

## TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS

MONDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1952

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE TAX-EXEMPT  
FOUNDATIONS AND COMPARABLE ORGANIZATIONS,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The select committee met, pursuant to recess, at 2:10 p. m., in room 1301, New House Office Building, Hon. Brooks Hays presiding.

Present: Representatives Hays (presiding), Forand, O'Toole, and Simpson.

Also present: Harold M. Keele, counsel to the committee.

Mr. HAYS. The committee will be in session.

Mr. Keele, will you call the first witness?

Mr. KEELE. Mr. Malkin. Mr. Malkin, will you stand and be sworn, please? There is a Bible right there, if you put your left hand on the Bible.

Mr. HAYS. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MALKIN. I do.

Mr. HAYS. Be seated.

Mr. Keele, is the resolutions committee authorization to the subcommittee to administer oaths and to take this testimony a part of record?

Mr. KEELE. I am going to offer it, if I may. It is pursuant to the resolution of December 17, and we put this in the record, but I should like to read a column:

Being duly authorized by resolution of the committee dated December 17, 1952, I, Eugene E. Cox, do hereby appoint the following members of the committee to sit as a subcommittee for the conduct of committee business on call: Brooks Hays, Aime J. Forand, Richard M. Simpson. Brooks Hays is designated chairman.

Dated December 22, 1952.

*E. E. Cox, Chairman.*

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Keele, will you proceed with the examination of the witness.

Mr. KEELE. Mr. Malkin, will you give your name and place of residence and present occupation? Will you spell your name for the reporter, please?

### TESTIMONY OF MAURICE MALKIN, CONSULTANT WITH THE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. MALKIN. Maurice Malkin, M-a-l-k-i-n. My residence is 70 Columbus Avenue, New York City. I am employed with the De-

partment of Justice Immigration and Naturalization Service, as consultant.

Mr. KEELE. Where were you born, Mr. Malkin?

Mr. MALKIN. I was born in Russia.

Mr. KEELE. And you became a naturalized citizen of this country; did you not?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEELE. And when was that?

Mr. MALKIN. On April 15, 1926, Supreme Court, New York City.

Mr. KEELE. Now it is my understanding that you were a charter member of the Communist Party in this country; is that correct?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. KEELE. And as of what date was it that you became a charter member?

Mr. MALKIN. September 1919.

Mr. KEELE. All right; and how long did you remain a member of the party?

Mr. MALKIN. I remained a member of the Communist Party from 1919 until 1937, and have functioned in front organizations until 1939.

Mr. KEELE. Was there a period when you were expelled from the party?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. KEELE. When was that, Mr. Malkin?

Mr. MALKIN. I was expelled from the party the beginning of 1937.

Mr. KEELE. And on what grounds or what was the purported grounds of your expulsion?

Mr. MALKIN. For plotting against the Communist Party, disagreeing with the Communist Internationale, disagreeing with the policies of the party, and disagreeing with the party leadership in the United States and its policies in the United States.

Mr. KEELE. Now what positions or offices have you held with the Communist Party, Mr. Malkin?

Mr. MALKIN. I have held the positions branch organizer, section organizer, member of the district committee, district control commission, that is the review commission as it is known now, member of the national committee, of the Trade-Union Educational League, which is the trade-union arm of the party, member of the national committee of the Trade-Union Unity League, directed trade-unions from 1930 up until 1937.

I was a member of national committee of International Labor Defense, member of national committee of the Friends of the Soviet Union, teacher in the workers' school and assistant manager of the Daily Worker, and other posts and organization section of the district in Chicago and other arms and posts of the party.

Mr. KEELE. Were you ever connected with the so-called Agit-Prop, the Agitation Propaganda Culture Commission?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; I was a member of that in New York City.

Mr. KEELE. What is the function of the Agit-Prop?

Mr. MALKIN. The Agit-Prop is known as the agitation and propaganda department of the central committee and the party.

Its functions are to penetrate cultural organizations, to educate the membership in the party to recruit members and educate them into the party, to issue propaganda and agitation within the Communist-front organizations, to issue party propaganda amongst the party

organs and its affiliated organs, and in general carry on Communist agitation throughout in the American section of the party.

Mr. KEELE. Now then, the same functions are discharged by a commission or committee that now has a different name, isn't that true?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEELE. And that is the cultural commission?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEELE. And that has been the case since about, oh, somewhere in the 1930's; is that right?

Mr. MALKIN. Since about the late 1930's; yes, sir.

Mr. KEELE. Prior to that time it was known as the Agitation Propaganda Cultural Commission?

Mr. MALKIN. It was known as the Agit-Prop Commission.

Mr. KEELE. Now tell us what you know of the Agit-Prop Commission and where it functions, what level in connection with the general hierarchy of the Communist Party in the United States.

Mr. MALKIN. The Agit-Prop department is actually in charge and does the work in distribution of propaganda, penetration of cultural groups, the agitation amongst cultural groups outside of the party, the penetration of fields like the movie industry, the writing industry, the book and publication industry, and all other cultural organizations in the United States.

Mr. KEELE. And you spoke a while ago of the group to which you had belonged or a subdivision, the control commission. Will you explain the functions of the control commission, or the name by which it now goes?

Mr. MALKIN. It is known at the present time as the review commission. The cultural commission is actually the boss of the party. They review, they check on discipline and conduct of every party member in the party from the lowest party member up to the highest, which is the national general secretary of the party. They are also in charge of reviewing finances of the party.

They are also in charge of gathering all the information that the organization department of the party gathers throughout the country through its nucleus, known as the units of the party, in navy yards, arsenals, factories, steel industry, metal industry, textile, shipping, radio, and every other industry, and they transmit the information to the control commission.

The control commission transmits it to the CI representative, known as the Communist Internationale representative, and to the Communist Internationale direct to Moscow, and that in turn is transferred to the military intelligence department of what they call the international control commission.

Mr. KEELE. As I understand it, the Agit-Prop Commission or committee made a definite effort to infiltrate various groups, intellectual groups; is that correct?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEELE. Will you tell us how that came about and what you know about that generally, that program, in some detail?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir. When the party was organized in the United States, there was a question of how are we going to raise the funds to finance the party in the United States.

Mr. FORAND. When was that?

Mr. MALKIN. 1919. In this country we had a representative, unofficial ambassador, Soviet Ambassador in the United States, known as Ludwig Martens who in 1936 presided at the Moscow purge trial of Zinovief and Bucharin and the other leaders that opposed Stalin. This Ludwig Martens came to the party and ordered us that instead of depending upon Moscow to finance the American party directly and at all times, we should try to work out ways and means of penetrating philanthropic, charitable, grants, foundations, and et cetera, and these organizations like social-service organizations, charitable institutions, and other cultural fronts, to try to penetrate these organizations, if necessary take control of them and their treasuries; if not, to at least penetrate them where we would have a voice of influence amongst those organizations, in order to drain their treasuries that they should be able to finance the Communist Party propaganda in the United States, besides the subsidies that will be granted by Moscow.

On a few occasions I watched in the offices of Ludwig Martens, the Ambassador here, when seamen used to come off ships, and they stood undressed in the offices of the Soviet Ambassador, and next to their bodies they used to unfold belts like money belts and take out diamonds, jewelry, that is the former czarist diamonds and jewelry and English money, because it was hard to bring in American dollars from Russia back into the United States, because they needed all the American dollars they could get over there.

