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Q. Her married name, all right. Now, then it was Mr. Slover, Flora King's father, who told you about her membership in the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: Is that clear now? If it please the Chairman, I think that concludes the testimony of this witness, and as far as I know, this will be the last witness this evening.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Thank you, Mr. Cadle.

(Witness Excused)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing is adjourned until 9:30 tomorrow morning.

## ADJOURNMENT

January 29, 1948, 9:40 o'clock a. m.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: This hearing is now in session. Will you call your first witness?

MANNING JOHNSON, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

## DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. I will ask you, Mr. Johnson, as you testify that you spell the names of the people the first time you refer to them, so that the record may be absolutely correct. Please state your name.

A. Manning Johnson. Manning, M-a-n-n-i-n-g. Johnson, J-o-h-n-s-o-n.

Q. Where were you born, Mr. Johnson?

A. In Washington, D. C.

Q. Where do you reside, Mr. Johnson?

A. New York City.

Q. Mr. Johnson, I will ask you, are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

A. I was a member of the Communist Party from 1930 to 1940.

Q. Ten years?

A. Ten years.

Q. Mr. Johnson, will you tell us how and where you joined the Communist Party?

A. I joined the Communist Party in Buffalo, New York, in 1930.

Q. Will you detail to us your experiences, the first two or three years in the Communist Party?

A. During the first—during the first two or three years in the Communist Party I was active in a number of organizations. The first organization that I became active in was the Negro Labor Congress. After its abolition I became active in the unemployed councils, and participated.

Q. Can you fix the dates for us, approximately?

A. In 1930 and '31 I was active in the Negro Labor Congress. It was during my activities in the Negro Labor Congress that I was approached by Otto Hall. Otto Hall is spelled O-t-t-o H-a-l-l. He was a graduate of the Lenin School, which is of course in Moscow. He had been especially trained as a professional revolutionist. He speaks English and French very fluently. In fact he taught Russian on one of the Government projects, in New York of course, during the years of the depression.

It was upon his recommendation that I was admitted into the Communist Party. My life in the Party from its very inception was a very stormy one, precisely because I came into the Party with deep religious convictions. There was some question as to whether the Party could accept me because of my religious convictions. The contention at that time was that one would have to divorce himself from religion and all religious ideology in order to be a Communist.

Otto Hall had quite a scrap with the leaders of the Party in the Buffalo district at that time over the issue of my admission. He contended that it was wrong to bar a person from the Communist Party because of his religious views; it was wrong in the sense that they would lose many persons who would render invaluable assistance to the Communist group.

So he recommended that militant workers with deep religious views should be taken into the Communist Party and indoctrinated along different lines. In other words, they were to be taught the Leninist position on religion, they should be given various materials to read, and that discussions should be held with them from time to time for the purpose of rooting out their religious ideas.

His opinion was accepted reluctantly by the Party. I bring that out, incidentally, to show this, that in order to be a good Communist you had to be an atheist, and it was quite the—quite an important decision for me to make at that time, because having been reared in a profoundly religious home and having been—having gone to church every Sunday during my youth, it was a decision that was not easy to make.

But finally, after much persuasion, I finally agreed to string along with them.

Q. Mr. Johnson, did you receive any instruction or training in the Communist Party?

A. Before we go into that I would like to further elaborate on this religious idea, because that's something that's very dear to my heart because I feel that as a result of my experiences there, I lost something that I am now seeking to regain.

As I said before, they finally agreed to admit me to the Party, regardless of my religious views. However, whenever I went to speak at meetings and during the course of my speech, I would use such expressions as "With the help of God," or, "So, help us, God." The Communists would sit there and sneer. They would look upon me and treat me with contempt. The only one that was sympathetic toward me at that time was the party that recommended me for admission to the Communist Party.

They gave me various literature to read, such as "Lenin on Religion." In this book Lenin speaks of the atheistic character of Communism, and the ultimate aim of the Communist Party to completely destroy the church and root out all remnants of religion. He characterizes religion as the opiate of the people. As you know, they have conducted, even at the present time before our very eyes, a consistent and persistent struggle against the Catholic Church.

Among the many books against religion that I was given to read, was especially two volumes by a former bishop. This—these books were considered "must" reading by every Communist. He was a bishop that left the church and became an atheist, and he wrote a number of pamphlets and books on the bankruptcy of supernaturalism. That was Bishop Brown,

B-r-o-w-n, Brown. I have seen hundreds of persons come into the Party during the time that I was there, with religious ideas and religious convictions. After being in the Party a short time they have become cynical, callous, enemies of everything heavenly, some of them outdoing the most dyed-in-the-wool Communists. That accounts for the fact that the Communists are callous in every respect, with regard to human life. There is no such thing as ideals, or principles, with them. With them it's a die-hard, materialistic, atheistic policy of destruction of all the true values of life, the destruction of the dignity of man, destruction of the feelings of love and friendship, fraternity and brotherhood. Communism, in my opinion, is an evil pernicious thing. It should be rooted out and destroyed, from the face of the earth.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I will very shortly qualify this witness as one of the highest officials of the Communist Party, formally, in the United States, and as such this is admissible testimony in that it is a conclusion he drew as an expert and a high official of the Party. And very shortly I will have him qualified.

Q. Now, did you attend any schools for training?

A. Yes, in 1932 I was sent to the National Training School. That is the highest—

Q. Now, just—may I—may I qualify you first, Mr. Johnson, so that this expert testimony will be considered admissible. You did attend their secret training schools and graduated from them?

A. That's correct.

Q. Did you attain any position in the Communist Party?

A. Yes, I—after my return from the National Training School, I became district organizer in Buffalo, New York.

Q. Now, did you receive, at any time, any other position?

A. Yes, I—I became later a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party.

Q. What year was that?

A. From 1936 up until 1939.

Q. What was—uh-huh—Did you attain any other position in the Communist Party?

A. Yes, I was a member of the National Trades Union Commission of the National Committee, the National Negro Commission of the—of the Trades Union Commission, of the National Committee.

Q. At what periods of time were you members of those committees?

A. Well, I served on those committees during the same period that I was a member of the National Committee.

Q. At times, or will you detail for us what times you received your sole support and livelihood in the way of wages or salaries or remuneration from the Communist Party?

A. Well, I received salary from the Communist Party from 1932 until 1935.

Q. And you were paid other remuneration for services after that time?

A. I was assigned to a labor union by the Party in 1935, and I worked with that Communist-controlled union up until 1941.

Q. And in reality the Communist Party has provided your livelihood since 1932 through 1939?

A. Yes. Well, I was sent into this union to—as an infiltrator, and of course the—I was paid—paid out of the funds of the union. And at the same time I conducted Communist Party work.

Q. Is that Communist tactics?

A. Oh, yes, that's their usual tactics.

Q. To have organizations pay people to infiltrate them?

A. Yes. You see, they train you to become a professional organizer and agitator and propagandist. They don't train you for nothing, because that is what they need and they feel is essential in their conquest for power.

Q. Fine. Now, I believe that's sufficient to qualify you as an expert, having held official positions of national importance from 1932 to 1939 and through 1939.

Now let's go back. I believe that you had started to detail a school that you attended in 1932. Now tell us what the school is, where it was held, the length of time you attended, and something about the curricula taught.

A. The National—the National Training School was held in New York City in the headquarters of the Communist Party. We were taught many subjects, amongst them Party—Communist Party policy and program, the history and development of the labor movement, the Party of the masses, the Party and the trade unions, the dictatorship of the proletariat, Soviet power, the twenty-one points for admission to the Communist International, the negro question in America, the colonial question, work in the Armed Forces, legal—Party organization in relation to legal and illegal organizations, infiltration and control of labor, farm, fraternal, social, sport organizations—public speaking, parliamentary procedure.

