

TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 23, 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 11:15 a. m., in room 1301, New House Office Building, Hon. Brooks Hays presiding. Present: Representatives Hays and Forand.

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

Mr. HAYS. The committee is in session.

Mr. Keele, will you call the witness, please.

Mr. KEELE. Before we call the witness, I should like to read into the record that pursuant to the resolution of the committee, we are operating as a subcommittee, and this is the appointment:

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 and Aime J. Forand. Brooks Hays is designated chairman.

Date: December 23, 1952.

EUGENE E. COX, *Chairman.*

Mr. Budenz, please.

Mr. Budenz, will you be sworn, please?

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

Mr. BUDENZ. I do.

Mr. KEELE. Will you be seated, Mr. Budenz.

I think before we start with the witness I would like to read into the record, with the permission of the chairman, a statement to the effect that on the list of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, International Law Scholarships, which were submitted by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, under a covering letter dated December 18, 1952, there appears the name Edouard E. Hoerschelmann; attended the University of Paris, appointed from the First State University of Moscow for the period 1929-30.

The significance of that is that Mr. Bogolepov testified last week that Mr. Hoerschelmann had been appointed at his suggestion, made at the direction of the authorities in Moscow, and we were unable at that time to verify the name because we did not have the lists, and upon my request, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace sent those lists and included therein was the entry that I read into the record.

Mr. HAYS. It is so ordered.

Mr. KEELE. Mr. Budenz, you are here under subpoena?

**TESTIMONY OF LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ, MEMBER OF THE FACULTY
OF FORDHAM UNIVERSITY AND SETON HALL UNIVERSITY**

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, I am, sir.

Mr. KEELE. Will you give your name with the correct spelling, your residence, and your occupation to the reporter.

Mr. BUDENZ. Louis Francis Budenz, B-u-d-e-n-z. My address, Crestwood, N. Y. That is a suburb of Yonkers, and my occupation, member of the faculty of Fordham University and of Seton Hall University in New Jersey.

Mr. KEELE. Mr. Budenz, you were at one time a member of the Communist Party, were you not?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is right.

Mr. KEELE. Will you tell us during what period of time you were a member of the party?

Mr. BUDENZ. I was a member of the party from August 1935 until October 1945 during a period, the first period from August to October, 1935, I was a secret member of the party, but on October 2, 1935, it was announced in the Daily Worker that I was an open member of the Communist Party.

Mr. KEELE. And when did you leave the Communist Party and under what circumstances?

Mr. BUDENZ. October 11, 1945, I left the Communist Party to return to the Catholic Church.

Mr. KEELE. And at that time what position did you hold?

Mr. BUDENZ. I was then managing editor of the Daily Worker, the official daily organ of the Communist Party, and also president of the Freedom of the Press Co., Inc., the corporation devised by the Communist Party to control the Daily Worker.

Mr. KEELE. Did you hold any offices with the Communist Party during your membership?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir; I held several offices.

Mr. KEELE. What were they?

Mr. BUDENZ. I was a member of the national committee from 1936 on, either in the position of a full member or alternate, except that for several years I was a secret member of the national committee for political purposes, to defend the Daily Worker.

I was a member of the National Trade Union Commission of the Communist Party off and on for several years, beginning with 1936, and then again I was a member in 1940.

I was a member of the State Trade Union Commission of the Communist Party in New York, 1936 through 1937, and I was a member of the New York State Committee, 1940 to about 1942.

I was a member of the Illinois State Committee Communist Party while in Chicago from 1937, the fall of that year, until January 1940. Then I was also on a number of commissions of the Communist Party.

I was chairman of the publications commission penetrating the press and other media of public information, and I was a member of the radio and television subcommission of the cultural commission of the Communist Party, penetrating the radio and television industry.

Mr. KEELE. Now there was a subcommission of the cultural commission which dealt with foundations, was there not?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir; there was.

Mr. KEELE. Will you tell us what the function of the cultural commission was, those who were directing it, and then tell us something of that subcommission on foundations?

Mr. BUDENZ. The cultural commission of the Communist Party is charged with the supervision of all cultural work since the Communists put culture under one roof, that is all the way from television and radio over to the school system.