It was during that period the Hoover Relief Administration, known as the American Relief Administration, in Russia, was in Russia at that time, and the Russian Government needed all the American dollars in Russia and they couldn't send them out of the country, so therefore the line was laid down by the Communist Internationale that it would penetrate those organizations and attempt to use those organizations for purpose of financing American propaganda here.

During that period we made a little headway, like trying to penetrate the Garland Fund at that period, known as the American Fund for Public Service. That's the name by which it was known. And there was another fund which was organized, that is the Phelps Stokes Fund.

In the Garland Fund we succeeded in placing a few Communists and fellow travelers at the controlling board or grant board, whatever they call it. That is William Z. Foster, Benjamin Gitlow, and a few others, sympathizers like Norman Thomas, and who sympathizes toward the Russian revolution, Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union; he was just about released from Federal penitentiary at that time, was a draft evader or conscientious objector; Forrest Bailey, his assistant, was also a member of the party, and his later common-law wife, Adelaide Shulkind, who was later in charge of some other fund. I don't recollect the name of it at the present time.

There was another fund known as the Phelps Stokes Fund, and into that fund we had another direct member to go into, that is his own wife, Stokes' former wife, Rose Pastor Stokes, a charter member of the Communist Party and an original left winger, who actually immediately jumped on the bandwagon to welcome the revolution in Russia in 1917, even prior to the organization of the Communist Party.

Now in these two organizations the Communist Party actually succeeded in getting and milking these organizations dry until there was a little bit of stop put to it when Stokes divorced Rose Pastor Stokes.

Now the penetration of these organizations was succeeded by the Communist Party only to a certain degree. Up until about 1928 these organizations financed actually the Communist Party publications, known as the Daily Worker. At that time it was known also only as The Worker; The Young Worker, the youth publication of the Communist Party, the Masses, the Labor Herald, a Communist publication monthly and Novy Mir, the original Communist and Bolshevik publication in the United States, whose former editor was Leon Trotsky, Alexander Kolenti, Nikolai Bucharis, who was formerly its editor and actually the charter mouthpiece of the organization of the Communist Party of the United States.

Besides that, these two funds also helped to finance the organization of the Worker's School in New York in 1924, which was actually the training school for Communist leadership in the United States, which later was supplemented by what they call the Lenin Institute and Lenin School of Moscow.

Now in 1928, the sixth World Congress of the Communist International laid down a new line for the American party as well as the other parties outside of the Soviet Union, and they stressed the most important thing for the American party was first to penetrate all cultural organizations in the United States for the purpose of getting more and more funds out of these organizations, and that Moscow should not have to kick in funds every other week for organization work in the American Communist Party and for agitation work here.

The result was the organization first of fronts, known as the International Workers Order, which later became the Communist Party breadbasket, the money belt, with 160,000 members in the organization.

They also organized an organization known as the Friends of the Soviet Union, and Icor, the Jewish Colonization of Soviet Russia, and they milked all these Jewish organizations dry, on the basis of agitation that the Soviet Union is the haven for Jews all over the world, and that there is no persecution in Soviet Union, and it was actually a land of milk and honey for the Jews.

There were other organizations, such as Red trade-unions organizations, and Red trade unions and all these organizations like American Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners, the Friends of Soviet Union, International Labor Defense, and all other of these fronts here were mainly just links in the chain for the purpose of gathering money from these foundations and funds to milk them dry, for the purpose of helping these organizations carry on Communist Party activities.

Now we succeeded in organizing these organizations during that period, but we supplemented and we started on a bigger scale after 1928, Sixth Congress of the Communist International. We began to penetrate more and more of these foundations, like the Marshall funds, Robert Marshall Fund, and other funds, and the Robert Marshall Fund immediately set up, helped to set up, organizations like the Farm Research Bureau in Washington.

They granted funds to the Labor Research, which was being run by Robert W. Dunn, member of the committee of the Communist Party ever since its inception.

In the Washington office we had a man by the name of Harold Ware, who later became famous in the Hiss case.

Mr. KEELE. Who is he?

Mr. MALKIN. He was the son of Mother Bloor, known as the mother of the American revolution, who died about a year ago. She was a member of the committee since its inception.

Harold Ware was in the United States since 1920, and when Lenin sent a letter to the American party criticizing the American party for lack of initiative in working among the agrarian elements in the United States, or among the farmers, Lenin sent a letter to the American party stating the following. He said:

Aren't there any farmers in the United States; and if there are any, send me a representative and I will study the situation in the United States and will act accordingly.

Harold Ware was sent to Moscow and he received an appointment by Lenin to work among the collective farms, at that time the first collective farms in the Soviet Union, and he became an expert in the Lenin School and the Frunze Institute, the Military Academy of Espionage, and also in the Marx Engels Institute.

He was sent back to the United States to carry on agitation propaganda, and to guide the penetration within the State Department, Agriculture Department, and other Government agencies, in accordance with the decisions of the Communist International.

Mr. KEELE. Now, what success, if any, did the Communist Party have with foundations, other than the Phelps Stokes, the Garland Fund, and the Robert Marshall Fund?

Mr. MALKIN. They also penetrated the Hechsher Foundation. They penetrated there through the organization of the clerical staff and the higher echelon in that foundation, and attempted to get many fund foundations, which they did get, for the support of different Communist fronts, known as what they called the Clerical Workers Industrial League or similar organization of that sort, or Workers Laboratory Theatre, or by granting them free rent in their buildings on Fifth Avenue and a hundred and some-odd street, New York.

Mr. KEELE. Any other foundations that they succeeded in obtaining funds from, or penetrating?

Mr. MALKIN. They did numerous foundations, which is hard for me at the present time to enumerate for you, until I will be able to recognize the person that was in there.

Mr. KEELE. Do you know of any foundations other than those you have mentioned where there were Communists or Communist sympathizers on the board of trustees?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes. There is the Marshall Field Fund with one who has been so close to the party that it would take actually more than Chicago surgeons to separate them. They are more than Siamese twins, between him and the party. That is Channing Tobias. He has been so close to the party that I think he lives on the ninth floor of the Communist Party headquarters. He's been in, all told, about forty-some-odd fronts of the Communist Party.

Mr. KEELE. I think we talked to Mr. Field about Mr. Tobias when he was here. Any other trustees that you know of?

Mr. MALKIN. There was Magistrate Weiss Polier and her husband Polier, who were also members of the International Juridical Association, an organization which I had helped to organize.

Mr. KEELE. Tell us something about the International Juridical Association.

Mr. MALKIN. We received orders from Jack Stachel and William Weiner, actually known as William Varshover, who was sentenced to prison for passport fraud in 1939, and he was released from prison due to heart trouble and intervention of Mrs. Roosevelt. He gave us strict orders and these orders were actually given to him by the CI representative.

He called a meeting at 799 Broadway, the same building where I had my offices in International Labor Defense, and it was in Joseph Brodsky's office.

Present at the meeting was Carol Weiss King, Isaac Shore, Joseph Brodsky, myself, Ellen Taub, Schreiber, Edward Kuntz, all members of the Communist Party except Isaac Shore, who was very close to the party, and later broke with the party for disagreement with them on a question of proper method of defense of different people charged with violation of city ordinances and Government regulations.

