

Q. Now what were the checks for that she wanted checks?

A. Well, they—she wanted to sell a night at the Repertory Playhouse. She'd try to sell them to organizations, and she come down to sell one night, all the seats, to our local union.

Q. And you declined to take them?

A. Until she was identified as a Communist, I did.

Q. And she went out and got Rapport and came back with him then, is that correct?

A. That's right. That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: That's all, Mr. Fletcher, thank you.

(Witness Excused)

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, that concludes our witnesses for today.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will now be in recess until nine-thirty tomorrow morning.

(WHEREUPON adjournment was taken until 9:30 o'clock a. m., February 3, 1948.)

(February 3, 1948, 9:35 a. m. o'clock)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: This hearing is in session.

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

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. HOUSTON:

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you as you testify if you will bear in mind that we are recording the proceedings of this testimony, so try to speak so that one of those two "mikes" will pick up your voice.

Also when you say "yes" or "no" don't do it with a shake of the head, because the recording devices so far have been unable to record motions.

THE WITNESS: Yes, sir.

Q. Please state your name.

A. Joseph Kornfeder. K-o-r-n-f-e-d-e-r.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Kornfeder?

A. Detroit, Michigan.

Q. Are you a citizen of this country, Mr. Kornfeder?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you served in the Armed Forces of the United States of America?

A. I did.

Q. And received an honorable discharge?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you ever been known by any names other than Kornfeder?

A. Yes, I was known by the name of Zack, Z-a-c-k, my mother's maiden name.

Q. That was your—withdraw that.

Q. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was that your name within the Party?

A. That's the name I used within the Party.

Q. Is that quite common custom for Party members to take the maiden name of their mother or some near relative?

A. That's very common in the Party to use a name of mother or relative, or even just an assumed name.

Q. Now, when did you first affiliate with the Communist Party?

A. I became a member of the Party in 1919 as a result of the split in the Socialist Party. I went with that wing of the Socialist Party which broke away and formed the Communist Party.

Q. In other words, then, you are a charter member of the Communist Party in the United States of America, is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. Now where did you join the Communist Party?

A. New York City.

Q. Now will you detail for me very briefly, your activities after you joined the Party?

A. Well, I first became a unit organizer in Yorkville, New York City, and then I became a section organizer which took in all the units of the Communist Party in Yorkville and Harlem, New York City, and then I became a district organizer in New York District, and my next position was with the National Labor Union activities director of the Communist Party. After the Party was—went underground in 1920, I became one of several members of the then Secret Central Committee of the Communist Party, and I remained a member through 1920, '21 and '22 up to '23. Meanwhile the Party had come out from underground and owned itself as an open party.

Q. Now, Mr. Kornfeder, you testified that when the Party was underground from 1900 to nineteen—from 1920 to 1923, that you were a member of the Secret National Committee.

A. Yes.

Q. Was that committee also called the Political Committee, the Politbureau?

A. That was then the Politbureau of the Party.

Q. And how many members were on that Politbureau?

A. Seven.

Q. Can you name some of them at this time?

A. Yes. There was C. E. Ruthenberg, who died since then.

Q. Now, can you spell that for us?

A. R-u-t-h-e-n-b-e-r-g.

Q. Uh-hum.

A. Then there was William Wienstone, Jay Lovestone, Alexander Bittleman—

Q. Is that the Bittleman that's still connected with the Party?

A. That's right. —James Canon, Alfred Vagsnik, Edward Lindgreen, deceased—I think that's about all I recall.

Q. Now, during the period of time that this Party was underground and its operation was illegal, it continued to function through the secret apparatus of the Party, is that correct?

A. Correct.

Q. Now in 1923, when the Party came out in the open, what position did you—were you then given by the Party?

A. Well, I was on the first National Committee elected by the Party which

then called itself the Workers Party of America. And I became the labor union activities director in the east, for New York State, New Jersey, Connecticut, and so on.

Q. You were the only member of the committee that had had practical experience within the union movement previous to that, were you not?

A. At that time I was the only one that was a member of a union on the whole top committee.

Q. And as such, you were given charge then of the—that segment of the organizational work.

A. That's right.

Q. Uh-hum. Now how long did you occupy that position?

A. Up till 1927.

Q. 1927. Now, will you describe just very briefly for us what were your duties, were you propagandizing? Were you advising your members in the union? or what—what were your duties?

A. Well, the duties were to get those members of the Communist Party that belonged to a particular local union into a group and make them function as a group inside of that labor union, for the purpose of distributing their literature, propaganda, of the Communist Party, and as these groups developed the chief idea became to have them active in the politics of the particular local union and to attract to the group sympathetic elements in order to enlarge it, and then have that group seek office in that local union by putting up a slate of officers, either for all offices in the local union or for some of the offices in the local union.

Q. Now, I will ask you, Mr. Kornfeder, do you know a man by the name of William Z. Foster.

A. I do, indeed.

Q. Did he become a member of the Communist Party along about this time?

A. Foster became a member of the Communist Party in 1921.

Q. Was Mr. Foster also assigned to this trade union work?

A. Yes, he succeeded me as the National Labor Union Director of the Communist Party.

Q. Now, in nineteen hundred and—where were we, up to '25, you say? Or '27?

A. Well, this holds good for the whole period.

Q. For the whole period.

A. From '22 to '27.

Q. Now what happened in 1927?

A. 1927, I and several others were sent to Moscow to a high political school called the Lenin School, also referred to as Lenin Institute.

Q. Was your passage paid by the Communist Party?

A. Yes, my passage was paid by the Communist Party.

Q. Did you travel on an American passport?

A. Yes.

Q. In other words, you were transferred to Moscow just as though you would be transferred to Seattle or anywhere in the United States, is that right?

A. Yes, I was transferred to Russia, in this case, and became a member of the Russian Communist Party while I was in Russia.

Q. Now will you testify—will you tell us just what you did after you went to Russia?

A. Well, I attended the studies of that political university I referred to, and also became a member of several subcommittees of the Communist International.

Q. Did—

A. Specifically, it was what they call a national—I don't know how to translate that into good English—nationality secretariat perhaps would be the best term—

Q. Were you—

A. Of the Comintern, they called it the Anglo-American Secretariat.

Q. You were employed by the Anglo-American Secretariat of the Comintern?

A. Yes.

Q. Now the Comintern, was that the governing body for the Communist parties of the world?

A. Yes, the Comintern was the central body which governed all the Communist parties in every country.

Q. Did they take their orders directly from the presidium of the Soviet Government?

A. Well, the facts are that the Comintern in all its major decisions—was governed by the decisions of the Political Bureau of the Russian Communist Party, but the application of those decisions were effected by or through the presidium of the Communist International.

Q. How many members were on that presidium?

A. The presidium were, at that time, five members.

Q. Do you recall any of them that were on the presidium at that time?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you recall the names of any of them?

A. Yes. There was Molotov—

Q. Is that the present Molotov that we hear so much about—

A. That's right.

Q. —here in foreign affairs? Uh-hum.

A. And Manuelsky, who is at the present time Russian United Nations delegate representing Ukraine, and to my knowledge, he's not a Ukrainian, and then there was Kuusinen—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Pardon me, will you have him spell these names so that both our recording device and the press will get them?

MR. HOUSTON: Why, I thought the first few were so well known, but I beg your pardon.

Q. Will you go back and spell those names, Mister—

A. Kuusinen is K- double u-s-i-n-e-n.

Q. How about Manuelsky? I tried to duck that one too.

A. Manuelsky. You know my Russian is so old, it's a bit rusty. M-a-n-u-e-l-s-k-y.

Q. Is that the man Manuelsky that is presently so high in the councils of the Soviet Government?

A. That's right. The same one.

- Q. Now did you know these men personally?
- A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Did you know Mr. Molotov personally?
- A. I did.
- Q. Did you ever hear Joe Stalin describe Molotov, his reference to his ability as a filing clerk?
- A. No, it's Lenin himself—
- Q. Oh, it was Lenin?
- A. Yeah. Lenin himself described Molotov as the most perfect filing clerk in the Soviet Union.
- Q. Now, how long did you continue to function there with the Comintern?
- A. Up till 1930.
- Q. Now what happened in 1930?
- A. In 1930 I was sent as a delegate of the Comintern to South America, and I knew Spanish, and I was active in organizing the Communist Parties in Colombia and Venezuela.
- Q. You were the representative of the International Comintern, then, to these two South American countries?
- A. Yes, sir.
- Q. You were the highest official of the Communist Party in those two South American countries—
- A. That's right.
- Q. —is that correct?
- A. Yes.
- Q. While you were occupying such position did you receive orders from Moscow?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Did you receive monies from Moscow?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Would it be your testimony here that the Comintern located in Moscow, controlled those South American Parties?
- A. Oh, yes. Very definitely so.
- Q. You were responsible for all your acts and decisions to Moscow—
- A. That's right.
- Q. —is that correct?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Now just run along briefly, we'll come back and pick up portions of this—what happened there in South America? Did you get in trouble?
- A. Oh, yes. I, of course, was operating there entirely behind the scenes. Formally, I was a salesman for an office equipment firm.
- Q. Do you mean that Communists practice duplicity?
- A. Oh, of course. It couldn't be any different. I—then when I went to Venezuela, which was a country under a dictatorship with no civil liberties of any kind, after I was there about two months the secret police got wind of something stirring and one nice day a group of us were arrested, and the result of which I spent about five months or more in one of the most notorious jails in South America.
- Q. Well, did you immediately go to your bosses, the Russian Comintern and say, "Get me out of jail. I've been your servant, now take care of me"?

- A. No, well no. No, they—they did that in a better fashion. They used the United States Government to do it for them.
- Q. At that time you then became an American citizen and proud of your American citizenship, did you say, "You can't do that to me, an American"?
- A. That's right.
- Q. And did the American Consul intervene for you?
- A. He did.
- Q. Did the American Consul get you out of jail?
- A. Yes.
- Q. I see. What did you do after the American Consul got you out of this Venezuelan jail?
- A. Oh, I came back to the United States.
- Q. And did you report to the Communist headquarters in New York?
- A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Were you then given an assignment?
- A. Yes, I—I assumed the activities I had before, in the east. In charge of labor union activities.
- Q. And they immediately picked you up in the National Committee of the American Communist Party then, and put you in charge of trade union activities.
- A. That's right.
- Q. How long—you were operating in New York at that time, is that correct?
- A. That's right.
- Q. Now how long did you operate in that capacity in New York?
- A. Till 19—oh, till the end of 1932.
- Q. All right, what happened in 1932?
- A. I was transferred to Ohio.
- Q. What—pardon me.
- A. In the same type of activity.
- Q. Why were you transferred to Ohio?
- A. The main reason was, the strategic one, that the Communist Party at that time was beginning to concentrate some of its able forces into the Middle West for the purpose of organizing the basic industries there, like steel, rubber, automobiles, and so forth.
- Q. Will you—without too much effort, will you speak just a little louder? We have people here that have come quite some distance to hear your testimony, Mr. Zack.
- A. Yes.
- Q. Your testimony is that at that time the Communist Party decided to concentrate on the basic industries of the Middle West and they transferred some of their most ablest trade union organizers into that area, is that right?
- A. That's right.
- Q. And you were not the only capable man that was transferred into the Middle West at that time.
- A. That's right.
- Q. Now where did you say your headquarters were?
- A. Cleveland, Ohio.

Q. Now how many members of the Communist Party would you estimate that you had in the basic industries in your district when you took charge in 1932?

A. About three thousand.

Q. About three thousand. How many—how long did you continue in that position there in Cleveland?

A. Till 1934.

Q. 1934. Roughly two years.

A. That's right.

Q. And how many people did you have in the Communist Party in the Trade Union Movement in these basic industries in your district when you left the position in 1934?

A. There were about, slightly over six thousand organized in independent unions, and about sixteen hundred organized in infiltration groups inside of the American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods.

Q. In other words, you had doubled in two years, the number of Communists operating in the Trade Union Movement in the basic industries.

A. Well, these were not—these were not Communists. They were just workers that wanted to organize in those various fields, for the most part, and the infiltration groups in—within the American Federation of Labor were to a large proportion Communists, but most of them were also just sympathizers and others that thought that the technique of the Communist Party was very efficient from the point of view of getting into office, in the local union.

Q. Let's go back to my first question there. How many actual Communists did you have in the Trade Union Movement in your district when you first assumed that position?

A. Sixty-four.

Q. What?

A. Sixty-four.

Q. Sixty-four. Then that was incorrect when you testified you had three thousand.

A. These were Communist Party members in the whole district, most of whom were not members of any union whatsoever.

Q. That was sixty-four Communists you had in the Trade Union Movement in your district when you took the position in 1932.

A. That's right.

Q. And when you left in 1934, you had sixteen hundred, is that right?

A. Sixteen hundred inside of the American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods.

Q. And the Railroad Brotherhoods.

A. That includes sympathizers.

Q. Now will you detail just briefly for us, your activities, how did you—

A. Well,—

Q. —occupy your day, under this position you had? I have no conception of how—how you worked.

A. Well, it was a very—this activity was a very strenuous, because for the most part concerned groups operating in large plants, which were secret groups, and any blunders that were made, well they were usually costly to

someone, and the groups inside of the American Federation of Labor were also secret to an extent, namely, that in most cases it would have been bad policy to admit that these individuals were Communists. The result of this complexity is that the one in charge had usually more to do than he could usually bear. So my day was filled, in the evenings, with one meeting after the other, usually to one or two o'clock at night, and in the morning with activities in preparation of these meetings, and preparing leaflets, pamphlets, statements, outlines of policy and tactics that would be followed, and preparatory planning ahead of time and so on and so forth.

Q. Would the trade union members of the Communist Party call you for instructions?

A. Oh yes, I had several telephones, and they were always busy. Any new tactical move, like the Party is so centralized that the authority and strategy and tactics is concentrated in the individual that's in charge, so as a rule—as a habit, they would not make any move of any consequence without getting an okeh first.

Q. That's within the Trade Union Movement?

A. That's right.

Q. Would they even call you while union meetings were in progress, would they call you for instructions?

A. If anything unusual happened in their local union, one of the members would make his way to a telephone, and call me. And if I couldn't answer right away, because I had to have a little time to think over the subject, I would usually tell them to call back in five minutes.

Q. And you would then issue them instructions.

A. That's right.

Q. And would they carry them out undeviatingly?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Now is that a sample of the pattern of the operation of the Communist Party within the Trade Union Movement? Was that true over other parts of the country?

A. Oh yes, that's the general pattern, yes.

Q. Now what happened in 1934, Mr. Kornfeder?

A. In 1934 the Party made one of its numerous switches of policy, and it is easier to make switches of policy with just Party members that do not operate inside of any labor organization than it is in a labor union. So I refused to go along with the new switch—of course, that was not the only reason the—but that was the immediate reason of me defying the Party. The more basic reason was that ever since I had been in Russia, I was, as it were, mentally nervous over the whole Communist movement. So when this particular switch of policy occurred, I thought this was a good occasion for me to quit the whole thing. As a matter of fact, one of the reasons why I remained even longer, was that I wanted to get my wife and kid out of Russia, which I hadn't succeeded to do before that.