The cultural commission is required to supervise the Communists in regard to their own cultural work, that is the Communist training schools and publications, particularly their publishing houses, and at the same time as a second task which it has, to supervise the penetration of what they call mass organizations in the cultural fields such as teachers organizations, parent-teachers associations, organizations of television and radio people, and I could give quite a long list, but that I think is a very good picture of their work. The personnel of the cultural commission—you asked me about that, Counsel?

Mr. KEELE. Yes, I did.

Mr. BUDENZ. The personnel of the cultural commission was varying. There were two constant members always during my membership in the party, Alexander Trachtenberg and B. J. Jerome. There was a change from time to time in the other personnel, Richard Reid, who was in charge of penetrating Actors Equity, being a member for a period of time, and Lionel Berman and other people who were active in cultural activities, Morris U. Shappus for the educational end of the work.

Mr. KEELE. Now what about the subcommittee of the cultural commission?

Mr. BUDENZ. As usual, Trachtenberg and Jerome were members of this subcommission, and in addition Lamont U. Harris, who was associated in the financial supervision of the Communist Party activities, and Lionel Berman, Dr. Margaret Schlauch. There were two or three others. I just don't recall them for the moment.

Mr. KEELE. And that was the subcommission on foundations?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is correct.

Mr. KEELE. What was the purpose of function of that subcommittee on foundations?

Mr. BUDENZ. That subcommission on foundations had as its objective, according to Trachtenberg's report to the Politburo when I was in attendance, the organizing of non-Communists or concealed Communists, to influence the foundations in two ways.

One, to obtain grants for Communists or those favorable to the Communist line on those matters which the Communists wished advanced, particularly the Far East and China, for instance, and then secondly, to prevent if possible, critics of the Communist movement from getting grants.

Mr. KEELE. Now you say that was in reports, you learned of that through reports made by Trachtenberg or Jerome to the Politburo at meetings in which you were in attendance?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is correct; there were a number of reports over the years.

Mr. KEELE. How long—and by that I mean in years—did those reports cover, to your knowledge?

Mr. BUDENZ. Well, the first time that I can recall was in the late 1930's, and these reports continued all during the rest of my period of

membership in the party, that is at varying times. I was not always at meetings of the Politburo, but I have heard these reports at varying times up till 1945 when I left the party.

Mr. KEELE. And what did the reports deal with in general terms, I mean the success or lack of success, or just what was the nature of the reports?

Mr. BUDENZ. The reports largely concentrated on emphasizing what they were trying to do, that is to say particularly getting aid for those studies which would aid the Communist line of the particular period.

Trachtenberg stated on a number of occasions that it was not the intention of the subcommission that they should be huge sums of money. They appreciated the limitations of the foundations. They did not have control of the foundations, but their effort was to obtain enough funds to enable studies to be carried forward successfully which would aid the Communist line.

Specifically do I recall mention of the necessity of studies on the Far East and China, although there also was mention of the Eastern European countries and specifically Yugoslavia.

Mr. KEELE. Did any names of foundations appear or were they mentioned in those reports by Trachtenberg?

Mr. BUDENZ. The reports were in general not too specific, but they did mention that particular targets of their efforts were the Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Guggenheim Foundations. That is at least I recall those names. That is no reflection on those foundations, but their names were mentioned as their objectives of their efforts.

Mr. KEELE. Mention was made yesterday, I believe, of an open letter to the Communist Party. I think that was in 1934. I may be wrong.

Mr. BUDENZ. 1933.

Mr. KEELE. Would you comment on that letter and the nature of it?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir. That open letter was used as the initial introduction to much of the discussion about infiltration of many groups, and as a matter of fact it was referred to by Trachtenberg in a number of his reports on the foundations.

The open letter to the Communist Party was a sort of a monument in the Communist Party. It was the orders to go to the masses, as the wording was, but by that was meant, as Stalin explained in the Foundations of Leninism, to penetrate mass organizations and make of them, if possible, transmission belts for the Communist line.

This open letter is always referred to by the Communists as a changing point in the history of the Communist Party of the United States, and so it was referred to by Trachtenberg. Well, I have heard it referred to by many others in connection with the penetration of various organizations.