And we decided to organize an organization that would be of an international scope that would be able to defend what they call victims of fascism and nazism. We organized this committee. We called it the International Juridical Association.

This committee, in 1933, when Hitler came into power in Germany, immediately sent a group of lawyers under its auspices. One of them was Galligher, from California, an attorney. Another one was Levinson. The third one was Arthur Garfield Hays, of the Civil Liberties Union, and Pritt, King's counsel, member of parliament—I think he was a member of parliament—and member of the Central Committee of the British Communist Party, to go to Germany to act as impartial jurors and lawyers in the defense of Dimitroff Popoff, Taneev, and Torgler, member of the German Reichstag, who were all charged with the burning of the Reichstag.

These groups of lawyers were sent to Germany to defend them and to prove that actually Himmler and Goebbels were the ones that set fire to the Reichstag and the Communists were innocent. Later this organization actually worked in the gathering and getting in of innocent attorneys and lawyers playing up to them that this was simply a plain, simple, innocent group of attorneys who were banded together for the defense of the underdog.

They penetrated in quite a few sections of the country, Canada, Mexico, and England, and some sections of France and Belgium. They gathered these lawyers into that organization and actually used these lawyers for Communist purposes.

A lot of these attorneys later joined the Communist Party. Most of them that remained to the end became very close Communist sympathizers, very close fronters, and have followed the Communist Party ever since in every front that the Communist Party organized up to the present day.

Now that organization later changed into the National Lawyers Guild, because it was becoming too notorious as a Communist organization. The result of that was that Judge Pecora, Supreme Court Judge Pecora, in New York, resigned from that organization, claiming that this was a Communist front and he doesn't want to have anything to do with it.

Quite a few other attorneys resigned, but those hard-boiled Communist fronters and Communist Party followers remained throughout

the period of International Juridical Association and the National Lawyers Guild up to the present day.

Mr. KEELE. Did Adolph Berle resign from that organization?

Mr. MALKIN. I do not definitely know whether he did.

Mr. KEELE. A number of prominent lawyers did, I believe.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; a number did.

Mr. FORAND. Did you say that was the International Lawyers Guild or the National Lawyers Guild?

Mr. MALKIN. National Lawyers Guild.

Mr. KEELE. The International Juridical Association; the National Lawyers Guild.

Mr. FORAND. Before you go any further I would like to ask this: You said that you were expelled from the Communist Party because you disagreed with their program and their views, and so forth. How did you arrive at the point where you couldn't see eye to eye with them and reached this point of disagreement?

Mr. MALKIN. Well, actually, to begin my disagreements with the party, I was sentenced to from 2½ to 5 years in prison in New York State for activities in a furriers' strike in New York City.

While at Sing Sing I had a good opportunity to restudy the Communist literature and the Communist program and also borrow books from the prison library on real American history, and I restudied that, and upon my release from prison—

Mr. FORAND. Right there, you said Communist literature, and so forth. Did you take that into the prison with you or was that furnished to you?

Mr. MALKIN. I used to receive that by mail direct from the publishers.

Mr. FORAND. And there was no interference with that coming to you?

Mr. MALKIN. No interference at all as long as it came direct from the publishers.

And upon my release I already had a certain amount of what we call in immigration language mental reservations as to the wisdom of the Communist Party, because I was already convinced, more through reading, rereading the American history, than I was by the wisdom of the Communist International, and when I was released from prison I became reactive in the Party, and at the same time restudied the Party and see its functions in a more clear light than I did prior to my conviction.

During the latter period of the thirties I began to agitate my thoughts among the membership of the party and the leadership of the party. As a result we used to gather at my house and discuss the method of smashing the party from within.

Actually I used to show some of these leaders and some of these rank and filers the wisdom of Stalin in his guiding of the American affairs wasn't so hot for us, that he is actually smashing the labor movement in the United States, that he is endangering the existence of the American workers, that he is endangering the existence in general of the American population and the things that the Americans fought for throughout their lives; and also showing them the misery of the conditions in the Soviet Union, the misery and what they call from the intellectual as well as the practical point of view, showing



where the worker in the Soviet Union is actually starving, he actually hasn't got anything, and the difference in America where the worker has got a chance to better his condition and to live and to actually bring up his children properly and to give them free education, where in the Soviet Union he doesn't get those opportunities.

Now after showing up these facts to these people, one or two of them reported to the party.

As a result I was called to the National Review Commission, known as the Control Commission, to state my position, in which I walked out on them and refused to discuss the matter with them, and about a week later I sent them a statement analyzing my position, in which I labeled the Soviet Union as the roots of cancer in totalitarianism at the present time and since its inception in the world.

Mr. FORAND. So long as you felt that strongly in opposition to their program, why did you not leave the party, but rather waited until they expelled you?

Mr. MALKIN. To leave the party, you never leave the party voluntarily. Even if you leave it voluntarily you are expelled.

But, you see, just leaving the party without actually undoing the harm that I did while I was in the party, in my opinion, wasn't real political sense. So, I wanted to create dissension within the party and to show how dangerous the Communist Party actually is to our existence, by helping to break the party from within and to draw as many away from the party as I can.

Mr. FORAND. If I understand you correctly, you preferred to remain within the party, where you felt you could do more harm to the party and give more help to this country than if you had walked out on them originally; is that correct?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. FORAND. Thank you. That is all.

Mr. KEELE. I think I interrupted you a while ago to ask about the International Juridical Association. You were telling at the time about trustees of foundations, trustees who were sympathetic to the Communist cause or who were members of the Communist Party.

Aside from those you mentioned—Channing Tobias as belonging to a number of fronts, one or two others—are there any other trustees of any foundations that you recall who were either Communists or sympathetic to the Communist cause, to your knowledge? What about the Whitney Foundation, for instance?

Mr. MALKIN. Well, I knew there was some people there, but I didn't know who they were.

Mr. KEELE. You have mentioned the Field Foundation.

Mr. MALKIN. There were some even went into the so-called—to the Carnegie Foundation, the Carnegie Fund, and to the Guggenheim Fund.

Mr. KEELE. Well, now you are talking about infiltration, not at the level of the trustees, however.

Mr. MALKIN. No; I don't think so.

Mr. KEELE. What about the Guggenheim Fund?

Mr. MALKIN. We used to receive reports in the party that we've got to concentrate more and more in order to gain more strength in the Guggenheim Fund until we soften them up more.

We did receive some support to our Communist fronts from them, but the plan was to soften them up more by penetrating more and more

in the Guggenheim Foundation through the clerical staff and also the middle and upper echelons.

Mr. KEELE. Well, now, the Guggenheim Fund, as I recall it, operates only to give fellowships.

Mr. MALKIN. That's right.

Mr. KEELE. That is to individual scholars. How could you get money for a front, a Communist front, if they only operate to endow scholarships?

Mr. MALKIN. They would help out one in getting a scholarship; but this person, actually while working, actually getting support under this fund or scholarship, would actually do Communist Party work.

Mr. KEELE. Do you recall any Communists whom you knew to be Communists who got support from the Guggenheim Fund?

Mr. MALKIN. I did remember a few, but I think I gave you some of the names there, or to Mr. Feeney.

Mr. KEELE. Well, there was Alvah Bessie, I believe you mentioned.

