr. Rabbitt. Yes, that's a picture of Mr. Rabbitt.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce here at this point a picture of Mr. Rabbitt as identified by the witness.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted as Exhibit No. 4.

(WHEREUPON the picture of Mr. Thomas Rabbitt was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 4.)

Q. Now, Professor, I will ask you if you know, or the name means anything to you, of Kathryn Fogg?

A. I know her as a delegate to the National Convention.

Q. Do you recall which convention?

A. No, I do not. I saw the names of many delegates, Mr. Houston, and I don't recall which.

Q. Was Mrs. Kathryn Fogg a member of the Communist Party?

A. She was an active member, that is, she stood out, I remember her. After all, these delegations come there, you see them only a short time in New York at these conventions, and I remember her as standing out at that time.

Q. Do you recognize the name Mrs. Sarah Eldredge?

A. I recognize the name.

Q. Was Mrs. Eldredge a member of the Communist Party?

A. She was, yes.

Q. And that came to you in your official capacity as an official—

A. That's correct.

Q. —of the Communist Party.

A. That's correct.

Q. I will ask you if you recognize the name of Professor Ralph H. Gundlach?

A. I do, yes.

Q. And what do you associate with the name of Mr. Gundlach?

A. I associate the report to me that he was cooperative with the Party, and following the Party line.

Q. Was Mr. Gundlach a member of the Communist Party?

A. Well, that wasn't said in so many words.

Q. Was he under Party discipline?

A. He was, yes.

Q. He was under Party discipline.

A. Yes.

Q. Meaning the definition you've given us earlier—

A. That's correct.

Q. —here that he's not an open Communist—

A. That's correct.

Q. —but follows the—

A. I do not know that he's ever had any vestige of Party membership.

Q. I'll ask you to—if you've ever seen that—picture of that gentleman.

A. Yes, I have. That's the gentleman in question.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I'd like to admit here the picture of Mr. Ralph H. Gundlach.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It will be admitted as Exhibit No. 5.

(WHEREUPON the picture of Mr. Ralph H. Gundlach was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 5.)

Q. To clarify the record, now, Professor, at this point again—I desire not to be repetitious, but I again would like you to repeat what you mean by being under Party discipline.

A. It is essential, of course, that a witness in cases of this kind be precise, because so frequently when a man is mentioned as a Communist the statement has been made, “Well, where is his card,” or “Where is the record of his membership,” and the like. That’s why I’m trying to be precise. Now, under Party discipline means following the Communist Party line and at least for that period of time under which he is referred to, it means that he is a member of the Communist Party, to all effects and purposes.

Q. Would you feel free as an official of the Communist Party to make a Communist Party assignment to one who was under Party discipline?

A. Oh, most decidedly. As a matter of fact, that’s all you ask. Now I mentioned the case of this magazine, one of the editors on this magazine. All I need know is that he was under Communist discipline and we talked as Communists. He understood me and I understood him.

Q. Professor Budenz, I will ask you if you are familiar with an organization known as the International Workers Order?

A. I am. That’s a fraternal organization created by the Communist Party, well, for several purposes. First, in order to attract thousands of people who wouldn’t be attracted to the Party itself; and secondly, to have a reserve of finances which the Party can use. For example, the International Workers Order frequently is the largest advertiser in the “Daily Worker.” That’s the way it makes its contribution to the “Daily Worker.” And still remains legally within the regulations of those types of puppets. It also is a means by which Communist organizers who are out of commission for some reason or other, sometimes as I say, they are defeated in their unions or they have some other reason why they can’t function, they get positions in the International Workers Order.

An example of that is Bill Geiver, who used to be the representative of the Communist Party in Ohio—in Chicago. Geiver was one of the big men in the Communist Party at one time and he is now the head of the Polish section or was at the time I left the Party, of the International Workers Order. Another case in point is Max Bedach, the General Secretary of the International Workers Order at the time I left the Communist Party. He formerly was General Secretary of the Communist Party, for an interim period at least, between the time that Stalin kicked out Gitlow and Lovestone in Moscow and appointed Browder, or had Browder appointed as the General Secretary of the Party.

Max Bedach was for many years a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party and was at the same time Secretary of the International Workers Order. The President of the International Workers Order for many years was William Weiner, the financial agent of the Communist Party, National Treasurer of the Communist Party at one time openly, and remaining in the position of President of the International Workers Order until his conviction, or until shortly after his conviction of falsifying his birth certificate, which of course the International Workers Order couldn’t have go against his record, so he had to withdraw as President. He was succeeded by Rockwell Kent, the artist, who is a long-time Communist. I’ve met him many times in secret Communist meetings, and therefore the set-up is a Communist set-up. It’s well known in New York particularly and everywhere else that the I. W. O. in one way or the other, financially, morally, or in other ways, is a feeder to

the Communist Party, is a front for the Communist Party. Of course now this list of organizers is much greater than I’ve tried to indicate to you today. If I could sit down and check over the organizers International Workers Order, I’d show you many ex-Communist Party organizers, ex—I mean Communists who were union officials and who are in there until they get their next breath and try to capture the union again, things of that character.

Q. Were the employees of the International Workers Order all Communists?

A. As a rule they were, yes. I’d say that unless they made an exception for one who was a near Communist, that all of them were Communists. The general tendency overwhelmingly was that they were all Communists.

Q. All Communists?

A. I wouldn’t want to swear here that every one was, because I haven’t got a list of them all.

Q. Are you familiar, Professor, with an organization known as the Robert Marshall Foundation?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is this a Communist-dominated organization?

A. It has become so. This was founded by Robert Marshall, the brother of George Marshall, who is also a Communist. George Marshall was the head of this National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. That was a Communist set-up too, though they tried to keep it very secretive, the connection. Then they merged—I would like to make this very clear—this National Committee for Constitutional Liberties merged with the International Workers Order into the present Civil Rights Congress, which is another Communist set-up, but that doesn’t mean that every officer of it is a Communist. However, the President of the Mystery Writer is an old and veteran Communist, so he starts off the list. And that makes that organization thoroughly Communist-controlled.

Now the—George Marshall and Robert Marshall were brothers, that doesn’t mean they agreed entirely, and this Robert Marshall Foundation started off with recognition of the Communist Party by having a number of Communists or sympathizers on it, and then gradually became more pro-Communist as it went forward.

Q. I will ask you, do you recall whether or not it was dominated by the Communist Party in 1943?

A. Well, dominated is a hard word, Mr. Houston. It was very greatly influenced by the Communist Party. That is to say no one could get—it became a tradition that no one could get any money from the Robert Marshall Foundation among non-Communists, unless the Communists got something too. I mean, at least they had that much influence. That got to be the rule back of the scene. I don’t know whether you’d call that dominating it, they had a pretty good strangle-hold on it. This was presumably a foundation to give out money to different various worthy causes, in the leper world.

Q. I will ask you, Professor, do you know a former Congressman from Montana by the name of Jerry O’Connell?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know whether or not Mr. O’Connell was a member of the Communist Party?

A. Not that specific. I know that he was one whom the Party felt it must

take care of because of his agreement constantly with the Party line. This came up in the case of Congressman John T. Bernard of Minnesota—Bernard, B-e-r-n-a-r-d—and Congressman O'Connell. The discussion came up in the National Headquarters of the Communist Party in the committee headed by William Weiner about how to take care of these Congressmen, because they agreed with the Party line, and it was agreed that Bernard and O'Connell both would get jobs with the International Workers Order, this Communist-controlled front to which I have referred.

Now it is my impression that—well, I know that Bernard got it, and it is my impression that Mr. O'Connell temporarily also received that sinecure through the cooperation of the Party. I heard the discussion in the Party circles first, and later on I heard that it was to be accomplished.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce as an exhibit for the record, a speech recorded in the Congressional Record of September 24, 1942, pages 7690 to 7693, inclusive, which can go into the record. It pertains to the Robert Marshall Foundation and is there characterized as a Communist-controlled and Communist-dominated organization.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: It may be admitted as Exhibit No. 6.

(WHEREUPON the copy of the printed speech referred to, was admitted into the record as Exhibit No. 6.)

MR. HOUSTON: I would like to introduce as an exhibit a check number 116 drawn on the New York Trust Company, made payable to the order of the Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America, chargeable to the Robert Marshall Foundation, signed by George Marshall and Jerry O'Connell as trustees.

I would like also to introduce into the record, check number 94, under date of October the 2nd, 1942, drawn upon the New York Trust Company, chargeable to the Robert Marshall Foundation, in the sum of \$150, made payable to Jerry J. O'Connell and signed—countersigned, as trustees, by George Marshall and Jerry J. O'Connell. On the reverse side of this check are the cancellation stamps and the endorsement of one Jerry J. O'Connell.

May I state for the record, the first exhibit that I introduced was a check in the sum of twenty-five hundred dollars.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Twenty-five hundred dollars, and are you introducing into the record the endorsement on that check, so I'll give it proper—

MR. HOUSTON: I would like to have until tomorrow morning to secure it. We have the endorsement, but it doesn't seem to be in the file right now, Mr. Chairman. We do have the endorsement, though.

THE WITNESS: May I supplement this?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, Mr.—Professor Budenz.

THE WITNESS: In regard to Mr. O'Connell, the discussion was to the effect that he had over a series of years done all that the Party had wanted him to do, and therefore that the Party owed it to him to see that he obtained a reward in the case of his defeat. I think that this was when he was defeated. And therefore this was not just a chance interview, or a chance discussion, it was an official discussion of a committee, the Finance Committee of the Party, headed by William Weiner, in regard to what to do to help out Mr. O'Connell, because of his past services and cooperation to the Party. And there it was agreed that he should become a representative of the International Workers Order.

Q. This was an official discussion of the high-ranking officers of the Communist Party, was it not?

A. That's correct.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Houston, I'm accepting into the record Exhibit No. 7, which is the twenty-five hundred dollar check; Exhibit No. 8, the hundred and fifty dollar check and endorsement.