Q. Was your wife an American citizen?

A. Yes.

Q. Was your child born in the United States of America?

A. Yes, it was born in New York City.

Q. Had you taken them to Russia with you when you went there in 1927?

A. Yes, they followed me a few months after.

Q. Now did they remain in Russia when you were assigned to South America?

A. Yes, they remained there with the idea of coming back to the United States when I would return from South America.

Q. You were told you couldn't take them to South America.

A. That's right.

Q. Now, did you make an attempt to get your wife and child after you returned to the United States from South America?

A. Oh yes, I made several attempts through Earl Browder, who was then the secretary of the Party.

Q. Did Earl Browder tell you he would get your child—your wife and child out of Russia for you?

A. Yeah, he definitely promised in return for a favor, a rather unusual favor, that I did him.

Q. Well, tell us, what favor did you do Earl Browder?

A. Well, while I was in South America, some of the money to finance the activities of the Communist Parties there were supposed to come from Moscow through the hands of Browder. And, well the money didn't come through always, and in many instances was short of the figure allowed for the purpose. And I never received an explanation until I came back to the United States. Then one day Browder, before going to Moscow on his periodical trips for instruction, he handed me a batch of receipts to sign, amounting to about fifteen hundred dollars, and I said, "Well, I won't sign those, as I didn't get the money." So he says, "Well, we've been friends for such a long time"—

Q. Can you raise your voice a little, Mr. Zack?

A. Yes, excuse me. So Browder said, "We've been friends for such a long time, you're not going to break with me on account of that," and so on. Well, so, I says, "Well, okeh, provided you do one thing for me. You arrange for an exit visa for my wife and kid out of Russia, and bring them along on your return from Russia here." So he promised to do that. Of course, he never fulfilled the promise. He came back without them.

Q. Well now, just a moment. Did you sign the receipts?

A. I signed the receipts, yeah.

Q. That whitewashed him.

A. That whitewashed him. That's what I—

Q. And admitted receiving—and admitted receiving money to finance the Communist Party activities in Colombia and Venezuela which you had never received.

A. That's right.

Q. Which Earl Browder had withheld.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And in turn for your signing the receipts and clearing Earl Browder's skirts, he was to get your wife and child out of Russia.

A. That's right.

Q. Did he fulfill his part of the bargain?

A. No.

Q. That wasn't smart on your part, was it?

A. No. No, it wasn't. I wasn't yet sufficiently wise to the tricks inside of the Communist Party. I would be very much suspicious of all the alleged

enemies outside of the movement, but inside of the movement I thought there were, at least between comrades, some ethics, so I signed the receipts before he delivered his promise.

Q. And Earl Browder didn't keep that promise.

A. No.

Q. Is that a pattern used by the Communist Party to withhold relatives and others as hostages to keep people in line?

A. Yeah, that's since Stalin became the boss of the Communist Party in Russia, that became the general practice.

Q. Even among trusted Communist Party members.

A. Yes, if a Communist Party member is suspected and arrested in Russia, as a rule all his relatives are also arrested.

Q. Even though they have nothing to do with the occasion for which he is suspected, is that right?

A. That's right.

Q. Is that a common practice in Russia to this day?

A. Oh, certainly.

Q. Well, did you ever get your wife and child out of Russia?

A. No.

Q. Did you subsequently go to anybody besides Browder?

A. Oh yes, I made a complaint to the United States State Department, and after some time they instructed the American Ambassador in Moscow to inquire of the Russian Government on the subject, and the reply given by the Commissariat of the Foreign Affairs was that they do not know the whereabouts of the persons complained about, which had been a stock answer on cases of this type prior, and since.

Q. Well, did the State Department advise you to this effect?

A. Yes.

Q. Well, did you do anything further after the State Department gave it up. You were a Communist and you knew how they did things. Did you have any tricks in your bag?

A. Oh, I wasn't any more in the Party then, but I—I did something that only a Communist could think of. I sent a letter to her address in southern Russia, which I knew the political police would read because they read every piece of mail that comes from outside of Russia. And in that letter I threatened to ask the United States Government to look into this here matter and take action to liberate my wife and kid from the clutches of the Soviet Government, and just as I expected—they must have read that letter, because later on I received a reply to it in the handwriting of my wife, but the letter did not come from the locality where she was living. Apparently she, like was the custom, had been arrested after they found out that I had quit the Party. And the letter must have been sent from one of those—the concentration camps because there was no postmark on it. All letters sent from concentration camps in Russia carry no postmark of the location. So that the location of the concentration camp remains a secret to the relatives.

That letter said that she don't want to have anything for to do with me, I had betrayed the Party, and so on and so forth. And the letter inside did not bear, also, the customary location from which it is sent. And the cancellation postmark on the envelope was partly obliterated so that you could not identify

the neighboring town of the concentration camp where it may have been mailed from.

Q. Did you send that letter, then, to the State Department and say, "Here, they have located her. Can you find out where she is now?"

A. That's right. I sent that letter to the State Department after having made a photostat myself, and—well, I did not hear any further about it, so about a year later I insisted on the return of this letter as a souvenir, because that was the last letter I had from my wife. So they returned it to me, but the remaining part of the cancellation postmark had meanwhile been obliterated from the envelope, apparently by the group of the Party that operates inside of the State Department.

Q. In other words, they had further obliterated this postmark which was originally half obliterated from Russia, is that right?

A. That's right. And I made a complaint about that, pointing out to the State Department, in my opinion, it was very unusual that somebody can get at the files and obliterate evidence and return it back into the file with the evidence eliminated.

Q. Was there a cell of Communists operating within the State Department at that time?

A. The Party had a group operating in Washington, to my knowledge, as early as 1930, and they were all, of course, in various government departments. How large, I don't know, I never had anything direct to do with that group, but I know it existed.

Q. Now, I don't want to go too deep into this. Did you subsequently hear of your wife from other sources?

A. Yes.

Q. And what did you hear?

A. I did not hear directly of her, but some of the visitors that went there as tourists and with whom I was friends, they found out that she had been arrested in 1936, as a result of me quitting the Party in the United States.

Q. Had she been writing to you all this time?

A. I received, oh, about two letters, one of them from somebody that went to Russia, and this other one that I just referred to before.

Q. Yes, but did you receive information from any source that she was regularly writing to you?

A. Yes. That was the same person that took that letter from her to the United States, said that she was writing to me regularly, and she was very frantic that she did not receive any reply, and I was equally frantic because I was writing her all the time and I did not receive her mail.

Q. You were writing her and she wasn't getting your letters, and she was writing you and you weren't getting your letters.

A. That's right. Of course, I can only account for that in one way, and that is that all mail written in Russia to outside of Russia, or coming from outside of Russia into Russia, goes to a special section of the post office, which section is the political police assigned to the post office department in Russia, and very often it simply gets lost there, or sometimes not transmitted deliberately. Probably in this case, whoever the individual was in the political police in the post office department decided not to allow our mail to reach either way, see? Why, I don't know.

Q. And you have never since seen or heard of your wife or child.

A. That's right.

Q. Is this a general pattern of the system that the Communists use throughout the world to keep a good close rein on their workers?

A. Oh yes, it certainly is, and much worse. I think I was still on the easy side of it.

Q. It is much worse than that even, eh? Now, Mr. Zack, when we contacted you in December, we asked you certain questions pertaining to the organization, objects and purposes, and the machinery of the Comintern. Are you prepared at this time to ask—answer the questions we submitted to you?

A. Yes, I prepared what I consider a rather careful analysis of the Communist International set-up as it operates from Moscow, and with the indulgence of the committee I would rather prefer to read it. However, if questions are asked as I read it—

Q. I'll ask you one question first, Mr. Zack. I do want to get this in. When you joined the Communist Party were you required to subscribe to an oath?

A. When I joined there were no oaths.

Q. Did they subsequently have to subscribe to an oath upon joining the Communist Party?

A. Oh yes. Yes.

Q. Do you know what that oath is?

A. Yeah, generally.

Q. Is this the oath that every Communist has to subscribe to: "I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, the land of victorious Socialism. I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the Communist Party, the only line that insures triumph of Soviet power in the United States."

Is that the oath?

A. Oh, yes. That's the position that every Communist has to pledge himself to, in order to become a Party member. Oh yes, very distinctly so.

Q. Now, just one or two questions before we come back to the prepared questions I gave you. In the event of war between the United States and the Soviet Union, whom did you pledge to support?

A. Soviet Russia.

Q. And it's your testimony here, as a high functionary of the Communist Party, that there is no doubt or misunderstanding about that, that a Communist is pledged loyalty to the Soviet Union in the event of war?

A. The loyalty of a Communist Party member is first, last, in case of war between his country and the Soviet Union, is to the Soviet Union.

Q. The Communist Party, then, is a definite Fifth Column in the United States, is that your testimony?

A. It will operate in the interests of the Soviet Union in case of a war, yes.

Q. Now we had a committee of Congress of the United States of America here, made a unanimous report in which they declared that the Communist Party of the United States of America is the agency of a foreign power. Can you testify of your own knowledge as to whether that is a correct statement or not?

A. It's absolutely correct. No doubt about it.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, Mr. Chairman, do you wish to recess now, or start with the prepared statement which is considerable in length in response to definite questions that we asked Mr. Zack.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Well, let's recess for about five minutes then.
(Recess)

Q. Mr. Kornfeder, just before we start with your answers to the questions I submitted to you, there are one or two questions I do want to ask you. Do you know a gentleman by the name, or have you heard in Party circles of a gentleman by the name of Harry Bridges?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. Uh-hum.

A. Yes.

Q. While you were a member of the Party, did you have any discussion with the high officials of the Communist Party concerning Mr. Bridges?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. With whom was this discussion held?

A. With Earl Browder who was then the General Secretary of the Party.

Q. Where was this discussion held?

A. It was in Cleveland. He was then on his way back from San Francisco to New York, about the time when the general strike took place in Frisco.

Q. What was this discussion, Mr. Kornfeder.

A. Well, being active in the labor union field, I was of course very much interested about the details and organization of that general strike in San Francisco. And Browder told me that he had been out there for three weeks on matters of policy connected with that general strike, and that he had met recently with Harry Bridges, so I wanted to know what Bridges' status is with the Party here. And Browder told me that—that Bridges is a bit rambunctious, not very disciplined yet, but that he's the most valuable comrade that the Party has in that area at that time.

Q. Now at the time Mr. Browder made this statement, he was the leading open functionary of the Communist Party in the United States?

A. Yeah, he was the General Secretary.

Q. And at that time, you were a high Communist dignitary in charge of the Trade Union activities in the Cleveland area.

A. Yes.

Q. And the communication came between you two as Communist functionaries.

A. Yes. Well, I saw him personally.

Q. You saw Mr. Browder personally.

A. Yes, that's how we got into conversation on the subject.

Q. Just one or two further questions. Some names have come up about some people in New York. You've testified that you were in charge of trade union activities in New York, is that correct?

A. That's right.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Jay Rubin?

A. Oh, yes. I do.

Q. Who is Mr. Jay Rubin?

A. Jay Rubin was one of my lieutenants in the labor union activities, in

fact I pulled him out of the Party in the Bronx, and assigned him to the Food Workers.

Q. You assigned him to the Food Workers.

A. Yes.

Q. And he was a member of the Party at that time.

A. He was a member of the Party at that time. He was originally an upholsterer by trade. He never was a Food Worker.

Q. He never was a Food Worker.

A. No.

Q. But you put him in this Food Workers Union?

A. I put him in the Food Workers Union because I thought he was a capable fellow.

Q. And he's gone quite high in that union.

A. That's right.

Q. He followed the Communist Party line all the time?

A. Oh, yes. Yes.

Q. And at the time of your leaving the Party, you can testify of your own knowledge he was a member of the Party.

A. Yes, yes.

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

A. Yes, I know Steubin. That's his Party name, Steubin.

Q. What is his real name?

A. His real name is Rijak, R-i-j-a-k.

Q. That is his real name, but he's known as Steubin.

A. That's right.

Q. Well now, who's Mr. Steubin?

A. Well Steubin was at the time I was in charge of the labor union activities of the Party in the east, he was one of my assistants. He was supposed to pay special attention to the youth element in the labor union field. He was with me in the same office.

Q. In the same office with you. Do you know with what union he is now connected?

A. Well, I only recently heard that he was in the Building Service Employees.

Q. Building Service Employees Union. Now I will ask you to consider the questions concerning the Comintern that we asked you in December. Are you prepared now at this time to—

A. Yes sir.

Q. —to answer those questions. I think the first question we asked you was to explain the Marxist-Leninist-Anglo-Stalin line.

A. Well, that's—that's quite a chop suey.

Q. Well, I've looked at it all together. Suppose you just go ahead, the questions we asked you, which you have prepared here in your statement.

A. What should I—just that one, or—

Q. No, that's all-inclusive, I think, in your answer here. Suppose you just read it now, which is really about the Comintern.

A. Nikolai Lenin differed from other European Socialists of his day as to the methods to be used and character of the organization necessary to achieve

the Socialist revolution. This historical split in the Social Democratic Party of Russia, in exile, occurred in 1903 in London when thirty-six Russian exiles and refugees held a conference after being driven out of Brussels by the police. The great theoretical leaders of the Russian Party, Plekhanov and Martov—

Q. Now can you spell those names, for the record?

A. Yes. P-l-e-k-h-a-n-o-v and M-a-r-t-o-v. Plekhanov and Martov were present. Lenin and his wife succeeded in winning over a majority of the assembled revolutionaries, 24 to 12, defeating Martov and Plekhanov on a bit of theoretical hair-splitting over who should be considered a member of the Party. Lenin and his faction strenuously argued for a small, highly disciplined "trained revolutionary" type of membership. Martov and Plekhanov insisted on a more liberal definition in order not to exclude conscientious and devoted working-class elements who could not qualify for the semi-military, disciplined revolutionary category. Lenin won and triumphantly called his faction of twenty-four the "Bolshoi" or majority, from whence originates the appellation of Bolshevik.

By 1915 he had worked out in his mind a rudimentary idea of the necessity of forming a world international of all social revolutionaries as a result of the famous Zimmerwald Conference that summer in Switzerland.

Q. How do you spell Zimmerwald?

A. Z-i- double m-e-r-w-a-l-d.

The Communist International was formed four years later in Moscow as soon as the pressing problems of the civil war resulting from the Bolshevik seizure of power in 1917 had subsided somewhat. Ample histories exist covering the founding and subsequent history of the Comintern. It will therefore be noted that Lenin's concept of the Comintern was born out of his bitter and unrelenting opposition to the slightest democratic tendencies in his own Social Democratic party of Russia. He regarded all these tendencies as soft, and a betrayal of the revolution. He had himself been hardened and steeled in his revolutionary fanaticism by the hanging of his older brother in the '80's for an attempted assassination of the Czar. It will be noted that all true Bolsheviks adopted hard names in the Party, to emphasize that they were men of steel—ruthless, inflexible. Joseph Vissarionovitch Djughashvili—

Q. I'm sure going to ask you to spell that one.

A. —adopted the Party name of Steel—Stalin. The real name of Stalin is Josef Vissarionovitch Djughashvili. Do you want me to spell that?

Q. I think that would be good to spell it into the record.

A. All right.

Q. I could never spell it.

A. V-i- double s-a-r-i-o-n-o-v-i-t-c-h Djughashvili, D-j-u-g-a-s-h-v-i-l-i. Molotov which is the Russian name for hammer, etc. Even American Communists followed this classic Bolshevik pattern. Dale Zysman became Jack Hardy, Spiro became Marlen—first three letters of Marx and Lenin—etc.

The Comintern outside of Russia now claims sixteen million members scattered literally over the globe with only Eskimos, Patagonians, and a few primitive African and Asiatic tribes free of infiltration. The Comintern, as such, has naturally become the world's greatest and most far-flung espionage network. Where there are five Communists, it is safe to assume that at least one, if not more, is a Soviet spy. The Comintern therefore enjoys surveillance over every phase and aspect of life in practically every civilized and semi-

civilized land on the globe. A British member of Parliament, a Chilean miner, a Hindu merchant, an American labor leader, a Chinese peasant, or a South American artisan, if a Communist, open or secret, may be a member or cooperate with the Soviet Intelligence network as was so dramatically demonstrated in the Canadian spy disclosures three years ago.