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; he was a member of the Communist Party, one of the editors of the New Masses, and he was one of those in the leadership of the Hollywood group, together with John Howard Lawson and the other group. He was actually an old-time member of the Communist Party, and his name appears in the New Masses.

Mr. KEELE. You mentioned, I believe, Thomas I. Emerson.

Mr. MALKIN. You mean Professor Emerson?

Mr. KEELE. Yes.

Mr. MALKIN. Well, Professor Emerson has been such a close supporter of Communist fronts that if anyone would tell me that he was actually a card-carrying member of the party it wouldn't surprise me a little bit at all, but he was so close to the party that it was hard to distinguish between him and a party functionary.

Mr. KEELE. What about Carlton Beal?

Mr. MALKIN. Carlton Beal has been a member of the party for years, a member of the New Masses editorial staff, a member of the editorial staff of Fight, and of the John Reed Club and the American Writers' Congress.

Mr. KEELE. Some mention was made of Langston Hughes.

Mr. MALKIN. Langston Hughes is a party member and has been since the middle 1930's. He has been in every Communist front that the Communist Party ever organized practically, and he was also a member of the National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners, members of the national committee of International Labor Defense, member of the American Writers Congress, and member of every other front you could think of, and also the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. KEELE. Another recipient to whom you referred was Hallie Flanagan. What about Hallie Flanagan?

Mr. MALKIN. Hallie Flanagan, I don't know whether she was actually a party member, but this is the same in charge of the Federal Theater Party during the Hopkins-Roosevelt Administration of the WPA. She never missed fighting for the demands that the Communist Workers Alliance put up; and we—that is, myself, Herbert Benjamin, Dave Lesser, Israel Amter, and the rest of us—used to meet with her quite regularly.

Mr. KEELE. What about William Gropper?

Mr. MALKIN. Gropper? I signed the application of William Gropper. The cartoonist; that's the one you mean?

Mr. KEELE. Yes.

Mr. MALKIN. I've known Gropper for years and years, and he was one of the early members of the Communist Party, and he began his career in the party by being cartoonist for the Morning Freiheit, the official Jewish organ of the Communist Party, and the official cartoonist of the Communist Party and Daily Worker.

Mr. KEELE. What is the relationship, if any, between the Daily Worker and the Worker?

Mr. MALKIN. At the present time?

Mr. KEELE. No. Was there a development?

Mr. MALKIN. Originally the Daily Worker was known as the Worker. It was a weekly. Then we established the Daily Worker as a daily organ and moved it from Chicago to New York, and I became its manager in New York. That's when we called it the Daily Worker.

During the 1930's we also established the Worker, known as the Sunday Worker, and the Daily Worker was the regular weekly daily paper.

Mr. KEELE. Now, was an effort made to penetrate or infiltrate foundations at levels lower than that of the trustees, shall we say, or even the heads, the operating heads?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. KEELE. If so, what was it and how was it done?

Mr. MALKIN. When the Communist International ordered the creation of Red trade-unions in the United States in competition with the American Federation of Labor and other organized labor bodies in the United States, we also organized what they call the Office Workers Industrial League, which took in clerical staff workers, file clerks, stenographers, bookkeepers, accountants, and management staff; I mean clerical management departments.

Now, when we decided to organize that, we also concentrated mainly on the clerical staffs of foundations, grants, and charitable institutions, social-service organizations, relief bureaus, et cetera; so that, when we organized that, we actually penetrated to the heart actually, or to the filing cabinets of the foundations and charitable institutions. So, we knew actually what was going on in those organizations and were able to act accordingly.

Mr. KEELE. Did you succeed in organizing the workers of certain foundations?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. KEELE. What foundations? What were the names of the foundations whose workers you organized under that union?

Mr. MALKIN. We organized the Hecksher Foundation, one. We organized what is called the Carnegie offices. We organized the Jewish philanthropic societies or organizations.

We organized the Jewish Social Service, the home-relief bureaus of the States and cities. Actually, we penetrated in any organization that did not give in to our demands—that is, demands of the Communist organized workers, the clerical staff—we immediately picketed those organizations as unfair and so on; and we used, in fact, the picket method and organization method as a club against these founda-

tions to enable us easier to get grants and funds from these organizations.

Mr. KEELE. What about the IPR?

Mr. MALKIN. The IPR came under the Communist influence during the beginning of the 1930's—that is, 1930–31—when Frederick Vanderbilt Field, who was actually a member of the Communist Party even then, although he played the game as a so-called militant left winger of the Socialist Party—and I personally was sent by party headquarters to his offices, somewhere on Fifty-second Street and Lexington Avenue, of the Institute of Pacific Relations—and Frederick Vanderbilt Field was, I think, secretary of that organization then—to get funds for the financing of the Communist organization trips.

I also made numerous trips to Corliss Lamont's house on Riverside Drive, for the same purpose.

But the IPR, through its secretary and others who played the ball of the Communist Party, actually was penetrated during that period.

Mr. KEELE. Well, you went to see them. Did you get money from Frederick Vanderbilt Field?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. KEELE. And Corliss Lamont?

Mr. MALKIN. He went outside the offices. He cashed a check and he gave me the cash. He wouldn't give me no check because that would be incriminating evidence that he is a Communist, and I was known as a party organizer at that time.

Mr. KEELE. On whose orders was the infiltration of the IPR begun, if any orders were given to that effect?

Mr. MALKIN. The orders were actually given to us at that time by a person named Michailoff, Stalin's personal secretary, who went under the name in this country of Williams. He was sent here to reorganize the American Communist Party and to expel all the "dissenters"—the dissenters I mean—such as the Lovestoneites.

Mr. KEELE. Now you are referring to J. Lovestone; is that right?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. KEELE. And the orders came from this chap Williams?

Mr. MALKIN. That's right, and he was the personal emissary of Stalin. Stalin did not even trust that job to anyone else, and he sent his most trusted emissary here.

Mr. KEELE. I think you told us at one time something about Michael Straight, of the Whitney Foundation. Am I correct about that?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. KEELE. What about Mr. Straight?

Mr. MALKIN. Michael Straight, is that the one you mean?

Mr. KEELE. Yes.

Mr. MALKIN. Michael Straight has been used. They originally started using him on the so-called committee that was organized to combat the John Dewey Committee that was collaborating with the Trotskyists to defend the Moscow trials; that is, those that were purged in the trials. In fact, they were favoring the Trotsky group.

Now, the Communist committee under the leadership of Carlton Beal and a few more, with Michael Straight, was organized to try to convince this committee that they're wrong.

That was a strictly Communist committee organized under the direction of the CI representative. And since then he has been

every Communist front practically—most important Communist fronts since its inception.

Mr. KEELE. In other words, as I understand it, there was an effort made to enlist his sympathy and assistance in that?

Mr. MALKIN. Correct. I doubt very much whether he is actually a card-carrying party member, because, with my experience in the party, I don't think he is the type that would actually bind himself by card-carrying discipline, but I might be wrong. Many things happened.

Mr. KEELE. At what point was the order given that an effort should be made to enlist the assistance of the intellectuals or to penetrate intellectual circles? At about what time, what date?

Mr. MALKIN. The actual penetration orders were given originally in 1920, but they were supplemented in 1928 at the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International.

Then in February 1933 Roosevelt recognized the Soviet Union and he signed the pact with Maxim Litvinov. That was February 1933.