Mr. KEELE. And it was after that, as I understand it, that the Subcommission on Foundations began to function?

Mr. BUDENZ. Well, I am not sure when it began to function. I can only tell of my knowledge of it.

It was after that that I learned of the existence of this subcommission. It was already in existence when I first learned of it.

Mr. KEELE. Mr. Budenz, there has been frequent reference in these hearings to the term "Communist-front organizations." I wonder if you would give us your understanding of the Communist-front organization.

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, Counsel; but may I first explain that previous answer?

Mr. KEELE. Yes.

Mr. BUDENZ. I would like to state that Trachtenberg had stated—and this is practically a routine in Communist reports—that the penetration or influencing of mass groups, as they call them, mass organizations, including the foundations, took on a serious and permanent turn with the open letter. Just when that occurred in this field I do not know the specific year. That is what I wish to say. However, it did begin, the whole idea, from the open letter, and was so referred to.

Mr. KEELE. Which was dated 1933, the open letter?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is correct.

Mr. KEELE. Now would you explain to us your understanding of a Communist-front organization, how they come into being and what they are, generically speaking?

Mr. BUDENZ. A Communist-front organization, although the Communists do not use that term themselves, except in joking or at least in jesting, a Communist-front organization is an organization organized by the Communist Party and under its control during its entire existence.

It is to be distinguished from a captive organization which is entered, penetrated and then taken over, but the Communist front is one organized from the very beginning by the Communist Party. Generally the Communists refer to them as "Our mass organizations."

Mr. KEELE. As what?

Mr. BUDENZ. "Our mass organizations," as distinguished from mass organizations in general.

Mr. KEELE. Now about what do they center? I mean by that how do they come into being? Are they focused upon some issue of the day or just how do those Communist-front organizations come into being?

Mr. BUDENZ. They are focused on an issue which is in accord with the Communist line but which can make an appeal to wide groups of non-Communists. That is for example, today, peace, which the Communists bring forward in their Communist fronts, because everyone throughout the world wants peace, that is anyone who is honest and intelligent wants peace. However, when you examine the Communist presentation of peace through the fronts, the peace partisan movement, as they now call it, you will note that the conditions to peace which is laid down is surrendered to Soviet Russia.

That is through the recognition of Red China, and independent Germany free of the NATO, which would be a Germany that could succumb to Soviet control, and other items of that sort. I need not go into detail, I judge, but the point is they seize on an issue.

As Stalin puts it, the vulnerable point of the enemy, and where they can get the greatest amount of support, and then they put conditions on that issue according to their designs, and that becomes the forwarding of the Communist line through the Communist-front organization. To many people, however, the desire for peace is so great that they join these fronts, support these fronts and are not cognizant of the fact that these fronts are forwarding the Communist line.

Mr. KEELE. Now the question has arisen here from time to time as to membership in those fronts. What in your opinion is the situ-

ation with reference to persons who are members of numerous Communist fronts? Are they, as they were termed here yesterday, merely bleeding hearts, do-gooders, soft-headed, fuzzy-headed liberals, or are they Communists, where they belong to great numbers, let's say 10 or more?

Mr. BUDENZ. First of all, without wishing to make the percentage exact, but to give some picture, 90 percent of the members of Communist fronts, that is who lend their names as sponsors, are concealed Communists. They draw in an additional 10 percent who serve in a sort of migratory fashion in order to give the color of non-Communist affiliation. They are concealed Communists.

Now if a person joins one or two fronts, he may be deceived and there have been quite a few people who have been in that position. But if he joins 5, 10, 15, and up to 60 or 70 fronts, as quite a few people have, that is certainly proof that he is a Communist. He is following Communist discipline.

And my own knowledge of the association of these people, the affiliation and adherence, confirms that. However, you wouldn't need to have the knowledge I had as managing editor of the Daily Worker, because these are intelligent people. They hold positions in society because of their alleged intelligence, and no man can conceive of these people, with their great intelligence, being deceived 15, 20, 25 or 40 times. Therefore, those who are constant members of Communist fronts are concealed Communists.

They are Communists under discipline who became Communists largely when they were in a key or delicate position, and therefore have no vestige of membership.