Q. Now we may come back to that later. Did you graduate from this school?

A. I did.

Q. How long were you in attendance at this school?

A. Three months.

Q. What three months was this, can you fix it?

A. It was in the winter—it was the winter of '32.

Q. Winter of '32. Upon your graduation from this secret Communist school, did you receive any assignment?

A. Yes, I was sent back to Buffalo, New York, and—sent back to Buffalo, New York, as an organizer of that district.

Q. Were you the district organizer at Buffalo?

A. No, the district organizer that preceded me was Peter Chaunt, an alien Hungarian that had a scrimmage with the Immigration Department while there, and—

Q. Will you spell the name Chaunt for us?

A. Chaunt is C-h-a-u-n-t. He came out of the scrimmage with the best end. In other words, he told them a grand fairy tale and they released him. Of course, when they released him he disappeared. I don't know whether they've been ever able to find him since; but he came over here from Hungary as a professional revolutionist. He was for years a member of the Agitation and Propaganda organization of the National Committee.

Q. Did you subsequently secure that position of District Organizer at Buffalo?

A. I did.

Q. When did you secure that position?

A. In 1933.

Q. Who was your assistant there?

A. Morris Rappaport was my assistant while I was District Organizer at Buffalo.

Q. Is that Rapport or Rappaport?

A. Rappaport.

Q. Is that the same Rappaport known as Rapport, who subsequently became District Organizer in Seattle?

A. That is correct.

Q. Did this man work under you and under your instructions there?

A. He did.

Q. And at all times you were superior to him in authority in the Communist Party?

A. That's right.

Q. Well, did you do a good job training him? We've had testimony here that indicates you might have.

Now, will you—will you explain the set-up and the organization of a district, the power and authority of the District Organizer.

A. Well, the District Organizer rules like a little czar in his district. That's—that's in accordance with the general pattern, because we receive orders directly from above, and we just pass them on to the rank and file. We'd get organization letters from time to time—

Q. When you say, "we," you mean yourself, don't you?

A. Yes. I would get organization letters from the National Committee. I would read over these letters, and draw up an order of business and present it to the district bureau. Well, of course there was no disagreement as far as the line was concerned. There can't be any disagreement. The only thing they could discuss there was the best methods to carry out the line.

Q. They had no power to overrule you?

A. No, no. No. As far as the line is concerned, that's final, and anyone who—who opposes the line, he'll find himself in difficulty and eventually out of the Party. He may get away with it once or twice, but the third time, never, because three times speaking against the line of the Party definitely indicates that—indicates a policy in opposition to the line of the Party. And when that conclusion is drawn, brother, you're just out.

Q. Is it your testimony that the Communist Party is not a democratic party?

A. The Communist Party is not a democratic party; it cannot be, because all power in that Party is centralized in the National Committee, which makes all the decisions without the active participation of the rank and file. And no one is permitted to question the authority of the National Committee. It's a question of blind acceptance and blind devotion.

Q. You say all power is vested in the National Committee. Are they all-powerful or do they take their instructions?

A. Oh, they take—they're all-powerful in America; but they take their instructions directly from Moscow. As a—as a section of the world organization known as the Communist International, why they—they are duty-bound to follow the policy of the parent organization.

Q. Do they have any leeway? Can they deviate from Moscow's orders?

A. They cannot deviate at all from Moscow orders. They—they must follow to the letter whatever decision that Moscow sends comes from there. That is emphasized again and again in the twenty-one points for admission to the Communist International.

Q. Now, will you detail for us a picture of what you did as District Organizer when you assumed the position at Buffalo.

A. Well, from time to time I would visit the various cities in the district, take up with the Party leaders in those cities any urgent problems that had come up during the course of the work, and to lend as much direct and practical assistance as possible in the carrying through of the decisions of the National Committee.

Q. Did you perform anything illegal, either you or the organization under your control?

A. Yes, in 1933 the Communist Party of Canada was declared illegal. Most of the leaders were arrested. Fortunately for them they had an underground leadership. That is, a leadership that's not known to the Party generally, and not known to the law-enforcement agencies. When the top leaders were arrested, this undercover leadership took over. A. Brown, a member of the National Committee—

Q. Was that A or Abe?

A. A. Brown—I don't know just what the letter A stood for—alias Alpi—

Q. How do you spell that?

A. A-l-p-i. He is an Italian alien that was sent here by the Comintern as a professional revolutionist to teach the—to gain control and influence stupid Americans, as he put it, in conversation with me once.

He has since fled the country, went back to Italy when the Immigration and Naturalization department got hot on his trail. He informed me that—at the time when he visited Buffalo, that they were establishing an underground apparatus for supplying the Canadian Communist Party with literature and printed materials. He informed me also that I would be visited by a Canadian customs inspector, and he asked me to give him the address of a person not connected with the Communist Party where this Canadian customs inspector could meet with me and we could outline the plan for the transmission of this printed material across the Canadian border.

I did this. A week later I received a message in secret code from the National Committee, informing me that this Canadian customs inspector would meet me as originally planned. I kept the appointment; so did he. And there we discussed the question of how best to get literature across the border. We agreed to establish certain dumps in different sections of the city for this literature.

Q. In Buffalo?

A. In Buffalo. For this literature. And preferably homes that had garages attached to them, or in very close proximity of the house. We had one in Black Rock and another in North Buffalo. Black Rock is a section of Buffalo.

This material would sometimes come through the mail, and at other times it would be delivered to me personally, and I would arrange for it to be carried over to these homes that had been designated for that purpose. The first opportunity he would get he would drive into that garage and there load that material into secret compartments in his car. The material had already, of course, been placed there by the people who lived there. They were very

close sympathizers of the Party and could be trusted, because it would be useless to select anyone else for such an important conspiratorial task.

And over a period of months they were carting this material, often only one of two packages, especially wrapped, would come in; but every package as soon as it arrived was promptly dispatched to the dump or the garage, and removed as promptly.

Q. How would this customs inspector get that across the line?

A. Well, he, being a Canadian customs inspector, he knew all the—all or almost all of the other inspectors on the border, and naturally when he arrived at the border, they'd just pass—give him the "green light" without checking his car. It's a sort of—

Q. And if they checked his car, it was in secret compartments.

A. Yes, the material was in secret compartments built in the ceiling, in the ceiling and along the bulkheads, along the bulkheads—because I used to help him store it there.

Q. Do you recall that inspector's name?

A. I might have his name here, I don't know. I can't—

Q. It's not material now if you have got it and produce it—

A. I have it somewhere in code.

Q. In code. Fine, now are you through with that—

A. Incidentally, I might add that they had two pipelines—pipelines to Canada. One was in Detroit and the other in Buffalo. They would use the Buffalo pipeline for a while and then they'd switch over to the Detroit pipeline. They had customs inspectors in Detroit as well as in Buffalo for the piping of this material into Canada.

Q. Now, was it only printed material that was sent over that way, or was it secret documents?

A. Well, there were secret documents as well as printed material and leaflets. In fact, that apparatus—that especial apparatus was the foundation for the—was really the foundation of the machine which was used by the Communists to steal atomic bomb secrets.

Q. Will you develop that a little further for us so it will be cleared for the record?

A. Well, at that time—at that time they were laying the—they laid the foundation for conspiratorial—organization. It consisted of persons that were high in the Government service of Canada, because on the Canadian side of the border there were many persons in high Government service who permitted their homes to be used for depositing this Communist material. Also, Communist Party meetings were held in the homes of prominent people there because they were people that would be least suspected of having any connections with the Communists.

And when we discussed in general the wide—the ramifications of this setup, I came to the conclusion then that it was an ideal apparatus for illegal work, and inasmuch as they could transmit literature and documents at that time across the border without any difficulty, how much more so since? I recall that in 19—in the summer of 1933, when I gave Gerhardt Eisler a report on how smoothly the underground apparatus was functioning, he praised me very highly, and he said, "Comrade, you've done a splendid job."

Q. Is that the Gerhardt Eisler who has recently been in trouble with the Immigration Department?

A. Yes, that is the same Gerhardt Eisler, alias Edwards, alias Berger, alias Brown.

Q. You know him personally?

A. Yes, I've known him for a number of years, since 1933.

Q. Is it true that he is a high official in the Communist Party?

A. Gerhardt Eisler is the direct agent of the Communist International in America.

Q. Would that be correspondent to the boss of the Communist Party in America?

A. His authority supersedes the authority of any party in America, from the General Secretary—from the Chairman and Secretary on down.

Q. And his instructions come directly from Moscow?

A. He has a—he has a direct pipeline to Moscow.

Q. And you know this of your own knowledge?

A. Everyone knows that. It is common knowledge in the National leadership.

Q. Now, this material that was being smuggled into Canada was an illegal enterprise, it was against the law in Canada, is that correct?