Two months later, in April, we had an extraordinary party conference called together from all parts of the country, all important organizers of the party, and those orders were supplemented to actually concentrate more and more within Government, State, Federal, philanthropic organizations, churches, social organizations, and charitable institutions. In fact, to concentrate more and more and to try to get as many more converts into the party to build party units among these organizations.

And it was further supplemented in July 1934 at the Eighth Party Congress of the party, Eighth Convention of the American Communist Party held at Cleveland.

Mr. KEELE. Now, do you know on whose orders that was done?

Mr. MALKIN. Under orders of the Communist International commission in 1934, who at that time was—the CI was represented by Harry Pollitt, general secretary of the British Communist Party; Kuisinan, member of the Politburo of the Comintern, president of the so-called Karilian Soviet Republic in 1920, and they were the CI representatives in the United States at that time, and including Fred Brown, also known as I. P. Alpi, also known as Marini, who faded out of the picture after I named him as a Communist International agent in 1939 at the Dies committee.

Mr. KEELE. What do you know of Hans Eisler?

Mr. MALKIN. I know definitely that Hans Eisler was a member of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party. Hans Eisler, Gerhardt Eisler, his brother, and Ruth Fisher, a sister of Gerhardt and Hans Eisler, were all members of the German Communist Party Central Committee.

In 1927 Ruth Fisher broke with the Comintern and Stalin and supported Trotsky. As a result, she was expelled from the Communist International.

Gerhardt Eisler actually took over organization and hatchet work for the Comintern; that is, to liquidate the dissenters of the Communist International.

Anybody that was on the purge list of Stalin, he took care of it, whether it was in the United States, Germany, or even in China, where he was a Communist International agent for quite a few years.

Hans Eisler was in charge of agit-prop and cultural work of the German Communist Party, especially amongst what they called musicians, artists, writers, et cetera. He came to the United States, and we immediately received orders throughout the country—in fact, every party secretary received orders—to cooperate with Hans Eisler because he is a CI representative.

And Hans Eisler actually started organizing what they called Communist music festivals, Communist music sections, and literary circles. He was received with open arms in Hollywood by some of our Communist friends like Clifford Odets, John Garfield, and—for instance, Lionel Stander, whom I myself recruited into the party—people like James Cagney and Alvah Bessie and others.

As a result, Hans Eisler actually became what they called the cultural director representative of the Communist International in the United States in penetrating cultural groups.

V. J. Jerome, who is presently on trial in New York under the Smith Act, alias Roman Romain, alias Victor Romane, I think this was his real name, and who was national agit-prop and who is the one responsible for the central committee of the United States for penetration into cultural and civic groups all over the country; but Jerome actually had to report to Hans Eisler on his activities.

The real director in the United States was Hans Eisler, the CI representative on cultural activities in the United States.

Mr. FORAND. Did any of those men that you have just mentioned get into the foundations in any way or get funds from the foundations in any way, to your knowledge?

Mr. MALKIN. I think Hans Eisler. I am pretty sure Hans Eisler got funds from I don't know which foundation. I think it was the Rockefeller Foundation. I am not sure.

Mr. FORAND. If Eisler got any funds from any of the foundations, do you remember approximately what date that was? Was it before some of those activities were cited or some of these individuals or organizations were cited by the Attorney General or by any of the committees of Congress?

Mr. MALKIN. If my memory serves me right, I think he was given a grant or fund just about prior to his deportation from the United States, or leaving the United States.

Mr. FORAND. Had he been cited at that time?

Mr. KEELE. Facing deportation?

Mr. MALKIN. He was facing deportation at that time.

Mr. KEELE. Actually, his deportation was halted by the giving of that grant, was it not?

Mr. MALKIN. Maybe it was. I don't exactly recall.

Mr. FORAND. That was before this list was published, this list of subversive groups was published?

Mr. KEELE. Yes; before that.

Mr. MALKIN. Besides Eisler, we also had important people that used to travel in and out of the United States every few months.

One of those was Anna Louise Strong, who was supposed to have been expelled from the Soviet Union and who was formerly editor of the Moscow Daily News. Anna Louise Strong, to the best of my knowledge, was actually an agent of the GPU, agent of the Soviet Secret Police, who traveled back and forth to the United States and Russia under a guise that she was a so-called semiliberal representing

liberal views, and as soon as she would arrive in the United States, she would report immediately to Alexander Trachtenberg, 381 Fourth Avenue, the offices of the International Publishers, and she immediately handed over information and gathered information for relay to the Soviet Union before she would leave the United States.

Mr. KEELE. Trachtenberg was on the Cultural Commission; was he not?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes; he was on the Cultural Commission, but he was also on the most powerful commission known as the Review Commission and Control Commission.

Mr. KEELE. What about this chap, J. B. S. Hardman?

Mr. MALKIN. That's Salutzsky.

Mr. KEELE. Yes.

Mr. MALKIN. J. B. S. Hardman was a member of the Communist Party during its illegal period from 1919 to 1922. He broke with the Communist Party and fought the Communist Party and went into the Amalgamated Clothing Workers around 1922 as educational director, and editor of its official organ, I think it was Advance, and he has remained with the Amalgamated and against the Communist Party ever since.

Mr. KEELE. So that the only period when Hardman was with the Communist Party was from 1919 to 1922; is that correct?

Mr. MALKIN. That is correct, and prior to that he was a member of the left wing of the Socialist Party.

Mr. HAYS. The committee will be in recess for 5 minutes.

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. KEELE. Did you know Mary Van Kleeck?

Mr. MALKIN. Yes.

Mr. KEELE. I am referring now to the Mary Van Kleeck who was on the staff of the Russell Sage Foundation.

Mr. MALKIN. That's right.

Mr. KEELE. What did you know of her?

Mr. MALKIN. She was a card-carrying disciplined member of the party, and took her orders from the party.

Mr. FORAND. Who was that?

Mr. KEELE. Mary Van Kleeck. And for how long a period was she a card-carrying member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MALKIN. I've known that she was a member of the party from about 1932 till about 1937, throughout the period, until about the time that I was out of the party.

Mr. KEELE. Did you ever have any conversation with her at any place?

Mr. MALKIN. No; but we discussed—she never appeared in district office to discuss party matters, but when it came to discussing the Russell Sage Foundation or different Communist fronts that we might need people to front for us, Israel Amter or Jack Stachel would also refer to comrade Van Kleeck and comrade Van Kleeck in the party language was actually a comrade, a party member.

Mr. KEELE. I have no further questions of you at this time.

Mr. HAYS. No further questions. Thank you, Mr. Malkin.

Mr. KEELE. Mr. Johnson, please.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Johnson, will you be sworn, please? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give before this committee

will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. JOHNSON. I do.

Mr. KEELE. Will you give your name, your address, and your occupation, Mr. Johnson?

**TESTIMONY OF MANNING JOHNSON, CONSULTANT, INVESTIGATION SECTION, IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE**

Mr. JOHNSON. My name is Manning Johnson, 70 Columbus Avenue, New York City. At the present time I am employed as a consultant in the Investigation Section of the Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Mr. KEELE. Mr. Johnson, were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I was a member of the Communist Party from 1930 until 1940.

Mr. KEELE. Will you tell us a bit about the ruptured relations between you and the party, if there was one?