Mr. KEELE. Is that what you mean by the term "concealed Communist"?

Mr. BUDENZ. Well, I mean more than that. I mean one who pretends publicly to be a non-Communist, though if you noted his record, he always follows the Communist line on Communist fronts, or in his assertions or in his acts.

These people are under discipline. They are required by the Communist Party not to have any vestige of membership, because the card to the Communist is not a method of introduction. It is merely a matter of discipline for the rank and file for obscure Communists, and these people give contributions privately.

I have had a number of them give contributions to me who were concealed Communists and who did not have any vestige of membership.

Mr. KEELE. So would you say as a matter of logic and also as a matter of your personal knowledge, those people whom you knew to be Communists, or rather those persons who in many instances belonged to a great number of Communist fronts, you knew to be Communists?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is correct.

Mr. KEELE. Now, do you know to what extent the program of the subcommission of the cultural commission, subcommission on foundations, was successful in getting their people into foundations or getting grants for them?

Mr. BUDENZ. The report to the Politburo were rather general, but they did express satisfaction with the results obtained.

Mr. KEELE. Well, let me call your attention to certain fellows of the Guggenheim Foundation and the Rosenwald Foundation. With reference to Guggenheim, what about Langston Hughes?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir; he is a member of the Communist Party, rather—pardon me—was when I was a Communist. I know that from official reports made to me over and over and over again.

Mr. KEELE. What do you mean by "official reports," Mr. Budenz?

Mr. BUDENZ. This is an official directive to me as managing editor of the Daily Worker, that Langston Hughes was a Communist, made to me by my superior functionary.

Mr. KEELE. Who was your superior functionary?

Mr. BUDENZ. Well, the personnel changed. Eugene Dennis and Jack Stachel have specifically mentioned Hughes to me.

Mr. KEELE. Both of those men were convicted, were they not, in Federal court?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is correct.

Mr. KEELE. What about Alvah Bessie?

Mr. BUDENZ. Alvah Bessie is known to me personally to be a Communist. As a matter of fact, he was being considered for a position on the Daily Worker, and I had a conference with him on that matter when John Howard Lawson got in his job in Hollywood.

Mr. KEELE. What about Jack Conroy?

Mr. BUDENZ. Jack Conroy to my personal knowledge is a member of the Communist Party. I have conferred with him and he has been a member of the cultural commission of the Communist Party in Illinois, and I have met him in other instances as a Communist.

Mr. KEELE. Carey McWilliams?

Mr. BUDENZ. Carey McWilliams, from official communications over a number of years, is to my knowledge in that respect a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. KEELE. And Bernard Reiss?

Mr. BUDENZ. Bernard Reiss, that is Dr. Reiss of Hunter College?

Mr. KEELE. Yes.

Mr. BUDENZ. Or recently of Hunter College?

Mr. KEELE. Yes.

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir; he is very conspicuous as a Communist; that is to say as a member of Communist fronts, and then I also know from official communications from Jack Stachel and B. J. Jerome, that he has been for many years a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. KEELE. He recently refused to testify, I believe, as to whether or not he was a Communist, and was discharged from Hunter College.

Mr. BUDENZ. I understand.

Mr. KEELE. What about Earl Robinson?

Mr. BUDENZ. Earl Robinson, he is the composer?

Mr. KEELE. Yes.

Mr. BUDENZ. Earl Robinson, to my personal knowledge—and I have had a number of contacts with him—is a member of the Communist Party. As a matter of fact, some of his original compositions were first presented at Communist Party conventions.

Mr. KEELE. What is the situation with reference to Isadore Schneider?

Mr. BUDENZ. Isadore Schneider, again to my personal knowledge and over practically all of the years I was a member of the Communist Party, is a Communist. I know Schneider very well, and he was

almost what you might call a Communist wheel-horse in the cultural field. For a time he was a member of the cultural commission of the party.

Mr. KEELE. And what is the situation with reference to Maxwell Stewart?

Mr. BUDENZ. Maxwell Stewart, to my personal knowledge and in conversation with him, is a member of the Communist Party. At least when I say "is," each time, sir, I mean when I was a member.

Mr. KEELE. And the late Genevieve Taggard?