A. That's right, it was against the law of Canada and of course it was against the laws of our country.

Q. When you attempt to smuggle stuff over the border.

A. That's correct.

Q. Was this a one-way pipeline, or was things smuggled from Canada into the United States?

A. It was a two-way—a two-way pipeline, because—it works both ways. If you can take it over, you can bring it back.

Q. Now you have mentioned this morning, that you received instructions from National headquarters in secret code. What do you mean by that? Aren't they an open party? Don't they just write a letter like anybody else would?

A. Well, they write letters, but highly confidential and secret information was never sent to me through regular channels. As a rule, messages were sent in secret code. For example, when Gerhardt Eisler visited Buffalo in 1933, I received knowledge of his visit in secret code, and I was told in this coded message to arrange a meeting for an important person. Well, I understood what that meant. It meant that some person of great importance as far as the Party was concerned, would be in Buffalo; and I was surprised at that time, after I had arranged the meeting, that Gerhardt Eisler and Earl Browder and two Canadian—two leaders of the Canadian Communist Party, came to this particular place for a meeting.

Q. Where did you receive this code?

A. Well, when I was in New York attending a meeting of the National Committee just prior to my assignment as District Organizer in Buffalo, I was given the code by J. Peters. P-e-t-e-r-s. J. Peters has been picked up by the U. S. Department of Immigration and Naturalization, as an enemy alien.

Q. Recently?

A. Yes. And accidentally. He was living in a luxurious place up on the Hudson.

Q. I'm very proud of that, as a Seattle Inspector of the Immigration and Naturalization Service at one time.

A. Yes, Mr. John Phillips from Seattle here, he picked him up purely accidental. It shows that he's alert.

Q. Well now, this J. Peters that was picked up just recently instructed you and gave you the secret code in the National Communist Party headquarters in 1932, is that correct?

A. That is correct.

(At this point Will Parry, labor writer for the New World, created a disturbance and was removed from the hearing room by the State Patrol.)

Q. Does that remind you of Communist Party tactics?

A. I used to do that quite often myself. We used to go into—we used to go into City Council meetings and create a rumpus like that, and get thrown out; but the State Troopers here are much more gentle than they were with us.

Q. Now, Mr. Johnson, you have testified that you received some confidential matters through the mail. Did you take any precaution there, or—

A. Yes. The message in code was always sent to the—sent through the regular mail to the home of a person that could not in any way be identified with the Party, possibly a prominent doctor or prominent dentist. In Buffalo it was in one instance a prominent doctor, and in another a prominent dentist, and in a third instance a prominent lawyer.

Then, of course, while I was in New York J. Peters gave me certain addresses of persons in New York, so that when I replied to the coded message, why I would mail it from—not from my address, but the address of one of these confidential sources, one of the—the home residence of one of these trusted individuals, to one of the addresses in New York. And of course, it was left with the person to whom the letter was addressed to see to it that it was delivered to the proper person.

Q. Was that for—

A. Did I make that clear?

Q. Yes. In other words, here is a respectable person that is being used, probably as a fellow-traveler, in one city and you mail it under his name from his address to a respectable person in another city, who upon receiving it delivers—knows where to deliver it.

A. That's correct.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I wonder if that word respectable is the proper word, but proceed.

MR. HOUSTON: May I change the record to be "an alleged respectable person."

Q. Was this for the purpose of deceiving the Post Office Department and the Post Office Inspectors?

A. No, not especially. It was—it was done for the purpose of making it difficult, if not impossible, for any of the law-enforcement agencies to know what the message is, because they'd have to spend time to decipher it; that is, if they accidentally stumbled over the content of the letter.

Q. Did you ever find out who prepared the code?

A. I might say this, that the Party codes were worked out by J. Peters because J. Peters was sent here by the Communist International as a representative of the Communist International. He was a part of what they call in the Communist International set-up, the Technical Bureau—Technical

Bureau. The Technical Bureau is composed of specially trained Communists that handle the technical phases of Communist work. They are assigned by the Communist Party to work in various countries. They have vast powers, but they are also instructed to work with the leaders of the Party in the country to which they are assigned. But they evidently never trusted an American with that responsibility, because J. Peters handled the codes not only for the sending of confidential and highly secret messages to Communists all over the country, but he also had a special code for the transmission of secret and confidential information to European places.

Q. And Moscow.

A. Moscow, of course. That goes without saying.

Q. Now you have barely mentioned that you succeeded Peter Chaunt as District Organizer. What did Peter Chaunt do after you relieved him as District Organizer?

A. He went to New York, and—he went to New York, they gave him a job in one of the offices there, because he was hiding out and they couldn't use him in mass work, for fear that he would be picked up by the Immigration Department.

I might also say this in connection with Peter Chaunt, that while he was there he tried to get some of the Communists who were working in the aircraft factories there to photograph blueprints of some of the late planes that they were producing there. I happened to sit in on two or three meetings with him when he suggested to them that they take photographs of the blueprints that they worked on with regard to planes, plane construction.

Q. What airplane plants do you have at Buffalo?

A. You have—let's see, I think it is—it's been a long time—I don't know whether—I don't recall whether it was the Curtis or—it was one they had a couple strikes there, and I'll have to look that up for you, and I'll give you the names of them. I can't recall offhand.

Q. There is more than one?

A. Yes, there are two of them.

Q. Two of them.

A. Yes.

Q. Did the Communist Party have cells in both these factories?

A. Yes, the Communist Party had cells in both of them.

Q. And did this attempt to secure photographs of the blueprints apply to both factories, or to particularly just one factory?

A. To both factories.

Q. Both factories. Now continue with your story.

A. He—he was supposed to supply them with some special type of canvas for them to photograph the blueprints on which they worked. Of course the Party members explained to him at that time that—that no one employee had access to all of the blueprints that are used in the construction of an airplane, and that it would be impossible for them to get a blueprint of the plane in its entirety, because they didn't have access to those files. But, that they could take pictures of blueprints that were given them with regard to the particular part on which they were working.

Some of the Communists agreed to do it, and some of them did not agree. Peter Chaunt told them that that was their Communist duty to do that, that after all, as good Communists, we are supposed to protect the Father-

land; that is, to protect Soviet Russia, and that there is a great world-wide conspiracy against Russia, that there is an eminent danger of war against Russia, and inasmuch as this condition prevailed that Communists everywhere must do everything within their power to provide Russia with all information that they possibly can get their hands on for the strengthening of Russia militarily.

And it was after he made that speech, he—there was more or less general agreement. That is, on the surface.

Q. Do you know of your own knowledge whether or not any plans were photographed and delivered to him?

A. I—I don't think so, because not long after that he was picked up by the Immigration Service, and he became so frightened as a result of it that, he hastily got in touch with the sender and requested that they take him out.

Well, when—they never entrusted me with that responsibility because I had just come into the Party and they evidently did not know too much about me and where I stood on such matters. But, that does not eliminate the possibility of the Party in devious ways having continued their contact with those persons in those plants.

Q. Was this supposed to be a general practice?

A. Yes, of course. Every Communist is—is a spy, is a potential spy. He is trained in deceit, falsehood, camouflage, theft, and he's told to do that in the interest of the world totalitarian movement, in the interest of Russia, and they so indoctrinate you that you find yourself doing things whether you want to do them or not.

Q. Now you mentioned that during the time you were District Organizer there, there was some strikes in these airplane plants—

A. Yes.

Q. —is that correct?

A. That's correct.

Q. What was the Party's attitude towards those strikes and connection, if any?

A. The Communist Party had one or two Communists—I think one or two in the plant at the time of the strike. Well, the Communists immediately began to distribute literature and tried to tell the workers what their demands should be and what they should do to strengthen the strike and that sort of thing, what they should do to fight against the bosses, or the heads of the aircraft industry.

Of course, that material was not appreciated by the leaders of the strike. They time and time again at the meetings disavowed any connection with it and asked the strikers to ignore it. Of course the one or two Communists that they had in the plants were able to recruit during the course of these strikes—they picked out certain militant workers and approached them and asked them to join the Communist Party. And before the strike was over they had cells in every plant.

Q. Was that—no—I want to be very, very careful to put no words in your mouth, but I do—would like to fix the name of this plant, if possible. Was that the Consolidated Aircraft Company?