Mr. JOHNSON. I joined the Communist Party because of my idealism. I thought that through the Communist Party I could help my race attain equal citizenship status in the United States.

During the course of the years my experiences convinced me that the Communist Party uses the Negro in order to carry out the aims and objectives of Soviet Russia, and that they would at any time, whenever it became expedient, sacrifice the Negro on the altar of Soviet political expediency.

In 1939, precisely in August, when the Nazi-Soviet pact was signed, I was convinced more than ever that the Communists are ruthless in their world policy, that millions of people throughout the world who had felt that the Communists were sincere in their campaign against nazism and fascism were disillusioned and sold out by Soviet Russia, because Stalin and his political bureau at that time felt it expedient to make a deal with Hitler even if it meant the sacrifice of all those persons who were succumbed to Communist general propaganda.

I, as a result of all of these experiences, decided that I had enough of communism, that I was going back to the old landmarks that I had deserted, and that I could not return to these old landmarks if I persisted in supporting the Communist movement. In other words, I realized that I could not serve my people, I could not serve America, and at the same time serve Stalin, any more than a man can serve God and Beelzebub.

That, in brief, expresses all or almost all of my reasons for quitting the Communist Party.

Mr. KEELE. How did that come about? By that I mean, how did the actual breach come about? Did you advise the party of your views, or were you let out of the party, or what happened, Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, I gradually broke off by not attending meetings, and of course when you fail to attend meetings and you fail to make your services available to the party, then you begin to fall into disgrace insofar as the party is concerned.

I was called before the review commission. It was known as the disciplinary commission at that particular time, and they questioned



me at length with regard to my attitude toward the party, my failure to attend meetings, and remarks that I had made against the leadership and against the policy of the party, and they warned me that if I didn't straighten up and change my attitude and make myself available to the party for assignments, that I would find myself in serious trouble.

I didn't answer them. I walked out and I never returned again. In other words, I resigned from the party with my feet.

Of course, in 1940, either in July or August of that year, the Daily Worker published a small notice in the paper that I had been expelled from the party, but I had not been called before the Disciplinary Commission for a hearing. Consequently, the expulsion was made during my absence.

Mr. FORAND. Did you ever experience any of the threats, you might say, that they had made? Did anything come out of that? Did you find yourself in trouble?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I did. I have been persecuted by the Communists ever since I left the party.

The methods of persecution which the Communists use against ex-Communists and especially those who cooperate with the Government and other agencies who are combating communism are very clearly and forcibly outlined in Peters' Manual on Organization.

Let me correct the name. It is called Communist Manual on Organization. In that manual J. Peters states in unmistakable terms that those who leave the party and turn against the party and work with the so-called enemies of the party are to be hounded and persecuted no end.

In the neighborhood in which they live the neighbors are to be aroused against them by telling the neighbors that they are enemies of labor, that they are stool pigeons, that they are spies, that in the case of the Negro that they are enemies of the Negro people.

The children of the parents in the neighborhood are to be lined up in opposition to the informer's children, and they should be instructed not to play with his children, and to constantly remind that they are the children of an informer, an enemy of labor, et cetera.

In addition to that, they use their influences in labor unions, fraternal organizations, and other groups in order to discredit the individual. That is what is known in the party as drilling the boat, that is, to assassinate the character of the individual no end, so that he will be hated and despised. J. Peters puts it this way: Organize mass hatred against the individual so that he will be not welcome anywhere.

In addition to these methods of persecution, they also use physical violence. On a number of occasions, why, individuals have sought to pick fights, and I had to very skillfully avoid them.

I could tell you the instance of the young man who was a Communist for many years. He was trained in the Lenin Institute in Moscow. He was a member of the national committee. He had some differences with the party. He left the party, and unfortunately he lived in a cooperative colony at 2800 Bronx Park, East, in the city of New York.

That colony is a Communist stronghold, and there the Communists were able to organize all of the neighbors against him and his family, the children in the neighborhood against his children. In fact, the children were so hostile toward his children that they would beat them.

They organized picket lines in front of the grocery store and butcher shop where his wife patronized, to compel the butcher not to serve her. They picked fights with him. They used their influence to knock him out of every job he got, to starve him and his family.

They hounded George Hewitt, whose alias is Tim Holmes, to his death. I might say this, incidentally: that he was on a case for the Government in Cleveland, Ohio, and he had a paralytic stroke. The Communists immediately smeared him by stating that he was insane, that he was in a psychopathic ward in the hospital, and that all of his testimony given in the cases was unworthy of belief because of his mental condition.

It is unfortunate that Tim Holmes died a comparatively young man, in my opinion hounded to his death by Communist persecution.

Our movements—I can say this for all of us who testify for the Government and cooperate with the Government in matters of this kind, that our movements—are restricted. We don't have the freedom of movement that you have.

We have to be very careful where we go and be careful to stay out of crowds, because we know that the Communist Party has many strong-arm men, men who are skilled in the use of the knife, the atomizer of acid, and with the blackjack. Particularly in New York we have to be careful when we ride in the subways not to get near the edge of the platform.

We have to stay in the middle of the platform because we constantly fear that someone will come along and bump us off in front of an oncoming train, and we stay out of crowds, because we could get a spray of acid or a knife in our kidneys.

I might also add that these are not just statements that are not without foundation. They are based upon our knowledge of the Communist Party and how it works.

There have been some other outstanding instances such as the assassination of Leon Trotsky in Mexico, the mysterious death of General Krivitzky, the mysterious disappearance of Juliet Stuart Poyntz, and a number of others I could mention to corroborate that.

Now coming back to myself personally, I was driven out of the labor movement. I am quite familiar with labor. I have been a labor official for years. I know labor organization. It has been my source of livelihood. But because of Communist infiltration in labor organizations, I haven't been able to work at the work in the field in which I am most qualified.

I point out this to show you the extent of Communist infiltration in the ranks of organized labor and how they use their position to persecute all of those who cooperate with the Government against them? I didn't mean to speak so much at length or to impose upon the committee.

Mr. KEELE. That is responsive to the question. Did you ever know Mary Van Kleeck?

Mr. JOHNSON. Mary Van Kleeck? Yes, I knew Mary Van Kleeck as a member of the Communist Party. I'll tell you the circumstances.

During the early part of 1930, I think it was either around 1934 or 1935, we had a meeting in the national office of the Communist Party.

Present at that meeting were Jack Stachel, who was convicted under the Smith Act, Earl Browder, Fred Brown alias Morini, which Mr. Malkin mentioned, Rose Wortis, Irving Potash and others, for

the purpose of outlining the arguments that the Communist Party was going to present before a committee in Washington.

Mary Van Kleeck's name was mentioned by Jack Stachel as the party member who would present the main line of the Communist Party before the congressional committee. Other persons, including myself, were selected to supplement the main line that was presented by Mary Van Kleeck.

The reason they gave for Mary Van Kleeck not being present at the meeting was because they did not want it to be generally known that Mary Van Kleeck was a member of the Communist Party, because if such information was generally known, she would lose her usefulness insofar as the party is concerned.

The imposing array of positions which she holds carries a lot of weight before congressional committees and in front organizations, and the party was determined to preserve that, because through the preservation of that front which she can maintain, means the attraction of many persons to the party that the party could not attract directly.

