

individuals who were Communists or who explicitly carried out the Communist Party instructions from the charge that they were Communist agents. Besides, on specific issues the Communist Party, through the front organizations, was able to enlist a large number of individuals to follow its line, who under other circumstances would not do so.

To be specific: Before the creation of the front organizations, the ministers who carried out the instructions of the Communist Party or collaborated with it were limited in numbers.

The outstanding ones among them were, besides Dr. Harry Ward, Dr. William B. Spofford, Jerome Davis, Rev. Tucker P. Smith, Rev. Irwin St. John Tucker, Rabbi Judal L. Magnes, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Rev. Sidney Strong, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

Then the Communist Party organized the Friends of the Soviet Union, the International Labor Defense, the All-American Anti-

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ures in this conspiracy, who are members of the Communist Party, operate secretly. Only the most trusted leaders of the Communist Party know they are party members. Robert W. Dunn, who was connected with the Quakers' relief organization and with the Young Men's Christian Association, visited Russia. He became a pro-Soviet agent upon his return to the United States and was paid for his pro-Soviet propaganda. He joined the Communist Party of the United States when it was an underground organization, but functioned as a non-Communist and denied membership in the Communist Party. His wide acquaintance with religious organizations and religious personalities made him a person of great value to the party. He served as the Communist Party's liaison between its political committee and secretariat and the clergymen operating under instructions of the party. He also headed the research organization known as the Labor Research Association. This organization, which offered its services to labor unions and other organizations and prepared research material and statistics to back up the Communist Party line, functioned as a bona fide labor-research outfit. Through this organization the Communist Party obtained information of the innermost secrets of labor unions and other organizations that sought its services. The organization served as the research department of the Communist Party and Dunn's work was completely supervised by the party. In the twenties the church people who met together with Dunn and carried out the directions of the Communist Party in all matters were Jerome Davis, Albert Rhys Williams, Dr. Harry F. Ward, and William B. Spofford. This group wielded tremendous influence in the religious field and did trojan work in advancing the Communist conspiracy in religion.

Mr. KUNZIG. You were a member of various important committees of the Comintern and the Profintern. Did you, when you were in Moscow, ever discuss the question of Communist infiltration of religion with the leaders of the Comintern.

Mr. GITLOW. The matter came up in Moscow, not only in reference to the infiltration of religion in the United States, but also in the Far and Near East.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you give us some specific instances?

Mr. GITLOW. My first visit to Moscow was in 1927 when I attended as a delegate of the American Communist Party the enlarged sessions of the executive committee of the Comintern. During my stay in Moscow, I also attended the sessions of the Anglo-American Secretariat, the organization committee of the Comintern, headed by Piatnitsky, had private sessions with the man in charge of archives of the Comintern who also headed the Comintern's agitprop department, sessions of which I also attended, and in addition had a long conference with Stalin. At the meetings of the Anglo-American Secretariat, also at meetings of the executive committee of the Communist International and of its organization department, the question of the American Communist Party's activities on the religious

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field was discussed. At these meetings the Communist Party was directed to intensify its efforts to draw the religious elements into the party's united-front activities. In the organization of the Workers International Relief and in the various strike-relief agencies which the party set up independently or in conjunction with the Workers International Relief, the party was directed to draw in the religious elements and to give the clergymen, wherever possible, prominent roles in the activities of such organizations. The drawing in of religious elements by the Friends of the Soviet Union, and by the International Labor Defense, into the Communist Party's campaign for the formation of a farmer-labor party was also discussed. At the sessions of the organization department, the importance of establishing good contacts with the religious organizations so that the Communists could infiltrate the missions in China and use them for Communist purposes, was given serious consideration and special attention was drawn to the effective work which Dr. Harry F. Ward did for communism in China in 1924.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you mean to say that Dr. Ward engaged in Communist propaganda when he was in China in 1925?

Mr. GITLOW. Certainly. I would like to read a few excerpts from a series of lectures he delivered in China at that time, if I may.

Mr. KUNZIG. You may.

Mr. GITLOW. Dr. Ward delivered a series of lectures at the National University at Peking under the title, "The Ethical Aspects of Industrialization." The first lecture was called, The Ethical Problems Created by Industrialization, delivered on March 3, 1925. Describing the industrial system under which we live Dr. Ward said:

More than this, industrialism is in conflict also with the desires of man concerning the future. I do not know if you can find a parallel in human history to this situation in which the prevailing way of getting the work of the world done

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Imperialist League, the Friends for Protection of Foreign Born, the movement for the organization of a national farmer-labor party, the Workers International Relief, numerous organizations in defense of strikes and for raising money for relief, youth organizations, student organizations, cultural organizations, forum and anti-imperialist actions like the Hands Off China Committee and many more. All these organizations had their share of clergymen. The number of clergymen who followed the Communist Party like grow by leaps and bounds.

Mr. WALTER. May I ask at this point, were all of those organizations that you mentioned known as the united front?

Mr. GITLOW. They were all organizations which the Communist Party termed united-front organizations.

Mr. WALTER. And by "united-front organizations" technically is meant organizations which are part and parcel of the Communist movement?

Mr. GITLOW. No. United-front organizations are organizations which are organized by the Communist Party through which they can enlist on specific issues the support of other organizations which are not Communist organizations and in which they can enlist the support of individuals who will go along with the Communist Party on a specific issue, but will not join the Communist Party on the issue of communism.

So when you have an anti-imperialist organization like a Hands Off China Committee, well, they can get all kinds of organizations to join that united-front movement and a lot of individuals who honestly are not Communists, but who think it is a good thing to have a Hands Off China movement and keep the imperialist army out of Chinese territory, and so you have united-front movements for civil rights, united-front movements for raising relief for workers out on strike, on a humanitarian basis. Then you have united-front organizations for the defense of the foreign born that appeal to all the foreign-born members of fraternal organizations of the United States, a tremendously powerful weapon in the hands of the Communist Party who are trying to divorce the foreign-born workers from American institutions and to bring them close to the Communist Party and the subversion of the Communist Party.

Mr. WALTER. Then by the united-front organizations you mean those organizations which unite together to carry out a specific purpose at a particular time?

Mr. GITLOW. And the initiative for the organization of which comes from the Communist Party.

Mr. SCHERER. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you say that during that period the main field of the Communist Party's operations was the religious field?

Mr. GITLOW. No. The main field of the party's operations was the trade-union field and it still remains its main field of operations, but I would say that in the execution of the united-front policy, the religious field was second in importance. In recent years, especially in the United States, where the Communist Party is under attack, the religious field has become the most important.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who, would you say, is the key figure for the Communist Party on the religious field?

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Mr. GITLOW. The key figure is Robert W. Dunn, head of the Labor Research Association.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you explain why you consider him the key figure?

Mr. GITLOW. The Communist Party is the agency of the Soviet Government which it heads and directs the conspiracy to overthrow the United States Government by force and violence. Important fig-