This special arm of the Soviet dictatorship, whose growth, techniques and inner workings I shall now explain, is the most remarkable Fifth Column ever possessed by any great power in all history. When this great power is admittedly embarked on a program of world conquest the true implications of the Comintern become alarmingly apparent.

Q. I don't want to inconvenience you, but if you can, will you keep your voice as high as you can?

A. The Comintern's System of Training Personnel: The cohesion and considerable effectiveness of the international Communist machine under Stalin could hardly be understood without taking into account the network of training centers through which thousands of Communists from foreign countries are turned out yearly. The expenses of these training centers, food, clothing, salaries for staffs, salaries for all the thousands of students during their stay in Russia, and the traveling expenses of to and from Russia, are paid by the Soviet treasury, either directly or in some cases through the intermediary of the Comintern. As an illustration of what is taught in these schools, we will elaborate on the curriculum of the Lenin School.

Q. Now this is the school that you attended.

A. That's right. The Lenin School takes in about from two hundred to five hundred persons. The curriculum includes:

Economics: The economics taught are those of Marxian variety, and also includes dissertations on the economics like Ricardo, Smith, and others, analyzed from a Marxian point of view.

Philosophy: Again from a Marxian point of view, including such philosophers as Malthus, Hegel, Kant, Mill and others.

Organization: This includes the various forms of political organization necessary amongst the laboring classes, peasants, farmers, middle-classes, and the bourgeoisie—capitalists. The emphasis is, of course, on the organization amongst the laboring classes.

Politics: This includes the study of various political systems from the time of barbarian forms of state organization based on tribes, down to feudalism; then the capitalistic form of social organization, both the pure capitalistic form and the mixed forms like those existing in countries like China, up to the Soviet form, which is considered the latest and most superior form of political organization.

Trade and Industrial Forms of Organization: This includes all the various forms of labor union organization from the time of the guild system, the craft union based on skilled crafts, up to the modern form of industrial organization applicable to modern mass production industries like steel, mining, automobiles, etc.

Party Organization: This includes the organization of the Communist Party as a government party, running through control of government, all phases of social and economic life and production, and the Communist Party as an opposition organization in capitalistic or semi-capitalistic countries, where the task is to do away with existing government and social relations and establish the Communist Party in power.

Agrarian Problem: A special study is made of the various forms of agriculture from the feudal and semi-feudal type to the modern capitalistic type as exists in the United States, and the difference in organizational approach towards this type of population.

Military Organization: A course is given of about three months' duration by Red Army officers on the problems of military organization, beginning with the problem of organizing small combat groups, to the organization of a Red Guard, and from there to the problem of transforming local Red Guard organizations into regular army formations. The course includes the problems involved in the capture of strategic government buildings, communications centers, and the destruction of select units upon which the government to be attacked could rely. It also includes the problems of forming, after capture, regular army formations, the organizational composition of this type of army formation, to other allied problems of ballistics, military topography, etc. Part of the course is practical training in the handling of rifles, machine guns, hand grenades, small artillery, and military transport. A course is given in the handling, also, of railway engines for the purposes of wrecking railway communications.

After termination of the school semester, the students are required to write a treatise on a subject selected by them, to show how well they absorbed the training. The teaching staff is composed of exiled Communists, residing in Russia, who had teaching experience in the various subjects like economics, philosophy, labor history, etc. In the Lenin School there were German professors, Hungarians, Italians, and some Russians.

A course was also given in the History and Organization of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Bolshevik Union. This included a thorough study of the policies, programs, methods, and organization technique of the Russian Communist Party from the time of the Czars through the period of Russian revolution and to its present date.

The purpose of the Lenin School and other political schools is to train leaders for the Communist Parties in the more advanced countries like Germany, France, England, Italy, the United States, etc. These students, upon completion of their training in Moscow, return to their home countries and are assigned to executive and other positions such as editors of Party papers, regional directors of Party organizations, propaganda specialists, and other positions that the Party may deem fit to use them for.

All the schools herein mentioned are political training schools. Ninety per cent of the students are supplied by the Parties outside of Russia, and ten per cent by the Russian Communist Party. The Russians thus trained are later assigned for work outside of Russia, usually in directive position, or are used for the headquarters staff of the Comintern in Moscow or at the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, etc. They are obliged to learn at least one language in addition to their own.

Some of the major schools, in addition to the Lenin School are:

The Academy of Red Professors: This school turns out about two hundred high politicians a year, comparable in Stalin's scheme of foreign politics to high staff officers in an army corps. The course is of seven years' duration. Each of the major parties, in some instances even the lesser ones, have a few assigned to them.

Q. Mr. Kornfeder, this is so ably put together that I hate to interrupt you, and I'll come back over, and hold my questions as much as I can, but there is

one that did occur to me. Each of the major parties—by that just what do you mean?

A. A major party may be one who is either numerically strong, or which operates in a major country.

Q. You're referring to—

A. And therefore is of political importance to the Soviet regime.

Q. In other words, you're referring at all times to the Communist Party, and this is divisions of them in the different countries.

A. That's right. That's right.

Q. Thank you, and I'll try not to interrupt you until you conclude now.

A. Oh, I don't mind interruptions. They're all right. The Academy of Red Professors: This school turns out about—oh, I read that. I beg your pardon.

Q. The Eastern University.

A. The Eastern University: This school has expanded and grown considerably in the course of years and turns out from sixteen hundred to three thousand students each year, recruited from China, Mongolia, and Manchuria, as well as from Korea. The training is similar to that of the Lenin School, with emphasis on the peculiar agrarian and other problems existing in those areas, and a more thorough training in military matters than is given at the Lenin School. Much of the trained personnel of the Chinese and Mongolian Communist Parties was trained at the Eastern University. The students thus trained, after returning to their respective countries, in turn teach what they have learned to local groups.

The Western University: This school takes in Communist students from Baltic countries, Poland, and the Balkans. The number trained yearly varies from eight hundred to fifteen hundred. The curriculum is similar to that of the Lenin School, with emphasis upon the agrarian problems of the countries above referred to. The military training in this school is also more substantial than that in the Lenin School.

Leningrad: Leningrad has a political school specializing in the training of personnel for the Secret Service in foreign countries. The representation of Russian students in this school is at times as high as thirty per cent. The political training is similar to that of the Lenin School, with emphasis on the problems of the Russian Secret Service, particularly military and economic espionage, and sabotage. The training in military arts is also of a higher caliber. The number of men turned out there is estimated to be from eight to twelve hundred per year.

Tiflis, in southern Russia: Tiflis has a school of a character similar to the one in Leningrad, with emphasis on the political and Secret Service problems in the Near East.

Vladivostok: Vladivostok has a school similar to the one at Tiflis, which trains personnel for Japan, Korea, Indonesia, Siam, and other countries in the Far East.

The training system for activities in foreign countries has been constantly in a process of expansion, and there undoubtedly are by this time additional schools. The former facilities have very probably been greatly expanded both in Russia and its satellites. The total number of trained personnel turned out in these schools over a period of twenty years, conservatively estimated, must be not less than fifty thousand.

These students, when they return, are usually placed in directive positions

as above indicated, and form the real core of the whole international Communist organization.

Q. They go back to the country from which they came, after they graduate.

A. That's right.

The Communist International, also known as the Comintern: The Communist International, hereafter referred to as the Comintern, is a world combination of all the Communist Parties of the five continents. Periodically these Communist Parties used to meet in a world congress to which all of them sent delegates and which was always held in Moscow. These congresses would elect the Executive Committee of the Communist International, generally known as the ECCI. The Executive Committee ran the whole business of the Communist International between the world congresses. The principal Parties affiliated with the Comintern were the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the German, Chinese, and French Communist Parties. The Communist Party of the United States has only assumed a rank of major importance in recent years. The official languages of the Comintern were Russian, German, French, English, Spanish and Chinese. The program of the Communist International, which called for the destruction of all capitalistic or semi-capitalistic governments and forms of economy, was adopted in Lenin's time, 1921-23. The constitution and by-laws were adopted five years later. This, officially was the structure of the Comintern:

Considering, however, that the official structure gives very little insight into the actual operations of the Comintern, it is necessary to speak mainly of the unofficial facts behind the formal set-up. According to the formal constitution, which is very little known and much less practiced, the income of the Comintern is supposed to be derived from the dues payments of the various affiliated Parties. Actually, no dues are paid by the affiliated Parties of the Comintern, with the exception of the Russian Communist Party. Not only are no dues paid, but the Parties outside of Russia are heavily subsidized by the Comintern, which derives its funds from the Russian Government.

The practical functioning of the Comintern's headquarters in Moscow is entirely in the hands of the Russian Communist Party, which is in complete control of the Soviet Government. This control is not to be confused with Party control in democratic countries. In Russia, the control of the Communist Party over the Government is such that the term "Government" is in fact a fig leaf for the Communist Party, which is in every sense the actual and permanent government. Even the 1936 constitution, which some people assume has democratic features, does not recognize and in fact prohibits the candidacy of anyone except members of the Communist Party for public office.

The Russian Party, known officially as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) supplies all the main and also most of the technical personnel at the Comintern headquarters. The Comintern headquarters building is about the size of the building of the State Department in Washington. The rest of the personnel is supplied by the foreign Communist Parties. Said parties send permanent representatives, who become employees of the Comintern for the duration of their stay in Russia, and also the technical personnel in the form of translators, typists, stenographers, and editors for the non-Russian language publications issued by the Comintern. The Comintern's activities are divided into a number of main departments:

Organization Department: This department not only devises new organization methods and tactics for all the affiliated Communist Parties, but super-

vises also the appointment of the main personnel of the various Communist Parties. Thus a Party member in the United States who is appointed, let us say, as district organizer for the Chicago Area, would have to have the okeh of the organization department in Moscow even if previously approved by the Comintern delegate resident in the United States.

Agitation and Propaganda Department, commonly called Agit-Prop: This department devises all the agitation and publicity methods for the various affiliated Communist Parties, and supervises also the publication of books and pamphlets for those Parties, and has practical control over the entire Communist Party press in foreign countries. This department also has considerable authority over the appointment of the heads of the Agitation-Propaganda departments of the various Communist Parties and their editors. The Agit-Prop department also supervises and controls the various training schools for foreign Communists in Moscow and the foreign countries.

Trade Union Department: After the abolition of the Red Trades Union International, then known as the Profintern, this department took over direction of all the trade and industrial union activities formerly exercised by the Profintern, including the decision as to what industries are to be considered concentration points in foreign countries, recommendations as to subsidies to carry on the concentration of these activities, and the selection of leading personnel for such activities in foreign countries. The reader will notice that only the foreign parties are spoken of. The reason for this is that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, although part and chief backer and financier of the Comintern, was at no time under the control or direction of the Comintern. None of its problems or affairs ever comes up for decision at Comintern headquarters. On the contrary, as will be seen later, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the one that decides behind the scenes the affairs of the Comintern and controls it completely.

In addition to these main departments at Comintern headquarters, there are what are known as Regional Secretariats on a global scale. Such secretariats exist for: (a) coordination of activities in Spain and Latin America; (b) coordination of activities in all parts of the British Empire, with emphasis upon India; (c) coordination of activities in the United States, Canada, and Japan; (d) coordination of activities in Central Europe, principally Germany, Austria and Switzerland; (e) Far-Eastern Secretariat for China, Mongolia, Indonesia, Siam, etc. This does not give a complete list of all the Secretariats, but may serve the purpose of illustrating the division of labor.

These Secretariats usually are located outside of Russia; thus, the Secretariat for Central Europe used to be located in Berlin, the one connecting a certain type of activities in the United States and Japan had been transferred within the last few years to San Francisco. The one handling Far Eastern affairs was at one time in Shanghai; the one coordinating the activities in France and the French Empire was in Paris, etc.

The OMSK: The activities of the Comintern and its affiliated Parties are of a dual character. On the one hand there are the activities displayed in public in those countries where Communist Parties are allowed to operate legally, and on the other hand there are the conspirative or secret activities which form a part of all Parties and which are coordinated through the secret department of the Comintern called the OMSK.

The secret department connecting with the Soviet Government's foreign intelligence services and coordinating the Communist Parties with it. This department takes care of the short-wave radio system for secret communica-

tions of the Comintern and the affiliated Parties, the smuggling of propaganda materials into foreign countries where such cannot be legally imported, the smuggling of equipment for turning out propaganda in those countries, such as mimeographs, rotographs, miniature printing presses, and also armaments in those countries where such is considered timely and necessary. The existence of this department is, of course, not known, except to the narrow circle that comes in direct contact with it. OMSK also handles the comings and goings of all Comintern agents or delegates of foreign Parties, to and from Russia, and the financial arrangements connected therewith.

Stalin's Relations with the Comintern: The first attempt of Stalin in international politics dates back to 1926. Before that time he was known only in Russian circles. In Lenin's time his assignments even when on military matters during the Revolution were almost always of an organizational character. Very often his assignments were of the tough variety. In the days of the Czarist regime, Stalin was the leader of the expropriation squad—they have a nice name for bank robbery. They call it expropriation squad, because the expropriation squad had the job of getting extra funds for the Communist Party of Russia by assaulting convoys and making assaults of isolated branches of the banking systems. Stalin was the leader of that.

Stalin was the leader of the expropriation squad whose duty it was to procure funds for the Bolshevik Party by assaults on bank convoys and other places where money or other valuables could be obtained. Even when Lenin made him Secretary of the Central Committee in the early years of Bolshevik power, that position was then considered a technical administrative job of subordinate character.

After Lenin's death Stalin, as Secretary of the Central Committee, found himself in a position where he could really utilize his own peculiar talents. A fight soon developed between the major intellectuals of the Bolshevik Party, like Bucharin, Trotsky, Rykoff, Rakowsky, Smirnoff, Zinovieff, and others of which he took advantage by first siding with the Bucharin faction against the Trotsky group, and later liquidating the Bucharin faction in turn. In the course of this fight, Stalin received his first international assignment, which was to handle the Comintern's politics in China.

This assignment was due to the then nascent Nationalist movement in China under Sun Yat-Sen, and the Nationalist Party then known as Kuo Min Tang. Stalin felt more confident in Asiatic politics than in European affairs. The big intellectuals, who then still were the guiding stars of the Bolshevik Party, agreed to this assignment for Stalin, because they thought that this would finish Stalin as a meddler in international affairs. You see, Stalin was not an intellectual; he was considered as a—in matters of theory and broad policy, sort of an idiocracy, so they thought he would break his neck on politics in China.

Since that time China has become and has remained Stalin's personal political interest. The affairs of the Chinese Communist Party have disappeared from the agenda of the Comintern since the early part of 1928, because Stalin personally is in charge of it. The only reason for their appearance on the agenda then, 1928, was that the Bucharin Faction, which still had considerable strength in the Political Bureau of the Russian Communist Party forced it on the agenda with the purposes of discrediting Stalin and eliminating him not only from the international politics but also in the Councils of the Russian Communist Party.