Mr. BUDENZ. The late Genevieve Taggard, to my personal knowledge, when she was connected with the faculty of the Sarah Lawrence College, was a member of the Communist Party. I have dealt with her and discussed the matter of her work in Sarah Lawrence College and in other fields.

Mr. KEELE. What about Richard Wright?

Mr. BUDENZ. I have met Richard Wright as a Communist in Chicago and New York, but of course he broke with the Communist Party later on.

Mr. KEELE. He has recanted and written about it, I believe, quite fully.

Mr. BUDENZ. That is correct. But I met him on a number of occasions as a Communist. However, he has since not only acknowledged he was a Communist, but has denounced the Communists.

Mr. KEELE. And now with reference to certain fellows or grantees of the Rosenwald Fund.

Mr. FORAND. Right there before the witness answers, that list that you have just read, Mr. Keele, has had contact in one way or another with the Guggenheim Foundation, is that correct?

Mr. KEELE. Well, they were fellows. They received funds from the Guggenheim Fund.

Mr. FORAND. I wanted to get that clear.

Mr. KEELE. Yes, they were fellows. By fellows, I mean by that they received student fellowships, grants from the Guggenheim Foundation.

Now with reference to grantees or fellows of the Rosenwald Fund, what about W. E. DuBois?

Mr. BUDENZ. Dr. DuBois became a member of the Communist Party approximately in 1944 when this was called to my attention officially by Jack Stachel.

Mr. KEELE. And Claude McKay?

Mr. BUDENZ. Well, Claude McKay was a member of the Communist Party, but he left the Communist Party and became a member of the Catholic Church.

Mr. KEELE. Clark Forman?

Mr. BUDENZ. Clark Forman, from official reports repeatedly made in connection with his work in the South, was a member of the Communist Party under discipline.

Mr. KEELE. What about Shirley Graham?

Mr. BUDENZ. Shirley Graham in like manner and from like official communications was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. KEELE. What was the situation with reference to Pearl Primus?

Mr. BUDENZ. Likewise, from official communications, she was a member of the Communist Party, having been trained in cafe society

uptown and downtown, which were Communist Party supported ventures of Barney Josephson. They apparently were private affairs, but they actually were Communist Party supported entertainment centers.

Mr. KEELE. By "cafe society uptown and downtown," you are talking about the cafes or night clubs that were known by the term "cafe society," is that correct?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is correct. They were actually supported financially when necessary by the Communist Party.

Mr. KEELE. What about Thomas I. Emerson, Prof. Thomas Emerson?

Mr. BUDENZ. Thomas I. Emerson, from repeated official communications, especially in regard to activities in the Lawyers' Guild and in other fronts, was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. KEELE. What about John K. Fairbank?

Mr. BUDENZ. From the same sources and in the same manner, Dr. Fairbank was a member of the Communist Party, at least from about 1944 on. That is from my 1 year in the Communist Party, from 1944 to 1945.

Mr. KEELE. Now it is my recollection that Dr. Linus Pauling—

Mr. BUDENZ. Dr. Linus Pauling?

Mr. KEELE. I just want to say this. I believe that Dr. Linus Pauling was on the advisory boards which chose, or is yet perhaps on the advisory boards which chose, fellows for the Guggenheim Fund. What do you know about Linus Pauling?

Mr. BUDENZ. In connection with Dr. Pauling's many memberships on Communist fronts, I was officially advised a number of times in the late, that is, in the middle forties, that he was a member of the Communist Party under discipline. The Communist leaders expressed the highest admiration and confidence in Dr. Pauling.

Mr. FORAND. What do you mean by "under discipline"? I think we ought to clear that up.

Mr. KEELE. That was my next question. What do you mean by that? What is the meaning of "under discipline" within the Communist Party and as you are using it here?

Mr. BUDENZ. From the earliest existence of the Communist Party, to my knowledge, that is from my membership in it, there were members who were what they called nonparty Bolsheviks originally who did not have any vestige of membership because of the key and delicate positions they were in.

During the Hitler-Stalin Pact period it was made a rule that they must not have any vestige of membership. They could make donations to the party. They would receive instructions from the party.