MR. HOUSTON: That's Exhibit No. 8, Mr. Chairman.

(WHEREUPON the two checks referred to were admitted into the record as Exhibits No. 7 and 8.)

Q. At the time of that meeting, was there any question in your mind as to whether or not Mr. O'Connell was a member of the Communist Party?

A. There was no question in my mind that he was in complete accordance with the Communist Party.

Q. Do you know of anyone, Professor, that the Communist Party has taken care of who are not members or are not under Party discipline?

A. I do not. The "Daily Worker" had previously to that time played him up also to a very great extent, and that's very rare unless there is a dependent. As a matter of fact, we were assured of his allegiance and cooperation with the Party.

Q. Do you recall that issue of the "Daily Worker" during the period of time that you were editor, which stated that Jerry O'Connell was the clearest progressive voice in America today?

A. I remember the phrase to that extent and purpose, yes.

Q. Would you have published any such statement in the official organ of the Communist Party without being satisfied that the person referred to was a member of the Communist Party?

A. He may not technically have been a member, but there was complete agreement that he would do what the Party wanted him to do.

Q. The Party felt that they had him under discipline and could control him?

A. That's correct. That was made clear in many discussions.

Q. Now, Professor,—

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, the next subject that I wish to take up is totally different from the present line of questioning, the witness has been on the stand now for some hours, and unless he has some further elaboration on the thing this afternoon, I would suggest that we recess until whatever time is convenient tomorrow; or, we can proceed if you wish.

Q. First, Professor, is there anything we have discussed this afternoon that you would care to make more clear?

A. Well, not at the moment. I can't think of a thing. Maybe by tomorrow morning I shall think, and I would like to have the privilege, if so, of adding to some of my remarks on one or two of these subjects. Of course we've covered a lot of ground, but I can't think at the moment of anything to add.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Houston, do you have any other witnesses you wish to present at this time? We have a large schedule here, and a heavy schedule, and a heavy—many witnesses, and if there is anything that you could present before this group at this moment that would help us handle that schedule of witnesses, we would be happy to hear them.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I have attempted to bring a continuity here. I want—I'm laying a predicate now with expert witnesses, for that

which later we will bring in local witnesses and prove what was put into action, and I feel that the continuity of this case would be interrupted were I to put on some other witnesses. It's my intention immediately after the Professor is off the stand, to place another witness on.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, I believe this committee will bear with you then in recessing this hearing until 9:30 o'clock tomorrow morning, at which time, I understand, Professor Budenz will continue his testimony for this proof.

(WHEREUPON adjournment was taken until 9:30 o'clock a. m., January 28, 1948.)

(January 28, 1948. 9:30 o'clock A. M.)

CHAIRMAN ALBERT F. CANWELL: Will you proceed, Mr. Houston.

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Professor Budenz—

At this point Lenus Westman, who was elected State Senator from Snohomish County in 1940 but was barred from the Legislature because of Communist activities, created a disturbance and by direction of Chairman Canwell was removed from the hearing room by officers of the State Patrol.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: If there are any more demonstrations back there at all, take them out. They have a perfect right to stay in here as long as they remain orderly and that is the only consideration under which they can stay here.

Mr. Pennock excused himself by his violence yesterday and that is conclusive as far as we are concerned, and when he comes back it will be under subpoena or under request to appear before this Committee as a witness under oath.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like to continue with the examination of Professor Louis F. Budenz.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Proceed.

DIRECT EXAMINATION (resumed)

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Professor, I hand you herewith a list of organizations which recently were declared to be subversive organizations by the Attorney General of the United States. I will ask you to examine the list and identify any organization that you as a former high ranking official of the Communist Party and as an expert witness can identify as Communist dominated and controlled organizations.

A. Some of these I will explain a little more fully but very briefly.

Q. All right.

A. First of all, the Abraham Lincoln School in Chicago. This was in reality an extension of the old Communist organization, the Workers' School, now disguised under the name of Abraham Lincoln. That became the tactic, as I explained yesterday, when Earl Browder sold the slogan, "Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism" to the Communist Party with the approval of Moscow. Later on, as I have explained, for fear that this would lead to too much Americanism in the party and too little devotion to the Soviet dictatorship, Browder has to officially repudiate his slogan, "Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism." The Abraham Lincoln School, nevertheless, received this name Abraham Lincoln School, and the names that

were called by the Communist Party, partly under disguise, as some of its front organizations. So fundamentally it was a Communist institution, completely under Communist control. American League Against War and Fascism. This was of course one of the Communist Party fronts, established under the name of fighting war and Fascism, but in reality it forwarded Soviet foreign policy in the United States. Many Liberals and others were misled by this organization; people that were against war, but in reality the entire organization was controlled by the Communist Party. One of its leading figures, J. B. Mathews, later testified to this effect in large part before the Dies Committee.

American Peace Mobilization. That was the reorganization of the American League Against War and Fascism but in fact still under complete Communist control during the Hitler-Stalin Pact period. You will note, gentlemen, how the Party changes the names of these—the Communist Party changes the names of these organizations to deceive the American people, when they change their line in accordance with Soviet dictation. As soon as the Hitler-Stalin Pact was created, immediately the American League Against War and Fascism became the American Peace Mobilization. Later on, as soon as Russia was attacked by Hitler, the American Peace Mobilization wanted to become a pro-war organization. I forget exactly the name they were going to have, but practically the same initials, but they couldn't change over so fast, even at that, and they had to drop that and adopt new tactics but then for the war, which they had previously called imperialism.

The American Polish Labor Council, likewise created by the Communists. American Youth Congress, Communist controlled. American Youth for Democracy. This is an extension of the Young Communist League and is the Young Communist League in disguise. This does not mean that every member of the American Youth for Democracy is a Communist, but the predominant membership is, and the control is Communist. Now the American Youth for Democracy is another example of how the Communists deceive the American people and by falsehood endeavor to make "saps", if you please, of the American people. They have denied repeatedly that the American Youth for Democracy is a Communist organization, whereas every well informed person knows that the record shows that it came into existence a few hours after the Young Communist League went out of existence, predicting the coming of a new organization, and some of the same officers of the Young Communists League and American Youth for Democracy.

Sometimes I wonder how long they think the American people are going to be deceived by such tactics. The record is there, the official documents are there of these changes.

The Civil Rights Congress. This is the latest development in the civil rights field—so called by the Communists. They practically only defend Communists in this Civil Rights Congress—that is all they are devoted to. The Civil Rights Congress is an amalgamation of the organization formerly headed by George Marshall, known as the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, which I mentioned yesterday. Mr. Marshall is a secret Communist, a man of great wealth, and has devoted his wealth to forwarding Communist activities in the civil liberties field. This organization is merged with the International Labor Defense. Now the International Labor Defense is an international organization, as the name implies. This name International Labor Defense has been in many countries. It is an accompaniment of the Communist Party, and yet the International Labor Defense here repeat-

edly stated that it was not a Communist front organization, although similar Communist front organizations are to be found in other countries, and they have even had the International Riot Aid and Defense, at one time. That isn't the exact name, but that is the idea. Now they were joined together finally in the Civil Rights Congress, headed by the writer Dashiell Hammett, the mystery writer, who is a long veteran supporter of Communist ideology and under Communist discipline. Civil Rights Congress, you may be sure, will devote itself to defending the Fifth Column in the United States. That is its purpose, against the interests of the American people.

The Communist Political Association. That is the late and lamented name of the Communist Party that Earl Browder under the Moscow line at that time, changed the party from a party into a political association. The idea at that time was that the party might infiltrate more successfully into the more established political parties, by just making itself a political association. It was because it did this supposedly that Jacques Duclos, the head of the French Communist Party who is also chairman of the committee reorganizing publicly the Communist International, wrote the article demoting Earl Browder as leader of the American Communist Party.

One of the charges was that Browder had changed the party into a political association.

The Dennis Defense Committee. That has been organized since my leaving the party to defend Eugene Dennis, present general secretary of the party who was educated in the Lenin school in Moscow, and who directed the infiltration of the Office of Strategic Services during the war, so that Eisler, Gerhardt Eisler, the representative of the Communist International would know some of our military secrets. The Dennis Defense Committee, though, by its personnel, is a Communist controlled organization. The International Workers Order—that I explained yesterday, this is an old established Communist created fraternal organization. It broke off, as a matter of fact, or at least, was established in rivalry with a Socialist Party organization of the same character and was designed to forward the Communist Party first among foreign language groups in this country. They, at that time being the largest followers of the Communist Party, and these foreign language groups, many of them the members would not become directly the members of the Communist Party and this was a method by a very cheap fraternal arrangement, I mean cheap in the sense of low payments and the like, to have them attached to the Communist Party. I have stated the officers of that organization—they are always Communists, or at least those that the Party wishes to take care of.

The Jefferson School of Social Science in New York is a Communist school. It was created after the Workers' School went out of existence. I would like this committee or this group, to know the way that the Communists intentionally deceive the general public. Now, the Workers' School goes out of existence—some of its furniture even, to my knowledge, is moved over to the Jefferson School. Part of its library is moved over to the Jefferson School. Some of its staff is moved over to the Jefferson School, and yet the Jefferson School blooms out as a non-Communist organization. Well, that is one of the most ironic jokes possible. The Jefferson School was in line with this general change to the Abraham Lincoln School and the other things that you have noted, all taking place about the same time.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. In some form or another this organization exists in every country. It is an appendage of the

Communist Movement in every country just as the International Labor Defense is. It is an arm of the Communist Movement to reach out to those groups who are not directly Communists, who did have the idea of peace, for example, as to what relations—international relations that will serve to establish peace. They are, in other words, in some instances, the soft-headed and soft-hearted Liberals, whom the Communists so cynically talk about among themselves, in high quarters of the Communist Organization, and whose throats they intend to cut at the most convenient moment. But at any rate, this National Council for Soviet-American Friendship was established to drag in these Liberals, although the controlling elements are all Communists, the controlling figures are all Communists.