A. I cannot remember offhand. I know it was—I know there are two of them here, but I can't think of—

Q. But you can secure them.

A. That thought only came to me incidentally. You know that's been a long time ago. That's been fifteen years ago.

Q. Now—

A. It could have been Consolidated.

Q. —as District Organizer, did you actively try to get into the strike and take a part with it, with highly inflammatory material?

A. Well, I used to—I used to assist in drawing up the leaflets and that sort of thing. I knew nothing about the aircraft industry, and I had no—no connection with the organization that was leading the strike.

Q. I didn't mean you personally, but I meant your organization.

A. But I worked, the Communists that we had on the inside supplied me with the information, and I proceeded to draw up the leaflet on the basis of that information, had it printed, and had Communists go out there and distribute them.

Q. Now, you have mentioned once or twice about the illegal apparatus of the Party. Would you care to elaborate on that for us? The deception, do they believe in illegal means, and if so, what and how?

A. Yes, they have two forms of organizations. They have the legal form and they have also an illegal form. The legal form consists of neighborhood party clubs that are open; and of course, sir, they have multi forms of front organizations, which are open; but they also have illegal forms—illegal forms in the sense that they have nuclei within your Armed Forces, such as your Army, your Navy, your police department, your various departments of the Government, and in various unions, and factories where the Communists cannot function legally.

Then, of course, they have their machine for circumventing postal inspection, channels of sending—confidential channels of sending material through the mail that would be unsuspected as subversive material by the postal inspectors. Then of course you have your secret codes that were always sent through the mails.

Then, too, they have an illegal Party apparatus from top to bottom. They have a secret National Committee, and secret district committees which are supposed to be formed in every district, to parallel the legal—the legal one, the open one.

Q. In other words, there are two organizations.

A. That's right.

Q. And what is the purpose of that?

A. The purpose is—is this, in case the law-enforcement agencies of the Government arrest all of the known Communists, the Communists that are unknown can continue to function under ground.

Q. As you have described they did in Canada—

A. That's right.

Q. —when the party was outlawed. Will you elaborate a little about—on that statement, as to the infiltration into the Armed Forces, or rather, their effort to infiltrate.

A. Well, the main—the main organization that was used for infiltration was the Young Communist League, and the American Youth Congress, and the American Youth for Democracy. All these are—the Young Communist League was always the youth section of the Communist Party. They received

preliminary training during their youth to become full-fledged Communists, when they reached the age of twenty-one, why they were eligible to transfer from the League into the Communist Party.

Gil Green, who is State Organizer in Illinois at the present time—

Q. For the Communist Party?

A. For the Communist Party. —was responsible for the infiltration into the Armed Services. They also had another method to ask—I mean with a little pressure—Communist Party members who had sons of military age, who were close to the Party, to put their sons into the Armed Services to work here. Of course, there are certain laws which prevent agitating in the Armed Services, in the interest of Navy power. So they formed illegal cells and they carry on illegal propaganda.

Now someone might say to me, "Johnson, isn't that a little far-fetched, isn't that fantastic?" But I just want to call your attention to something here that I think will convince you beyond a doubt that what I'm saying is not just hearsay. I want to read to you from the—from the—from an official document of the Communist International, "Conditions of Admission to the Communist International." Every Communist Party has to subscribe to this before it's admitted.

It says: "Persistent—" in Condition Number Four it states: "Persistent and systematic propaganda and agitation must be carried on in the Army where Communist groups should be formed into every military organization. Whenever owing to repressive legislation, agitation becomes impossible, it is necessary to carry on such agitation illegally; but refusal to carry on or participate in such work should be considered equal to treason to the revolutionary cause and incompatible with affiliation." Now there you have it.

If there is any doubt about that, I think that should remove all of it.

Q. Was this program carried out?

A. Of course it was carried out, and is being carried out at the present time, much more so than before.

Q. The Party is attempting—is establishing cells even in our Armed Forces.

A. That is correct. And if you recall, only recently there has been quite a hue and cry by a certain section of half-baked and misguided liberals to the effect that the Government should permit Communists to have positions as Commissioned Officers in the Armed Services. They ought to be shot for reason for insisting on such a thing. They ought to read this.

Q. Now you say that they also attempted to set up units in police departments. Was a special effort made along this line?

A. Well, wherever possible they had persons of eligible age who could qualify to pass the examination if they wanted them to do so, because they considered the police an essential organization to work in.

Q. It is being reported, and you have to be very careful.

A. Yes.

Q. Well, of your knowledge do you know whether or not they ever were successful in getting any policemen into the police departments of our various cities?

A. That I couldn't say because I'm not familiar with that phase of the work, only generally. It was discussed, it was discussed in high circles of the Party, but they had persons assigned especially to that work, and it was of

such a highly confidential nature that they only speak of it in generalities because they don't trust too many people with that knowledge.

Q. Now, you continued your duties as District Organizer, according to your statement, until 1935, is that correct?

A. 1934.

Q. 1934. What happened to you then?

A. I was transferred to New York City.

Q. To what position?

A. I was placed as National Organizer in the Trade Union Unity League.

Q. Now what is the Trade Union Unity League?

A. The Trade Union Unity League was a Communist—was a Communist trade union organization in America. It was affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions. It had many unions affiliated with it. It was controlled from top to bottom by the Communist Party. The leaders of the Trade Union Unity League were such persons as Jack Stachel—Stachel is S-t-a-c-h-e-l, a member of the National Committee; and William Z. Foster, Chairman of the Communist Party of America; Pat Toohey, who I think is in California now—he is a big shot down there in the Party, I understand—Pat Toohey, Pat P-a-t, Toohey, T-o-o-h-e-y.

Q. Was this a union in the sense that the ordinary trade union is a union?

A. No, it was an industrial form of union that the Communists form in order to organize the unorganized workers in this country and bring them under the influence of the Communist Party.

Q. Now you were transferred to this organization as an organizer?

A. That is correct.

Q. Now will you pick up there and describe your duties and what you did?

A. Well, I worked with a number of unions in New York, as an organizer. I worked—I helped in the organization of the Transport Workers Union, which of course, you know, is Communist-controlled. Michael Quill, the president is a Communist—

Q. Have you sat in Communist meetings with him?

A. Yes.

Q. Repeatedly?

A. No. No. I was only at meetings of the National Committee and at one convention at which he was present. In fact, the entire leadership of the Transport Workers Union in New York City are members of the Communist Party. Austin Hogan, who is head of the—of Local 100, is a Communist. There are several others there, I can't think of their names offhand. The Communists were the ones who were responsible for the election of Quill to the City Council, because the section that he represented is thoroughly infiltrated with Communists—they're strong—it's one of their strongholds.

Q. Did you receive a salary as an organizer, from this organization?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Did you work in any other unions in New York?

A. Yes, I worked—I was assigned to work with the Cafeteria Employees Union, Local 110.

Q. In that connection, did you know J. Rubin?

A. Yes, J. Rubin was one of the first persons that I met.



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

A. Yes, he's a member of the Communist Party. He's more than just a member; he's a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, because I was at the convention when he was placed on the National Committee.

Q. Did you work with Johnnie Goodman, did you know Johnnie Goodman?

A. Yes, I know Johnnie Goodman. He's a Communist.

Q. What position does he occupy?

A. I think he's a big shot in the Building Service Union there, in New York.

Q. Is he a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, he's a member of the Communist Party.

Q. Did you know John Steubin?

A. John Steubin, yes. He's a member of the Communist Party. He's in that Local 244, I think, in New York.

Q. Of what union?

A. Of Building Service Employees.

Q. Did you know Sidney Budell?

A. Yes, he's also a Communist.

Q. And as a Communist, and as working in this union movement with them, you know that they are Communists?

A. Of course I do, I sat in meetings with them time and time again, to which no one was admitted except members of the Communist Party.

Q. Did you know a man in that movement at that time by the name of Nat Honig?

A. Nat Honig? Yes, he's a fine chap. He was editor of the official organ of the Trade Union Unity League. Let's see, the name of that magazine was "Labor Unity." "Labor Unity," that's correct.

Q. Now, for the sake of the record, Mr. Johnson, I would ask you to identify a little more clearly, because Rubin might be a common name, who, which or what J. Rubin do you refer to?