One of the intellectuals, Luminadsy, who was Stalin's personal plenipotentiary in China and upon whom Stalin succeeded in unloading much of his own blame for the then current debacle of Communist affairs in China, committed suicide as a result of it. Stalin came very near an eclipse in his career as a result of being outwitted by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek and his associates at that time. He survived the crisis by a narrow margin. This struggle confirmed him in his antagonisms towards the big intellectuals of the Bolshevik Old Guard, whom he since has liquidated. Stalin continued to be personally in charge of Chinese affairs and has a long standing score to settle with Chiang Kai-Chek. Since 1928 Stalin has done a lot to maneuver the Communists of China into a strong position again, and it would undoubtedly be one of his greatest personal satisfactions to polish off Chiang Kai-Shek and his circle in an endeavor to obtain control over China.

After 1928 Stalin began, step by step, to take over the affairs of the Comintern, and by 1929 he had the intellectuals around the Bucharin group eliminated, not only from the affairs of the Russian Communist Party, but even from the affairs of the Comintern. In 1929 he took over personal control of the German Communist Party, and that Party's affairs disappeared from the Comintern agenda. About that year he also began to take a deep interest in the affairs of the Communist Party of the United States. The direct handling of these affairs in the United States, however, was given to Molotov. Molotov's experience in international affairs dates from that assignment.

So when our Secretary of State meets Molotov, the foreign diplomat, he meets the same gentleman that is manipulating all the subversive activities in the United States. Of course, he doesn't know it. Maybe he does. I don't know.

The Comintern originally was not the huge, well-organized machine that it is today, with functioning departments, bureaus, coordinated public and secret activities, etc. It became such gradually, as a result of experience and the creation of trained personnel. Even Stalin, when he got into the international phase of Bolshevik politics, started it as a side occupation to his main labors in Russia. However, in proportion as the big intellectuals of the Old Guard were eliminated, political authority became centered in the person of Stalin not only in Russia, but also in international affairs, Stalin developed around him a mechanism which later was to supplant the Comintern itself.

This was in the form of appointing personal secretaries directly responsible to him alone, who were to keep him informed and advise him on affairs of the major Communist Parties. Thus, he would have a secretary who would preoccupy himself entirely with German affairs and who would see to it that Stalin's wishes, organizationally and practically, were carried out in the German Communist Party. He would have a Secretary on Chinese Affairs who would perform the same functions, etc. These secretaries, in turn, could have their own assistants. Through them he was also able to coordinate the activities of the Communist Parties with the activities of the Soviet Government's intelligence services, trading apparatus, and diplomatic services. This personal apparatus of Stalin's for international affairs and its role were never mentioned in Comintern circles and were known only to those who were personally involved or directly affected by its activities. This apparatus of Stalin's is the mechanism that now substitutes for the old Comintern, and it has most likely been considerably extended.

The Secret Apparatus of the Comintern: Although we frequently speak here of the Comintern which has recently been dissolved by Stalin and still

more recently reappeared as the Cominform Bureau, we do so only because in fact the Comintern's dissolution was only a pretense. The only thing that has been dissolved is the autonomous or semi-autonomous set-up which now has ceased to function as the Comintern, and whose labors have been absorbed by Stalin's secret personal machinery above referred to.

Some more about the OMSK.

Q. That's the O.M.S.K.

A. That's the O.M.S.K. The secret apparatus of the Comintern interlinks, of course, with that of the Soviet Government. At the same time, there is a differentiation in their functions. There is, for instance, the conspiratorial activity of the Communist Party amongst the armed forces. This activity is treated with considerable attention in countries that have large conscript armies as was the case in France. The activities of the French Communist Party in the French Army, both along the lines of clandestine agitation and organization inside the regiments, was very extensive and was used as a model for similar activities in other countries. The activities inside the army formed a separate branch of the party, headed by a secret military committee of the Party.

We have one in the American Communist Party since 1932.

Side by side with that, there was in France the Soviet Government's military intelligence, also secret of course, which connected with the Party's secret activities in the army through the head of the military committee of the Party.

In countries like the United States that are non-militarist and where the army didn't amount to much, Stalin did not have the same interest in military affairs, at that time, as was the case with France or Germany, and Russia's military intelligence in the United States was not important. On the other hand, the Soviet's technical espionage and information service is very highly developed in the United States. In such cases the Communist Party takes a tremendous interest in organizing technicians, chemists, draftsmen, etc., if possible, into an open organization. The Soviet's secret intelligence apparatus, operating in this case to obtain the secret formulas and technical designs and devices of American industry, makes contact with such a union of technicians and secretly obtains much of its personnel and information through it.

The conspiratorial activities of the various Communist Parties are, of course, not merely a matter of convenience to the intelligence services of Stalin's Government. Beyond these services is the disintegration and demoralization work within the armed forces of those countries which may be considered potential enemies of the Soviet Government. Still beyond this lies the main object, which is to create a combat force for the purpose of overthrowing said foreign Government if and when the proper time and need for it arises.

One of the most important parts of the Comintern's conspiratorial activities is the work with maritime personnel. An enormous investment has been made in organizing and penetrating said personnel with the ostensible purpose of improving their working conditions and standards of living.

The idea behind that, however, is primarily directed against the maritime powers, those with big navies and merchant marines. Much of that activity was originally concentrated against the British and French Empires, and later much effort was also made to organize the maritime personnel in the United States. That organization is utilized, not only to obtain intelligence on the naval forces, but to contact the agents of the Comintern and Stalin's secret service in difficult places, and foster strife whenever such may serve

the purpose of timely stopping or interfering with maritime transportation. These are just a few illustrations of the secret apparatus of the Parties in relation to Stalin's Government, their interlinking, and methods of operation. Similar methods are used to interlink the secret service with Communist-controlled unions in strategic industries outside the maritime field. Of course, not all strikes stimulated by the Communists in these industries are for the purpose of serving Stalin's foreign policy. Many of them are merely to extend the Communists' influence over the workers by sponsoring the enforcement of their demands. There are many cases in this and other countries where strikes ostensibly for urgent demands of the workers have been incited in order to benefit the foreign policy of Stalin's Government. This type of strike is one of the latest methods of utilizing the masses themselves for indirect sabotage of production or war efforts.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I believe we have reached a place where we can recess for lunch now, if you wish. Is that agreeable with you Mister—

THE WITNESS: Fine. Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: We will change to a different subject—

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: What time will be—

MR. HOUSTON: —of the Comintern.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: What time will be most convenient? The usual one-thirty—

MR. HOUSTON: It will be very convenient.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will now be in recess until one-thirty o'clock.
(Noon Recess)

1:35 o'clock p. m.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Shall we proceed, Mr. Houston?

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Now, Mr. Kornfeder, there is just one or two little things I wish to clear up about your testimony this morning. You testified as to a conversation between you and Earl Browder concerning Harry Bridges. Your testimony was that this occurred in Cleveland when Earl Browder was chairman of the Communist Party, while you were a high official of the Party, being the organizer in that district. Can you locate the year that that occurred in?

A. Well, I believe it was the early part of 1934.

Q. Now, this document, for the benefit of those who have come but were not here this morning, is a document which you have prepared which answers specific questions the committee subjected to you, and that you have come down to, where you are ready to discuss every Communist Party.

A. Yes.

Q. Will you continue, Mr. Kornfeder?

A. All right. Every Communist Party, even if operating in the open as to its public agitation, carries on the conspiratorial activities above-referred to and is constantly preparing to continue operation as a totally conspirative organization in case it is outlawed. For this purpose, it maintains a secret apparatus throughout the various districts, and maintains a secret headquarters with secret communications, etc., in preparation for the day when it may have to go underground.

In many counties it has been underground all along, as was the case before in Japan, and in other countries, South America, etc., its stay in the open

has been temporary, off and on. In those countries where the Party is underground, the whole organization is, of course, part of the huge conspirative apparatus of the Comintern.

With the years, the conspirative part of the Comintern's machine, both in countries where they are legal and in those where they are illegal, has been growing to such an extent that the conspirative part has come to dominate completely the one on the surface. The foreign intelligence services of Stalin's Government have been particularly well developed and extended during Stalin's regime, as have the conspirative activities of the various Communist Parties interlinked with it. So much so that the formal dissolution of the headquarters staff in Moscow, the Comintern, has not created even a hitch in the total functioning of the machine. All Communist Parties, from China to Chile, still follow the same line and are controlled by the same master and his subordinates.

The coordination of all the activities of the Communist Party in any of the major countries and the various agencies and services of the Soviet Government, including the trading agencies and the diplomatic service, is done, as a rule, either through the resident agent of the OGPU, now known as M.V.D., the Soviet Ambassador, or through the Comintern delegate, if he has plenipotentiary powers. This may be the case, if he is a high-ranking Russian Communist or has the absolute confidence of Stalin, and sufficient training and ability for such a job.

The Financial Methods of the Comintern: We shall not speak here of the known methods of raising funds, like the dues system of the Communist Party or the funds assigned by Stalin's Government to defray the expenses of the Soviet's foreign services, official and unofficial. These are obvious. As already mentioned elsewhere, the Comintern, which in this case should be taken as a pseudonym for the Soviet Government, subsidizes the activities of the Communist Parties in relation to their importance to the immediate objectives of said Government. Thus the activities of the Chinese Communists may be subsidized during any particular year to the extent of fifty million dollars or more a year, whereas another year the subsidy may go down to ten million dollars and less. The same—the same may be said for the German, French, and other Communist Parties, which the Soviet Government, by reason of its foreign policy, may consider of greater or lesser importance at the moment.

The amount of subsidy used to be decided by the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and as Stalin's power became preponderant, Stalin himself became the person who made such decisions. After the lump sum is decided upon for a particular country, either on a yearly or semi-yearly basis, then a subcommission may work out the details of assigning specific amounts of that sum to be spent for selected activities. Thus for purposes of illustration, let us say that five million dollars has been assigned as subsidy for the United States for a particular year. A certain amount of that would regularly go to maintain the deficit on the Party press, which has never been self-sustaining. Another amount may go more or less regularly to pay the deficit on the party's headquarters set-up, which as a rule operates beyond its domestic income and covers its regular deficit in this manner.

An organization like the Maritime Union has been subsidized regularly, with greater or lesser amounts, for the last twenty years. Beyond these

subsidies which are customary and which are repeated year after year, there are strategic subsidies which may change from year to year.

Thus the Comintern may decide to establish a book-publishing house and heavily subsidize it until it builds up its own trade. Or, it may decide to publish a certain number of periodicals not directly related to the Communist Party. These periodicals may be daily papers, weekly tabloids, or deluxe journals intended for the upper circles.

Special sums may be assigned to organize strategic industries, potential producers of war materials like steel, oil, automobiles, etc.

The role played by the subsidies is not the paying of the main routine expenses for the activities of the Communist Parties.

In countries like the United States, the bulk of funds is raised through various methods of collection, direct and indirect, by the Communists themselves. The importance of the subsidies is rather in the direction of the role of strategic funds, funds that make it possible to give the Communist Party a great deal of latitude and initiative in whatever direction Moscow sees fit.

If the Party were to be confined to its own income, it would hardly be possible for it to have great amounts available for concentrated activities in any big industry or any other particular field. Moscow's subsidies make that possible.

The subsidies also play the role of making the leadership of the Party largely independent of its rank and file following.

Thus, if we take, for instance, the headquarters staff and its expenses, Moscow may only supply thirty to forty per cent in the form of subsidies, but without that thirty or forty per cent its activities might go down a great deal, or be bankrupt to a large extent and made dependent upon the enthusiasm of its following.

With that much of a subsidy from Moscow, the leadership may play a strong hand. This is one of the secrets that explains the hold Moscow has in the top set-up in the Communist Parties.

The Comintern is very much interested in raising all possible funds through the activities of the local Communists. Their technique in this respect has been greatly developed in the last ten years, and they are given a vast amount of latitude as to methods and are well advised on the subject by the experts in Moscow. A vast increase in their revenue has resulted from the technique of creating front organizations, of which we shall speak again in what will follow.

A very little-known method in this respect is that of the funds raised through semi-official fronts which I shall illustrate with a method like the Russian-American Relief Committee. This Committee was sponsored by a galaxy of very respectable citizens prominent in the economic and political life of the United States. They would, of course, not think of contributing a dollar to advance the activities of the Communist Party.

Their money, nevertheless, goes to the Comintern. I know of all manner of precautions having been taken that the funds thus raised go directly for buying articles or products for the relief of the Russian people, and every effort is made to see to it that these articles reach Russia and are distributed. The articles are properly receipted and there is ample proof to satisfy any critic that the funds were used for that purpose and the goods received in Russia.

What they do not know is that the amounts thus collected are credited sub-rosa by the Soviet Government to the activities of the Comintern and

generally used for such activities in the country or region where they were raised. Thus twenty-five million marks collected by similar committees in Germany may be used in Central Europe, or ten million dollars similarly collected in the United States and Canada may be used in North and South America.

The Technique of Front Organizations: In the earlier years of the Comintern, its activities were entirely confined to revolutionary doctrinaire propaganda, for the purpose of crystallizing a following out of the radical circles of the working class and the intelligentsia. The aim was to obtain members for the Communist Party from the Socialists and Anarcho Syndicalists, split them, and have them affiliate with the Comintern. The strategists in Moscow, however, soon realized that doctrinaire propaganda would not give them a following amongst the masses at large. Hence they started after the trade unions. The activities in that sphere are discussed elsewhere.

Trade unions of any consequence existed, however, only in the more advanced countries. The Moscow strategists wanted to penetrate heavily also, the colonial and semi-colonial countries. In order to do that, they soon conceived the necessity of going way beyond the working class. They also were confronted with the fact that in some of the advanced countries like the United States, class ideology was either absent or existed in a very nebulous state and in relatively narrow circles. The European variety of class ideology was practically absent, also in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the Far and Near East, in South America, etc. It took them years to free their minds of the Marxian-European one-class concept of strategy in order to enable them to reach out to the agrarian population in the backward countries, and to the middle classes, as well as the intelligentsia at large. It is out of this necessity that the design of front organizations developed.

Over a period of years, front organizations were created and then dissolved as not being sufficiently effective. There was the Peasants' International, known as the Krestintern, organized in Moscow in 1926 and liquidated a few years later. Its methods, based on the Marxian concept, proved to be ineffective. The problem of proselytizing masses of petty property owners appeared to be insurmountable. The whole Marxian concept ran against it. Later, another front organization was created by the strategists in Moscow, designed primarily for the colonial and semi-colonial countries, called the Anti-Imperialist League. The idea behind that was to disrupt the French and British Empires and counteract the influence of the United States in South America. This front organization, by utilizing the nationalist movements in the backward countries, was more successful; but finally it too was abandoned after an existence of about ten years. Even today, Stalin's strategists in foreign politics are still experimenting with the subject of front organizations.

The central thought behind the front organization strategy is to use it as a bridge over which to organize the petty property element and the intelligentsia at large and to attract workers who cannot be attracted by doctrinaire class-propaganda as such. The United States has proven to be the Comintern's greatest laboratory, as an advanced country, in the technique of front organizations, and they are primary factors in the relatively great strength of Stalin's party in the United States.

The United States proved one of the hardest nuts to crack for Moscow's strategists, because for many years, no matter what they did along the lines of European strategy, as far as the United States was concerned it did not

take. Only when Stalin's party machine had shifted from the working class to the new technical and political bureaucracy of Russia's state-owned industry and government, was it possible, under Stalin's leadership, to give up many of the old concepts and strike out along new lines.

Thus the greatest success of the front organization technique only came to light around 1934, and later.

The method used in creating front organizations is to decide upon a relatively popular issue like peace or war, an issue capable of great emotional appeal and in which people irrespective of their economic status could be interested, and getting them involved into activity. The League Against War and Fascism, later changed into the League for Peace and Democracy during the Nazi-Soviet Pact, had that idea behind it. Another idea, in this case designed to reach a more limited group, would be the National Lawyer's Guild, the International Juridical Association, Civil Liberties Federation, etc.