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. That I have explained is Mr. George Marshall's organization. I have been there personally. These organizations are known to me personally, by the way, in a large measure. I have been a number of times to Mr. Marshall's office, the general staff of the Daily Worker not being privileged to go there, but as managing editor I went there in order to work out with him publicity for his organization within the Daily Worker which at the same time would not give away the fact that it was a Communist controlled organization.

National Negro Congress. That was organized likewise by the Communist Party and dominated by the Communist Party.

Samuel Adams School in Boston. This is another one of these rapid changes in patriotic garment. It is part of the Communist Party when convenient to do so, of the old Workers' School, teaching Marxism and Leninism, and trying to get prospective members for the Party. This was a clearing house or a sort of sponge to absorb those who might become members of the Party and likewise also members of the Party who were not yet far enough advanced to—in Party work—to become prospective candidates for the secret schools, where Marxism-Leninism was taught in the raw. They went to the Samuel Adams School in Boston.

School of Social Study in New York, likewise is Communist controlled.

Seattle Labor School, that's the Northwest Labor School here. That's another one of these institutions set up by the Communists in disguise.

Tom Paine School of Social Science, Philadelphia.

Tom Paine School of Westchester, United May Day Committee. In that respect, before I was a member of the Communist Party I was in the United Front with them in these United May Day Committees and I learned that all the money is provided by the Communist Party to organizations sympathetic to it. David Lee, who was the treasurer of the New York district supplied all the money secretly in cash for all of these united front demonstrations of that character. The reason I know it was that being a practical person, when I was not a Communist but in the United Front—that year was about 1934. The May Day, I think, of 1934 I was not yet a Communist, but was in the United Front with the Communists and I raised the practical question of where the money was coming from. They said, "Oh, don't worry about that." David Lee will bring us a thousand dollars, and later on two thousand dollars in cash, which he did, with the greatest of ease. He was then the man in charge of the finances in the New York District. Incidentally, while we can't go into details on this, I am sure future investigations by this Committee will show that there is a very interesting interchange of cash between various organizations under Communist Party control. It is a very amusing process—that is to say, that

cash is drawn for mysterious purposes. It is returned. It isn't defaulted, don't misunderstand me. I don't mean to say that—it is suddenly a check for cash to one of the officers—trusted officers may be made out, and then later on that will be returned. And this happens in various organizations. That way the Party can at times support some of its own institutions, balance that over against another organization, and keep all of these organizations afloat. I know, of course, of that practice in the area of New York, more specifically the area of Chicago, from my own personal experience. But that is a common Communist custom, which I think prevails throughout the entire country. Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. That again is a Communist Front organization.

The Walt Whitman School of Social Science at Newark.

The Workers Alliance. The Workers Alliance originally was founded by non-Communists. That happens sometimes, that the Communists infiltrate other organizations, as with the Old Age Pension Union here. First of all, try to break it up. They went to the meeting in Chicago and tried to smash the Workers Alliance, but when—it was a united front meeting and I am very familiar with that, because I helped send the delegates up there, though I wasn't a Communist yet. That was approximately in 1933.

Then the Workers Alliance merged with the Communist organization, the worker's councils, or the unemployed councils, or the unemployment councils. Well, it was sometimes called the Unemployment Councils, and sometimes the Unemployed Council. Workers Council is an incorrect name. I was just grasping for the name.

The Unemployed or Unemployment Councils merged with the Workers Alliance. But under the merger Herbert Benjamin became the dynamo in there, and he was a thorough Communist, member of the National Committee, and the president of it. At first he was a sort of a shilly-shally, but finally he also came, that being the most convenient place to, came under Communist discipline. So that finally the organization turned out to be nothing but Communist, the Workers Alliance, in the final analysis, and this was the work largely of Herbert Benjamin, in there.

Well these of course could be expanded, these bits of information, but that gives substantially my basic knowledge of these organizations.

Q. Professor Budenz, how did you happen to leave the Communist Party?

A. That is rather a long story. First of all, I decided to return to the Catholic Church. It is impossible to be a leading Communist and to have any religious belief. Therefore, long before I was a Communist I had abandoned religious belief, and that made me logically eligible to be a Communist, but the thing is, that I returned to the Catholic Church for this reason: I found finally that I was nothing but a puppet for the Kremlin. The only beliefs I could have were those which were laid down by Moscow. The only acts that I could carry out in the Daily Worker were to try to justify what Moscow had already decreed that I should think, and I saw that I was being destroyed as a person of integrity. First I said, "Well, I am an agent of the Soviet State." I said that to my wife, "I am an agent of the Soviet State, but at least we are fighting Hitler." And then I asked myself, "What about this remote control; suppose Naudoff, who is one of the big four in the Soviet oligarchy, Naudoff, Stalin, Molotov and Manuisky—suppose he becomes head of the Soviet State. Why, he is just—of course I know nothing about Stalin, either, except his writings, but Naudoff, I don't even know his writings, except very few of his

speeches, one of them at the 18th Party Congress of the Soviet Union, and that was under of course the general discipline. What will happen to me as an individual under this constant moving about like a pawn on a checker-board? I don't mean physically what will happen to me, but morally—what sort of a person am I becoming? And I decided I had to have a standard of morals outside of the will of the dictators of the Kremlin, which is the only standard of morals politically that a Communist can have. Therefore, I began to return to the old standard of morality which I had had in my youth and I found it fitted my needs and I returned to the Catholic Church, both spiritually and in the sense of again accepting the philosophy inherent in Catholic thought, which emphasizes so much the principle of the dignity of man as an image of God, the dignity of the human personality which I saw being trod in the mud of so many countries by the slave state which I thought still had some justification. Also, the philosophy which stands for the principle of voluntary association which the Soviet slave state absolutely crushes out, its so-called trade unions being an ironic jest as such, being merely agents of the Soviet State. That I learned very thoroughly as managing editor of the Daily Worker, though it isn't pertinent to this investigation.

Q. Does Communism, or does it not, destroy all spiritual and moral values?

A. Communism is based on the so-called science of Marxism-Leninism. This pseudo science declares that by reason of the fact that it has destroyed all spiritual values through dialectical materialism, all idea of the Divinity and of the Spirit, that thereby it has freed the intellect of man. The intellect of man, thus freed, can work out his destiny with this so-called science, especially with such master scientists as Stalin, who seems to know the whole science just one hundred per cent, but nevertheless, with the aid of this science, man can work out his destiny, even to the attainment of the Earthly Paradise, the Socialist State and the Communist Society. The Socialist State now existing in Soviet Russia, the Communist Society about to exist in Soviet Russia, where all abuses will end, all personal problems will be solved, all wars will cease, and each will give according to his ability and receive according to his needs. But in reality, well, what we have found before us, and certainly it was after painful and reluctant acknowledgment of this fact on my part, I did not cease being a Communist without a great deal of reluctance, and I will explain that in just a moment why that was. In reality we see before us a Frankenstein created, a slave state which constantly is demanding more and more slave labor, which will not allow any expression on the part of the people whatsoever, which is committed purely now on the basis of its dialectical materialistic viewpoint to the fact that there is only one standard of morality and that is the will of the political bureau in Moscow, namely, of the Dictators in the Kremlin. What they declare to be moral one week they can declare immoral three weeks from now and the Communist must, with the same acclaim and the same approval with which he greeted this act but one week ago, must greet the contradictory decree in the same manner. He cannot think, he cannot act in contradiction. Every Communist leader in the United States, therefore, whether his name be William Z. Foster, Earl Browder, Eugene Dennis, or whatnot, can only have one standard of morality so far as political events, and even so far as his personal acts are concerned, and that is which is in accord with the decisions of Moscow. As a matter of fact, every Communist leader every day feverishly rushes forward to try to find how this minute, this hour, he can carry out Moscow's wishes in the United States, and

consequently, by very reason of the fact that spiritual values have been destroyed, moral standards have been all wiped out and accept the will of the Dictator, if you can call that a moral standard, and that brings about the utmost degradation of intellectual effectiveness.

There is one other thing which follows from this—may I continue?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes.

THE WITNESS: There is one other thing that follows in this that I wish we would all think over very carefully. It is one of the favorite weapons of the Communist movement, and that is, what results from its destruction of definitions. The Communists have utterly destroyed—when I say the Communists I don't mean individual Communists—I mean the Communist ideology has completely destroyed all definitions. For example, the Soviet Dictatorship, which is a dictatorship that puts people in prison labor camps, that keeps people from expressing themselves, that has a tremendous control over the country by the secret police. Your brother may be a member. You dare not talk out loud in your home. That dictatorship is represented as the highest degree of democracy. Not only does Soviet Russia claim that it has reached the highest degree of democracy, far above America, but the Communist Party of the United States has said that. William Z. Foster, its present leader has said so, and therefore, we can see that all definitions are destroyed. With Hitler, at least he said he was a dictator by intuition, whatever that is, and he recognized he was a dictator. That isn't the case with the Soviet dictatorship. It says that this dictation, this business of crushing you, of being ruthless to you, that is the highest form of democracy. This, as we have seen, can lead to the disappearance of the head of the Soviet secret police in Leningrad one day, and nobody knows what happens to him, and yet here, the Communist apparatus that should know will know that he was an enemy of Soviet Russia. That is the highest form of democracy.

Secondly, anything or any policy which disagrees with the current policy of the Soviet dictators is immediately labeled Fascist, and we therefore have no definition of Fascism anymore. Democratic movements can be called Fascist. Anything can be called Fascist that serves the purposes of Soviet and Communist policy at a specific moment. We have the example of Franklin Delano Roosevelt being called Fascist, that being taken off, being put back again, and the like. We could cite many other examples of outstanding men and likewise of various movements and instances.