A. Well, I refer to the one and only little czar in the hotel field, J. Rubin who is head—secretary of the Hotel Trades Council in New York City.

Q. And John Goodman. Now you've identified him as—

A. I think—I think he is an International Vice President, if I'm not mistaken, or—

Q. Of what union?

A. The Building Service, I think it is.

Q. Building Service Employees Union?

A. Employees Union, yes.

Q. And Sidney Budell?

A. He's in Local 244, I don't know what his official position is there. He has some official position, I don't know, I haven't seen him in quite a while.

Q. And John Steubin?

A. Steubin, he's also an officer of—there in 244.

Q. Of the Building Service Employees—

A. Building Service Employees Union.

Q. Now, did you ever attend any meetings of the National Convention of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, I attended the convention in Cleveland and also the convention in New York City in 1938.

Q. Did you ever attend any meetings of the National Committee of the Communist Party?

A. I attended practically all, or almost all, of the meetings of the National Committee from 1932 up to and including 1939. I might also say, incidentally, that I attended quite a few meetings of the Political Bureau of the National Committee.

Q. Will you explain what the Political Bureau is?

A. Well, the Political Bureau is the all-powerful ruling body of the Communist Party in America.

Q. Is it higher than the National Committee?

A. It is not supposed to be, but it is.

Q. Well, it's the secret control then?

A. No, it's an executive—sort of an executive body of the—of the National Committee, but its composition is such that persons who are on it actually run the Party. They decide everything. They decide on what shall be taken up at the National Committee meetings and they prepare everything, and everything is cut and dried, so—

Q. They're the cutters and the driers of it?

A. That's right. So when the National Committee meets, the big shots from the Political Bureau get up and present their reports hour after hour and you can get up after they get through, and they will allow you five or ten minutes to say a few words and then sit down and they'll summarize the discussion and then you stand up and applaud them for an hour.

Q. Who are some of the other members of this National Political Bureau?

A. Well, at the time I was on—at the time I was on the—

Q. That's what I mean, at that time.

A. Well, there was Earl Browder, Earl E-a-r-l Browder, B-r, William Z. Foster, Jack Stachel, J. W. Ford, Alex Bittleman—

Q. Well that's sufficient. Each of these are recognized highly—

A. Yes, of course.

Q. And you then, even was on this committee which in effect ran the National Committee.

A. That's right.

Q. Uh-hum. Now do you recall attending either meetings of the Political Bureau or the National Committee and ever hearing any discussion concerning the Washington Old Age Pension Union?

A. I do recall that in 19—in 193—in the latter part of '37, if I'm not mistaken, that there was discussion for the first time with regard to this organization. It seems to me at that time there was a movement that was under way out here for the securing of a pension for the old folks. The Communists on the West Coast at the time underestimated the—the movement when it first began. They didn't think that the issue of a pension for the old people in Washington would receive such tremendous mass support. For—because of their negative attitude toward this particular movement, they were severely criticized and reprimanded by the members of the National Committee.



Q. Now who was this?

A. The representatives from the Party in this particular district. I—it didn't interest me at that particular time and I don't recall exactly who reported on that at the plenum of the National Committee.

Q. But do you recall—

A. I do recall the discussion of that particular subject.

Q. And what decision was made there?

A. The decision was made that—that they condemn the—they condemn the negative attitude of the Party in this district, and that they must take the necessary remedial measures, that is, to infiltrate the organization and seek to control it and direct it in channels in the best interest of the Communist Party. In 1938 there was further discussion, and in the discussion the comrades from Washington reported that they had succeeded in intrinsching themselves in this organization and were playing a decisive roll in the conduct of its affairs.

Q. Now would you discuss a little bit the National Trade Union movement in the Communist Party high circles, their program, their ideas about it?

A. Well, the Communist Party aims to control all labor unions in America. They are primarily concerned with the organization of cells within all of the unions; and through the correct and proper work of these cells within these unions, to eventually gain positions of leadership. And by gaining positions of leadership in the various unions, both A. F. of L and C. I. O., they can bring forth the Communist Party and program before the broad masses of the members. In other words, they can deceive the rank and file, because they are so much—so many of us who are so unwary and who are so unsuspecting that it's easy for a professional organizer and agitator or propagandist to mislead you, because I've misled many myself, because I had a good gift of gab and was specially trained for doing it; while you were possibly going out with your wife or going to a show, we sat in smoke-filled rooms deciding on how we were going to put something over on you the next day. That's the way we did it, and that's the work of these cells; that's the work of the Communist cells or fractions within these organizations. That's how they gain control, because the average rank and file member of a union is not alert. He doesn't go to a meeting, except some important issue comes up, and then he goes reluctantly. He doesn't take too much interest or concern in his organization. The Communists know that, and all they have to do is get a foothold, get a few people around them, and they're all set because any organized minority can control an unorganized majority.

Q. Now, did they concentrate on the basic industries of this country?

A. Yes, the over-all strategic plan of the Communists for the overthrow of the Government of the United States is predicated upon the ability of the Communist Party to penetrate or sink its roots deep into the basic industries of America. For example, steel, mining, transportation, marine—imagine for a moment what the discussion was on this particular matter, and what it was predicated upon. They know that if they can succeed in gaining control of the unions in steel, and mining, and transportation, and marine, and are able to call general strikes in that industry, they can paralyze the entire economy of the nation. They know it. They are master strategists. And if they succeed in paralyzing the economy of this nation, they are in a position to transform that particular paralyzing strike in a struggle for power. After all, the master plan of the Communist International calls for what?

For strikes—general strikes, a series of paralyzing general strikes, and then armed insurrection and the seizure of power. In order to do that—in order to do that they must have the basic industries. When they tie up your transportation system, you're in a pretty bad way. When they tie up steel, one of the basic industries, everything stops. It's paralyzed. And they know that the best way to paralyze the economy of America is to paralyze your basic industries.

And that's not just idle chatter. They mean that, and they intend to do it.

Q. Now, you know this from official documents and official discussions within the highest councils of the Communist Party in the United States.

A. That is correct.

Q. Was there any movement ever made to infiltrate the veterans' organizations?

A. Yes, the Communist Party members who were veterans of World War No. I were instructed to join the posts of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars, but emphasis was particularly placed on the American Legion because the Americanism policy of the American Legion is considered reactionary by the Communists. And they have been interested in infiltrating that organization and gaining control of as many posts of the American Legion as they possibly can.

You will find that in the coming months there will be a greater and greater infiltration into the various posts of the American Legion. They feel that if they can gain control over the posts of the American Legion, they can send Communist delegates to American Legion conventions and they can introduce resolutions and create a rumpus there like they have here in this courtroom, to shout from the floor and denounce the leaders and smear them, as Legionnaires and as delegates in their effort to discredit the Americanism program of the American Legion.

Q. Did they ever set up a dual organization for veterans?

A. Yes, they did set up a dual organization, but the dual organization was a sort of catch-all. But they did set up a committee—an organization composed of—of labor members of the American Legion.

Q. What was the name of this organization?

A. Ah—

Q. Was it the National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires?

A. That's right, the National Conference of Labor Legionnaires. That—that organization—that organization is really a rank and file movement within the American Legion.

Q. Do you mean that it's a rank and file movement that grows from the rank and file?

A. No, it's not an official organization of the American Legion; it's a Communist front organization that is set up for the purpose of training the—the Legionnaires who are Communists and Communist sympathizers in ways and means of working inside of their Legion posts, to gain control of those posts.

Q. I'm not quibbling with you, I'm merely wanting to get the interpretation clear. You used the term rank and file movement. You don't mean that it came from the members within the post itself.

A. No, no, it's organized on the outside, it was organized by the Party from the outside.

Q. Now this was in reality to be cells for the purpose of operating within these posts.

A. That's correct.

Q. In other words, there would be—they knew there would be a very great minority by highly organizing it, by concentrating their efforts they felt that they would have an influence within the posts.

A. That's correct.

Q. Was this program carried out?

A. Yes, it was.

Q. It might be of interest here, I notice you wear a discharge button from the Armed Services, did you serve in the Armed Services during the war?

A. Yes, I was in the United States Navy during the war.

Q. Did you receive an honorable discharge?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. How long was you in the service?