They would be in contact with one or two functionaries of the party, but they were not to attend branch meetings or in any way to give to other Communists except those to whom they were supposed to give such an impression, the impression that they were actual members of the party.

I have had a number of such people meeting me at dinner in New York as they came from various parts of the country. I won't mention any names because it is not pertinent to this inquiry, but an editor of a paper in one of our large cities who had a great deal of influence was in this position. Each time he came to New York he paid me a contribution to the Communist Party, which was the equivalent to

dues, but there was no record kept of it except upstairs in the headquarters of the Communist Party.

In other words, these men, because of their key and delicate positions, were required as a matter of discipline not to have any vestige of membership, but were also required to follow the instructions of the Communist Party. That is, they were therefore not members with a card but members under discipline.

Mr. FORAND. Thank you.

Mr. KEELE. Do they have the same standing in the party or do they have equivalent standing in the Communist Party when they are under discipline, as in the case of those who are actually members?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes; exactly the same standing, except that sometimes the party regards them as more valuable even because of their positions.

I have given instructions personally to comrades under discipline, telling them that as Communists they had to do this thing or that, and that is a common practice of whoever is in charge for the party of these individuals.

Mr. KEELE. And did they do those things?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEELE. That you ordered them to do?

Mr. BUDENZ. They did it even though it was very difficult for them to do it in some instances.

Mr. KEELE. Do you have any knowledge as to whether or not Mary Van Kleeck, who was with the Russell Sage Foundation for many years, was at Smith College, was a Communist?

Mr. BUDENZ. I know from personal contact with Dr. Van Kleeck that she was a member of the Communist Party when I was a member of the party.

Mr. KEELE. Did you have occasions to deal with her personally?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir; on several occasions.

Mr. KEELE. What about Oscar Lange, Dr. Oscar Lange?

Mr. BUDENZ. He is the man from Poland. He was a member of the Communist Party all the time he was here when he was pretending to just be a general liberal friend of Poland.

Mr. KEELE. What about Corliss Lamont?

Mr. BUDENZ. Corliss Lamont, to my definite knowledge, was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. KEELE. How do you know that?

Mr. BUDENZ. I have discussed it with him. And in addition to that, he has given to me word in regard to certain tasks that were ordered for him to be fulfilled by Comrade Clarence Hathaway, who at that time was in charge of a number of those mass organizations such as the organization which became finally known as the National American Soviet Friendship Council, but which was originally known as Friends of the Soviet Union.

Mr. KEELE. Did you know Frederick Vanderbilt Field?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes; I should say I know Mr. Field very well.

Mr. KEELE. And he had a fund, the American Peoples Fund?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir. Mr. Field was also one of those advisers whose name I omitted a moment ago, to the subcommission of the Cultural Commission on Foundation, along with Dr. Schlauch.

Dr. KEELE. And was Field a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir. Well, I don't know definitely except from 1937 on, but from 1937 on I have met him personally as a Communist. I have met him repeatedly as a Communist at his home, in the Daily Worker building, at his office, and each time we were there for Communist purposes.

Mr. KEELE. One of the trustees of the Rosenberg Foundation was a Louise Bransten. Do you know Louise Bransten?

Mr. BUDENZ. Louise Bransten is one of the angels of the Communist Party. She is a Communist of long standing; and when I left the party—no; this isn't true; I wouldn't be sure of it. At any rate, she was on very friendly terms with Lionel Berman, and, either before I left the party or subsequently, married him. He was cultural section organizer of the Communist Party in New York, which is a very important position.

Mr. KEELE. He was on the cultural commission then?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir; he was.

Mr. KEELE. With reference to recipients of Rockefeller grants, what about Hans Eisler?

Mr. BUDENZ. Hans Eisler was granted what I was told was \$20,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation to develop new forms of music. This information was given to me by Alexander Trachtenberg, who stated on that occasion, either in late 1939 or 1940, "We are using the capitalist money to destroy capitalism."

And Eisler he pointed to particularly because Eisler was head of the Red International Music Bureau of Moscow and had as his commission here in the United States to direct the penetration of the musical world, composers, critics, and the like, for the Communist Party. Later on, to my knowledge, that is, I didn't talk to Eisler about it, but in the Politburo he was ordered to Hollywood in order to give political direction to the work there.