The report which Mary Van Kleeck, myself, and others gave before that congressional committee, were prepared for us by Robert W. Dunn, head of labor research, and who has for years been a member of the central committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. KEELE. And did you hear Mary Van Kleeck testify before the congressional committee?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I did. I was present, the record will show.

Mr. KEELE. Do you remember what congressional committee it was, Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. I don't recall. I think it was a committee that was conducting hearings on an unemployment-insurance bill. I think it was the Lundeen bill, if I am not mistaken.

Mr. KEELE. And did you see the report that was prepared for Mary Van Kleeck?

Mr. JOHNSON. I didn't see the report. We were just given the reports that we were to make. They were already typed for us.

Mr. KEELE. And did you make that report as given you?

Mr. JOHNSON. I did.

Mr. KEELE. And was it in accordance with the report given by Mary Van Kleeck?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. KEELE. Now did you know at that time that she was an employee of the Russell Sage Foundation?

Mr. JOHNSON. I did.

Mr. KEELE. Was she at that time a trustee of Smith College?

Mr. JOHNSON. That I do not recall. I knew she had quite a number of important connections which I think are contained in the record of that testimony, and we made quite a to-do over the fact that she knew just how to present all of her connections in order to impress the committee.

Mr. KEELE. Have you ever met her any other time other than here at Washington?

Mr. JOHNSON. No, not personally; but I do know that she has been on a number of Communist fronts at one time or another.

Mr. KEELE. Did you talk with her here?

Mr. JOHNSON. No, I didn't talk to her; merely spoke to her and greeted her.

Mr. KEELE. Who were the other people that testified at that time who were furnished with reports by Dunn; do you recall?

Mr. JOHNSON. I don't recall offhand, but I know there were a number of others who were members of the party at that time. I would have to check the record on that.

Mr. KEELE. Do you know anything about Louise Branston?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I do. Louise Branston, according to my personal knowledge, is a member of the Communist Party. She attended meetings from time to time of the national committee of the Communist Party, at which I was present.

Mr. KEELE. You knew her personally then?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. We sat in meetings together.

Mr. KEELE. And she was a trustee of the Rosenberg Foundation?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; I understand she was.

Mr. KEELE. I don't believe I have asked you what work if any you did in the Communist Party. Supposing you tell us something of the work that you did while you were a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. JOHNSON. I held some important positions in the party. I was for a period of time district agitation and propaganda director. That was the first most important position I held.

My second position was that of district organizer back in 1932, '33, and part of '34. Now the United States was divided into 35 districts at that time, and the district that I headed was district No. 4, which embraced the western part of New York State.

In 1936 I was elected to the national committee of the Communist Party. I was also a member of the national trade-union commission of the national committee of the Communist Party, the national Negro commission of the national committee of the Communist Party.

I was a member of the State committee of the Communist Party of New York. I was a member of the trade-union committee of the Communist Party of the State of New York. I was also a candidate for the political bureau of the Communist Party. I also held positions in the trade-union field.

I was the national Negro organizer for the Trade-Union Unity League, the left-wing trade-union center in America, the American section of the Red International of Labor Unions. I was also an official in the Food Workers Industrial Union and also in the American Federation of Labor and the CIO.

Mr. FORAND. Were you a full-time employee receiving a salary and if so, how did they remunerate you for your activities?

Mr. JOHNSON. Of course when in the trade-union field I was paid by the trade-unions. When I was the party official, I was paid by the Communist Party.

Mr. HAYS. What is your trade, Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. I beg your pardon?

Mr. HAYS. What is your trade? You spoke about your inability to reestablish yourself in the trade-union movement because of Communist infiltration. What are those groups by vocation?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, I am qualified as a labor expediter, labor expediter-business manager.

Mr. HAYS. Well, I mean vocationally, what was your original trade?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, originally I worked, I studied machine-shop work originally in high school, and I worked for a period of time as a machinist helper and as a boilermaker's helper and also as truck and tender repairmen's assistant.

Mr. HAYS. And it was these unions that the Communists managed to influence against you?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, the unions that I was affiliated with, such as the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance, and Bartenders International League of America, the Communists were able to influence the top leadership in order to lift my charter and to finally have me expelled from the international.

Mr. HAYS. From the Hotel Workers?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. HAYS. And Bartenders?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. HAYS. At one time if not continually, the Communists had high hopes of influencing the Negro people, did they not, here in the United States?

Mr. JOHNSON. They did. Beginning at the Sixth World Congress in 1928 and the Communist International meeting in Moscow, made a bid to win over the Negro people in America in support of Soviet policy and in support of communism in America.

It was at that particular time that the program for the organization of Negro armed rebellion in America was outlined and later put in concrete form in a resolution that was handed down in 1930.

This is the famous resolution on the Negro question which says that the Negro people who reside in the area of the Black Belt, that is, the old Cotton Belt of the South, constitute an oppressed nation, and as such they are entitled to unify that entire territory and establish there an independent government separate and apart from the rest of the United States; this to be accomplished, of course, through the seizure of the land and mass revolt or rebellion against all constituted authority, this to be supported by Communists generally everywhere, the objective being to establish in that area a Negro soviet republic.

Mr. HAYS. That was an official objective of the party?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. HAYS. And they acquainted you as one of the Negro members of the party with that plan?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct. And the organizations that were to serve as the vehicles for the carrying out of this policy were the League of Struggle for Negro Rights and the Sharecroppers' Union. Of course, both unions were formed and led by the Communist Party.

Mr. HAYS. You have had evidence all along that the results, of course, were highly disappointing to the Communists?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; the results were. They did make tremendous inroads during the early thirties, precisely right after the unfortunate Scottsboro case.

I might say that the Scottsboro case was manna from heaven insofar as the Communists were concerned, because they were struggling in the barren wastes trying to get the Negroes, and they were looking for some issue that they could use that would have the attraction, the popular appeal, that they could use to sell communism to the Negro, and the Scottsboro case was just the case, as Browder said, that we were looking for to dramatize the policy that was laid down by the

Communist International in Moscow and published in the famous Negro resolution in 1930.

Mr. HAYS. Thank you. Go ahead, Mr. Keele.

Mr. KEELE. Mr. Johnson, do you know anything of the program we have heard about here for the infiltration of foundations among other organizations which was to be carried out by the Cultural Commission or the agit-prop committee?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; I do. I might say by way of introduction that the Communist Party had a number of ways of raising money in order to operate.

First, the Communist Party received substantial financial aid from Soviet Russia. Were it not for the support financially of Soviet Russia, Communist parties nowhere could carry on propaganda, agitation, and activity to the extent in which they do.

I think General Krivitzky, when he testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee, pointed out very clearly that the money that the Communist Party raises in a given country covers only 10 percent of their expenses for operation, and that the other 90 percent is supplied by the Soviet Government; and General Krivitzky was in a position to know, more so than anybody in the American party, because General Krivitzky was a high official in Soviet Intelligence at the time.

Now these subsidies come in many forms. They come in through the Soviet Embassy, through Soviet trade organizations, through couriers, through international press service, which was known at the time I was in the party as international press correspondents, subsidies from Soviet publications, travel organizations, and so forth.

Now the second source of funds comes from dues and assessments. The third source of funds comes from front organizations.

The Communist Party sets up various auxiliary or front organizations around specific issues that are attractive. They start out with legitimate issues that appeal, and on the basis of these legitimate issues they launch a tremendous propaganda campaign and take up collections of people, and the moneys that are collected are used for general Communist propaganda activities.