In branching out into politics, they started with the Labor Party slogan, later sponsored non-partisan leagues. In the West they could be found sponsoring organizations that have a following amongst the farmers, like the Commonwealth Federation. And more recently, in the metropolitan areas of the Middle West they could be found sponsoring political action committees in the local unions and federating these committees into—on a regional scale, through which they threw their weight, in the name of organized labor, in favor of a candidate of their choosing, either within or outside the major parties.

Thus far they have not made much headway amongst the farmer element, but they have been making a number of attempts to organize the poorer sections of it, like the sharecroppers in the South and even more well-to-do farmers in the Northwest, through the Farmers' Federation, Farmers' Union, etc.

Another important phase of their activity is to take over weak organizations established by non-Communists and then build them up as major fronts, like the Methodist Federation of Social Service, and others. Which was the case with the late Youth Congress and now being attempted with the NAACP, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, originally started by a group of liberals, whites and Negroes, and now being infiltrated and taken over in various parts of the United States by the Communist Party machine.

The same process goes on on a local scale by the Communists taking over small neighborhood or regional organizations which were initiated by plain folks. The advantage of the technique of taking over something started by others is fairly obvious; it gives them the benefit of additional camouflage and makes it easier to approach and inveigle innocents into it.

Another type of front organization designed to bring a limited group under the Communist Party's influence was the late Negro Labor Congress which, being limited to Negro labor in its appeal, was later abandoned. Of late, a new type of front organization along distinctly nationalist lines has been created in the form of the Slav Congress, which is designed to exploit the present European situation and has proven to be among the most successful ventures. The trade unions under Party influence or control are also very often used as political fronts for the purposes of the Party. A front particularly designed to attract an important section of the intelligentsia is the so-called American Writers' Congress. One of the front organizations which in the course of about fifteen years became quite successful and was designed

to serve certain needs is the International Workers' Order, an insurance association having a membership of about a hundred and fifty thousand.

Thus, if we take the Communist Party proper, together with the Young Communists' League, now known as the American Youth for Democracy, their membership altogether may not exceed eighty thousand members throughout the United States. But, if we take all the following organized through the numerous front organizations and include all Communist-controlled trade and industrial unions, we will find a network of two million or more in this United States. This vast network of front organizations is, of course, a tremendous mechanism also for the purpose of collecting funds and has served to a very large extent to cut the need for large subsidies from Moscow.

That is, they make us save for our own destruction.

The front organizations are not revolutionary. Most of their members and followers do not know what they are being used for. Most of the members of these organizations think that they are crusading for a limited object close to their hearts, but with this technique of front organizations still in process of evolution, Moscow has found the method through which to reach masses not imbued with class ideology and who would not respond to a direct appeal to join or follow the Communist Party as such.

This does not mean, of course, that the Party does not intend to gradually work these masses over into accepting the ideology of the Party as well, step by step; on the contrary, this is the Party's chief purpose.

The Trade Union Apparatus of the Comintern: The Comintern's activities in trade unions were handled until a few years ago through the Red International of Labor Unions, also known as the Profintern. The Profintern's top set-up was formally constituted in a manner similar to the Comintern, that is, the various trade union federations under the influence of the Profintern, sent delegates to Moscow. These delegates convened in a congress which elected a governing body called the Executive Council of the Red Trade Union International, of which Losovsky was the general secretary. The Russian trade unions which were a part of the Profintern were the backbone of the set-up.

The policy of the Profintern, which is still being followed, was:

To organize new labor federations in countries like China, the South American countries, etc., where no labor federations of any importance existed;

To organize rival federations where those already existing were weak and where the Communists could not get control of these federations, with the idea of disintegrating them and substituting new ones in their place, through outside pressure and inside activity. This was the case in the Balkans, in countries like France, and in some South American countries.

In countries where there—where there were strong labor federations and the setting up of a rival federation was considered impractical, they would concentrate on boring from within the old unions to get a hold on them locally, and to organize new unions in the trades and industries where the old federation had no influence or had insufficient influence.

These types of countries were countries like England, Germany, and the United States. The general object was to get control of these federations or work up sufficient influence inside them so that if they could not obtain control to gradually split them on a sufficiently large scale to establish a new labor federation under Communist control.

The latter tactic was most successful in France and later worked out quite successfully in the United States by the establishment of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The C.I.O. is not as ideal a set-up as the Unitarian Confederation of Labor was in France, because the Communists do not sufficiently control the top set-up of the C.I.O.—lately they are losing out there—but it is the best thing from their point of view under the circumstances prevailing in the United States.

Such formations as the Pan-American Federation of Labor under Toledano are unusual set-ups on a semi-continental scale. The reason for that is that the individual federations in South America are in most cases too weak, and a confederation of them on a continental scale facilitates the organization work in each single country and helps to consolidate the Communist influence over each of them.

At the Congress of the Profintern, non-Communist labor leaders that have shown a disposition to work with the Communists were, of course, invited and admitted. Some of them at times were even elected to the Executive Council, and that same policy towards non-Communists has been followed in the various countries down to the local unions. The main reason for that was to attract new elements into the Communist orbit and to make the Communist-controlled unions and labor federations appear as non-partisan.

In reality, the Profintern and all of its subdivisions were controlled by the Comintern and its affiliated parties. If, here and there, there were some instances where that condition did not prevail, it was a temporary unity with the idea of giving the Communists time to establish full control.

The Communist Party machine, Comintern, inside of the Profintern or Communist-controlled unions, worked in the following manner:

The financing was done entirely by the money supplied by the Russian trade unions. Every member of the Russian trade unions was levied with a certain amount which became a part of the dues system. Occasionally there were additional assessments. In addition to that, the Comintern, which obtained its funds from the Soviet Government and through assessments upon the Russian Communist Party, made appropriations for the Profintern to subsidize more heavily the activities in certain foreign countries and in the strategic industries thereof. At the world congresses of the Profintern, the expenses of the delegates to go from their countries to Russia and back were financed entirely by the Profintern from these funds.

The control of the Profintern was exercised through the Russian Communist Party fraction which operated the headquarters of the Profintern and applied most of the key—and supplied most of the key personnel. The personnel not supplied by the Russian Communist Party was supplied by the Foreign Communist Parties.

The Comintern exercised control over the Communist fraction operating the Profintern by a Trade Union Commission of which Losovsky, Piatnitsky, and a member of the Russian Communist Party's Political Bureau were members. Foreign Communist trade union leaders occasionally attended the meetings of this Commission. The existence of this Comintern Trade Union Commission to operate the Profintern was, of course, unofficial and was known only to a few.

The Profintern did its work through a dual apparatus. There were the official operators of the Profintern who spoke in the Profintern's name to all the unions and groups affiliated with it and used for the purpose of their activities their own official channels. Then there was the Comintern machin-

ery and its affiliated parties, which carried out the directives inside these unions through Party connections and Party channels.

The backbone of the whole structure was, of course, the Communist groups inside the local unions of the various countries who were tied together through the Communist Party, nationally in each industry, and supervised in each country through the headquarters of the Communist Party, which in turn were directed by the Comintern. In addition to this basic network, the Profintern, after 1928, had a system of special representatives assigned to the major countries and to the various central bureaus outside of Russia. These special representatives used to receive their instructions through the confidential channels of the Comintern.

In the course of time, the apparatus of the Comintern became so thoroughly established inside the network of the Profintern unions that the Profintern could be entirely abolished without in any way damaging the influence or control that the Communists exercised over the unions in their respective countries.

Thus when the Profintern was formally abolished several years ago, it could be done without any noise or dislocation of any kind, and the whole thing was hardly noticed as far as the workings in the various countries were concerned. As a matter of fact, it benefited the activities of the Communists, because the Profintern had become a central target of the Socialists and even of many of the liberals, and its abolition helped to camouflage the Communists' local activities more effectively.

To illustrate the workings of this apparatus, however, I will give a few examples of how it works from the bottom up, to supplement what has been said of the workings from the top down.

If we take a local union, let us say of five thousand members, the Communists in that local union will organize themselves into a group which in the Party is called a fraction. This fraction will then seek out allies among the discontented or office-seeking element, commonly known as fellow-travelers. Combining with these fellow-travelers, they will call themselves a progressive group or a rank and file group. This combination, then having become a fraction within the union, will carry on a continuous fraction fight to discredit and succeed the current leadership. Very often the Communists lack the required number of able individuals to succeed the current leadership, or for other reasons may consider it not expedient to run a full Communist slate for local union office, and hence will include the fellow-travelers on their slate.

Originally these Communist Party fractions and their fellow-traveler groups were run on a rather democratic basis, that is, all the Party members would discuss what to do in their local unions in a group meeting under the supervision of a Party representative. In the last years, however, this has been supplanted by the introduction of the leader principle. Now, as a general rule, such meetings are not held. Now the practice is for one of the Communists in the union to be designated from the top as the Fuehrer, and he appoints assistants from amongst the other Party members and trustworthy fellow-travelers, who, under him, act as a steering committee. Whatever he does, unless countermanded by a higher Party representative, all others have to follow.

The local union fractions in all the local unions of the same trade or industry are connected nationally under a leading fraction set up by the—under a leading fraction set up by the national office of the Party. In the event of the

national convention of such a union being held, the leading fraction which has been coordinating the activities of all the local fractions continues to direct the maneuvers of proceedings of it in control of the national convention.

On such occasions, it is customary for the political bureau of the party, which is the executive and directive organization of the whole party, to appoint a special representative to supervise the activities of the Communists and fellow-travelers at such national union conventions.

If the union is an important one, operating in a basic or strategic industry, several members of the political bureau and the Comintern delegate himself may be present in the hotels of the convention city to steer the fight for control, or dominate the proceedings if in control of such a convention.

The activities of all the leading party fractions in the national unions are, of course, coordinated through party headquarters, and their policies are decided by the political bureau, under supervision of the Comintern representative, who has the final say on all disputed questions and even the questions that are not disputed. The political bureau, or the Comintern representative, in turn, is under the instructions of the Comintern in Moscow. The Comintern in this case is a—can be taken as a name for Stalin.

Since the end of the World War II the World Federation of Trade Unions, to which the C.I.O. and other large federations of the five continents are affiliated and whose set-up is dominated by the Communists, has taken over many of the functions formerly performed by the Profintern.

Conclusions: The Comintern machine, in the twenty-five years or more of its existence, has gone through numerous changes, both as to policy, and method of organization technique.

Many of these changes were an accompaniment to its process of growth from a mere embryo to its present stature. The outstanding change, however, to be particularly noted, is its change from the old Leninist firebrand internationalism, based on the Marxist rule of the working class, to the Imperialistic nationalism of the present. Many people of ability have noticed this change, particularly in the last five years.

The background of this change is inherent in the internal evolution of Russia under the Bolsheviks, which has reached a conclusion under Stalin. This evolution continually proceeded in the direction of creating a new upper class, based primarily on state-owned property and the benefits derived by them therefrom. The conquest of power by this group was accelerated greatly by the numerous purges of the last twelve or fifteen years which eliminated the old Bolsheviks, the group which was based upon the proletariat and which had entrenched the new ruling group in power. This new group, of which we shall speak later in connection with the internal situation in Russia proper, is not Internationalist in the Leninist sense. On the contrary, they are fanatically Nationalist.

The rise to power of this new State Bureaucracy has profoundly affected the workings of Stalin's machine in the foreign countries. The foreign Parties have been and are still being worked over into parties, serving the Imperialist designs of the new Nationalist Bureaucracy under Stalin.

A necessary concomitant of this change has been the vast growth of Stalin's secret services in the foreign countries which have grown to such an extent that they are now able to control sub-rosa the workings of the Communist Parties and their conspirative functions. Thus, we have what appears to be an anomaly: on the one hand with Russia becoming nationalist, many people

living in ivory towers expect Stalin's withdrawal from international politics as operated through the Communist Parties, and take the dissolution of the Comintern, or took that dissolution, seriously. On the other hand, we have the reality of these Communist Parties expanding their functions and becoming even a stronger arm of the new Imperialism of Russia. This apparent contradiction has created and is still creating tremendous confusion and is itself a potent means under cover of which Stalin's Parties are able to operate with a minimum of obstruction. The Comintern of old is dead, but the new Imperialism of Nationalist Russia, now operating and expanding through the machinery created by the Comintern, continues as a potent arm of the new Nationalist-Imperialist Russia under Stalin.

The Future: The process of transforming the Comintern, originally based on International—Internationalism, into a mere instrument carrying out the new Imperialist designs of a foreign power has, of course, had its consequences. Many of the men and women trained in the schools above referred to did not follow along with this change. It would not be an exaggeration to say that of the estimated fifty thousand trained in those schools, ten thousand are now outside of Stalin's machine and many of them in active opposition.

As concerns the old members of the Communist Parties, a high percentage of them have quietly dropped out, and the Parties have recruited new elements whose prime reason for adhering to it is to use it as a vehicle for quick personal advancement in politics, and in trade unions, etc. The consequences of this new social composition of these foreign Parties may be considerable under the stress of events to come. Thus, we can see simultaneously with the growth of these organizations also a counter-process of disintegration, a process which may become more accentuated as the new Imperialism of Stalin's Russia becomes better understood and more blatant.

A careful and detached study of the history of the one-party state of Soviet Russia shows a pattern of evolution entirely totalitarian in character—historical development most certainly not envisioned by Lenin, the founder of this state, nor by any of the great Marxian theorists. The Bolshevik Revolution not only destroyed all its enemies as it openly advertised that it would but it also swallowed in due time all basic human concepts of freedom and the inalienable rights of man. It finally destroyed and swallowed practically all of its thousands of creators when Stalin ruthlessly exterminated the old Bolsheviks themselves—old Bolsheviks themselves, leaving only himself, Kalinin, and an insignificant handful left of the thirty to fifty thousand original—original Bolsheviks of 1917.

Through the years of its inexorable totalitarian development the Soviet dictatorship extended absolute and unbreakable control over all types of social organizations—economic, cultural, political, religious and social. The individual was left standing helpless and totally defenseless against the Juggernaut of the all-powerful state. The totalitarian concentration of all power in the hands of state inevitably was followed by a similar development in the Comintern.

The First Congress of the Comintern permitted a few democratic liberties; the second and third Congresses, even while Lenin was still alive, so ended any such softness. The totalitarian unfolding in Russia was closely paralleled in the world parties of the Comintern. As so-called democratic centralism declined and faded out in the Communist Party of Russia, it faded out and disappeared in the satellite foreign parties. By 1928 the Comintern was

generally referred to as the Stalintern by cynical and disillusioned radicals and former Communists. Sixty-seven world parties, without a single exception, not even that of China, had been swallowed up and made integral parts of the Russian state apparatus.

The Communist Party of the United States by the unanimous testimony of dozens of former high-ranking officials and functionaries is a semi-military, totally subservient unit or foreign—foreign branch agency of the Soviet Party which controls the Soviet state. There has been not a single exception to undeviating loyalty and adherence to Russia and Soviet foreign policy on the part of the American satellite party since 1929 when the last revolt was crushed in Moscow by summoning American party leaders before the presidium of the Comintern for summary removal and expulsion.

The Communist Party in the United States, as all other parties, is today a subdivision of a much larger machine, just like a division of an army, is just a part of the total command of the army that's in charge.

This completes it.