A. I was in the service from the first of 1944 up until the middle of 1946.

Q. Did you receive a citation for special meritorious service?

A. Yes, we received the Departmental Citation from the Secretary of the Navy, because of the—because of the splendid job we did in turning out the material necessary for the successful prosecution of the war in the Pacific.

Q. You was in the Navy.

A. Yes. I might say, incidentally, that I was in Aviation Ordnance as Petty Officer, 1st Class. And I was assigned to supervise the handling of millions of tons of high explosives that had to—that was put aboard your carriers that were operating—aircraft carriers that were operating in the Pacific. I might say that during that period we never had an accident.

Q. Now you mentioned—

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I have reached a point here, if the committee desires to recess a few moments, I'm going to take up a new subject matter when we return.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We'll be at ease for approximately ten minutes.

(Recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Shall we proceed, Mr. Houston?

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Mr. Johnson, I understand you have available the names of the National Committee members of the Communists Party at the present time. Will you state them for the record?

A. I'd like to—I'd like to correct that. I would like to read in the record the names of the all-powerful Political Bureau of the Communist Party as it is now constituted.

Q. Oh, I beg your pardon.

A. William Z. Foster is National Chairman; Eugene Dennis, alias Waldron, General Secretary; and, Waldron, W-a-l-d-r-o-n—his first name is Frank; Benjamin J. Davis, a New York City councilman, is President of the "Daily Worker"; John Gates, J-o-h-n John, G-a-t-e-s Gates, he's the State Chairman in Illinois; Jack Stachel, he's the Party Chief of Education, Propaganda and Agitation; Irving Potash, Irving I-r-v-i-n-g, Potash P-o-t-a-s-h, he's the leader of the Fur and Leather Workers Industrial Union affiliated with the C.I.O.; John Williamson, John J-o-h-n, Williamson W-i-l-l-i-a-m-s-o-n, he's

National Labor Secretary—he was for a long time District Organizer in Cleveland and was later transferred to New York; Robert Thompson, Robert, R-o-b-e-r-t, T-h-o-m-p-s-o-n—he's the New York State Chairman of the Communist Party; Henry Winston, Henry H-e-n-r-y, Winston W-i-n-s-t-o-n, he's the Organizational Secretary; and Carl Winter, he's the Chairman of the Communist Party of the State of Michigan.

That is the powerful Political Bureau of the Communist Party as it is now constituted. They have also an underground Political Bureau composed of an entirely different list of persons. They have a liaison between the open Political Bureau and the underground Political Bureau. The only persons who know the members of the underground Political Bureau are William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis.

Q. Mr. Johnson—

A. I might say, incidentally, that the Communist Party last year conducted a financial drive. Every member of the Communist Party was asked to give one week's salary to the Party for this special Party fund. The Communist Party has approximately eighty-five thousand members in the United States. There may be some of them unemployed, but the majority of them are employed, to say nothing of the thousands of sympathizers and misguided liberals and middle-class elements contingent to the Party.

Figuring that on the basis of, oh, say forty dollars a week, it would run into millions. This—this fund which the Communist Party has created is to be used to establish this secret Party apparatus from your Political Bureau down to your smallest—to your district and your smallest Party cell, and to establish illegal or secret printing establishments where Communist literature can be printed for distribution in the event that the places that are known are cut off from them by your law-enforcement agencies.

In other words, this whole fund is for the purpose of establishing a underground apparatus, nationally, to carry on the Communist Party program in the event that the Communist Party in the United States is declared illegal.

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I'd like to tell you something about my good, good comrade in quotations—quotation marks, Frank Waldron, or Eugene Dennis. I'd like to give you some information on that man's history and background as a classical example of duplicity. In 1930 Frank Waldron was arrested at Los Angeles, California, on a charge of inciting to riot. He was—he was sentenced to serve six months in jail. He was taken out by the Communists on bail. He jumped bail, and fled—fled the jurisdiction of the court. He somehow found his way to Moscow—Communists always go home—he found his way to Moscow. He was put in the Lenin School in Moscow, where he was given extensive training by the Communist Party there for his future work in America.

It was in 1934, if I'm not mistaken, he was sent by the Communist Party to China. During his time in China he worked with the former head of the German Communist Party. His job was to demoralize the British Military Forces in China. They carried on an extensive Communist agitation and propaganda among the British troops there to demoralize them in the interest of the Communist forces in China. He somehow—he went back to Moscow and, somehow in '35, and he got a passport through the American Consulate there to come back to the United States.

He got the passport under the name of Paul Walsh, P-a-u-l Paul, W-a-l-s-h Walsh, and with that he—he was able to come back to the United States, and

he was assigned—State Secretary of the Communist Party of Wisconsin. But now he has a new name, Eugene Dennis. My how these Communists do change their names! Yet all around the world, they change their names and yet people will believe in them and they'll trust them.

So we see then that Paul—that Eugene Dennis, alias Frank Waldron, alias Paul Walsh, is a Comintern agent in the United States, whose life is dedicated to the destruction of the democratic institutions of our government. He has been specifically trained by an alien power for one purpose, to come back here and sell a bill of goods to the American people, to use you as tools of an alien power to destroy the very government which has brought so many and untold blessings to us and to the world.

Frank Waldron—Frank Waldron, or Eugene Dennis was not at the famous meeting of the new Cominform. Cominform is a new name for Communist International. Cominform means Communist information—ah—bureau. It's just a new name for the old organization of Communist International. But what is most significant of all is that at that meeting of the Cominform you had two high officials of the Soviet Government, two direct representatives of the Kremlin. And if there is anybody who denies the tie-up between the sections of the Communist International with Moscow, that should dispel all illusions, because Zhdanov and Malenkov—

Q. Would you spell those names?

A. Zhdanov is spelled Z-h-d-a-n-o-v, and Malenkov M-a-l-e-n-k-o-v. I might be a little off in my pronunciation but—I was a Communist, but I never was a Russian.

The only reason why the Communists have not affiliated with the Cominform is because in 1942, I think one of your Congressmen introduced a bill which was passed, known as—what is it, Voorhees Act—what is that?

MR. HOUSTON: The Voorhis Act.

A. Vorhees Act, isn't it?

Q. V-double o-r-h-i-s

A. Yes, that was in—if I'm not mistaken—that was passed in 1940. Well, this act required the registration of enemy agents. Well, anyone that is now in the Communist Party affiliated with the Cominform, the State Department could declare every Communist Party member in the United States an agent of a foreign power; and as such, they would have to register with the State Department. That would mean that every person who is a member of the Communist Party would have to register with your State Department. The Communist Party doesn't want the State Department to know their membership. It would prevent them from carrying on in their conspiratorial work. And for that reason they did not formally connect themselves with the Cominform. But, whatever the Cominform says, the leaders of the American party listen to and obey.

You saw that when Duclos issued his famous statement on Browder. Who is so naive as to believe that that letter did not influence the leaders of the American party? Browder, who was acclaimed before, was condemned after Duclos' letter. That ought to convince you beyond a shadow of a doubt, of the connection between the American Communist Party and the Communist International, with its strings and headquarters in the Kremlin in Moscow.

The Communist movement is a conspiratorial political movement. It has absolutely nothing in common with the reformed political movements which we have had in this country, because the Communist Party is not a reformist party, it's a definite political movement that is controlled and directed by a

foreign power that has only one aim, not to correct the ills of our democracy, not to correct those things which we consider wrong in these United States, but to—to use the ills of democracy as tools to accomplish a certain end. With them the struggle for a little more money for a pension for the old aged, it is not that they are interested in the old folks, they don't give a tinker's darn for them, that's only bait, they're using you as a means to an end. It has nothing in common with the highest and best traditions of our country.

Q. Mr. Johnson, you have testified that you were a member of the Negro Commission of the National Committee. Is that correct?

A. Yes, I was a member of the Negro Commission of the National Committee.

Q. What is the Negro Commission of the National Committee?

A. The Negro Commission of the National Committee is a subcommission of the National Committee composed of—of the most capable and most competent district Negro Communists in the Communist movement in America. And some of the—some of the most outstanding Negro Communists composed that committee, amongst whom was Harry Haywood, Harry H-a-r-r-y, Haywood, H-a-y-w-o-o-d, who attended the Lenin School in Moscow, he was especially trained for work amongst Negroes in America while there.