They practice Fascism one day, then being admittedly democratic in part, though not yet fully progressive—that word is over-used of course by the Communists, progressive the next time—and finally in the long run the word Fascist means nothing at all. It is purely he who will disagree with the almighty decrees of the Soviet dictatorship. That is a Fascist, according to the Communist definition. If we only had time and I had certain documents with me here, I could even cite instances in the Communist Press over many years to that effect. If time permits, I will volunteer to file with the Committee some exhibits of that character, showing that certain institutions were called Fascist, were removed and put back only in accordance with the policies at that time of the Soviet Union.

Q. Now, Professor, is it a tenet of Communism to use the basic reality of the lie?

A. The policy of deceit is one of the basic or moral principles of Communism. Lenin has developed this in his writings and it has been practiced

over and over again. You are supposed to deceive your friends and your foes. Your friends are supposed to travel with you up to a certain point when you have to make Communists out of them, or else, and then, why you proceed to dispatch them or liquidate them politically, at least.

Therefore, from the very beginning, the Communist begins to practice falsehood. Hitler may have talked crudely about the big lies, but Marxism-Leninism invented them, and the Communists use it more skillfully.

We see it here in these exhibits we have had of the use of these various organizations, and further exploration of them would show it even more vividly. The Communists contend they have no connection at all with Soviet Russia, whereas as a matter of fact this man Gerhardt Eisler was here in the United States first under the name of Edwards and then under the name of Hans Berger, directing the Communist Party. They had Peters here, also part of the Bureau, or at least underground apparatus which can direct the Communist leadership. This man who wrote this pamphlet advocating the overthrow of the Government by force in this country, this illegal alien here. They have other men of that character directing the party secrets. One of my greatest surprises when I came into the party in 1935 from the people's front viewpoint was to find all these mysterious characters running the organization. I had thought I knew the Communist Party pretty well. I had heard vaguely of Maurice Williams, a C.I.O. representative once when a certain question was up.

As a matter of fact, I had thought as many people do, "Well, this is a lot of Red baiting, they talk about these characters; that's Red baiting." So when I came into the Party after many years in the labor movement when I had worked with and against, with Communists and again in the united front, I was against them when they had these Red trade unions, but I was for them when they abandoned that policy, and when in 1935 I came into the office of the Daily Worker as labor editor, I was amazed. Here was Eisler running Clarence Hathaway, the editor-in-chief of the Daily Worker. Right in front of my eyes he did this. He came in and just simply castigated Hathaway for an hour. Now Hathaway was a member of this so-called powerful political committee of the Communist Party, and that amazed me, but I soon found that there was this man Brown. Let's not forget these people, when the Communists talk about Red baiting. Who is Mr. Brown, who stayed up on the ninth floor and directed the Communist Party in so-called military tactics, demonstrations and the like for a number of years? He was an illegal alien, an Italian. Well, one of his names was Marini, but he has another name, it has just slipped me for a moment. I know him very well,—who has now gone back to Italy rather than to face deportation proceedings. These men were running the Communist Party and that immediately is an indication of the magnitude of the lie which they practice against the American people. They state they are an American organization, whereas—and put certain native Americans forward, but every native American that is put forward at least in the national scale as an observer who is not a native American, by the way, watching him. Mr. Hans Eisler was sent to Hollywood, for example as an alleged musician, but we were advised that he was there to help supervise politically the Hollywood writers and the others in the Communist Party, and this deceit is constantly practiced. A person says, goes into a union, a man like James Matlas, in the United Electrical Radio Machine Workers Union, goes in there and says to members and works hard, I'll admit that, to build up

the organization, but always for Communist purposes, goes in there and tells the members he is not a Communist, whereas I have seen him time and time again in the trade union commission of the Communist Party making reports. Julius Emspak, the general secretary who I mentioned, will say he is not a Communist. This man was on the President's labor committee. I sat for three days next to him in the national committee meeting in June, 1945. He was making cracks about the way that the Communist leadership didn't know parliamentary law, but that was not at all a sign of his lack of devotion, because with Comrade Juniper, he was put on the editing committee of the resolutions of that convention. And so, I could mention person after person who deliberately lies to those with whom he is associated in regard to his Communist affiliation in order to get their good will, to organize them and then at a certain point persuade them to follow a pro-Soviet policy.

Q. I don't want to lead you back over your testimony, Professor, but I want to be sure that my understanding of it is correct. Is it your testimony that atheism and the denial of God is a basic tenet of Communism?

A. It certainly is. That is a requisite. It is a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism. As a matter of fact, we have a rather amusing admission of that in Gill Green's speech to the Seventh World Congress. The Seventh World Congress was the congress that was supposed to be going out to influence religious organizations on a big scale, and there Gilbert Green, reporting for the Young Communist League of America, shows that religious youth are to be worked with in order, however, not to compromise the atheistic principles of the Communist movement. Set down right there by an American representative of the Young Communist League, Gill Green, who is now the district organizer in Chicago. That appears in the International Press correspondence, I think for 1936 in the reports of the Seventh World Congress. Inherent in Marxism-Leninism under its philosophical theory of dialectical materialism that there is no God is the concept, of course, that you must be atheist. Now, Lenin gave the advice that—in writing—that the ordinary rank and file worker could for a while be allowed to have his religion when the Communist first came in contact with him, but that was in order patiently to show him that religion is the vehicle of the ruling class and therefore to wean him away from religion and to destroy his belief in God.

Q. From your experiences in the Communist Party, Professor, would you state that it strait-jackets your mind and thinking, is that what you are trying to say?

A. Well, that is certainly what I have endeavored to indicate. Not only does it strait-jacket your thinking, and I have by the way, I have brought this out in my book "This Is My Story," the chapter on the Red strait-jacket I hope every American will read. I think it is temperately written; it has no animus in it against any individual Communist, which I have not today, by the way. I would wish every Communist to be able to get out of the mental concentration camp which is the Communist Party, but there you will see the atmosphere which is being a Communist leader. It is something which the ordinary American cannot appreciate. In mental concentration camp, is the word. Now we have recently had some examples of people who try to get out of the Communist Party and have been caught before they could reach the goal, they were severely punished and threatened with character assassination if they didn't go on probation and give up their duties and the like.

In other words, first of all, there is the mental strait-jacket whereby you can only think as it is decreed that you shall think. You are very carefully observed. You are reported on. You have to file your biography every so often in order that a thorough knowledge of your background will be known to the Party which can be used against you, or can be used for pressure purposes. In other words, you do enter a concentration camp mentally, right here in the United States, and that is something which America should know more about.

Now, from that, of course, the person does have one advantage, and that is that he is able, without thinking any more, to rush forward and do vigorously as I have said, those things which he has been told to do.

Q. Professor, is the use of fear and the surrounding of people in an atmosphere of fear a common practice of the Communist Party?

A. Well, it is the immediate atmosphere of the Communist Party. This prevails, by the way, in regard to its leadership. There is one thing that amazed me as time went on, and that is the sense of fear existing in men like Earl Browder, Jack Stachel and the like. Now these are not men who lack courage. They have been in very many dangerous predicaments. But this is a sense of moral fear, of being constantly hounded and harrassed and rushed and pressed and that is very amazing. It's only found in that sense in my experience in the Communist movement. That is, I have seen cases of brutality and of oppression, and all that, but this sense of fear, of being in accord with Moscow, constant, of being certain that we are correct with the line, that sort of thing pervades the Communist headquarters all the time. That is, the national headquarters of the Communist Party. Now whether it is so pronounced always out through the country I am not in a position to say, except in Chicago. That same atmosphere prevailed there, though that was a rather large center.

Q. Well, Professor, yesterday you testified that as a member of the national committee you heard the district organizers, Rappaport and Henry Huff from the Northwest, report upon their desire and program and plan to take over the Washington Old Age Pension Union and that subsequently Mr. Rappaport reported that they had taken it over, and controlled and dominated it. Did Mr. Huff ever make such a statement?

A. Mr. Huff repeatedly reported on the Old Age Pension Union. Indeed, at national committee plenums, whenever the State of Washington came up, you could be sure you were going to hear about the Old Age Pension Union in the report, and the reports indicated progressive control of the organizations by the Communists.

Q. In other words, that loomed large in their thinking, as of a program of the Communist Party in the Pacific Northwest?

A. That's correct.

Q. Now, Professor, we hear a lot about why they want to control organizations—why they want to penetrate them. Can you give us any explanation for that? What reason would they have in wanting to control the Washington Old Age Pension Union?

A. Well, the reason—that seems to me rather obvious. Of course, maybe I speak from my experience as a Communist. If they can put into motion masses who are non-Communist, that is the first thing. If they can persuade thousands of Americans to take a stand which is pro-Soviet without their

knowing it fully, by certain resolutions under the guise that you are trying to win peace, which they always talk about, why then you have a big agency of public opinion. Secondly, you have a source of agitation and political pressure for Communist purposes which you can use or not use, as you see fit. You can hold or withhold, as you see fit. I have been in many sessions when it is decided that for the purposes of the party a certain organization would not make a move, along a certain line; in order to discomfort a leader of another union, for example, the party would decide that the union they had would not go out for a wage increase at this time, and leave the other fellow out on the limb. Things like that, so that they used these organizations also for Communist political purposes.

Now of course they are limited in that by the fact that—well, sometimes they may want to destroy the organization, too, but they wish to hold onto it likewise. They are limited to a certain extent but that is in the background. And then of course it is also the means of having the workers obtain positions, offices and the like.

Q. Is the tenet of rule or ruin a Communist tenet in one of their organizations?

A. That is the Communist tenet always, and at all times—rule or ruin; anything that they enter is for that purpose. They may, of course, soft-pedal the crudity of this operation if they think they haven't the proper strength. You can appreciate that, but when they feel that they are strong enough and of course they will ruin an organization, rather than surrender its control. The wreckages of organizations ruined by the Communists is all over, like skeletons on the desert—is all over America. There are the Federated Farmer Labor Parties and this organization and that scrapped at the behest of the Party.