Q. Now, that is the conclusion of the answers you have made to the specific questions we submitted to you?

A. That's right.

Q. And that is—testimony is based of your own knowledge on your experiences within the party, as a charter member in the United States, as the head of the Trade Union organization within the Communist Party in the United States, as a member of the Comintern, and as a subsequent director of the labor functions of the Communist Party.

A. That's right.

Q. That which you have given us here is your own testimony?

A. Correct.

Q. Now there are a few of those things that we want to go back over and reiterate.

Am I correct in understanding you to say that the Communist Party of the United States is an agent of a foreign power?

A. It is.

Q. Would you consider it a Fifth Column within the United States?

A. Oh, yes, distinctly so.

Q. In the event of war, is there any question to whom the Communist Party and its members would be loyal?

A. Oh, no question whatever. It would be to Russia.

Q. Is the Communist Party of the United States, a revolutionary party?

A. It uses revolutionary methods for purposes of disruption, but it is not a revolutionary party in the traditional sense, namely, that it seeks to do away with basic evils prevailing in a country and seeking to dispose of those evils through force in the interests of the country itself.

Q. Let me phrase it this way. Was the Communist pattern laid down after the assumption of power of the Communists in Bulgaria, Roumania, and Yugoslavia, the same as the planned program for all the countries of the world?

A. Yes, the same, except they had the benefit of having the Red Army come in and install them in power.

Q. If they were to gain power in the United States, would they liquidate the opposition?

A. Completely. That's the first thing they would do.

Q. And do they so teach it?

A. They certainly do. And from that certain event, the Communists have prepared a list for those to be arrested and exterminated the first few weeks following the overthrow.

Q. Is that true here in the United States?

A. Oh, certainly.

Q. Such lists are being prepared of the enemies of the Communist Party?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. And their purpose is for extermination within the first few weeks of their power?

A. That's right.

Q. What is the approximate number of the Communists in the world?

A. Sixteen million, according to their own figures, outside of Russia.

Q. Outside of Russia. Do you know what percentage of the Russian people within Russia, are members of the Communist Party?

A. According to the latest figures I know, there are about three—three million and, oh, I don't know, two or three hundred thousand, in the Communist Party, and more than five million in the Young Communists' League.

Q. I believe you testified that all officials of the Russian Government must be members of the Communist Party. Is that correct?

A. Yes, all officials that handle anything of consequence.

Q. And then the ruling officials of Russia must come from this three million two or three hundred thousand that you have mentioned. Now that's almost as bad as royal blood, isn't it?

A. Yeah, they're the new upper class in Russia, with special privileges. They are the beneficiaries of state-owned property.

Q. What effect did the passage of the Voorhees Act have upon the American Communists?

A. None whatever.

Q. They paid no attention to it, eh?

A. No, the administration did not apply to the Communists. They just applied it to the Nazis and the Fascists.

Q. Do you know whether or not Earl Browder is—has registered with our State Department as the agent of a foreign country?

A. No, not that I know of. Except when he came back from Russia he probably registered because he came back from Russia as an agent of a Soviet publishing house, so he may have registered as a result of that. I—I'm not positive.

Q. Walter K. Krivitsky, K-r-i-v-i-t-s-k-y, who foolishly thought he could resign from the Communist Party, stated that the Communist International is not an organization of the Communist Parties. The Communist Parties of the world are nothing more than branch offices of the Russian Communist Parties. The Russian International that operates in Moscow is nothing more than an administrative body which transmits the decrees reached by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Russia. Was that a correct statement?

A. Absolutely correct.

Q. And that is in harmony and accordance with the testimony that you have given here today?

A. That's right.

Q. William Z. Foster, in his pamphlet "Towards Soviet America" states, "The Communist Party of the United States is the American section of the Communist International. The Communist International is a disciplined world party; its leading party by virtue of its great revolutionary experience is the Russian Communist Party." Pages 258 to 259. Was he telling the truth in that instance?

A. He certainly did, only he put some flowers around it.

Q. What I'm trying to bring out here, clear-cut and positive, the Communist Party by its teachings, by its writings, and you by your own experiences in Russia on the Comintern, definitely is one party dedicated to world revolution and the establishment of a ruling proletariat which they interpret as the Communist clique, is that right?

A. Well, I would say it's dedicated to the object of conquering all the countries in the interests of Soviet Russia.

Q. Well, I'm trying to tie in some of these writings with your testimony here now. I note that Benjamin Gitlow, one of the founders of the American Communist movement, and who was a candidate on the Communist ticket for Vice President in 1924, and also in 1928. He too, was a former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International—makes the following statement: "Whereas the American party had to carry out decisions of the Communist International, explicitly, the Russian party was given privileged position. The Russian party was permitted not only to review all decisions of the Communist International but, if necessary, to take it up with the Political Committee, and to change those decisions, and that decision becomes binding upon the parties of the Communist International. The only party that has the right to instruct its delegates to the Communist International and to make those instructions binding on the delegates is the Russian Communist Party. In other words, they have built the Communist International organization in such a way that the Russians under no circumstances can lose control of the Communist International." Is that a correct statement?

A. Very correct statement.

Q. And is that what you had reference to when you stated there as to Stalin's direct control of the International?

A. That's right.

Q. And while you were in Russia and a member of the Comintern, did you see and feel Stalin's influence upon the decisions that were made by the Comintern?

A. Most certainly. I conferred with him on American Communist Party problems.

Q. You have personally conferred with Joe Stalin on American Party problems?

A. That's right.

Q. And all decisions were vested in Joe Stalin?

A. He had the ultimate decision. No matter what anybody else did before, he could veto it completely and turn it into its opposite?

Q. I can't pronounce this name, you did, the statement of Opsit Paitnitsky, that's O-p-s-i-t P-a-i-t-n-i-t-s-k-y, how do we pronounce that?

A. Paitnitsky.

Q. Veteran leader of the Russian Communist Party in 1933 stated that Communist International is united by the Executive Committee of the Comintern into a single world centralized committee. Is that your testimony here today?

A. Oh yes, yes, certainly.

Q. Now, Earl Browder in his writings, his conception of the Communist Party of the United States, quotes, and states, quote, "A party of an entirely new type never before seen in America, a party of the type first created by Lenin in the Russian Bolshevik Party, and now being brought into existence in every capitalist country under the leadership of the World Party of Communism, namely, the Communist International." That was issued in the "Modern Victory" in March of 1934. Is that the conception they have for the Communist Party of the United States of America?

A. Yes, certainly. Well, he also put flowers around it a little, like Foster.

Q. He put flowers around it too, eh?

A. Yeah.

Q. Boiled down, in other words, the Communist Party of the United States is definitely and positively controlled by the Kremlin?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. And you testified even as to the—in your testimony there, even as to the approval of the assignment of a district organizer.

A. That's right.

Q. And this Morris Rappaport that we have repeatedly talked about in this hearing here, before he assumed the position of organizer in this district he was approved by the Kremlin, is that correct?

A. Well, he may have assumed the position before he was approved by the Kremlin, by the decision of the Comintern delegate in New York, but if the Kremlin hadn't approved the—he would have been yanked out of it soon enough.

Q. Now we have an organizer here who calls himself Chairman of the Northwest District of the Communist Party, Mr. Henry Huff. Is—has it been necessary, and has he been approved by the delegate to the Comintern to hold that position here in the Pacific Northwest?

A. Well,—

Q. He succeeded Rappaport.

A. Oh, he succeeded Rappaport. Certainly, he couldn't—he couldn't even come over here and install himself in that office without the Comintern delegate okeing it first.

Q. And you, as the Comintern delegate sitting in Moscow know whereof you talk because you had to during that period of time, you also approved the organizers of the Communist Party in the various districts, is that your testimony?

A. In those countries where I had charge, yes.

Q. And you had charge here in the United States?

A. Well, I had—I didn't have charge of the—of the Party machine as such. I had just charge of the Party organization in the labor unions.

Q. You had charge of the Party—well, do you know whether or not someone in Moscow had to approve those decisions either in Moscow or their representative in New York?

A. Well, you see, for instance, the—in the matter of labor unions you can't fix the personnel. You have to take those who are members of it at the time. So the Kremlin couldn't do anything about that. An individual cannot be a fraction secretary in a union without being in the union first. And the American unions are not going to listen to what Stalin thinks as to who should be a member in the union. So as far as the labor union organization of the Party, that has to accommodate itself to circumstances; but those that would be in charge of the Party on a large scale, they would have to be approved by the Comintern delegate and subsequently okeed by Moscow.

Q. Now I have been told from various sources that there is a little consternation in the Communist Party in the Seattle area this last week. Would it be possible for a group of Communists to get together tonight and say to Mr. Huff, who is head of the Communist Party in this area, "We don't like the way you're running things, you're through, we've elected John Doe and tomorrow he'll take office?"

A. Oh, no. No. No. Anybody who take that attitude, they of course just expel them out without any proceedings whatsoever. You wouldn't need any trials or any lawyers for that. That would just happen. Just like in Russia. Of course in Russia they have state power, so in Russia individuals like that are just picked up two o'clock in the morning by the Political Police, they disappear and you never hear of them any more. But here they can't do that, they haven't charge of the government yet. As far as I know, I don't think they ever will. So here they can just expel them from the Party and then hound them whichever way they can in the community.

Q. Now we'll approach this same thing from another source. Does the Kremlin know of the activities of the Communist Party in this Seattle area?

A. They receive regular reports. The various departments of the Comintern receive detailed reports; all the minutes of the district committee or state committee of the Communist Party go to Moscow. There is a paper published here, whether it's official or camouflage, copies of it go regularly to the Agitation-Propaganda Department of the Comintern, and are looked over from the point of view of whether it lives up to the Party line, and if the editor is deemed to have not enough sense to follow it, or ability, well next thing that will happen he will be no more editor. That will be right from direction from Moscow.

Q. Now, we have a paper here which Professor Budenz, Nat Honig, and the circulation manager of that paper, testified is the Communist Party organ, unofficially known as such by the public. Is it your testimony that copies of this paper go to Russia and are looked over there?

A. That's right.

Q. And that they would exercise a control over the editor of this paper, Terry Pettus, an American citizen here in Seattle?

A. They will exercise a control over that paper as positively and absolutely and as much in detail as they do over the "Daily Worker," in New York.

Q. Now we have raised two or three names. I want to ask you, do you know a man by the name of Professor Louis F. Budenz?

A. I do.

Q. Mr. Budenz sat on that very stand where—he took the stand and testified on the subject of Communism. Does he have a knowledge of Communist activities?

A. Oh, he certainly does. Yes.

Q. Do you think Mr. Budenz is a creditable witness?

A. I think so.

Q. Would you believe him were he to testify, if you were to hear his testimony?

A. I certainly would.

Q. Do you, and did you in your Communist activity, know a gentleman by the name of Manning Johnson?

A. I do.

Q. Is, in your opinion, Manning Johnson a creditable witness?

A. He certainly is. He is both creditable and very able.

Q. Has Manning Johnson held official positions high in the Communist Party?

A. Yes, he did.

Q. And if he speaks on Communism, does he know wherewith he talks?

A. Well, I don't know how he could do otherwise. He lived through it, and I don't think he could go into anything. It isn't necessary; there is so much that he could talk about by just telling the truth, and even that appears fantastic.

Q. Now, do you know a gentleman by the name of Nat Honig?

A. I do.

Q. Now, Nat Honig sat on that stand where you now sit and testified concerning Communism. Did he held—hold high positions in the Communist Party?

A. Yes, he was associate editor of the Party's labor union paper, which had a national coverage, and which was the paper to which Communists active in the labor unions looked to for policy.

Q. Did he not, too, occupy in Russia position similar to the one you occupied during 1934 and '35 when he was there?

A. Well, he was in the Profintern that I spoke about before, see.

Q. He was in this Profintern that you talked about here?

A. The Profintern.

Q. Did you recently testify in the deportation trial of Mr. Santo, held in New York?

A. Yes, I was—I testified there as an expert in Communist Party techniques and theory.

Q. Did Professor Budenz also testify in that trial?

A. He did.

Q. Did you observe the tactics and the cross-examination of Professor Budenz by the opposing counsel?

A. Oh yes, the tactics was one of discrediting the witnesses by—by an unusual display of smear technique.

Q. Well, would you explain that to us? What you mean about it? Tell us all about it?

A. Well, they—their technique in this case was to dig up anything that they

could, and even invent things in reference to the personal matters, or past life of the individual in relation to his relations with women or to money or any other thing that would discredit the person's integrity or character.

Q. Of your knowledge, were these charges false?

A. As far as I know, yes. Generally, I don't believe anything they print, as a result of my experience of—

Q. Do you know the attorney who was cross-examining Professor Budenz?

A. I do.

Q. Well, describe that attorney. Was he a member of the Party?

A. Yes, he was a member of the Party.

Q. What was his name?

A. Sacher.

Q. Thacker?

A. Sacher. S-a-c-h-e-r.

Q. Was he a member of the Communist Party when you were operating as an official in New York?

A. He just about joined about that time.

Q. Would you consider him a very capable man?

A. Well, he—no, he was not capable, but he was just right for this type of a technique.

Q. Well, I want to bring this out because some of our local Communists here have been disseminating the same information they put out there. And I want you to tell us about it. Now, were you subsequently called to the stand?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you recite the first twenty minutes of your testimony, the verbal clash between you and Attorney Sacher.

A. Yes.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Would you turn this way just a little, Mr. Kornfeder, so we can surely pick it up on the—

THE WITNESS: Excuse me.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: —recorder.

A. Well, as before indicated in reference to other witnesses he had, he was using the fish-market methods in this trial and—well, after we—several of us saw him practice that on the witnesses that preceded, so we decided that since we also know something about the fish market we will use it on him in return. So first he wanted to know how come that I'm a witness, so I said, "Well, I was subpoenaed." He said, "Can I—" Sacher said, "Can I see the subpoena?" So I said to him, "No, I would not show it to you."

Q. Will you speak more loudly?

A. Yes. I would not show him the subpoena, so he got very excited over that, and I told him, "Well, suppose you just let that blood pressure of yours down a couple notches, I'll tell you why." So after he cooled off, which took quite a while, I told him, "I wouldn't trust you with my home address, which is written on the subpoena." I said, "I'll show it to the presiding officer with the understanding that he scratch it out first before he hands it over to you." I said, "I know the techniques you use, and I don't want your demonstrations or goons around my neighborhood." Also he got some more excited. Then he said, "Are you getting paid for this?" I said, "Sure, I'm getting the customary

witness fees, which in my opinion, are far insufficient," being about five dollars a day, and in New York it can cost you five dollars to get a hotel room.

"Well, are you or are you not working for the Government?" I said, "Thus far I prefer to work for an employer, but if you mean that working for the United States Government is a disgrace, as I know you do," I told him, "I want you to know that I consider it an honor to work for the United States Government, and I consider it a disgrace to work for a blood-stained tyranny like Russia for which you work." Well, that really blew his top completely, and he ran over to the corner and packed up his papers and said he was going to quit the hearings completely, and the witness was contemptuous, and so on and so forth. So his client and the president of the union—

Q. Do you refer to Mike Quill?

A. Mike Quill, ran after him and pulled him back. After all, it would have been very bad for the client for his lawyer to run out of the proceedings. Well, this is just some of the incidents that occurred on that occasion.

Q. Now, in other words, smear tactics—is it your testimony that smear tactics are the tactics of the Communist Party?

A. Oh yes, that's the—that's the heart of it, distortion in every sense. Their propaganda would not be effective without it. They have to distort, fabricate, slander and so on. That's the middle name of their whole technique.

Q. And if the pattern runs true, this committee here and we employees of the committee, can look forward to being smeared by the Communists, is that right?