Incidentally, I might say that he was a member of the special commission on the Negro and colonial question under the direction and supervision of the Communist International. He participated in drawing up the resolution for the Communist International on the Negro question in America. He has written numerous articles which were published in Communist magazines, and periodicals, over a period of years. He took part in the—he took part in the civil war in Spain. He was later broken because of difficulties he had with Gerhardt Eisler in Spain. The last I heard of him he had contacted Bridges on the West Coast, and Bridges got him a job.

James W. Ford, he, as you know, was also in Moscow on a number of occasions. He was also trained there. He ran as—he ran as William Z. Foster's running mate for Vice President of the United States on the Communist Party ticket. He has been the—Earl Browder's right-hand man Friday. Browder and Stachel used to write all of his speeches for him, and he'd stand up there and read them. We used to—we used to look upon him in contempt because he had—if you were to cut his head down—his head down to the size of his brain, why he could wear peanut shells for a top piece. But he served a definite purpose. They used him, and he used them against the—Negroes in the top who could think for themselves.

We had B. D. Amis. B. D., Amis A-m-i-s, Amis. He was quite a theoretician on the Negro question. He wrote quite a few articles in the Party press and other period publications. He was also Moscow-trained.

Maude White. Maude White, M-a-u-d-e Maude, White W-h-i-t-e, Moscow-trained and active in work among Negro women.

Louise Thompson, Moscow-trained, is active now in Chicago, Illinois.

William Patterson, a lawyer who spent quite a few years in Moscow where he was specially trained and worked on the special American Commission here.

Timothy Holmes. Timothy T-i-m-o-t-h-y, Holmes H-o-l-m-e-s, alias George Hewitt. George G-e-o-r-g-e, Hewitt H-e-w-i-t-t.

Abner W. Berry. Abner A-b-n-e-r W. Berry B-e-r-r-y.

There were a few more whose names I just can't recall at the present time.

Q. Now these were the members of the Negro Commission of the National Committee and carried forth the Communist penetration among the Negro people, is that correct?

A. That is correct.

Q. And you were a member of that Committee also.

A. That's correct.

Q. Now, will you just detail for us briefly, how you attempted to deceive the Negro people, and what if anything, if any interest the Communist Party has in the Negroes.

A. Well, I could—I'll try to trace the history of the Communist activities among the Negroes as briefly as I possibly can.

The—their first effort was made during the years of the Garvey Movement, and the movement of the Marcus Garvey grew to a tremendous thing. At one time it was stated that there were over three and a half million Negroes in the Marcus Garvey Movement. The Communists sought to infiltrate the Garvey Movement, like they do all movements. Now they have an organization called the Blood Brotherhood in New York City, and it was through this organization that they began to infiltrate the Garvey Movement. They were never able to control it because the things which Garvey was accused by the Government of doing, resulted in complete—resulted in complete discrediting of him, and the final disintegration of the movement.

The Communists played their role in helping to destroy the Garvey Movement. They sought to control it, and after they couldn't control it they sought to destroy it. And like the—that is the same way with your old folks movement here. If they can't control it they'll ruin it. Their policy is to rule or ruin. They couldn't control the Garvey Movement, so they—they sought to ruin it. And they became the informers and—informists. They were the ones that supplied the information that was used to destroy it. They used the specially set up news agency called the Crusaders News Agency. That was the organization that they had, at that time, and they used to send out constantly, reports to the newspapers on activities of the Garvey Movement.

Incidentally, I want to show you how treacherous the Commies are. They went into the Garvey Movement as friends of the Garvey Movement. They went in and offered their services to the Garvey Movement. They told them that they were—had experience in sending out news releases to the various papers, and that they would handle the publicity for the Garvey Movement. Well, for a while they sent out very favorable publicity. The newspapers gobbled it up, and it was printed. Then later on they swung just the other way. They began to feed in unfavorable publicity. They had already won the confidence of the people, and they began to send out unfavorable publicity. Then all of a sudden they sent out publicity that just knocked the whole foundation from under the Garvey Movement, because they had sought to control it and they couldn't control it, because Garvey kept the strings of the organization too well in his hands.

And I want to bring that out just as one illustration of the "rule or ruin" policy of them and their deceit, their double-dealing, their treachery.

Q. Have they any real interest in the Negro people?

A. No, they have only one thought in mind. They want to use the Negro as a political catspaw to help them pull their chestnuts out of the fire. That's all. They are, in my opinion, the modern day carpet-bagger.

Q. You refer to the Communists now, don't you?

A. Yes, the Communists are the modern-day carpet-bagger. Incidentally, I might say this, after they—after they succeeded in breaking up the Garvey Movement they formed an organization called the Negro Labor Congress.

Q. The American Negro Labor Congress.

A. No. No, that's a different organization. This is a Negro Labor Congress. The Negro Labor Congress had a program that was identical to that of the Communist Party. It—it called for the right of self-determination for the Negroes in the old cotton belt. I might say here that the cotton belt is a continuous territory; it starts on the eastern shore of Maryland, extends through two hundred and nineteen counties and drives a wedge into Texas, making two hundred and nineteen counties extending over nine states, driving a wedge into Texas. Well, in this various—in this vast zone the Negro people constitute the majority of the population. The Communists have computed that this area, by virtue of the fact that the Negroes constitute the majority, should be separated from the rest of the United States, unified politically, and that a separate Negro republic be set up there. This republic to decide what its relations shall be with the United States and with other nations.

Now someone—some of you might say that "you say something that's not true." I want to read to you from their program, if I may, if you'll be patient with me and bear with me.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I'd like to read from the program here.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I would like to continue here until he has completed this phase of his testimony.

MR. HOUSTON: That's all right, if it's agreeable to you.

Q. Now, this is their official program that you are reading from?

A. Yes, this is the official program of the Negro Labor Congress and which is identical with the policy of the resolution of the Communist International on the Negro question in America.

"Right of Self-determination. This means complete and unlimited right of the Negro majority to exercise governmental authority in the entire territory of the black belt," which is the same as the cotton belt, "as well as to decide upon the relations between their territory and other nations, particularly the United States."

Q. Now that's the portion of the official resolution adopted at the Communist International?

A. That is correct.

Q. And what is the purpose of that resolution?

A. The purpose of the—the purpose of this resolution is for the clarification of the Party with regard to the Negro question in America. Now this—this is predicated upon the contention that—that the Negroes in America constitute a nation in the sense that Lenin—in the sense—in accordance with Lenin's interpretation of the qualifications of the nation.

Q. You'll pardon me, Mr. Johnson, but I have to watch my record as I proceed.

A. Yes, go ahead.

Q. Where and when was the Communist International held that adopted that resolution?

A. That was adopted—let me see here, I can tell you in a minute. It was adopted by the Communist International, October 1930, Resolutions of the Communist International on the Negro question in the United States.

Q. Was this the Communist International held in Moscow of that year?

A. It was held in Moscow in that year.

Q. And then there were American delegates participated?

A. Oh yes, that's correct. In fact some of the members of the—two of the members of the National Committee were responsible for drawing up this resolution.

Q. Now if you will proceed. We're discussing the Negro Labor Congress now.

A. The Negro Labor Congress, because of its—its program which was identical to that of the Communist Party never grew to mass proportions. It remained a—very narrow and sectarian organization, with—the membership consisted, in other words, of Party members and close sympathizers.

Q. As a member of the Negro Commission of the National Committee of the Communist Party, did you ever learn how they intended to effect the setting up of this state by revolution?

A. They were to organize—they were to organize the masses of Negroes in this particular zone, and to incite them to revolt, to seize the land and to proclaim a Negro republic in the South. And demand a complete separation of this zone from the United States, and that the Communists should urge the workers and farmers all over the country to support this revolutionary struggle.

Q. Now, I mentioned a name a little while ago, briefly. Do you know an organization known as the American Negro Labor Congress?

A. No. There was no such organization. It was the Negro Labor Congress. I might say that we decided in the National—in the Negro Commission of the National Committee to disband the—that—the Negro Labor Congress, because it didn't have sufficient mass appeal, and it was too much like the Communist Party in program and in policy. In order to save face, however, instead of publicly disbanding it, we just created another organization. We just gave it another name, in other words.