Q. Now, Professor, what importance does the Communist Party and National Committee attach to the Pacific Coast?

A. In many discussions in the political committee and in the National Committee, at national headquarters by subcommittees, and by Communist leaders, the Pacific Coast is considered one of the most important parts of the United States. In the first place, because of its industries. This was demonstrated in the North American strike in California, to which I previously referred. The vice president or representative of the United Automobile Workers there was Lou Michener, a Communist. Mr. Michener's activities I am fairly familiar with because I sat in the conferences before the North American strike, but particularly after it, at the United Automobile Workers Convention, I think it was in Buffalo in 1941. I met Mr. Michener there, talked to him a long time with Roy Hudson, and other leading Communists.

Now, they had used the North American strike, whipping it up at that time in order to stop American defenses, and in order to halt lend-lease to Britain, in order to help Hitler, in other words. That was the policy of the Party, to help Hitler. In order to help Hitler, they pulled off the North American strike, and that indicated the great aircraft industries here, the importance of the Pacific Coast as we have always understood it. In addition to that there is the importance of shipping and other things of that character along the Pacific Coast.

Q. Do you have any knowledge of Communist influence in the Allis-Chalmers strike?

A. Oh, yes, very definitely. That took place at the same time approximately, as the North American strike. There again I was personally involved in certain conferences in that connection, and the Communist Party definitely ordered the Allis-Chalmers strike to be called in order to tie up those millions of dollars in defense material which were being produced at that time, because this was an Imperialist war at that time. It was a very logical step from a Communist viewpoint. Since this was an Imperialist war you do everything possible to stop the Imperialist war and turn it into civil war, if you can. That is the Leninist prescription. In accordance with that prescription, and loyal to their viewpoint, the Communists pulled the big Allis-Chalmers strike, ordering it directly in order to tie up those materials.

As a matter of fact, at that time William Z. Foster, now the head of the Communist Party but then national chairman, advocated a policy of snow-balling strikes, if possible, in order to prevent Great Britain from getting defense material. This was all done in the name of peace and the Yanks are not coming.

Q. Would you go so far as to say that the Communist leaders examined every source to try to help Hitler during that period of the strikes?

A. I believe they examined every possibility of tying up such American industry as would help Britain or could be designed to help Britain in the immediate future. That was the policy of the Party and if anyone reads the 1940 convention proceedings within the limits of course of legality—of course the Communist Party always watches very carefully, not to get caught but within the limits of legality you will find there the Party is declaring war on President Roosevelt and from that, as the leader of the nation, and from that proceeded all these various acts.

Q. Do you wish me to interpret your statement there that the Communist Party always operates in a legal manner? Was that your thought, or did you mean that?

A. No, I did not. No, the Communist Party, as one of its chief divisions is its illegal activities. As a matter of fact, that has been threshed out in Marxism-Leninism discussion and the facts. The legal and illegal activities of the conspiratorial apparatus has been known as the Communist movement has been threshed out over and over again. Now, as a matter of fact, the Communists always have an illegal activity going forward, as I have shown with these false passports. They have many other illegal activities than that, but what I am speaking about is that officially, in print, as a rule the Party endeavors to so express itself that it will be legal, it will not be suppressed, or it will not come in for too great public indignation against it at any specific moment. However, there are times when, because of the pressure of the Soviet Union's position, or for some other like reason, the stark truth has been told, even despite the possibilities of illegality, as when Foster before the Fish Congressional Committee declared the Soviet Union in effect to be his fatherland, and the Soviet flag, in effect, to be his flag, and also at the same time spoke slightly in regard to workers who had religious affiliations. That was at a moment when the Party felt that it should come out strongly in what they call a left position, but which really means a truthful position. During the Hitler-Stalin Pact there were similar tendencies, although they were more carefully guarded because the conviction of Browder made the Party—and the possibility of the conviction of other leaders, which sent them all underground—made the Party more careful and discreet. Nevertheless in

this May, 1940 convention you will find those who know how to read Communist statements will find there a declaration of war against the United States because of the possibility of its aiding Great Britain.

Q. Professor, what relationship, if any, does Alaska and Hawaii play in the Communist program?

A. Well, they are considered of great importance. The infiltration of Hawaii has been a rather important part of the Communist program. Well, I know that in 1939 this came up, because certain changes had to be made in the infiltration process in Hawaii. This process was directed largely from California district, however, not from Washington, but the idea was to infiltrate Hawaii in every way possible, among the teachers, among the workers there, who in my opinion sadly need organization, but it is a crime that this need for organization should be misrepresented by any Communist abuse of it. At any rate, the idea was both among the workers and among the teachers every place possible, to infiltrate Hawaii.

Q. That was a definite plan of the Communist Party?

A. It had been going on at least for a couple of years to my knowledge prior to about 1939, yes, that period, because I attended conferences where a change had to be made in the methods of infiltration.

Q. What plans—how did they intend to do that—through what vehicle?

A. Well, they intended to do that largely through the activities of Harry Bridges and the fact that he could send organizers into Hawaii who would actually be Communists, but under the guise of being unionists. One of these men was Jack Hall, and there were a number of—there were several others.

Q. Did the Communist Party use Harry Bridges?

A. Most decidedly. He was charged—that is to say, the California district also had a responsibility, but he was charged with the infiltration of Hawaii.

Q. Do you know Harry Renton Bridges?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You are referring to the president of the International Longshore Workers Union?

A. Nobody else, yes, sir.

Q. Is he a member, or has he been a member of the Communist Party?

A. He has been a member of the Communist Party, yes, sir. Under Communist discipline always up to the time I left the party.

Q. And you participated in these conferences where the program was made that was forwarded to him to carry out?

A. That's correct.

Q. Did you ever get any reports as to whether he did carry it out or not?

A. We had reports that Jack Hall was active for the party in Hawaii, and Mr. Hall, I understand, is the representative of Mr. Bridges. There were several other names mentioned also, their local names, and just for the moment I can't recall them.

Q. In party circles, how did you know Harry Bridges—by what name?

A. Well, we just called him Bridges as a rule in the Communist National Headquarters. As a matter of fact, in the 40's, Adam Laffin, the very well-advised and informed correspondent of the Daily Worker sent out a dispatch to the Daily Worker which ran in all editions, saying Harry Bridges, the well-known West Coast Communist leader. Well, that was a serious slip, but that was due to the way we always talked about him. We knew he was a Com-

munist and we always talked of him as a Communist. When I wrote up the defense material for Bridges in cooperation with Roy Hudson and others, it was because he was a Communist. Robert Minor was put specifically on the job of working for Bridges' defense because of that fact. We knew, of course, that he had originally had a card under another name, and at one time he was also referred to as Rossi, during a brief period of time in 1937 and 1938, because at that time he was mentioned or elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party and the name Rossi was supposed to be used by us in referring to Bridges because of his connection with San Francisco.

Q. Did Harry Bridges have any other name in the party?

A. He did have another name—

Q. Do you think you would recognize it if you were to hear it?

A. I think—I think I would—I know his name, it was sort of an Irish sounding name.

Q. Does the name Harry Dorgan mean anything to you?

A. Yes, that recalls the name to me.

Q. That was Harry Bridges' party name?

A. I was so advised, yes.

I have never seen any card under the name of Harry Dorgan. I was simply told at Communist National Headquarters during these various events by Communist leaders that his name had been Harry Dorgan. We discussed the case.

Q. Now, did you receive any instructions as to your editorial and news policies concerning dispatches involving Bridges?

A. Regarding Harry Bridges? Well, he is one of the most favored sons of the Communist Movement. I mean to say everything is supposed to be released when he says it, and likewise he is supposed to be given the most favored publicity. We had on the Daily Worker a list of people, an oral list which I was supposed to keep as managing editor. I was not permitted to have a written list, but I was to keep a mental list of different people and their standing in regard to the Party. Now, Harry Bridges stood very high on that list, always. As a matter of fact, anyone who examines the Daily Worker will find that Harry Bridges is without any defect, whatsoever, according to the Daily Worker. I mean, we could even quote praise of him, commendation of him, and other things of that character.

Q. I will ask you, Professor, if you recognize anyone in that picture?

A. I recognize Mr. Bridges.

Q. You recognize Mr. Bridges. Which one is Mr. Bridges?

A. Right here.

Q. The one on the right? Do you recognize anybody else in that group?

A. Oh, yes, Mr. Molotov.

Q. Mr. Who?

A. V. M. Molotov.

Q. Which one is he?

A. Foreign Commissar of the Soviet Union.

Q. The man drinking the toast is Harry Bridges.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I would like for identification purposes to introduce this as an exhibit in this hearing.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will accept it as Exhibit No. 9.

A SPECTATOR: Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask if this investigation is being conducted with taxpayers' funds?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: If you have any remarks to address to this Committee, upon proper application you may be permitted to appear before this Committee under oath to answer any questions that you may want the Committee to ask you, and some we may want to ask you.

(Demonstration.)

This demonstration was made by the above-mentioned spectator, an unidentified woman, who after being cautioned by Chairman Canwell, sat down and made no further disturbance.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: For the information of any who may not have heard remarks to this effect before, anyone wishing to appear before this body may do so upon proper application, and having a time assigned to them, but there will be no rabble rousing. It will not be made a Communist rally or any of that sort of thing, and anyone wishing to disrupt these proceedings will be removed forthwith.

Q. Professor Budenz, I will ask you if in the infiltration of Hawaii, Hawaiians were trained in the United States?

A. The Hawaiians were brought over here to these secret schools in California. I wish to be specific there. I know in this report that they were brought prior to 1939 or about that time. They were brought to the mainland of California and San Francisco, to secret schools there in Marxism-Leninism, which I have called schools for treason, which are what they are in reality, because there people are taught that Marxism and Leninism means the overthrow of the government of the United States. This secret school was a state school; I am not sure at this time whether it was a regular state school, or whether it was a special school for the Hawaiians. It was probably a regular district training school, secretly held, and several of them were brought there, according to the reports to the national office.