A. You can look—oh, you certainly will be.

Q. As a professional witness, would you go so far as to say that our names will probably be recorded in this secret book for early liquidation when they get power?

A. Well, if they—if they keep up to their usual practices your name will be on the black list, that's a sure thing.

Q. Now, do you know a publication by the name of "Pravda"?

A. I do.

Q. And do you know a publication by the name of "Izvestia"?

A. I certainly do. I wrote articles for it.

Q. You have written articles for them?

A. Yes.

Q. Now will you explain to this committee just what those two publications are, where they're published, and the line that they generally put out.

A. Well, the "Pravda" is the official organ of the Communist Party of—in Russia, very carefully controlled from the point of view of policy, and it is the line of all the Communists in Russia, and very largely outside of Russia, as to what the current policy of the Soviet Government is on any particular subject. "Izvestia" is supposed to be the official organ of the Government, and the difference between the two is the difference there between what you read of Krivitsky saying things in their plain meaning and Browder saying it with flowers. That is, "Izvestia" says the same thing with a certain amount of diplomacy, whereas the "Pravda" does the job like any Communist paper here would do.

Q. Now you too, used flowery words. I am trying to get this down to where I can understand this. Is the articles published in "Pravda" and "Izvestia" the approved propaganda articles of the Russian Government?

A. Certainly.

Q. And they do have the official approval of the Russian Government?

A. Why, of course.

Q. Now we had testimony from this stand Saturday morning by a former captain in the Russian Merchant Marine, in which he testified that the only Russian papers he was permitted to bring from Russia aboard his ship, that would fall into the hands of the Americans, was copies of "Pravda" and "Izvestia." Now, will you explain just why that is? In other words, I want you to testify, not me. Is that the line they want to get out to the world?

A. Well, the reason for that I think is obvious, that both of these papers being published in Moscow itself, they are much more controlled in detail than provincial papers, and they are always edited from the point of view that copies of it may reach the outside world.

Q. Now—

A. Because the Soviet Government doesn't want the outside world to know anything that it hasn't looked over very carefully, so these here captains are allowed to take only those papers; whereas, a provincial paper may give lots of details about the line in that locality, and does give an inkling to the outside, perhaps, of what's going on down below.

Q. Now, if an individual or a group of individuals, was furthering the dissemination of "Pravda" and "Izvestia" and articles appearing in "Pravda" and "Izvestia" in the United States, would they be furthering the Communist cause in the United States?

A. Of course. Sure.

Q. In other words, that's what the Russian Communist Parties and the Comintern wants, is that correct?

A. Well, there is a Russian colony in the United States, people that read Russian—Russians, Ukrainians, and so on. And then there are the—then there is—of course their Russian Secret Service agents here. Then there are Party leaders who know that if they read these two papers they get the Party line on foreign policy. So these papers are intended for that.

Q. Now if I were to translate "Pravda" and "Izvestia" and disseminate it, I would be definitely aiding the Communist cause, is that your testimony?

A. Yes. Of course.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I think we have reached a point where we can recess for a little while.

(Recess)

BY MR. HOUSTON:

Q. Mr. Zack, is the information that you have testified here to today, your first story to the American people? This is the first time this testimony has been given by you?

A. Well, I testified before, before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, but the contents of that testimony were in many ways different from the one today.

Q. The things you have brought out here today, have been brought out by the first—

A. Thats' right.

Q. —by you. Now, there are a few things I want to ask you about before we go back and pick up a further explanation of some of your testimony. Did you ever hear of an organization of the Federation of Technical Engineers and Architects?

A. Yes. Yes, the Federation of Architects, Engineers and Technicians. Very similar.

Q. The Federation of Architects, Engineers and Technicians.

A. Yes.

Q. Would you tell us about that organization, what you know about it?

A. Well, I could perhaps speak about how this type of organization fits into the strategy of the Communists. From the point of view of Moscow, originally they were not interested in organizing what they call the "white collar" element, because they thought that the "white collar" element has very little to contribute, and are difficult to organize, and therefore costly. They were basing themselves upon the laboring classes in basic industry, and other industries, but as Soviet policy developed along Imperialistic lines they found new uses for this type of element, that is, they were interested in technical or industrial espionage, and espionage of various other sources. So they conceived of the idea of organizing the "white collar" element, and particularly so, technicians, engineers, chemists, draftsmen, and so on.

Q. Did they confer with you about this while you were in charge of trade union activities?

A. Well, this was one of the very numerous discussions I had with the— with a number of Russian leaders on the general problem of how to get after an unsophisticated and unphilosophical element like the Americans, who do not believe in class ideology and so on.

Q. Well, now Mr. Zack—Kornfeder, is it not a fact that you were instructed to set up a union in some chemical plants so that they could secure the secrets of those plants?

A. Oh yes, they were very much interested in organizing the chemical plants.

Q. And instructed you to set up a union, did they not?

A. Yes, and when I returned I was instructed to make every effort to set up a new union amongst chemical workers. Of course, when I looked into that situation I found out that a chemical plant is almost entirely machinery and as far as workers there are concerned they are mostly unskilled and very few, and that the element of importance in a chemical plant are chemists and technicians. If you want to do something in that field you have to get at the chemists and technicians.

Q. If you set up a union, you would have nothing but the sweepers and janitors, and some like that?

A. That's right. Yeah. So the various attempts to get this element left me the idea that one must either organize very respectable professional clubs for this type of people because they wouldn't join a labor union as such, or as later was developed, organize a thing like the Federation of Architects, Chemists and Technicians. Well, that eventually was organized by one Marcel Sherer.

Q. Would you spell that name?

A. Sherer. S-h-e-r-e-r. Sherer.

Q. That was Marshall Sherer?

A. Marcel, M-a-r-c-e-l, Marcel. —who spent some time in Russia and received special training.

Q. A member of the Communist Party?

A. Member of the Communist Party, yes. And according to the design that they had in Moscow, the idea for organizing a group like that, was primarily to get at the technical secrets of production, new processes and so on, being developed in those plants. A union like that could be of tremendous help in getting the necessary information about what's going on in those vital processes, and then working upon securing them. Of course, most of the members there, I assume, didn't have the slightest idea of what the set-up was for, and the role the thing played in the strategy of the leaders in Moscow.

Q. Have you from—ever in your experience been called upon by a high Party official to designate some chemist or some man that they wanted to confer with?

A. Yes, in the very early stages of this, before even the Federation was formed, there were attempts of course to get at the chemists, and in this case particularly the ones who were working for the du Pont company, which was then having some innovations that Russia wanted to get ahold of, and I was called by a member of the Political Bureau of the Party, and he told—asked me whether I had a chemist who knows enough about this line of business, could mix amongst other chemists and make friends with them, perhaps organize them into respectable clubs and so on.

Q. Now when they asked—

A. So I—

Q. When they asked you if you had a man, they meant did you have a man who was a member of the Communist Party.

A. Oh yes, naturally. None other would do in this case. So I, of course, had a group of chemists. I was working on that idea of organizing them, I had a group of chemists and I recommended one. So he says, "Well, you go and meet so and so in a certain restaurant on Twenty-Third Street—

Q. In the City of New York?

A. New York. I forgot the individual's name, that is, I'm not certain, and I says, "Well, how will I know him?" "Oh," he says, "you'll know him. He knows you." So I took that inkling in the air along, and as we walked into that restaurant, of course there a mysterious individual was sitting. He was an operator for the Soviet Intelligence. And I introduced this chemist to him. My instructions were that after he was so introduced, I should just forget about this here chemist of mine because he's going to be detached from every activity of the Communist Party and get a new assignment. The new assignment was, of course, to work for the technical espionage service. And I didn't hear anything of him ever since, so—

Q. Now was this Federation of Architects, Chemists and Technicians organized by the Communist Party?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. The one that is now affiliated with the C.I.O.

A. Was. The group got to have a bad name, and they decided that it was one of those things that they had to liquidate, so it was liquidated about a year ago, and whatever remained of it was merged into one of the other

unions, also controlled by the Communists. I'm not certain whether it was the United Authors and Professional Workers, I think, were merged into that.

Q. Now here are you testifying that the Communist Party organized a union in an American industry upon orders from the Russian Intelligence for the purpose of securing industrial secrets from that industry?

A. Well, it was organized on orders from the political leaders in Moscow, but it was used specifically for the purpose of securing information from an American industry, yes.

Q. Now you have testified, Mr. Kornfeder, that the Communist Party finances its activities throughout the world, that this money is sent from Moscow over here to finance their activity, in part, if not in whole, occasionally. Of your own knowledge, do you know whether or not they have sent money over here to finance activities within labor unions?

A. Oh, yes, sure.

Q. Has Russia ever sent money over here to finance Communist-inspired strikes?

A. Well, they—their system is such that a specific appropriation for a specific strike, that only happens in unusual occasions. They don't like to spend money on strikes. Their idea is just to hold a man out, and then let them stay out on their own resources. They—but they do have continuous and regular appropriation for the type of organizing campaigns that they happen to be interested in from time to time. For instance, the beginnings of their labor union activities were financed, starting back in 1922, by an appropriation coming from Moscow, of—the first installment was a hundred thousand dollars.

Q. Now that was while you were the director of labor union activities for the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. In 1922. You testified of your own knowledge that you know Moscow gave a hundred thousand dollars to further union activities here in that year.

A. That's right.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Kornfeder, may I remind you again to turn this way, because I think they have difficulty picking it up on the recording device.

THE WITNESS: I see. I'm very sorry.

Q. Do you know whether or not any finances have been used to finance a mine strike?

A. There was an appropriation made, of which I have personal knowledge, because it was made in my presence, to finance a faction fight inside of the United Mine Workers in order to unseat John L. Lewis.

Q. Now this was an appropriation which was made in your presence—

A. Yes.

Q. —to finance a—an anti-John L. Lewis faction of the United Mine Workers—

A. That's right.

Q. —is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. Now when was this, Mr. Kornfeder?

A. This—this one, of course there were others before, that I knew from

others about, but this one that I was myself personally consulted about was a very hot faction fight inside the United Mine Workers in 1928.

Q. And in 1928 you were in Russia attached to the International Comintern?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And did this appropriation that was made in your presence, did that occur in the City of Moscow, Russia, in 1928?

A. Yes, it did.

Q. What was the sum of the appropriation, do you recall?

A. Well, the amount asked by the—by the Party here was fifty thousand dollars, and since there was a faction fight then also in the American Communist Party, and the faction that was in control wasn't the same—same one that I was with, so I suspected that maybe they want to use some of that for the internal faction fight in the Communist Party. So I suggested that instead of giving them fifty thousand dollars, they should give them at that time only twenty-five thousand and see how much they will do with the twenty-five thousand as a starter. So it was agreed for that particular occasion for a period of three months, the subsidy for that fight would be only twenty-five thousand dollars.

Q. Now, was that money subsequently sent to America and used in that factional fight within the United Mine Workers?

A. Well, I—I stayed in Moscow until 1930. I wasn't here to see how it was disbursed; but I know that from the reports that came to Moscow, that the factional activities inside the United Mine Workers were stepped up considerably, and that must have been the result of this extra subsidy.

Q. To whom did you make the suggestion that the fifty thousand be scaled down to twenty-five thousand?

A. Well, there was present at the time, three Russians, one was head of the Russian Federation of Trade Unions—

Q. Of the Russian Federation of Trade Unions.

A. Yes. The other was Piatnitsky—

Q. Now, we'll have to spell that. Maybe if you can write here a little bit, you can get a little better—

A. I would rather spell Connally or Ryan. P-i-a-t-n-i-t-s-k-y. Piatnitsky.

Q. That's the same man you've referred to here in some of your answers to these questions previously?

A. Yes.

Q. Now who was the third gentleman, Mister—

A. The third one, I don't remember. He was also from the Russian Council of Trade Unions, the head who since has been—has been liquidated, was Melnichansky. That's another name. Melnichansky had before been a resident of the United States, and he went to his Soviet fatherland and ended up six feet below.

Q. He's the one that was liquidated, eh?

A. Yeah. M-e-l-n-i-c-h-a-n-s-k-y.

Q. Now, this recommendation had been forwarded from the National Committee of the American Communist Party to—

A. That's right.

Q. —the Kremlin.

A. Yes.

Q. In Moscow. And there in Moscow in some—in 1928 now, you had a conference, and the conference was between you, the American representative on the Comintern, and three Russian trade leaders, only one of whom had ever been in the United States. Is that your testimony here today?

A. That's right. Yes.

Q. Would you say that the decision as to the granting or withholding of these funds which were to influence an American trade union, was made by the Russian Trade Union leaders?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. They were not there in an advisory capacity; they were there in the capacity of approving or disapproving this, is that correct?

A. Well, that would not be entirely correct, in this way. That is, the decision to grant the subsidy was made by the presidium of the Comintern, but as to the amount was left to this here subcommittee, see.

Q. This subcommittee of which you were a member?

A. That's right.

Q. Was John L. Lewis considered an enemy of the Communist Party?

A. Oh, he certainly was considered an enemy of the Communist Party at that time.

Q. And they were sending money to try to unseat him, then?

A. Oh, they went to great length to do that.

Q. Do you know of—

A. They almost succeeded.

Q. What's that?

A. They almost succeeded.

Q. They almost succeeded, eh? Do you know of other instances where money was sent to affect the election or non-election or policies of American trade unions? Election or non-election of their leaders?

A. Well, the subsidy for labor union activities in America, as well as other countries, was a continuous policy, in Moscow, and there always were subsidies.

Q. They usually send these subsidies over in large sums to be prorated and handled by the American—by the American Trade Union representatives, is that—that's the normal way it works?

A. Well, they're the ones to decide upon—that is, in Moscow, the presidium, this five-man, with the consent and advice of the Political Bureau of the Russian Communist Party. They're the one to decide what the lump sum, or subsidy, may be let's say activities in American industry, say for a particular year, the decision is that they will spend a million dollars. Then a subcommittee familiar with the American situation is the one that will then break that down, so much for maritime, so much for steel, so much for chemical, and so much for others. And only after they have fixed the amounts, do the Americans have any further say on the subjects.

Q. Now we had some testimony from that stand last Friday, of a courier who testified that he took eighty-six thousand French francs in a money belt around his body and was sent from Moscow to Paris to deliver this money to Communist functionaries. Was that the same method by which money would be sent from Moscow to the United States?

A. No, no, that's—that used to be one of the methods, rather primitive, when small sums are involved.

Q. They use couriers for small sums, then.

A. Yes. But they had not such good experiences with that, when—they lost considerable amounts when some of those for one reason or another were apprehended or searched. So as the relations with foreign countries began to develop they—these amounts would be sent in a more secure fashion. They may be sent to the account of a certain individual in Berlin, or in Paris, from there transferred through a bank to another individual to his account here in the United States. And then, of course, transferred to the Party. That was one method.

Another method would be to transfer it through the trading agencies the Soviet Government has. It was in a fashion that couldn't be traced by investigation. And still another, through the diplomatic service.

These were the three basic ways of doing it when it came in large amounts. The small amounts—I took with myself two thousand dollars, which were intended as a subsidy for the first month in one of the countries that I went to in South America.

Q. Now, Mr. Kornfeder, we had testimony from that stand last Thursday to the effect that the Party issued instructions to this man who was a District Organizer to secure photostats of blueprints in the airplane factories in his district of the different model airplanes. Do you have any knowledge of any espionage or program like that? Did anything like that come to your attention while you were in the Party?