The fourth method is the milking of trade-unions. They gain control of trade-unions and they raid the treasury through the medium of getting the proper committees to appropriate moneys for various front movements like conferences for peace or conferences for civil liberties and conferences for housing, all of which seem on the surface legitimate, and moneys are voted out of the treasury of these unions for all of these front conferences and front committees and front groups, and in that way the Communists milk the unions in order to get the money in order to operate.

In addition to that, they put their lawyers in as legal counsel and they kick back. The officials that are Communists, they kick back a portion of their funds to the party.

Then they have wealthy people who are do-gooders or sympathetic, and they go to them and get large sums of money. In the party circles the leaders speak of them very cynically. They call them bleeding hearts.

Then another source is the foundations, of course. The foundations they find as quite lucrative, and they too are tapped in order to finance the work of subverting America.

Now in 1933 and 1934 there was discussion in the higher circles of the party with regard to finances, because in 1933 the Comintern to the American party issued the famous open letter which instructed the American party to break out of its narrow sectarian groove and broaden its base and to extend it, to reach masses of people in all walks of life so that the party could influence the trend in America in the way that Soviet Russia desired.

Specifically Earl Browder and William Weiner—Earl Browder incidentally was the general secretary of the Communist Party, and William Weiner was the national treasurer. William Weiner was also a member of the National Disciplinary Commission or Review Commission.

He was in charge of finances, and according to the reports that these two Communist leaders gave, that the party had established a special committee for the purpose of devising ways and means of raising additional money in order to carry on the work, and among those things that were listed were foundations.

A special committee had been set up, and this special committee had as its sole purpose the tapping all of the possible sources of raising finances, bleeding hearts, foundations, trade-unions, individuals, sympathizers, fellow travelers, and so forth.

In addition to this national setup, the leaders of the party in the districts and the States were to organize special committees to handle nothing but the question of finances. It was their duty and responsibility to raise money for the party so that it could function and it could operate.

Mr. KEELE. Do you know what foundations were tapped by the Communists for money?

Mr. JOHNSON. I was familiar, personally familiar, with the Garland fund, because it was mentioned on a number of occasions during the course of reports, and it was held up as an example of how they were able to use substantially all of the \$2,000,000 that constituted the Garland fund, and how it was used to finance the Daily Worker and the International Labor Defense, which is the American section of the International Red Aid, and a number of other campaigns of the party.

Of course, it has already been stated some of the people who were on the Garland fund. And they said that there are so much funds that can be tapped for finances in order to carry on the general work of the party, and therefore it was necessary, necessary for the party, to infiltrate these various foundations so as to be able to tap these sources of income.

Now, the infiltration of these various foundations is extremely important to the Communist Party, because the subversion of members of the board of directors, the subversion of members of the trustee board, enables them to arrange for these foundations to make grants to specific Communist-front organizations; for example, a research organization or a group to serve a public housing, set up by the Communist Party, or a committee to advance civil liberties for the Negro.

On the surface these seem like innocent harmless humanitarian causes, and by having a strategically placed person on the board of trustees or on the board of directors that can front for them they could so present the issue that the nonparty people on the board can

be convinced that this is a good cause and that a grant should be made.

Mr. KEELE. How could the foundations avoid that situation, Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. I think that the foundations can avoid that situation if they will go back and check the record of all of the grants that have been made to Communist-front organizations by their respective foundations.

Who brought in the recommendation? How was the recommendation made? What were the supporting arguments?

By getting that information you will know who the Communists are working through in that particular foundation. They will know whether it is a member of the board of trustees or a member of the board of directors or any of the lower echelons in the foundation.

And I think that if the foundations are sincere in their effort to cease and desist from contributing finances for the destruction of our country, they should be more than willing to ferret out that information and begin to clean house.

Mr. KEELE. Do you, in your opinion, believe that the foundations generally or specifically, if you have reference to any one or two or three foundations or more, have been infiltrated either at the top level, that is to say, the trustees or directors, or at the lower level of employees working for the foundations either as the operating heads or staff, have been infiltrated in any appreciable extent?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, I do believe that the foundations have been infiltrated both on high and lower levels. That is my frank opinion, and that is based upon my personal knowledge of the Garland Fund and the Marshall Foundation, the Guggenheim Foundation, and the Rosenwald Fund.

There may be others that I at this particular time cannot recall, but I hold them as a typical example of what I am trying to stress.

Mr. HAYS. Now, the Rosenwald Fund is no longer in existence?

Mr. JOHNSON. I didn't know that, but I do know from past history that the Rosenwald Fund made grants to Communists, known Communists, and naturally if these foundations are making grants to Communist-front organizations and individual Communists who are prominent, it stands to reason that there is somebody on the lower or higher levels in those foundations who have the confidence of the other members and are able to put it over.

Mr. HAYS. Well, the Rosenwald Fund was limited entirely, wasn't it, to the Negro race, matters that would promote improved race relations and the economic and social well-being of the Negro people?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; the Rosenwald Foundation was established for a good purpose, and I think that I would be ungrateful indeed if I didn't say that they did make some substantial contributions toward the advancement of the Negro, particularly in the South, their contributions to Negro institutions of higher learning, and so forth, which of course is a matter of record.

But even while we take that into consideration, it does not negate the fact that they did make contributions to known Communists that I think should not have been made.

Mr. HAYS. Their very purpose made them more vulnerable than other types of foundations, didn't it? In the light of what you said about the target of the Communist Party in America, the Negro race, wouldn't that make them more vulnerable?



Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, it would; it would.

Mr. KEELE. Mr. Johnson, would you tell us something of your knowledge of the IPR and those connected with it whom you knew to be Communists, if any?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, I know that the IPR was infiltrated during the period of my membership in the party. That was during the thirties. And that among those that of course were instrumental in infiltrating it was of course Field and of course Jaffe.

Mr. KEELE. Did you know Frederick Vanderbilt Field?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; I know of him. I've never met him personally, but I do know of him as a party member.

Mr. KEELE. How do you know of him as a party member?

Mr. JOHNSON. Because as a member in the hierarchy of the party his name was mentioned in the hierarchy as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. KEELE. You mean in meetings other Communist members referred to him as a Communist?

Mr. JOHNSON. That's right; members of the national committee and the political bureau of the party referred to him as a party member.

Mr. KEELE. And who were those members in the political bureau, the national committee, that you referred to?

Mr. JOHNSON. Earl Browder, Jack Stachel, William Weinstone, Max Bedacht, Alexander Bittleman, William Z. Foster, Rose Wortis, Bill Gebert, J. Peters.

Mr. KEELE. And what about Corliss Lamont?

Mr. JOHNSON. Corliss Lamont was also spoken of in the higher circles of the party as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. KEELE. Was an effort made to your knowledge to infiltrate the Foreign Policy Association?

Mr. JOHNSON. I understand there was.

Mr. KEELE. Did you have any first-hand information of that or not?

Mr. JOHNSON. No; I did not.

Mr. KEELE. I have no further questions of Mr. Johnson.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Johnson, the committee thanks you for your testimony.

Mr. JOHNSON. Thank you.

Mr. HAYS. The committee will be in recess.

(Whereupon, at 4:10 p. m. the committee recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.)