Q. How was this campaign financed, Professor?

A. Well, in part through the California district it was financed by money raised from the Communists in Hollywood, which was a very large source of supply to the Communist party. This source of supply was so great that at one time V. J. Jerome went out from the national committee to see that these funds were put under the control of the national organization. They used to go all to the California district.

Q. Professor, I will ask you—does the name Harry Jackson mean anything to you?

A. I have heard of Harry Jackson. I do not know him personally.

Q. Do you know whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party and under Communist discipline?

A. He was.

Q. I will ask you, Professor, if you recognize the name of J. Ruben of New York City?

A. Oh, very much so. I know J. Ruben quite well.

Q. Do you know J. Ruben personally?

A. I do—on many occasions.

Q. What's that?

A. On many occasions.

Q. Is J. Ruben a member of the Communist Party?

A. J. Ruben is an old and veteran member of the Communist Party. As a matter of fact, I think very easily you can find public records in regards to Ruben, because he was in charge at the Red unions in the Patterson strike and has also been involved in other pro-Communist activities. He is a member of the Communist Party—for a long time. Incidentally, to show Communist methods there since the name of Ruben is mentioned, if I may, he and Obermeyer, the man who has now acknowledged that he was a Communist, this alien, acknowledged that he is a Communist in New York, after he had denied it for years. That is very interesting. Mr. Obermeyer, who by the way has a rather pleasant personality himself, was officer of the—one of the international hotel and restaurant workers' unions. He denied always that he was a Communist, although I met him constantly in the trade union commission and as a Communist; however, recently he acknowledged that he had been a Communist, and in the deportation proceedings, because the evidence was too strong against him, particularly documentary evidence. Now, Ruben and he joined in writing the life of Edward Florey, the late president of the International Hotel & Restaurant Workers Union in order to pat Florey on the back and to help Communist infiltration in the A. F. of L. This was a very laudatory, saccharine story of Mr. Florey, which was put out in order to deceive Mr. Florey and to aid the infiltration of the A. F. of L. where the Communists were having some difficulty.

Q. Professor, I will ask you—has it been a part of the program of the Communist Party to place people in key and essential positions in industry and public life?

A. That is one of the chief objectives of the party.

Q. Have they been successful to any degree in that?

A. They have been widely successful, more than the American people suspect. They had used this method, of course, of placing people in positions in unions, in governmental posts when they can, and the like, sometimes as secretaries in order to watch the mail of the person, sometimes—as a matter of fact, I have seen many reports of people's private mail—also when Charlotte Carr was the head of the relief agency in New York, many of her private communications used to come to me in the Daily Worker when I was labor editor, just like that, right quickly. Hardly were they written until I had a copy of them. Well that goes in part—I don't want to say that is too extensive, but it goes on. Then they have these placing in key positions wherever they can—in every division of life they endeavor to penetrate. These people are apartment house contacts—that is to say, they are met with by the leaders of the party secretly in various places where the conference cannot be detected, and very frequently only as individuals. Then again of course they have penetration which is on a more organized basis, where they have even branches or cells set up which are working in a uniform fashion, in an organized fashion.

Q. Professor, are you familiar in a general way with some of the subjects taught in these secret training schools that you have referred to?

A. Well, I know I haven't attended too many of these schools, although I was asked very repeatedly to teach in them. I didn't have the opportunity on the newspaper. As a newspaper man now, you are pretty much with your nose to the grindstone in regard to getting out the newspaper itself. As a matter of fact, these calls that I had from the political committee and the

national committee in regard to various pieces of information within the Party were in order that I would be advised in the paper as to how to handle them, although of course from time to time I did get out through the country, but not as much as would otherwise be the case.

Q. Does the Communist Party teach its members tactics on how to break up meetings?

A. Oh, that is a well-known Communist method. It has been practiced over and over again. As a matter of fact it used to be when the Communists had the Red trade unions, at that time I disagreed with them. You couldn't organize the workers at all. They would denounce you for not organizing the workers in those days, if you were in the A. F. of L., and if you did organize them they came in and broke up your meetings and your strikes. I used to say watch out for the Reds and the labor spies. They act a lot alike. You take for example in the Patterson strike where I was in charge, they would bring in alleged strikers from Allentown and come into the meeting and instead of discussing things intelligently or going by orderly procedure, they would try to break up the whole strike meeting, even though there were thousands of people there whose lives might have been in peril. Then they had the tactic of women fainting—I don't wish to teach any new ideas here, but—(laughter)—they had the tactic of women getting up and fainting, of creating riots. This is the old history if you can just look back into the newspapers—it was taught, trained, it was an elementary principle of Communist tactics. It was supposed to have a military significance to it, but at any rate, the point of the matter was that the Communists are taught, particularly when the truth is being told, to try to break up, or where there is real opposition that they cannot combat, to break it up, so when strikes are called they are frequently broken up, just as they have gone into unions and broken them up when they would not follow Communist leadership.

Q. In the conduct of some of the people in this hearing, do you recognize any of the old tactics?

A. Very familiar, indeed.—

(Laughter)

A. (Continuing) An effort to suppress the truth by illegal and disorderly manner.

Q. Well, Professor, before we turn to another phase of our subject, I would like to ask you a hypothetical question. Mr. Chairman, I believe this man through his years of service as the editor of the official organ of the Communist Party, as his years of service upon the National Committee of the Communist Party and the positions of trust that he has occupied in the Communist Party can be qualified as an expert, and I wish to ask him a hypothetical question, with your permission.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Proceed.

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. The question that I wish to ask you, Professor Budenz, is, you have testified here that it was the program of the Communist Party repeatedly reiterated to infiltrate, dominate and control the Washington Old Age Pension Union, which you have testified subsequent reports stated had been carried out. But had they been unable to control, infiltrate and dominate the Washington Old Age Pension Union would their next objective then been to assist it as a non-Communist organization, or to destroy it?

A. There is only one answer to that question—to destroy it. If the Communists cannot control the thing that they set about to control, they destroy the organization.

Q. Would the Communists—

A. That is not a hypothetical question at all. It is a very practical question, because it's been over and over again, or at least it has been attempted many more times than it has been successful, because after all, the American people do have a native intelligence and finally wake up to what is going on very frequently. They can't be deceived forever.

Q. Were the leaders and officers in high positions of the Communist Party as interested in our war against Japan as they were in the war against Germany?

A. They were interested in the second front, whether America was ready or not; namely, to get our boys over there to save Soviet Russia.

Q. Well, now, Professor, yesterday one of your statements was that the decision to run a third party in this coming Presidential election year was made by a Communist Party, long before Mr. Wallace ever announced his candidacy. Can you enlarge further on that, or was that just—

A. Yes, I can. I can reiterate perhaps in a more definite way. If any one reads the Communist theoretical organ of political affairs, you can tell what the Communists are going to do in the next period of time. Just as if you read the New Times you can tell what the Communists internationally are going to say in the way of propaganda against the United States. The great propaganda of the Communist movement at the present time is against the United States and against the Catholic Church. If you examine New Times you will find those two organizations are held out to be the two chief enemies of mankind at this moment. That goes on week after week in the New Times, and of course has its reaction among the Communists as they can in the various organizations in which they are active. So with Political Affairs within the country. That is the theoretical organ of the Communist Party. That is for the elite of the Party. That is for the leaders of the Party, though of course other people can subscribe to it if they wish to do so. You can't subscribe to the New Times. In Political Affairs, as I have said, in June, 1947, Alexander Bittleman wrote an article. Every Communist immediately knew that this was a very important article. Why? First, because it was written by Alexander Bittleman, one of the chief important theoreticians of the Communist Movement sent here in order to teach Americans how to think and secondly, it was written against Earl Browder, against the book that Earl Browder had written. That made it a very important document from the viewpoint of Communism. In that document, we find that the whole substance was the necessity of forming a third party. Now, how did this begin—this Third Party was formed because of the fact that there should be a people's and democratic peace. The article started out by saying that there should not be a Soviet-American peace. I call this to your attention to indicate Communist tactics. There should not be a Soviet-American peace as Mr. Browder stated. There should be a democratic and people's peace, but what, lo and behold, was a democratic and people's peace—it is that for which Soviet Russia stands. Well that is a good example of Communist thinking. In other words, that which Soviet Russia stands for is peaceful and democratic. Now, this is not the attitude of the Truman administration, this article went on to say; the Truman administration is pursuing an Im-

perialistic policy. Of course, Russia has grabbed Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania Yugoslavia, Albania and penetrating other countries. That is not Imperialistic, that is people's and democratic, you understand. But the Imperialistic policy of the United States consists of feeding Europe and other things of that character. So this is an Imperialistic policy being followed by Mr. Truman—always this policy to be met by a Third Party. And it explains in more detail than I am here, I am just giving the outline of it. This Third Party is to be launched if it has an opportunity subjectively in the American people's mind. Objectively, the party already should exist. That is a great Communist method of speaking out at the last moment, if necessary, by saying objectively this should take place, but subjectively it may not. At any rate, the leaders of this party should be Henry Agard Wallace and Claude Pepper, and in other words, anyone who has read intelligently Communist documents for years would know in advance that now the Communists are going to have meetings, secret meetings, mobilize more organizations in advance, for this Third Party idea. They did precisely that very thing. The very next month it was brought out in one of the New York papers, I think the Journal American, that there had been this big secret mobilization of the Communists to forward the Third Party idea. In other words, the Communists already foretell what Mr. Wallace afterwards does. This is not surprising. In 1944 Mr. Wallace stood in this great slave empire in Northwestern Siberia, Dultroy, where thousands of men have been killed under the most miserable slave labor conditions as Mr. Dahlin shows in his book, published by the Yale University Press.