A. Well, yes, this—this used to be a pretty general custom, that as a result of labor union activities of knowledges acquired of anything new, in the fabrication of munitions, or chemical processes, it should be relayed to New York and they then would probably handle that information through other channels to the—their secret organization. All a individual like me would be asked to do, or another official of the Party, would be to keep our eyes open to any such thing, and let them know if there is such a thing going on. Then they would take care of the rest.

Q. Will you bring it a little closer home? You're testifying now as an expert; you're testifying now as to what could have happened. I want to—I want to get a clear picture of what this program was. During the war we had quite some few secret planes developed at the airplane factory here in Seattle, Boeing Aircraft Company, they were revolutionary planes, there'd never been any like it before. If the Communists had a cell in Boeings, would they have attempted to use that cell to get those secrets—secrets of those planes?

A. Oh, most certainly. There's no doubt about it. Sure. New York would be informed of that right away, and then their experts would go to work, partly through the group they had, and partly through other means, to obtain all the necessary information on that subject.

Q. Not only then is the Communist Party a Fifth Column in America, but it is an espionage party. Is that a correct statement?

A. Why certainly. Of course, most of the Party members I suppose don't render themselves account of it fully, but they are ideologically conditioned if they are approached to serve the Soviet Union also in that field. I don't know of any Communist that, if so approached, would refuse. If he would refuse, he would of course be thrown out of the Party on some pretext.

Q. Is it your testimony here then, that not only are Communists traitors to their country, but also spies and potential spies?

A. Yes, they—their loyalty is one hundred per cent for Russia, with all the implications, insurrection, espionage, information, or whatever else is required. I could imagine that some of them may refuse, but there'll be very few.

Q. Now, Mr. Kornfeder, you testified this morning about these Russian schools, that they operate for chosen Communists from all the countries of the world that are sent to these schools for training. And in that testimony you stated that the Red Army officers instructed those foreign students in certain techniques. That was your testimony—

A. That's right.

Q. —was it not?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you elaborate on that further? Now we've had from the city here several people go to Russia to attend the school of Lenin. We have one that I recall that publicly went to Vladivostok to attend school. Now, without going into the whole curricula, as you did this morning, enlarge that phase of it. What did these Red Army officers attempt to teach them?

A. Well, these Red Army officers are attached to a special section of the Military Academy in Russia. That academy—I mean that special section of the academy specializes on military problems of countries outside of Russia, and more specifically on techniques of insurrection. Techniques of, for instance, how to take a city from inside. They—now you take a city of two million, somebody that isn't instructed how to do it may waste a tremendous amount of motion, and effort, and so on and so forth. These specialists teach you what is essential or vital in taking a city and what is not. And the instruction is given on the basis of practical experience in past insurrections, some of them successful and others not, that have been carried out in Europe or in Asia, or in other parts.

Now for an illustration, the insurrection, successful one in Petrograd, which started off the Communists on their road to power in Russia, the actual taking of the essential point in that city of two million was effected by not more than three thousand and six hundred men. The Government had, at the same time, fifty thousand troops in the city. Yet the three thousand and six hundred organized in combat groups of the Communist Party, did succeed to take all the vital points and brought about a chain of events as a result of it, which made it possible for them to hold what then was the capitol of Russia.

Now how did they do it? They could not afford to first challenge the Government to a frontal attack, because the Government had too much strength in the city. They wouldn't go to the center of the city and begin to shoot, or something like that. They would have been liquidated fast. So they designed the idea of first taking all the powerhouses. Now the Government didn't expect any special trouble along that line. Nobody had pulled off that kind of a technique before. And the Government's troops were all concentrated in the main section of the city, in the form of patrols, mounted and afoot. Well, after the powerhouses were taken, of course the power was cut off, both from the plants as well as the telephone exchanges, and so on. Then the Communists in the factories, big factories, spread the word around that the new Government has taken power and everybody should pile out of those plants and go to the center of the city. And a tremendous mass then

came stringing from all directions into the center of the city. They were not armed; it was just a demonstration, just as it were a psychological maneuver of diversion.

Well, troops patrolling in the city who due to the situation then existing in Russia, were imagining that most anything could happen. In fact the situation was so chaotic that everybody expected anything. So when they saw the stream of people coming in the center of the city, they began to waiver. After all, maybe there was going to be a new government, so why be on the losing side.

Well, then there were two regiments on the outskirts in which the Communists had troops. Well, with those regiments they sent a number of combat groups amongst whom there were speakers, and these speakers addressed the troops. Those two regiments were thus convinced that the new government was already in possession, and they formed ranks and marched in formation to the center of the city; whereas the other regiments were either neutral, or anyway thought, well we're going to wait a while and see who's going to come out on top.

So when the troops patrolling the center of the city saw two regiments in formation, with arms, coming, well, they quit. They then decided, well, we may as well join the gang, and that was the end of the government in Petrograd.

There was just enough there, that started early in the morning, and before the day was over the Communists had the city.

Why, I—that's the first time I'm—I'm telling this because I don't like to use it at the meetings because it's too fantastical. But it is the actual practical reality, the whole thing was explained to us, how it was done, how the groups were organized, by those Red Army officers, some of whom had participated in it.

Q. Now this was taught you in the school, the Lenin School in Moscow?

A. That's right.

Q. And it is being taught to Communist students from all over the world.

A. Yes, certainly. All those that are recruited into these type of groups.

Q. Now, I will ask you, Mr. Kornfeder, is that the same pattern that was used in the recent French general strike when they secured the power plants in Paris and the post office?

A. Well, in the recent events in France and Italy, this was just a foreplay. They practice—they practiced some of this just in order to see how good their organization might work. From what I know of their techniques in this respect, they did not yet intend to seize power. They made a—they just intended to test their own organization and shake down the structure of the government, because if they had intended to actually seize power they would have done that by surprise. Small groups would grab off early in the morning, all the principal leaders that could lead the government, and that—capture all the vital points with which the government may be able to function to call for help, by communication services, police headquarters, war department offices, and so on, see?

Well, in this thing that they pulled off there, that was just a foreplay. They had one like that before they seized power in Russia also.

Q. Just a trial run to see how—

A. Yeah, trial run.

Q. —it would work, eh? Now, Mr. Kornfeder, I will ask you, are there people walking the streets of the City of Seattle today who have been trained how to seize power from within this city?

A. Well, certainly, that's the—that's the whole sense of the whole Communist movement is to get trained for that, both ideologically, organizationally, militarily, and so forth.

Q. Did this trained—did this training also include fighting at the barricades and disruptive tactics and the spreading of chaos and confusion on the day—

A. Well, barricades are considered antiquated methods, that used to be something that was all right about a hundred years ago, or so. Techniques that are taught now discount the barricades as a method, except that sometimes you could use it, not as a chief method, but something just auxiliary, accidental—incidental.

Q. I'll ask you if students in these schools, foreign students, of which there have been many Americans, have there not?—

A. Oh, yes.

Q. —are not taught how to sabotage within their country?

A. Well, they are taught the necessity and the place of sabotage in the total plot, and in the special school in Leningrad which specializes on the techniques of sabotage, they are of course also taught sabotage.

Q. Are they also taught how to make bombs?

A. Oh yes, hand-made bombs, yes that's all taught.

Q. That's why we have so many isolated cases over the world where there is a bombing here and a bombing there. If there's somebody they don't like, they set off a bomb in front of his door. Is that part of their pattern?

A. Oh, there is some very interesting new techniques along all these lines.

Q. Now how many of these schools are and have been operating for a period of years, in Russia, that teach this to these foreign students?

A. Well, the first school that I know of was the Lenin School, and they started in 1925, and these schools have been operating ever since on an ever-enlarged scale and are most likely being put up now in the satellite countries also.

Q. And they over this period of time have been turning out thousands of trained revolutionists and sending them back to the country they came from?

A. Yes.

Q. And you know this of your own knowledge, and you attended one of these schools yourself?

A. Well, I went through the whole process myself, yes.

Q. Now I will ask you, does the Communist Party also operate secret training schools in the United States of America?

A. Yes, sure. They have—of course the schools that are known, which they give all kinds of fancy names, like Lincoln School, Washington School, and Jefferson School, huh, and in those schools they just teach the techniques of propaganda and general techniques of organization. But in their underground apparatus, they are, according to the instructions from Moscow, supposed to teach this other stuff that I was just telling you about, the techniques of capturing a city, and of infiltrating the Armed Services, and so on. This—I know that in other countries when this is in advanced stages they—they have a military committee which even works out a blueprint for each city, how to proceed to do it. And that with the events of today were it possible to drop

army contingents from the air, I'm sure that this is an advanced stage even here, because over here they are too weak to seize power, and will be for a long time, and I hope forever, if a war should happen this type of organization inside would have new significance and new values, because if regiments could be dropped from the air out—on the outskirts of an important city and this group could operate from the inside of the city, they could at least hold that city sufficiently long to destroy all the essential equipment that they may be interested in destroying, plus, of course, liquidating as many of their enemies inside of the city at the same time.

Q. If war were declared between Russia and the United States tomorrow, would there be sabotage here in the State of Washington, would bridges be blown up, essential machinery in factories be sabotaged?

A. Well, you see this—well this is a whole subject by itself.

Q. Yes, I'm just trying to get a few highlights here. I know it's a whole subject, and I'm—

A. This type of sabotage you speak of is considered in the category of the barricade, that is, it's considered antiquated, except that it could be used also in some specific instances, and they certainly will use it where necessary. But, their main idea of sabotage, in the first stages, is to incite the workmen by, oh, around some grievance that they induce or that actually exists, to do a much better job than to sabotage a machine or two by simply tying up the whole works in a strike for a number of weeks, where nothing moves, is called political sabotage, and well, in the process of tying up a plant you can do a few extra things, alongside with it, the result of which may be to tie up production of a very vital plant, not only for the duration of the strike but even before they get back into gear fully, longer than that. That's one of the most important methods.

Q. All right, are—

A. Of course, then they also teach other methods, like where there is new—new processes, like there are some explosives, new types that you can just believe looks like a biscuit but it's a powerful explosive as it gets in touch with water, or some of them with sun. You can leave it there, it will explode in an important piece of gear of vital importance long after the person that left it there has left. There is many new devices to use in this field. And if you have an organization for which to use it, well, they're certainly going to use it.

Q. Are you familiar with this strike that was called in 1940 at the Allis-Chalmers plant in Wisconsin?

A. That was a political strike.

Q. A political strike. Now what do you mean by that? Was it called by the Communist Party?

A. Yeah, the Communist Party controlled that local union and they called the strike in order to interfere with the—with the preparations, or with the defense preparations that the country was making at the time. That plant was making some very, very vital navy equipment, which delayed the navy's progress by some time in its effort of preparation.

Of course, the workmen didn't know anything what they were being used for. The Communist in control simply preferred them mentally through very lively agitation, and they invented some demands and they made a big effort to build up actual demands into a major proposition and they called the strike just an economic strike. As far as the workmen were concerned. But, in this

plant like in North Aviation in California which also took place at the same time—I mean not exactly at the same time, but it was the same idea, the idea was to tie up a very important piece of equipment.

Q. Was it the policy of the Communist Party and its front organizations throughout the United States to give all support that they could to the Allis-Chalmers strike?

A. Oh, yes, they—as far as I know, they mobilized the whole party machine in support of that.

Q. And if you—and if there were an organization at thousands of miles distant who had no connection with the strike and who knew nothing about the strike, but they were sending money and passing resolutions endorsing the strike, would that be pretty good evidence that was a Communist front organization?

A. Well, it would be to an extent.

Q. Not a union organization.

A. Yes, it would be by, in large, such resolutions would indicate that; however, you have lots of very well-meaning people in the United States, and if they are told that the workmen somewhere is having a tough time of fighting for something worthwhile, economic demands, and so on and so forth, they may pass a resolution too, not having the slightest idea what they are really supporting in this case.

Q. But it still would be Communist-inspired?

A. Oh, well, certainly. It would be the after effect of—or the actual effect on the periphery.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, this witness has much much more that he can testify to, but he's been on the stand all day and I don't want to press him beyond his physical endurance. I am concluded.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: I would rather not open up the other phase of our hearing until the morning session, so unless you have something you wish to put on at this time—

MR. HOUSTON: We do have one deposition that I believe can be put in at this point. This deposition, Mr. Chairman, is of a lady well advanced in years, physically ill, and she's unable to be here by doctor's orders.

Now in accordance with the statutes of the State of Washington, this Committee did appoint a commissioner and sent her interrogations, which interrogations were duly subscribed to under oath, and I would like to have that deposition admitted at this time.

That's all, Mr. Kornfeder, thank you very, very much.

(Witness Excused)

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Chairman, this is the deposition of one Sarah Keller, that's spelled capital K-e-l-l-e-r.

"The witness, being first duly sworn, testifies as follows:

"Q. You may state your name, address and occupation.

"A. Sarah Keller. I live at 214 Boylston Avenue North, Seattle, Washington. I am a widow and have no occupation except being a housewife.

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

"A. Better than twenty years.

"Q. Are you a member of the Washington Pension Union as it is now constituted?

"A. I am not. However, I am deeply interested in the social welfare work of this state, and the pension movement in particular, and I have heard from many sources that the Washington Pension Union and much of its activities are being directed by certain of its state officers who have more interest in their own selfish purposes and in advancing the foreign policy of the Russian Government, or in other words, the Communist Party line, than in the pensioners they are supposed to represent, or our own Government.

"Q. Did you make any personal investigation of these rumors you say you heard?

"A. Yes, I did.

"Q. What was the nature of that investigation?

"A. I started in four or five years ago attending different pension union meetings, first when they met at the Moose Temple near Ninth and University and then in the 1900 block on Third Avenue and ever since they moved over to the Ship Scalers' Hall on Third Avenue here in the City of Seattle.

"Q. How regularly have you attended their meetings?

"A. With one or two exceptions I have attended every Sunday afternoon meeting since July of 1947, and I had been attending once or twice a month for three or four years before then.

"Q. When was the last meeting you attended?

"A. I attended right up until about a week ago, which was Sunday, February the 1st, 1948.

"Q. As the usual thing, who was in charge of these meetings?

"A. William Pennock, their State President, and in his absence usually such persons as Phil O'Malley, Nora McCoy, or John Caughlan.

"Q. Who are others of the Washington Pension Union who are the most active at these meetings?

"A. Besides Pennock and O'Malley, the others who take the most leading part are John Caughlan, one of the State Vice Presidents; a woman by the name of Nora McCoy; Tom Rabbitt, another State Vice President; C. H. Fisher, their Educational Director; and George Hurley. Of the above persons I have mentioned, William Pennock is the main official. At each meeting a collection is taken up and the money directly turned over to him. The collections taken up at these weekly meetings usually ran around twenty dollars. Up until about six months ago they used to announce the amount of the collection. Since then they take up the collection and Pennock stuffs it in his pocket and no announcement is made. Also, Pennock is the final answer to all of the old ladies' questions. As an illustration, when someone from out of the state is turned down for a pension because they lack resident requirements, Pennock gets up and says that he will go to bat for them, and then he tells them that he will write them out an order for food and rent so that they can live in this state long enough until they do qualify for a pension.

"Q. Who are some of the state officials besides Mr. Pennock who make most of the speeches at these meetings?

"A. Just at the moment those I most vividly recall are John Caughlan, their attorney and one of their State Vice Presidents; C. H. Fisher, their Educational Director; Jerry O'Connell, a local politician; Tom Rabbitt, a Vice President of the Washington Pension Union; George Hurley; and a man by the name of Lenus Westman from up around Everett somewhere. Incidentally, this last man I named, Lenus Westman, is the same fellow who was