Mr. KEELE. And did he go to Hollywood?

Mr. BUDENZ. He did, sir.

Mr. KEELE. One of the men who was directing the civil-liberties study at Cornell University under the direction of Dr. Robert Cushman was Walter Gelhorn. That study was supported, as I recall it, by Rockefeller funds, quite substantial funds. Do you know anything about Walter Gelhorn?

Mr. BUDENZ. I have repeatedly had official communications on Dr. Walter Gelhorn. He was from, certainly, about 1942 on, a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. KEELE. What about Lawrence Rossinger?

Mr. BUDENZ. Lawrence K. Rossinger. He was for a number of years a member of the Communist Party from official communications I received from Stachel, Jerome, and others. He was, of course, mentioned frequently because he was interested in the Far East.

Mr. KEELE. And Thomas I or Thomas A.—I've forgotten which—Bisson?

Mr. BUDENZ. Thomas A. Bisson was given commissions by the Communist Party, though he wasn't present, but later on I learned he fulfilled them. I learned that many years later, because I was not aware that the article had appeared. But he was given the commission to write a very important article representing Nationalist China as feudal China and Communist China as democratic China.

Mr. KEELE. Those articles were written?

Mr. BUDENZ. I learned later that they were written. I don't know whether it was more than one, but, at any rate, one copy of the article was shown me, which confirmed what I had learned prior to his being given the assignment, or at the time he was given the assignment.

Mr. KEELE. On the general education board of Rockefeller philanthropy, with reference to it, two names: Doxie Wilkerson. What about Doxie?

Mr. BUDENZ. Excuse me for smiling, Counsel, but he is so conspicuous as a Communist that I almost hesitate to name him.

I knew him for many years as a Communist, attending national committee meetings, conferring with the Communist Party, and he was also the witness in the Foley Square trial for the Communist Party; endeavoring to criticize the jury system. He was on the witness stand for many days, and has written in Political Affairs, the theoretical organ of the Communist Party, which in itself is an indication he is a Communist, outside of my own personal knowledge on many occasions of dealing with him, consulting with him, and meeting him as a Communist.

Mr. KEELE. And Dr. Ira Reid?

Mr. BUDENZ. Dr. Ira Reid, my impression is I've met him as a Communist, but I do know definitely, and can state here, that official communications from Stachel and Jerome, Trachtenberg, have definitely identified Dr. Reid as a Communist.

Mr. KEELE. One of the trustees of the Field Foundation up until 2 years ago, for the period 1940 to '50, was Louis S. Weiss, now deceased. Do you know anything of Louis S. Weiss?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir; I knew Louis Weiss. He was a relative of Carol Weiss King, and that is the way I got to know him, because I knew Carol Weiss King for many years. She was an attorney for the Communists for many years, and he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. KEELE. I think I have no other questions except one. Do you know of any other trustees of foundations other than the ones we have specifically mentioned here, who were, to your knowledge, members of the Communist Party?

Mr. BUDENZ. Not to my present recollection. Of course, I haven't looked over the list and have made no study of the matter, but not to my present recollection.

Mr. KEELE. Thank you. That is all I have.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Keele, I believe that this concludes our hearings. It is not the intention of the subcommittee to have any further hearings, and I believe that when we adjourn today we will adjourn subject to call of the chairman, leaving it in that position so that if matters do arise that should become subject to inquiry, the committee can assemble, either the full committee or the subcommittee.

Mr. Budenz, the committee appreciates your appearing and giving us this testimony.

Mr. BUDENZ. Thank you, sir.

Mr. HAYS. Thank you.

Mr. KEELE. May I have permission from the committee to include in the record certain statements that we have requested at the committee's instruction, such men as Mr. Fosdick, Mr. Flexner, Mr. Rom-

mel, and certain others? They are submitting statements because of the lack of time, since it was impossible to call them. They will submit statements which we might place in the record, with the permission of the committee, and I should like the authority of the committee to do that.

Mr. HAYS. It is so ordered.

Is there anything further, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. KEELE. Nothing.

Mr. HAYS. The committee is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:05 p. m., the committee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.)