Mr. Wallace stood there and proclaimed this to be an example of Western pioneering, which has built up our great far-West. Is Mr. Wallace that naive? He had his picture taken with the N K V D boss there. Then the word came over here to the party leaders through Gerhardt Eisler and Hans Berger, in other words, from Moscow, that Mr. Wallace should be supported against Mr. Truman by the Communists under cover in the Democratic convention. By the way, the Communist leaders here didn't like that much. They weren't sure that Mr. Wallace was so dependable as Moscow sources seemed to think. But they had to go through with it. I know that Jack Stachel didn't like it a bit. He told me so. And he had to go through with it. And they went through with it and did what they could, encouraging those whom they could to support Mr. Wallace in that convention. Then as I have noted, Jacques Duclos later mentions Mr. Wallace as one of those fearless leaders in the United States who are deserving of commendation. In other words, the honeymoon between Wallace and Soviet Russia in the Communist movement is not of short duration. It has been going on for some time.

Q. I will ask you, Professor, just a couple of questions for the sake of the record here. The papers Izvestia and Pravda. Are they the official propaganda of the Communist Party putting out the line that the Communist Party wishes the world to receive?

A. As a matter of fact, yes, that is correct. They are the ones that are watched. Izvestia and Pravda are watched very carefully and feverishly by every Communist leader in the national headquarters. Formerly that was an easy task, because you got all this paid for, subsidized propaganda which Mr. Biddle B-i-d-d-l-e, halted when he was the Attorney General. That was to what I referred yesterday. Now, today the process is more difficult. Immediate sharp word of what to do comes through people like Eisler and others, the underground agents of the Communist international apparatus.

Three or four men on the political bureau know exactly what should be done, what agrees with Moscow's policy.

They do not know, fully, as I have said, how to explain it all. These comrades, however, watch, and all of us watch feverishly the New York Times, because it is supposed to be a fairly large in its reportorial scope, to see what Pravda and Izvestia said. That is brought every morning into the political committee upstairs, or at least into an informal meeting. Whatever Pravda and Izvestia has said is immediately taken up in the National Committee office on the ninth floor of the Headquarters at 35 East 12th Street, New York, also known as Fifty East 13th Street. There is an entrance at each end. In that national building, which is the national headquarters of the Communist Party, on the ninth floor, that is where the national committee members reside, and those who are in touch with Moscow agencies reside. I mean, have their offices. Now, they meet every morning to discuss—they have a meeting every morning, to discover what Pravda, Izvestia and the Soviet Leadership has said and what that means, and then one representative congregating to the Daily Worker editorial board, one comrade who was appointed for that purpose as liaison man at one time was this Mr. Bittleman. At one time it was Eugene Dennis, at one time it was Foster, and recently was Jack Stachel, but now that has been changed. At any rate, they would come into the editorial board meeting of the Daily Worker and have advice in regard to the interpretation of these editorials in Pravda, Izvestia and the like, and the Daily Worker editorials were written on the basis of what Pravda, Izvestia and other Soviet publications or leaders said. That is, in the international sphere.

Q. Professor, I will ask you if a person or organization actively engaged in disseminating articles of Pravda and Izvestia, would that be furthering the Communist party line?

A. Oh, yes. Precisely.

Q. Now, Professor, I will ask you—

A. Of course, what the Communist leaders do here, what the Communist Press does here is take the editorials and articles from Pravda and Izvestia and work them over in American language and the American idiom, you understand, with American illustrations. If Pravda says that Henry Wallace is a great man, the Daily Worker says he is—well, he would try to find the word that would exemplify that even more vividly. Now, I will give you an example of how Pravda followed this.

Henry Wallace spoke at Madison Square Garden, unfortunately I can't recall the date, but that could be easily checked up. It is a matter of public record. He spoke in Madison Square Garden and he was booed by the Communists. They didn't understand some of the things he was saying. In the middle of the week Pravda says, that, well in effect, I mean, they said, "well, Wallace may not be the most intelligent man in the world, but he is a real progressive." The next Monday night, one week later, at a Communist meeting in Madison Square Garden, the Communists cheered Wallace to the echo. In other words, Pravda on Thursday or so had changed the whole Communist mind here, and William Z. Foster represented him by getting up and praising Mr. Wallace, and therefore a tremendous uproar and acclaim arose for the great leader who just the week before had been booed. He could hardly finish his speech. He had to cut sections of it out. Everyone remembers that incident. He had to cut down his speech because the Com-

munists had been sent in there, and we know how that takes place. They had been sent in there and told that if Wallace didn't come through, then to give him the Bronx cheer. All the Communists met, and so that was done. Then as I say, in the middle of the week Pravda praised Wallace, and on Monday night following Foster praised him and immediately, almost before Foster could get his name out, the place went into an uproar of acclaim.

Q. Professor, what is meant by the National Control Commission?

A. The National Control Commission is a very mysterious organization. I wish I knew what it meant fully, myself. However, this I do know. It is supposed to discipline the members of the party. Very frequently the people chosen on the National Control Commission are very slightly known to the National Committee members, they're mysterious figures. I will not mention their names now, because they will probably come up later, but some other time—but very mysterious names. For instance, Jacob Golos I have mentioned. He was chairman of the National Control Commission. I know that once he was supposed to come down with an iron fist on the Daily Workers staff, because an editorial on China was lost, and this was a subject for the Control Commission. They didn't have to act. Mr. Golos when he died, as I have said, was reported as a non-Communist in the Daily Worker, as a friend of the Communist movement. He had been chairman of the Control Commission. He was the man of world's tourists, and now the Control Commission was supposed to discipline the party.

Another member of the Control Commission was Clarence Zurba, very little known to the rank and file members. I venture you ask many of the members of the Communist Party right here in Seattle who was Clarence Zurba, what is his background, what kind of a looking man, what did he do, on what platform did he ever speak on, they wouldn't know him at all. Yet he was a powerful man. He had all the records. He kept the file for the Control Commission. Everyone made out a biography, if they were Communist functionaries, and these biographies all went to the Control Commission were kept very carefully, and the records of every comrade, reports on them were kept by Zurba in these files. That much I know, so that Golos was chairman for a number of years and Zurba as the active secretary, although he didn't have that title so far as I know, were permanent more or less. But there were others, also.

I remember one time Mike Quill and I were sitting in a meeting, a dinner meeting, after the National Committee of the Communist Party had been chosen and the names of the control commission—always at the end of the National Committee meeting plenums. Then the National Committee members meet privately to elect the Control Commission, supposedly, although you elect whatever the leader hands out to you. It is a very unanimous and rapid affair. Nobody disagrees about anything. The Control Commission will elect the general secretary and one or two other functions of that character; it is very brief and of course there can be executive sessions in any organization of that character which are brief, but generally you know who you are voting for, at any rate.

Frequently on the Control Commission, many members of the National Committee didn't even know who they were voting for. As a matter of fact, on this occasion Mike Quill turned to me and said, "Who is that person?", naming one of these people. I said, "I don't know, and neither do you, but we are going to vote for him." At any rate, we did. We voted for them. Now, I wanted to give you the general background of the method of electing

the so-called Control Commission. It was handed out by the general secretary and everybody voted for them without question.

If anybody had dared to question that, a well-disciplined Communist know they must not question anything that comes from above, he would have been bowled over in the bureaucratic manner. I will give you an example of that from another incident. I have never heard anyone question the Control Commission personnel. In this July, 1945—or June, 1945 session, (June, 1945 is correct) of the National Committee which demoted Browder, Comrade Juniper was made a member of the editing committee and of course even with all the training there is somebody who is damn fool among the Communists, too, just as among all other people. So someone arose and said, "Who is Comrade Juniper?" Why, you could just see everybody getting rigid. That is a thing that must not be mentioned. It was clearly a name that was an artificial name. John Williamson arose—he is one of the important members of the political committee—he rose and said, "We will not permit any reflection on the integrity of Comrade Juniper. He is a well-known and veteran member of our organization." Nobody had reflected on his integrity but that immediately let this comrade know that if he dared to ask another question he would be considered to be a liquidationist or probably a Trotskyite.

Now the thing is, the Control Commission had the function of disciplining the members of the Party. It also had the function of finding those members of the Party who could do secret espionage work in the United States, and who could do secret missions for the Soviet purposes, the reason I know that is, that it was the Chairman of the Control Commission that introduced me to the Soviet Secret Police. Understand I was not told that we were planning the assassination of Trotsky; I was told that we were planning the halting of the infiltration of Trotskyites into the Soviet Union, but events show what transpired.

Q. I will ask you, Professor Budenz, do you know a man known as Joe—

THE WITNESS: Oh, by the way, before we get to that, there are special, and extraordinary control commissions which are created in emergency times of the Party which are more above ground and more public. I want that to be put in, because recently there has been a control commission examining into the trustworthiness of all leading Communist Party members. There is a great deal of distrust among the comrades at the present moment in high quarters, and there was a special extraordinary control commission appointed at the time that Browder was expelled to stamp out all vestiges of Browderism, and that was a public commission. John Williamson and Robert Thompson particularly were active members and they are known publicly as leaders of the Party. I didn't want to confuse those two. The permanent control commission generally functioning is of the character that I previously indicated.

Q. Do you know Joe Zack?

A. Yes, I do. I only met him, though, recently. But I knew of his history and his activities as a Communist, that he was a leading member of the Communist Party.

Q. He obtained high positions with the Communist Party?

A. Yes, he was a member of the political committee, I am sure, at one time. That was prior to my membership in the Party. But I know of him well from reading Communist literature, and talking to Communists and the like. And then I met him recently.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Nat Honig?

A. Yes, I did know him fairly well. He was in Communist newspaper work from time to time, organizing and other things of that character.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Manning Johnson?