Q. What was the new organization's name?

A. The new organization was called the Legal Struggle for Negro Rights.

Q. And when was this formed?

A. That was formed, I think, in thirty—in 1933, if I'm not mistaken.

Q. '33?

A. That's right. I think it was about in 1933.

Q. That's close enough. All right, did this new organization carry out the same program as the old organization?

A. Yes, it carried out the same program as the old organization. The only difference was that it has a newspaper and the other didn't.

Q. Was it successful in penetrating into the masses of the Negroes?

A. They—they did succeed in making some in-road, because they had the Scottsboro Case as one of the issues, and they exploited the Scottsboro Case to the utmost. I sat in—I sat in meetings at which the case was discussed, and I was—I was amazed at the cynicism of the leaders of the Party with regard to it. They said to us definitely, "As leading Communists you should understand that we are not concerned about whether those boys are burned or not; we're concerned with only one thing, and that is to use the issue to organize millions of Negroes around the Party and for the Party policy and program."

Q. Who made that statement?

A. That was made by James W. Ford, who was a member of the National Committee and a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party.

Q. And the Ford that later ran for Vice President of the United States—

A. That's correct.

Q. —on the Communist Party ticket. All right, now what happened to this organization, did it go out of business too?

A. It didn't grow; it remained narrow and sectarian. And we—we were discussing ways and means of gracefully disbanding it, that is, disband it and at the same time save our face to merge it with something. Any way to get rid of it. They do that over and over again. One day—today you've got one organization and tomorrow you've got another; it's merged with this one. Because the organization has served its purpose, they don't want to just give it up, they just merge it with something else. It's just shifting of Communist forces from one group to another, that's all it is.

Q. Now, do you know—pardon me.

A. In nineteen—I think it was in 1934, in New York City, we had a meeting of the Negro Commission. At that time I recommended to the Commission that we should, on the basis of a united front, form a broadly representative organization that should be called Negro Congress, that is, an organization in which representatives of all groups could take part. They tossed cold water on that proposition. However, at a meeting of the National Committee in 1935, a recommendation was made that we explore the possibilities of forming a National Negro Congress. A special subcommittee was set up. This subcommittee met and decided upon what person amongst the Negroes had sufficient prestige to head the organization, and at the same time could be used.

Quite a list of persons were—quite a long list of persons was made, and finally we eliminated all except A. Phillip Randolph. A. Phillip Randolph. A. Phillip, P-h-i-l-l-i-p, Randolph R-a-n-d-o-l-p-h. He is President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a very able man and a Socialist.

Q. He is not a Communist?

A. Definitely anti-Communist. They talked to Randolph and Randolph agreed to accept the responsibilities. We—we contacted, of course, organizations in every community throughout the nation. Now we were able to do that because the Communist Party is set up all over the country, and they've got—they've got—so it's no difficult matter for them to set up a small committee with a couple Communists and a few half-baked and misguided liberals to initiate it. That's the way that works. So we finally decided on a date when the first Congress should be held, and we—the Communist Party sent out directives all over the country for the Communist Party—sections of districts, and sections of units to concentrate on getting delegates to the National Negro Congress, to visit organizations and urge them to elect delegates.

Of course they did, and the result was we held a conference in Chicago—the first National Negro Congress in Chicago, Illinois.

This was a broadly representative Congress. We had thousands of delegates. We had attracted to the organization many persons who before had no connections whatsoever with the Communist movement. The Communist Party, of course, packed the Congress with persons from every conceivable Communist front organization, and some of them came in there with faked credentials, organizations that existed only on paper; but they had to have enough

delegates there to guarantee that they'd have a sufficiently strong fraction on every subcommittee of the Congress, so that the Communist Party could guarantee that the movement which they had initiated would not slip out of their hands, that they would still remain in control of the National Negro Congress.

Well, they had such guys like myself and Richard B. Moore—well, we were the key fellows. Richard B. Moore and James W. Ford, Abner W. Berry, Samuel Patterson, Louis Thompson—well, we were the key guys in the top, and John P. Davis, John J-o-h-n, Davis D-a-v-i-s. He is secretary to Congressman Vito Marcantonio. He's a Commie. Well he was, of course, slated to be secretary—

Q. Now again, my record—for the sake of the record, every time you refer to the word "Commie" you mean a member of the Communist Party.

A. Yeah, we call them "Commies." It's just a term of ours, that's all. I don't want to dignify them too much. They—they—from the—from the resolutions you can see that they followed the Communist line throughout, because we drew up the resolutions before the Congress. Every resolution that was to be introduced, we met and we drew them up, and we just forced everybody who came there to accept our resolutions. Of course, if we had a little opposition, why tried to convince them, but if we thought we'd antagonize them too much, we'd concede them a minor point and settle it that way; but still the basic line of the Communist Party was through the whole of it.

And that was in February of 1936. We held the second Congress in Philadelphia, two years later, which was much more broadly representative than the first. The Communists were boasting about how they were able to initiate a movement. It had grown to mass proportions and had given them access to many Negro churches, fraternal, civic and social organizations with which they before had no contact. Of course, I was on the National Executive Board and Executive Committee of the Congress, and we used to have meetings from time to time, and we'd have a fraction meeting before the non-Party people came; and we used to have everything cut and dried, so that when the non-Party people came in, why, we knew just what we were going to put over. And it wasn't any use for them to bring up any proposition. We knew what we wanted to do. What they had in mind didn't concern us at all. We weren't interested. Except if they had something good that we thought was—would help us put over our line a little better.

But we had nothing but cynical contempt for the non-Party people. After all, you're just stupid individuals, you don't know anything, and we're the only wise guys. We'll tell you; you won't tell us.

But that's the sort of attitude that runs through the Communist movement from top to bottom. They are the only people in the world who are right, and everybody else is wrong. You see that every day. It's nothing new. They have the last word to say about everything.

Sometimes I marvel at the stupidity of some of us Americans who go along with them.

MR. HOUSTON: I wonder if we could recess at this point. Are you at a point where we could recess now?

THE WITNESS: Yeah, I—yes, I can, but there's one other point I want to—

MR. HOUSTON: Fine, proceed to the other point.

THE WITNESS: —I want to pass on to the third Congress which was

held in Washington, D. C. And that Congress spelled the doom of the National Negro Congress.

All during the life of the Congress, A. Phillip Randolph found himself in conflict with the Commies. He wanted to eliminate the Communist Party completely from the Congress. Well, the Communists kept on appeasing him and debating with him, and in that way they were able to delay something that would come about inevitably. So the result was that Randolph told them point blank, he said, "This is nothing but a Communist set-up; this is—the Communists have tried—have run this organization ever since its inception; when I have sought to put through propositions that I thought were in the best interests of the Negro people, you Communists have opposed it, you have fought against it, and I see that you're only using me and my prestige in this organization. I'm just a puppet. All of the strings are in your hands. You play the tune, and I have to dance." He says, "I'm sick and tired of it; I'm taking a walk. Goodbye, God bless you, and the devil miss you."

And when Randolph walked out, hundreds of other organizations who had affiliated with the National Negro Congress deserted the organization. They quit, because it was a Communist set-up.

The result is that the National Negro Congress is nothing but a narrow sectarian organization today, composed of Communists and Communist sympathizers. That's all it is today; it's just a shell of what it was. I've seen its growth from its inception and I've seen its decline.

Now the Communists are telling the—the Communist Party members and sympathizers to go now into the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

MR. HOUSTON: Can you take that up after lunch?

THE WITNESS: That's right.

(Noon Recess)

2:05 o'clock p. m.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing will be in session.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, we have a witness here that has just recently gotten out of the hospital, he's physically ill,—

*At this point a youth by the name of Norman Carpenter created a disturbance and was removed by direction of Chairman Canwell by officers of the State Patrol.*

This gentleman has traveled a considerable distance, and it's necessary that he catch a ferry to return, and I would like to ask your permission, Mr. Chairman, to temporarily recess the witness who is on the stand and place this witness on the stand. His testimony will not be long.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You may do so.

PETER HILLER, produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

#### DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

Q. Will you state your name, please?

A. Peter Hiller.

Q. How do you spell your last name?

A. H-i-l-l-e-r.