A. Oh yes, I have known him. I knew him when he was a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party and on other occasions. I knew him within the party, that is, different from Zack, whom I only knew recently.

Q. Professor, do you think that Communism is any threat to the United States at the present time?

A. Communism is a most serious threat to the United States. The American people do not yet appreciate the ruthlessness of the foe with which they are contending, the Soviet Dictatorship. Recently the Gallup Poll showed that seventy-six percent of the American people now know that Soviet Russia means to dominate the world. That was a great gain in public education. It is a fact, and is attested to by some of the evidence I have given, but by mountains of documentary evidence that could be brought in in support of my declarations. Soviet sources, Communist sources, which have proclaimed time and time their determination to set up the world Proletarian dictatorship which is now interpreted as the personal rule of Stalin and his associates over the entire globe. What the American people do not yet appreciate is the method, the deceit, and falsehood that the Communists practice, and that this is a basic foundation, not only of their morality but of their tactics. As an example of that, very frequently the people can be confused, their wills can be divided and paralyzed by the activities of the Fifth Column, which always studies the weaknesses of other people, weaknesses which they employ.

For instance, recently in the New York Herald Tribune this young artist Bill Mauldin, the cartoonist, at the time when I was bringing out the facts about Gerhardt Eisler, these facts are now substantiated by the two convictions of Eisler—the fact is that Gerhardt Eisler traveled back and forth as we know, on false passports from Moscow to the United States as an alleged American citizen in defiance of our laws and institutions, but at that moment the Party wanted someone to smear me, to discredit me, so they whispered in Bill Mauldin's ear and he put a cartoon in the New York Herald Tribune which indicated that Claire Boothe Luce and I had joined the Catholic church in order to get \$20,000.00 lecture fees a year. That was an outrageous falsehood, in the first place and secondly it was printed at the very time that it would discredit or tend to discredit the person who was exposing the chief agent of the Communist movement in this country. Now, they were using a thoroughly non-Communist publication. I will agree it was very weak in its constant appeasement of the Communist; I could go into that more fully; but the point is, this is a Communist tactic used over and over again. They employ people like Bartley Crum of California. This man down here, this Kenney and others using them to get these contacts, and to develop further these associations, so that non-Communists will frequently find themselves through this method peddling out what the Communists want peddled. That makes the Fifth Column very serious. Now as a matter of fact, this Fifth Column is serious for another reason and a very important reason, too. What is that? We do not yet appreciate the power of a Totalitarian regime. Soviet Russia is in great difficulties at the present moment. It has been purging writers and others over and over again in the Ukraine in particular, and some people in a spirit of appeasement have said Soviet Russia is unable to wage

war, but it is very interesting to know that this country unable to wage war is gobbling up country after country, with only ten per cent of the people at the most being in any way sympathetic with such action.

This results from America's still lack of appreciation of the ability of a Totalitarian power to wage war, which is being waged right now against the United States; not military war, but a diplomatic war and economic war, and political war. And always in Communist ideology a political war is the prelude to a military conflict. That is set down, quoting Von Flasovitch, the Prussian general. That was hammered into our heads until at least I believe I know that thoroughly, and that is a fundamental Communist concept, that a political war leads almost inevitably to a military conflict.

Now, the Soviet Union is engaged in political warfare at this moment against the United States in every country in which it is operating, belittling our nation as one that is starving out the rest of the world, or when we do send it food, trying to dominate it. If you don't do it, then you are starving. If you do do it, then you are dominating. This makes it very serious because this Totalitarian power with less expense would be required by the United States to get out, for example, an atom bomb, and by the sacrifice of thousands of lives, produce the same purpose. The possibilities, then, of the Totalitarian regime in waging war have not been thoroughly understood, and that makes the Communist movement of serious concern to us, particularly when we understand that its loyalty is one hundred per cent to Soviet Russia. In any case, whatever slogans it uses, of peace or this or that or the other, it will be for the purpose of aiding Soviet Russia because it is the Fifth Column of Soviet Russia. This to my mind is one of the most serious considerations before the American people. But we must face it temperately, but we must face it realistically. The realism of the situation is such that it is absolutely necessary to appreciate the urgency of defending America itself, and in order to do that we do have to understand the possibilities of the Fifth Column in moving organs of opinion into positions to confuse the public, and the position of the Fifth Column to deceive Americans by infiltrating into their organizations and eventually, which may not be too long away, also to injure America by the service which they give Soviet Russia should military conflict break out. It seems to me that the greatest contribution toward peace, toward preventing world war three would be to take a position against the Fifth Column which would be to regard it as a conspiracy. That would win peace along with a strong stand against Soviet Russia. It is the hope of America.

Now this is not as difficult as it appears. It is not as difficult as it appears, even though the Communists make use of American democratic processes and American legal processes in order to destroy it. That is, of course, a Communist tactic, to take advantage of American devotion to civil liberties, to destroy American civil liberties, as they have destroyed civil liberties in every country where they have infiltrated and come to dominate.

Some of them realistically, the Communists should be known. They need not be known as card-bearing members. They need not be distinguished as that any further. The American people must judge people by their actions. If they have followed a line which has been helpful to Soviet Russia over any period of time, that stamps them as a Communist. If they wish to distinguish themselves from the Communist by becoming anti-Communist and thereby rid themselves of this position, that is their responsibility. They can no longer go forward crying "Red baiter," they can no longer go forward trying to break up hearings and meetings to suppress the truth. Their actions

speak for themselves. Anyone who supports the Soviet line over and over, time after time, does it consistently, he is a Communist, whether you can produce a card or not. If America will appreciate that and understand that it is important to know that, then we will be on the beginning of American defense in the correct manner, temperately, but realistically.

Q. Is Joseph Stalin the author of the statement that it takes a thousand men to build a bridge but one can blow it up?

A. Yes. It is important, it seems to me, that American leadership be acquainted with Stalin's writings. They can learn a great deal about the ruthlessness of the Soviet dictatorship and its policies. He has written that statement at the time he discussed the Trotskyite conspiracies in Soviet Russia, but it was a fundamental principle in the law of conspiracy that he was stating. It is the way the Communists act—I don't mean physically blowing up bridges, but I mean in the sense that one person poisoning the wells of an organization or a neighborhood or a city can undo the work of a thousand men in a constructive manner. That is, in a constructive manner one person can undo the work a thousand men constructed. If we appreciate that idea, the idea on which the Soviet Fifth Column operates within America we will understand that mere numbers are not all that count. The position of this Fifth Column, the methods by which it controls organizations and the other unscrupulousness with which it proceeds and particularly its constant affiliation with the idea that it is promulgated by Soviet Russia.

Q. Now, Professor, yesterday when I handed you these two exhibits here, checks drawn on the account of the Robert Marshall Foundation, I didn't present them to you. You have testified that you know George Marshall well.

A. I know him well and also—

Q. Just take a look at the signatures and see if you recognize those as the signatures of George Marshall.

A. Well, I am not a handwriting expert but in so far as common experience goes, I would say this is the signature of George Marshall whom I know. I have received letters from him, and communications which have been similar to this.

Q. And you would accept that in your opinion as the signature of George Marshall?

A. Yes, I would, indeed.

Q. And that is the George Marshall you have testified to, who is the well-known member of the Communist Party and a brother of Robert Marshall?

A. Well, he is well known to the Communist officials. He keeps his Communist membership very secret, indeed. In fact, the reason for my association with him was as I indicated that there be no Communist taint, as you might put it, on the committee which he was then directing, but this interview was first obtained through Earl Browder, and as a matter of fact, George Marshall is well known to all leading members of the Communist Party as a loyal and veteran Communist.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I have concluded with the witness.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Will you have another witness before noon? I believe that we should proceed.

MR. HOUSTON: Yes, we will be very pleased to.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may be excused, then, Mr. Budenz, and thank you very kindly.

(Witness Excused)

(Recess)

(Hearing was resumed after taking a short recess, and the following proceedings were had:)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Whipple?

MR. WHIPPLE: Yes. I would like to ask Mr. Sullivan to take the witness stand.

Mr. Chairman, will you swear the witness, please?

JAMES T. SULLIVAN, having been sworn, testified on direct examination as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Will you state your name to the Committee?

A. James T. Sullivan.

Q. Will you spell your name, please?

A. S-u-l-l-i-v-a-n.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Sullivan?

A. Seattle.

Q. How long have you resided in the State of Washington?

A. Since 1923.

Q. Mr. Sullivan, have you ever held any official position here with the State of Washington?

A. Yes. In '36 I was elected Speaker of the House, and served in the '37 session. In '38 I was elected a member of the Senate and served in the '39 and '41 sessions.

Q. Mr. Sullivan, have you ever held any official position with the Old Age Pension Union?

A. Yes. I was the first State President.

Q. Would you detail, please, Mr. Sullivan, a brief history of the organization of the Old Age Pension Union as you know it as its first State President?

A. Yes. The first time that any thought came of starting a pension organization in this state followed the return of myself and many others from King County from the 1937 session. At that time those of us elected here in this county who considered themselves liberals and progressives, were down trying to do something to clear up the mess in Social Security and to help the aged people of this state under the policies of Charles F. Ernst. We were told repeatedly during the sixty days down there that if we would withhold any legislation that we had in mind, that he, Charles F. Ernst by himself, would do the right thing for the old people of this state. Sixty days of this session had passed and there was nothing done. We came home here to Seattle and I discussed it with Howard Costigan who was then on the air for Dr. L. R. Clark, and others of us, and conceived the idea then of forming a pension organization in this state for the purpose of forcing justice to be done for the old folks in this state. Immediately we filed Articles of Incorporation, about April of 1937. I and others, I can recall Bert Collins who has now passed away, who was a member of the Legislature, and others that went from one end of this state, especially on this side of the mountains, organizing and setting up pension organizations. There wasn't a night that I was home with my family. I was out all the way from the Canadian border to Longview and Kelso on the Columbia, setting up pension organizations. We had